ART. XXXIII.—Brampton XVIIth Century Presbyterians By the Rev. H. Whitehead.

Communicated at Appleby, Sept. 22nd, 1885.

ON the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the present Presbyterian church at Brampton, on October 28th, 1854, "the Rev. P. R. Crole, minister of the congregation, gave an historical sketch of its rise and progress" (English Presbyterian Messenger, vol vi, p 354), which was afterwards published under the title: "One of the oldest existing Presbyterian congregations in England" (Ib, vii, 42-4). In this sketch Mr. Crole said:—

How long this congregation has been in existence cannot now be accurately ascertained, but documents exist connected with it so early as 1649. The vicar of the parish before the Restoration, the Rev-Mr. Burnard, was a Presbyterian both in principle and practice; and in 1662 he was ejected from his living here by the Act of Uniformity (*Ibid*, vii, 43).

From which it might seem as if we had here one of those cases where, as at Cockermouth and Stepney, the parish church and a meeting house were held during the commonwealth by one and the same minister. But the 'existing documents' of Brampton Presbyterian congregation do not support any such conclusion. The only document they possess of date prior to the eighteenth century is "An indenture made on April 13th, 1649, between George Hetherington yeoman and Ambrose Atkinson merchant", relating to some land "granted sold surrendered" by the said George Hetherington to the said Ambrose Atkinson. Seventy-three years afterwards a later Ambrose Atkinson, presumably a grandson of the aforesaid Ambrose, sold this land and a house thereon to the Presbyterian church authorities, of course at the same time handing over to them the indenture of 1649; which thus became a document connected

"connected with the Presbyterian congregation", but having no sort of connection with the history of its "rise and progress".

Mr. Crole, however, though he seems to have read no further than the first line of this indenture, did manage to read that aright; which is more than be said of some one who came after him, who has endorsed the indenture as having been made on "April 13th, 1549". This mistake the present elders and managers had better correct, lest some future local historian should be led to date the origin of Brampton Presbyterian congregation from the reign of Edward VI.

Whellan, in his history of Cumberland, published in 1860, says (p. 650):—

The Presbyterian congregation of Brampton dates its origin from 1662, in which year, on the passing of the Act of Uniformity, the Rev. J. Burnand, then vicar of Brampton, was ejected from the living; but many of his people adhered to the Presbyterian discipline, and founded a separate congregation, which is now connected with the Presbyterian Synod of England, and forms a part of the Presbytery of Cumberland.

Neither Hutchinson nor Burn and Nicolson give this account, or any account, of the origin of Brampton Presbyterian congregation. They seem even not to have known that there was ever a vicar of Brampton of the name of Burnand; who finds no place in their lists of vicars. Nor does Whellan record anything more concerning him than the bare fact of his ejection. He says in his list of Brampton vicars:—

William Warwick occurs 1644. John Burnand ejected 1662.

He thus leaves it uncertain when Mr. Warwick's incumbency ceased and that of Mr. Burnand began.

We can get no help in this matter from the episcopal register, as there had been no resident bishop of Carlisle since 1641, and no bishop at all since the abolition of episcopacy in 1646.

Brampton

Brampton parish register, which would perhaps indirectly have supplied the desired information, is not extant prior to 1662. The first entry in the existing register is a memorandum of the reading of the XXXIX Articles by a new vicar, Mr. Philip Feilding, on August 26th, 1662, i.e., two days after St. Bartholmew's Day; on which day in that year the Act of Uniformity came into operation. We therefore have no trace in the parish register either of Mr. Warwick or Mr. Burnand.

One glimpse we catch, certainly of Mr. Burnand, and perhaps also of Mr. Warwick, during the "great preaching contest" at Carlisle in 1655-6, when the mayor and corporation sat in jury under a new preacher every Sunday, for the purpose of deciding whom to appoint to the vacant benefices of St. Cuthbert's and St. Mary's. The corporation accounts contain "a note for the ministers charges when they preached here during the time of the vacancy of ministers" (ante, vol VII, p 318), among the items in which are these:—

Jan 28, Itm for Mr Warwicke at Robert Collyer - - 00 03 00 May 26, Itm for Mr Burnand at Mrs Markes - - 00 05 04

This "Mr. Warwicke" must have been either Thomas Warwick, who had been collated to Aspatria in 1629, or William Warwick, vicar of Brampton. If the latter, we might almost infer that he was succeeded at Brampton by Mr. Burnand at some time between January 28th and May 26th, 1656.

