

ART. XIII.—*Penruddock Presbyterian Meeting-house.* By
the REV. JAMES H. COLLIGAN.

Read at Carlisle, September 8th, 1904.

THE documents for the history of Penruddock Meeting-house are few in number. There are no records in the possession of the office bearers, and no Presbyterian references of any importance. The trust deeds are the only official documents, and these are merely the surviving landmarks of a forgotten past. There is, at the farm of Mr. Kitchen, Town Head, a valuable relic of bygone days in the shape of the "parish kist," but various attempts to see its contents have failed. There are four padlocks to it, with four keys. The "kist" cannot be opened unless the four trustees are present. Two of the trustees are dead, and their keys cannot be found. The dilemma is trying to one in search of information. Whether the parish records would contain any reference to the Meeting-house, I cannot say; but it indicates a possible source. Fortunately another fragment of the history was discovered, and is here presented to this Society. In September, 1894, the present writer copied a list of preachers at Penruddock, which had been drawn up at Great Salkeld in 1822 by the Rev. Timothy Nelson, M.A. The list, then in the possession of his grandson, has since been lost, and I have endeavoured to annotate the copy. It would be impossible to give a list of the authorities consulted, or to relate the curious ways in which the information has been gathered.

The legal documents relating to the Meeting-house are as follows :—

(1) An indenture, dated 23rd December, 1712, between Isaac Noble of Bristol and others of Penrith and Penruddock, of the one part, and Thomas Noble of Bristol



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and Isaac Malloson, of the other part. The said Isaac Noble grants that piece of ground on the south side of the highway in Penruddock (the highway has been altered, and the place is now known as "Back Lonen"); also that building erected by Isaac Noble, and now used for the Meeting-house and school. It is given for the congregation or society of people at Penruddock, whereof Mr. Joseph Dodson is the present pastor. The Meeting-house is to be used as a school for educating the children of the neighbourhood in all good literature. (The present building was probably built in 1789 upon the original site, Whellan's *Cumberland and Westmorland*).

(2) A lease for a year dated December 22nd, 1712. In this document the Meeting-house is described as "lately erected and built by Isaac Noble."

(3) The release of the Meeting-house in the Croft, dated 23rd December, 1712, apparently the same as document 1, and signed only by Isaac Noble.

(4) A lease for a year, dated 29th October, 1755: Mr. Timothy Lowthion, Penruddock, to his son, Rev. Samuel Lowthion, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Samuel Lowthion was the grandson of John Noble, and was a well-known Nonconformist minister (Nightingale's *Lancashire Nonconformity*, Westmorland vol., pp. 282 and