Mr. Burnand, who did not obtain the votes of the Carlisle jury, had the satisfaction of finding himself in good company among the unsuccessful candidates; one of whom, his brother-in-law, Dr. Richard Gilpin, rector of Greystoke, was held in such good repute that, four years later, in 1660, on the restoration of episcopacy, he was offered the bishopric of Carlisle, having been "represented to the king as a person highly esteemed in the northern

parts

parts of England, and as a man of great moderation" (Gilbin Memoirs, p 5). He declined the offer, but not on account of any invincible repugnance to episcopacy; since though "on the whole in church matters he was inclined to presbytery" he "could by no means ever be wrought on to sign the solemn league and covenant". As to differences between episcopalians and presbyterians, he "considered the line between the two parties, with regard to their religious sentiments, as almost an invisible one". His biographer therefore concludes that, in declining the see of Carlisle,* he was "swayed probably by the indecency of appearing to desert his principles from lucrative motives " (Ib). Such motives, had he been the sort of man to be influenced by them, would have gained additional strength from the fact that he knew he had shortly to resign his living, having to make way for Mr. W. Morland, who had been ejected from the rectory of Greystoke by Cromwell's commissioners in 1652, to which he returned at about the end of 1660 (*Ib.* p 9).†

While rector of Greystoke Dr. Gilpin had purchased Scaleby Castle, near Brampton; and "this was the place he chose for his retreat after he left Greystock" (Ib. p 5). The editor of the "Memoirs", Mr. W. Jackson, in a letter to me, referring to Mr. Burnand's marriage with Richard Gilpin's sister, says:

This marriage may have had the important result of leading to Richard's purchase of Scaleby Castle.

We do not, however, know either the precise year of this purchase or that of the marriage. The Gilpin pedigree, in an appendix to the "memoirs", referring to the children of Isaac Gilpin, of Strickland Kettle near Kendal, has this entry:

Margaret

^{*} His great grandfather, the famous Bernard Gilpin, had refused the same bishopric in the reign of Elizabeth.
† All the clergy who had been ejected during the commonwealth were restored to their livings by an Act of Parliament in 1660.

Margaret = Nathaniel Burnand, Rector of Brampton, whence ejected under Bartholomew Act.

The omission of the dates of Margaret Gilpin's baptism and marriage from this entry is probably owing to Kendal parish register from 1631 to 1679 being missing (ante, vol III, p 49). But I have among my papers the following manuscript note:—

Margaret d of Isaac Gilpin b 14 Mar 1631 m Nathaniel Burnand Rr of Brampton in Com Cumbr.*

Margaret Gilpin, then, was 29 years old, and may have been married some years, when her brother went to live at Scaleby Castle, which he probably did not purchase before he knew he would have occasion to make it his home. If so, and if he made the purchase from a desire to live near his brother-in-law, it speaks well for the latter. Anyhow it is to the credit of Mr. Burnand that he married into such a family as that of the Gilpins, of whom all that we know, and we know much, is good.

We note, in passing, that the Mr. Burnard of the "historical sketch" turns out to have been Mr. Burnand, and that Whellan's *John* Burnand appears in the Gilpin memoirs as *Nathaniel*. That his christian name was Nathaniel is proved by the only documentary trace of him which has yet come to light at Brampton, *i.e.*, in the Court Leet minutes at Carrick and Lee's office, which contain the following entry:—

Cur Lit 1661. Nathaniell Burnand Clericus propter Johannem Peares de Cammockhill iij⁸ iiij^d pro decimis 28 gber.

These minutes are not extant prior to the Restoration, or they would doubtless have indicated the year in which Mr. Burnand succeeded Mr. Warwick.

But

st I cannot remember where I found this. It is evidently not an extract from a parish register.

But, though we know next to nothing about Mr. Burnand as vicar of Brampton, we do know whence he came and whither he went. Calamy says:—

BRAMPTON, [V] Mr. Burnand. Of Cumb. Son of old Mr. Nath Burnand, the chief minister in Durham in the time of the civil wars. He first lived as chaplain 3 years in the family of Mr. Harrison of Allerthorp, and was afterwards a noted preacher in this county, till the Barth.-act silenced him. When he was ejected, he retired to the desert places in Austin-moor,* and there took a farm, which he managed carefully, for the subsistence of his family; on the Lord's-day preaching in his own house, afterwards at Burneston in public, where he was connived at. At length, Providence favouring Sir W. Blacket in his lead-mines, he fixed him there to preach to his miners, with an allowance of £30 per annum. He had great success among those ignorant creatures, and did much good. But when the mines failed, being again at a loss, he came up to London, and from thence went for some time to a congregation at Harwich. But age coming upon him, he at length came to London again, and subsisted upon the charity of welldisposed Christians, till death gave him his quietus (Nonconformist's Memorial, Palmer's Edition, i, 296).

Mr. Crole, speaking of the father of the vicar of Brampton, calls him "the celebrated Rev. Nathaniel Burnard", whom he describes, quoting from Calamy, as 'the chief minister of Durham in the time of the civil wars'. I have not been able to discover for what Mr. Burnand Sr was celebrated, and I think that Mr. Crole must have understood Calamy's description of him as denoting preeminent excellence in the discharge of ministerial duties. Such preeminence, for aught I know, he may have achieved. But that was not what Calamy meant by calling him "the chief minister in Durham". The parish register of St. Oswald's, Durham, has the following burial entry:—

1650, May 6, Mr. Nathaniell Burneand Minister of this church.

St. Oswald's is the mother parish at Durham, and its

vicar

^{*} At Garrigill, Alston. The parish church at Alston is dedicated to St. Augustine.

vicar, whoever he might be, would be described as "the chief minister in Durham in the time of the civil wars". when there was no bishop, dean, or chapter, at all events none after 1646. How long Mr. Burnand was vicar of St. Oswald's does not appear in the register, which only gives indirect evidence concerning the vicars. It can only be inferred with certainty that he was not instituted as early as 1632. His children, as none of their names occur in the baptismal register, were doubtless all born before he went to St. Oswald's. His son Nathaniel was probably older than Margaret Gilpin, who was born in 1631. Richard Gilpin, by the way, who was born in 1625 (Gilpin Memoirs, p 1), is said by Calamy (I, 302) to have been some time, before he became rector of Greystoke, a preacher at Durham; where no doubt he first became acquainted with young Nathaniel. This increases the probability that his sister's marriage took place before he purchased Scaleby Castle.

Of Gilpin's power and fame as a preacher Calamy gives a very interesting account; which, as it is abundantly corroborated by independent testimony, warrants acceptance of his statement that Nathaniel Burnand, when vicar of Brampton, was "a noted preacher in this county". How strange it must have seemed to a noted preacher to fall upon times when to preach at all in public he had to be "connived at"! He also, it seems, preached "at his own house", where traditon says he was not connived at, but had to preach for safety in a loft, to which he and his audience obtained access through a trap door. I was told of this tradition by Mr. Joseph Dickinson, of Alston, who accompanied me on a visit I desired to pay to the lonely retreat of one of the most interesting of my predecessors. We ascended through the trap door, and stood in the loft; which is larger than either of the rooms below, and perhaps on that account, rather than for secrecy, was used for the preaching. Mr. Dickinson took a photograph of the



Mr. BURNAND'S RESIDENCE AFTER HIS EJECTION. tcwaas_001_1886_vol8_0037

the house,* an autotype of which is given with this paper. Whatever interval there was between Mr. Burnand's ejection and his leaving the parish was probably spent at Scaleby Castle, where he would be sure to meet with a hospitable reception from Dr. Gilpin, who had now been there nearly two years. Of Dr. Gilpin's mode of life at Scaleby Castle we get a pleasant glimpse in the "Memoirs" (p I):—

Here he was solicitous to be of all the service in the country, he could. He administered medical advice among his poor neighbours, who had not the means of better assistance. He administered also to their spiritual wants, calling them on Sundays into a great arched hall in his castle, which he had fitted up as a chapel, and doing every benevolent action among them, which his means allowed. How acceptable his services were among the poor people of those parts, and how much they revered him for his wisdom, and sanctity, appears from the superstitious respect they paid him. During many years after his death, it was believed among them, that he had laid the devil, as they phrased it, in a morass not far from his house. It may be hoped, that a change for the better in the manners of the people, gave some credit to the belief.

These particulars concerning Dr. Gilpin have their place in this paper, because the influence of a man of his ability, character, and fame, closely connected as he was with Mr. Burnand, must needs have extended to Brampton, which is but a few miles distant from Scaleby. No doubt he would often preach in Brampton parish church. Whatever then there was of nonconformity in Brampton for some time after the passing of the Bartholomew Act was likely to partake of his spirit. Its tone would be moderate. Indeed, according to one account, it would seem as if there was not a nonconformist congregation at all here until ten years after the ejection of Mr. Burnand; for Lysons says:—

There

^{*} The house has been much altered since this photograph was taken.

There is a meeting house at Brampton for the Presbyterians, who have had a congregation here ever since the year 1672 (History o Cumberland, p 33).

Whellan, as already quoted (ante p 343), assigns the origin of this congregation to 1662. He does not, however, alledge that Mr. Burnand himself took any part in setting it up. Nor has anyone else, to my knowledge, alledged anything of the kind, except a writer in the "Congregational Magazine" for March, 1822, who names one "W. Burrand" as the first minister of Brampton Presbyterian congregation, apparently on no other authority than this: "Mr. Burrand is recorded by Palmer to have been ejected from this place". We can scarcely think that Mr. Burnand would have liked to set up a separate congregation in the parish of which he had been the vicar. But in any case, supposing such a congregation, with or without Mr. Burnand's concurrence, to have been set up in 1662, it is unlikely that it would be one of a fanatical character.

Its history, however, whatever its origin, until the year 1712, for aught that has yet been published concerning it, is very obscure. Mr. Crole says:—

From 1662, soon after which Mr. Burnard left the neighbourhood for Alston, and afterwards removed to London, where he died, no record exists of the succession of ministers till 1712, when the Rev. Robert Wight commenced his ministry here (Presbyterian Messenger, vol vii, p 43).

The "Congregational Magazine", which gives the name of no minister between "W. Burrand"* and "Mr. Wight", says (vol v, p 165):—

There appears to have been a respectable body of Presbyterians here about the close of the 17th century; but where they worshipped, or what were the names of their ministers, we have no means of ascertaining.

^{*} A note in the appendix to vol v of the "Congregational Magazine", referring to the ejected vicar of Brampton, says (p 715): "For Burrand read Burnand": but leaves the error in Mr. Burnand's christian name uncorrected.

Mr. Crole, probably quoting local tradition, says:—

There were two successive places of worship belonging to this congregation before the present building, one near the old Brewery, and the other on the site of the present Scotch Arms Inn.

By the "present building" he of course means what is now used as a schoolroom, but from the time of its erection (which Lysons assigns to 1722) down to 1854 was used as a church. To the tradition of a meeting house "on the site of the present Scotch Arms Inn" I shall have occasion to refer later on.

Meanwhile, before examining such scraps of information as may be forthcoming concerning the course of events from 1662 to 1712, let us see whether any light is thrown upon that period by the known state of things at its close, "when the Rev. Robert Wight commenced his ministry here".

Mr. Wight, who was evidently a man of method and order, kept careful records of meetings and other matters connected with his congregation; which afford a few indications of what must have happened in the prehistoric period which his appointment as minister brought to a close. His "register of the session's proceedings" begins with the minutes of a meeting, on August 26, 1712, attended by himself and the "elders", at which it was agreed:—

That there be two Paper Books one of them to be a Register of Collections Baptisms &c in the Dissenting Congregation of Protestants att Brampton the other to be a Register for recording what Briefs are received. . . .

From which we may infer that before his time either no records had been kept or they had been kept so irregularly as to make it no matter for surprise that they are not now extant. One of the first things he did, after getting his "two paper books", was to insert in one of them this memorandum:—

The

The names of Members of the Congregation admitted to partake of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper as follows

> John Hind Thomas Hetherington Thomas Jackson David Bell

Elders

Christopher Hetherington Ann Hetherington Elizabeth Bell Elizabeth Appleby Helen Lowthian Thomas Hetherington Thomas Bell Elizabeth Bell William Bell Ann Bell Ann Beauchamp Thomas Gill John Hogdson Joseph Blenkinship Helen Blinkinship Iennet Huddson Thomas Jackson John Hind Ann Hind Mary Fisher Thomas Tolson Richard Bell Mary Bell John Armstrong Mary Brown Mabel Dryden John Hetherington Anthony Mawson John Crow

Margaret Crowe Francis Atkinson Ann Hetherington Thomas Lamb Iames Atkinson Elizabeth Deane Isaac Deane David Hetherington Iohn Lowthian Isabel Lowthian Isaac Richardson Iohn Reav Elizabeth Reay John Hislop Thomas Bairnfather **Jacob Crow** Ann Crow Richard Bell Ann"Smith Edward Smith Margaret Hetherington Ann Hislop Thomas Hetherington

Thomas Hetherington
Jennet Lowthian
Joseph Lowthian
Mary Grahame
Hannah Hodgson
Thomas Tolson
Mary Tolson

All these were Members before Mr. Wight's Ordination being admitted to partake of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in the Time of his Predecessors.

Robert Wight Minister.

Thus we learn that Mr. Wight's "predecessors" had a

not insignificant congregation. But turning to the baptismal register, which begins at August 24th, 1712, and was posted up by Mr. Wight with characteristic fulness of detail, we at once meet with a state of things which seems somewhat remarkable; for not one of the children baptized during the remaining four months of that year belonged to parents residing in the parish of Brampton. The entries are these:—

Aug 24, 1712	This day Thomas Jackson younger in the Parish of Castle Carrock had a child baptiz'd whose name was Hannah
	The same day John Hislop in the Parish of Abbey Lander coast had a child baptiz'd whose name was Jennet
Oct 12, 1712	This day David Bell in Broomhill in the Parish of Denton had a child baptiz'd whose name was David
Nov 18, 1712	This day Christopher Hetherington in Calees in the Parish of Abbey Lander coast had a child baptiz'd whose name was John
Dec 4, 1712	This day Walter Armstrong in Killhill in the Parish of Abbey Landercost had a child baptiz'd whose name was Ann att Wardrew
Dec 7, 1712	This day John Brown in Haytown had a child baptiz'd whose name was Martha.

Moreover, of 47 children baptized in the period 1712-7 only 12 were of Brampton parents. The rest were chiefly of Lanercost, Castle Carrock, Denton, Hayton, and even parishes in Northumberland. Referring now to the list of communicants, drawn up in 1712, I cannot assign them all to their respective parishes; but, so far as I can identify them from the baptismal register, the majority of them were not of Brampton. This seems to shew that Brampton, though it may have been the only parish having an organised nonconformist congregation, was not when Mr. Wight came to it the stronghold of dissent in this neighbourhood.

Thus

Thus far I have endeavoured to draw inferences concerning the unhistoric period of Brampton nonconformity from known facts both at the beginning and the close of that period. Let us now grope about within the period itself in search of further clue to the course of events during that obscure half century.

In this pursuit we naturally turn to the one institution which everywhere represents the continuity of parochial history: the parish church. What, during the latter part of the 17th century, had the churchwardens of Brampton and the neighbouring parishes to report concerning what took place within their jurisdiction? By the 108th Canon of the Church they were directed annually to

exhibit to their several ordinaries the presentments of such enormities as have happened in their parishes since the last presentments.

Originally the chief "enormity" had been popery. After the passing of the Bartholomew Act it was nonconformity. But for several years after 1662 we do not find in the bishop's registry any presentments from the neighbourhood of Brampton. Whether schismatics were not troublesome, or churchwardens were lenient, we cannot say. Perhaps both these causes were in operation. But in 1677 the churchwardens of Stapleton present one William Sumers for several offences, amongst which were

marrying out of the parish and christening his child of a year old after his wedding by another minister.*

This was doubtless a dissenting minister. In the following year their minds were much exercised by the Quakers, as they presented seven men, four of whom were named "floster", who, they say,

& manie more in Solbert q^r are more readie to go to heare the Quakers than to come to church, the Quakers meeting place being now at Parkrigge.

Quakerism

^{*} The "presentments" are preserved in the episcopal registry at Carlisle; where by the kindness of the registrar I have been permitted to examine them.

Quakerism flourished greatly in many parts of Cumberland, and was probably the first form of Puritanism which deeply stirred this county. But, though George Fox himself must have passed through Brampton, on his way from Gilsland to Carlisle in 1653, he says nothing about it in his journal. At Gilsland, which he calls "a country noted for thieving", he says:—

The people made as if they feared we would take their purses or steal their horses; judging us like themselves, who are naturally given to thieving (George Fox's Journal, vol i, p 241).

Perhaps he thought no better of Brampton, and so, doubtful of making any impression here, hastened on to Carlisle, where he made a great stir. Nor does Quakerism seem at any time to have taken much hold anywhere nearer to Brampton than Stapleton; where, in 1678, as we have just seen, there was a Friends' meeting house. At all events in no other parish hereabouts did the churchwardens take any notice of Quakers in their presentments; unless, which is not improbable, they included them under the general designation of "phanatticks". In the same year, 1678, the churchwardens of Castle Carrock began to move, presenting five persons "for not receiving the communion on Easter Day last". In 1682 they present

John Hodgson and Tho Jackson for not bringing their children to be baptized

Jo Blenkinsop Jo Hodgson Mary Hodgson Tho Jackson phanatticks or so reputed.

Hodgson and Jackson may have been presented for not bringing their children to be baptized at the parish church. They may, however, have not had them baptized at all; in which case they were perhaps Quakers. Jackson in 1712 appears among the "elders" of the separate congregation at Brampton. All the same he may in 1682 have been a Quaker. In the same year, 1682, the Lanercost churchwardens

churchwardens present three persons as "phanaticks", three for "baptizing by another minister and not acquainting their own minister of ye same", 13 for "not coming to church", and 7 as "recusants", or, to give them their full designation in the phraseology of those days, "popish recusants". In 1687 they present five as "papists or nonconformists", and in 1688 three as "phanaticks" and four as "papists". From no other parish in this neighbourhood were any persons presented as "papists". Yet such there must have been in several other parishes, and in considerable numbers, if there is no error in the figures given in the "Northern Catholic Calendar for the Dioceses of Hexham and Newcastle, 1879", where we read:—

The new vicar Apostolic appointed A.D. 1685 was Dr John Leyborne During his Episcopate he made a visitation of the northern counties, where for some 100 years no bishop had set foot, and the Sacrament of Confirmation had not been administered. It was in the year 1687.

In a footnote the Calendar states the number of persons confirmed in that year in the dioceses of Hexham and Newcastle; amongst whom we find as many as 426 confirmed at Brampton.* Of course this included candidates from all the surrounding parishes. Still the figures are remarkable, and suggest reflections on which it would be interesting to digress. But our present concern is with the Protestant dissenters. In 1684 the Hayton churchwardens present

John Hall of Headsnook for not bringing his child to church to be baptised & for not coming himself to church being a reputed Phanatticke

Robert Moses John Hinde Jane Dixon reputed Phanattickes.

In 1685 they again present John Hall, John Hinde, and Jane Dixon; and in 1687 John Hall and Elizabeth his

wife

^{*} For these extracts from the "Northern Catholic Calendar" I am indebted to the Rev. Father Giles, priest of Warwick Bridge church.

wife. John Hinde was in 1712 one of the "elders" of Mr. Wight's congregation. The Presbyterian register, when he has a child baptized in 1715, describes him as of Castle Carrock. The discrepancy is explained by the circumstance of a farm at Greenwell, still occupied by a Hinde. being situated partly in Hayton parish and partly in Castle Carrock. From Brampton no one was presented for schism down to the very end of the reign of James II; which tends to shew that, whatever there may have been of dissent in this neighbourhood, vet in Brampton itself, for whatever reason, dissent during all that time produced little or no disturbance. One cause of this, the probable sobriety and moderate tone of Brampton nonconformists. I have already noticed. I also incline to think that Mr. Feilding, the vicar from 1662 to 1602, was an easy-going man. Having put his signature to the memorandum of his reading the XXXIX Articles in 1662 he never wrote another line in the register, which he left entirely to the parish clerk. He perhaps did not reside in the parish, being vicar of Irthington as well as of Brampton, and for a few years also of Crosby on Eden. If he did live in the parish his residence was a mile and a half from the town, at what is now called the old church farm house, which in 1703 is mentioned as the "vicarage" (Bp. Nicolson's Visitation, p 143). The church itself was at the same distance from the town; and, when Lord Carlisle and the parishioners wanted to remove both church and vicarage nearer the town, their proposal came to nothing because the vicar would do nothing towards carrying it out (Ib). For all which reasons, if there was a separate congregation in the town during Mr. Feilding's incumbency, and indeed they seem to be reasons why there probably was one, he would perhaps be unlikely to stir up the churchwardens to molest it.

But in 1690, two years before his death, the Brampton churchwardens made this presentment:—

Wee

Wee present Leonard Deane for keeping a meeting house unlysensed Wee present Mr John Kingrade for preaching there unlysensed.

The date, 1690, is noteworthy, because it immediately follows the passing of the Toleration Act; which was passed in the first year of William and Mary, viz, in 1680. Why, having taken no notice of a separate congregation in Brampton during the time of persecution, did the churchwardens interfere with it in the time of toleration? Well, I suppose they argued in this way: 'As long as the law was hard upon these people we did not bring it down upon them; but now, when they have it on their side, we think they should strictly obey it, and take out a license as the law requires.' Nor does this seem to be an unreasonable way of looking at the matter. Rather it is surprising that this view of the situation had not been taken by Mr. Leonard Deane himself, who was not an obscure man, likely to be ignorant of the law. Indeed, though I cannot now remember my reasons for thinking so, I believe he was a lawyer. Anyhow he was one of the chief men of the town, as may be seen from the imposing character of the Deane tombstones in the old churchvard. We do not find his stone among them; but his burial is recorded in the parish register by the then vicar, Mr. John Cockburn, and in such large letters as to lead us to infer that he was a person of importance. The entry is this :--

Mem That Leonard Deane of Brampton was buried the 19th of April 1695.

He was one of the churchwardens in 1685. It does not therefore follow that he was not already a dissenter in 1685, since then, as now, there was nothing to hinder a dissenter being a churchwarden. It is more likely, however, that he seceded from the church at some time between 1685 and 1690, and that his secession was an

event

event of some importance in the history of Brampton non-conformity.

And now, who and what was "Mr. John Kingrade", whom the churchwardens in 1690 presented for preaching without a license in the meeting house kept by Leonard Deane? Clearly he was a man of some consequence in the eyes of the churchwardens, else they would not have prefixed to his name the title of "Mr", which in those days, as we see in any parish register, was only accorded to important persons. Indeed the churchwardens, oddly enough, withheld it even from Leonard Deane. The same inference, as to John Kingrade's importance, is suggested by the presentments of the Castle Carrock churchwardens, who in that same year, 1690, say:—

We present Mr. John Kingrade for baptizing children in our parish without ye consent of our minister.

Canon Dixon in a paper on "The old Hayton registers" mentions the following entry (ante, vol iv, p 425):—

1699 Deborah daughter of Isaac Hall of the Head's Noke a dissenter bapt Feb 22 and by a dissenting minister.

That this was the Brampton minister is probable from the occurrence of John Hinde, who in 1712 was an elder of the congregation at Brampton, among the presented "phanatticks" at Hayton in 1685. And that the Brampton minister was none other than Kingrade seems likely from an entry, the preceding year, in the Brampton register, made by the vicar, Mr. John Cockburn, who, however, does not seem to have been as powerfully impressed as the churchwardens of 1690 had been with Mr. Kingrade's importance, as he dismisses him in a very summary way:—

1698, Elizabeth daughter of Edward Richardson of Brampton baptized ye 20 of July by Kinkead.

Here we must pause to inquire how such entries as these found

found their way into the parish registers; for it is not to be supposed that "Kinkead" baptized Elizabeth Richardson in Brampton parish church. Well, an act passed in 1695, and renewed with stricter provisions in 1698,

required parents, under penalty, to give notice of births to the clergy within five days of their occurrence, certain 'rates and duties' having been imposed upon all marriages, births, and burials, for carrying on the war against France. In marriages and burials there was of course no evading the tax, as a child recorded as having been baptized had evidently been born. But if baptized elsewhere than in the parish church, or not baptized at all, a child might escape the observation of the collector. Hence the penalty inflicted on parents failing to give notice of births to the clergyman, who also was subject to penalty if he neglected to register. This act continued in force until Aug I, 1706 (Ante, vol v, pp 35-6).

Thus it happens that in most parish registers between 1695 and 1706 we find entries of dissenting baptisms, or sometimes only of birth. There are several such entries, of both kinds, in the Brampton register; though only one where the baptizing minister is named. Mr. John Cockburn, when he did take the register in hand, which was not until three years after his induction, during which years it was still kept by the parish clerk, was very particular in regularly posting it up. Not so his successor. Mr. Richard Culcheth, who, after posting it up in a higgledy piggledy fashion for five years, altogether omitted to post it up at all for the next five, 1707 to 1712; yet, strange to say, at the end of each of these years he sent the required transcript of all baptisms, marriages, and deaths, which had occurred during the year, to the bishop's registry; where I one day, to my great surprise, found them, and of course took a copy of them, which I forthwith entered into the parish register; and among them was this:-

John Kincaid buryed Octobr the 25, 1707.

Thus ended the career of Mr. John Kincaid, who seems, since

since 1690, to have been the minister of a separate congregation at Brampton, which we have found reason to believe was identical with that which in 1712 came under the charge of Mr. Robert Wight.

But better reasons than any yet advanced for this belief remain to be produced. There is among the papers now in possession of the Brampton Presbyterians a document, endorsed "Anthony Mawsons bonds", which runs thus:

April 9, 1708. The condicion of this obligacion is such that the above bounden Anthony Mawson & Peter Mawson or either of them or either of their Heires Executors or Administrators doe well and truely pay or cause to be paid unto the above named Agnes Kinkade her Executors Administrators or Assignes the full sume of Twenty Poundes of good and lawfull money of Great Brittaine on the Second day of October next eusueing the date hereof with lawfull interest for the same without fraud or further delay Then this obligacion to be void or else to remaine in full force

> Signed Anthony Mawson Peter Mawson

John Lowthian Thomas Lamb his mark L John Hesellip his mark H October the 2 Received 12s for the uese of this Bound

John Lowthion 1708.

What this bond means, whether "Agnes Kinkade" or her late husband John had lent £20 to Anthony and Peter Mawson, or whether the £20 was arrears of stipend due to John Kinkade as minister at the time of his death in 1707, I dont undertake to say. It is immaterial to my purpose in referring to the bond; which is to remark that all the five signatures subscribed to it are those of persons mentioned by Mr. Wight as having been admitted members by his predecessors. But this is not all. Four years later, on "the 26th day of february 1711-2", Mrs. Kingcaide, who now calls herself "Ann Kingcaide", makes her will, and dies before March I; on which day the will is proved:

I Ann Kingcaide of Broomhill in ye pish of Denton and and Bequeath to ye congregation Dissenting at Brampton for maintaining a Gospell Minister ye sume of twenty pounds being a Bond in Anthony Mawson hand in Brampton and I order Thomas Hetherington of ye thrope Isaac Deane of Brampton and James Atkinson to be Trustees of ye same

I give and bequeath to Elizth Deane Esbell Lowthien and David Bell wife all my lining & bedding & clothes with ye trunk & box to be Equally divided amongst them

And all ye rest of my effects I give and bequeath to David Bell my sole executor

Alexander Ridley John Bell.

All the persons named in this will, both male and female, appear in Mr. Wight's list of communicants admitted by his predecessors; and two of them, "David Bell my sole executor" and "Thomas Hetherington of ye thrope", were among the elders. Thomas Hetherington's residence we identify as "Throp" in Over Denton; and David Bell is mentioned in the Presbyterian register* as of "Broomhill in the parish of Denton" (ante p 359). The other two elders, Thomas Jackson and John Hinde, lived at Castle Carrock and Hayton (ante, pp 361 and 363). Not one of the elders, then, was resident in Brampton parish; which bears out what I have said as to Brampton not being the stronghold of dissent in this neighbourhood before the time of Mr. Wight.

If, hitherto, in speaking of the separate congregation at Brampton, I have abstained from giving them the specific name of "Presbyterian", I have done so not as wishing to call in question the pedigree of what is now known as the Presbyterian church here; which I believe to be the lineal descendant of Brampton XVIIth century nonconformity. But, whatever may have been the discipline and principles of Brampton nonconformists in that century, and whatever they may at first have called themselves, they emerge

^{*} My thanks are due to the present elders and managers for allowing me free access to all registers, deeds, and all other documents belonging to their church.

to our view in Ann Kingcaide's will (A D 1711), and again appear in Mr. Wight's minutes of session (A D 1712), as a "congregation of Protestant Dissenters".

Isaac Deane, one of the "trustees" of Ann Kingcaide's bequest, figures conspicuously in Brampton vestry minutes, which are extant from 1729, as a regular attendant at vestry meetings until 1741, after which year the minutes are missing till 1747; during which interval he probably died, as his place is taken by John Deane. Whenever he (Isaac) attends his name is placed next to that of the vicar, usually with the prefix of "Mr", even when no one else is so styled. He was doubtless a son of the Leonard Deane who was presented by the churchwardens in 1600 (ante p 364). There is, or was a few years ago, in the house of the late Mr. Snaith of Front Street, Brampton, an old oak settle, of unknown history, bearing this inscription: 16 L 74. The parish register names no man at any time except Leonard Deane whose initials were L D. It nowhere, mentions his wife, the initial of whose christian name the settle suggests to have been E. Ann Kingcaide's will and the communicant roll of 1712 seem to identify her as "Elizabeth". That settle, were it able to speak, could tell us the whole history of the meeting house which in 1690 Leonard Deane kept, and in which John Kingcaide preached. Where was that meeting house? Well, the title deeds of the "Scotch Arms" are thus endorsed:

The Scotch Arms site

Aug. 14, 1673, Indenture of Conveyance between Rt. Hon. Edward Ld Morpeth of one part and Leanord Deane of the other part (£6) One pcell of waste ground situate in Brampton Lying & Being on the west side of Ambrose Atkinson's Barne known and called by the name of Barne Hill, 4^d.

Witness Will Mayle
Iames Maxwell.

25 Chas. II. Ed Ld Morpeth to Leanord Deane the ground where the House built in 1674 Considⁿ £6 Rent 4^d.

Whether "the house built in 1674" was the same as is now

now the Scotch Arms I dont know. Mr. Marshall, clerk of the works to the Naworth estate, thinks not; he is of opinion it has been rebuilt. But, bearing in mind the tradition that the building where the separate congregation worshipped, before they built the room now used as a schoolroom, stood on the site of the Scotch Arms, I do not think there can be any doubt that we have identified the site of Mr. Leonard Deane's meeting house.* But whether it was built for a meeting house, or only used as such for the first time when the churchwardens came down upon Mr. Deane in 1690, is another question. I am disposed to think that Mr. Leonard Deane, who was churchwarden in 1685, and whose daughters "Ann" and "Catran" were baptized by the vicar in 1685 and 1687 (Parish Register), must have seceded from the parish church in 1600, and allowed his own house to be used as a meeting house.

Tradition being thus confirmed, as far as the Scotch Arms is concerned, we may give the more credence to the tradition that the original meeting house was near the old brewery; and there may be title deeds which will yet enable us to determine its exact site. But, wherever it may have been, its congregation down to 1690 was probably composed of a quiet unaggressive folk, who perhaps considered themselves nonconforming members of the established church, to which they hoped and expected sooner or later to be reunited; for Presbyterians were not, at that time, like Independents or Baptists, separatists in principle. Meanwhile, as time went on, some 20 years or so after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, there seems to have arisen in parishes near to Brampton, though apparently not in Brampton itself, a good deal of what the churchwardens in their presentments called fanaticism: the real character of which we have no means of

knowing

 $[\]boldsymbol{*}$ For this I have to thank Mr. T. Forster, of Brampton, who kindly shewed me the deeds of the "Scotch Arms."

knowing, but which probably savoured more of Independency than of Presbyterianism. Later on, we find it all under one organization, seemingly Presbyterian in form, but known as the "Protestant Dissenting Congregation at Brampton"; which, when we come to analyze it, we find chiefly composed of members from the outlying parishes, who supply all its four elders, two of whom were among the "reputed phanattickes" of the time of James II. This result, the fusion of Brampton nonconformity with the dissent of the outlying parishes, most likely dates from 1690, when all hope of reunion between Presbyterianism and the Church of England had been destroyed by the rejection of the Comprehension Act in 1689. If it was John Kingcaide who contrived to link on the outlying dissenters to the Presbyterian congregation at Brampton. he did the outsiders the service of bringing them under Presbyterian discipline, whereas they previously had perhaps none too much discipline of any kind. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, perhaps recognizing the fact that the rejection of the Comprehension Act had made them irretrievably separatists, seem to have been content to sink their name in the general designation of Protestant Dissenters; and, whatever they lost, may by their new companionship have gained an infusion of zeal. in this work of fusion Mr. Kingcaide may have been materially assisted by Mr. Leonard Deane. He may also have been, and probably was, assisted in this work by Dr. Gilpin, who had now for several years been the minister of a nonconformist congregation at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; where in old age he exerted as powerful an influence as in earlier years at Greystoke and Scaleby. His great-grandson and biographer, William Gilpin, describing his life at Newcastle, says:-

Here he was in the midst of a large town, divided by various opinions, where his candour and moderation had an ample field for exercise. In fact, I have heard it said, that his meeting house was a kind of center

center of unity among them all. It was frequented as much by churchmen as dissenters, & they all found here, what was seldom found in the pulpits of those times, their common Christianity preached; unsullied by the religious contests which everywhere prevailed (Gilpin Memoirs, p 7).

The Rev. A. Rattray, Presbyterian minister in 1822 at Penruddock in Greystoke parish, in an historical sketch of the Penruddock congregation, says:—

By the associations which had been formed in the county of Cumberland, in the time of Dr. Gilpin, the names of needless distinctions among the dissenters had been buried. Dr. Gilpin had well armed his people's minds against such follies; and when a union or necessary coalition of Presbyterians and Congregationalists was endeavoured, in 1690, the good Doctor was as forward as any man to promote it (Congregational Magazine, vol v, p 555).

Dr. Gilpin's endeavour to promote a coalition between Presbyterians and Congregationalists is not mentioned by Calamy or William Gilpin. But there are other memoirs of Dr. Gilpin, which I have not seen, from which Mr. Rattray may have got his information; and the date of the proposed coalition, 1690, exactly coincides with that of the coalition which I assume to have taken place at Brampton, brought about by John Kingcaide and Leonard Deane, not without sympathy and support from Dr. Gilpin.

Mr. Deane died in 1695, Dr. Gilpin in 1699, and Mr. Kingcaide in 1707. Who was minister at Brampton during the next five years nothing has yet turned up to shew. It seems, however, from the state of things which presents itself to our notice when we first get a clear view of the congregation, that in 1712 its outlying members had completely got the upper hand; and it would probably, like many another English Presbyterian congregation, have subsided into Independency, had the direction of its affairs in 1712 fallen into other hands than those of Robert Wight; too important a man to be dealt with at the fag end of a paper. He deserves, and with the permission of our editor shall have, a paper to himself.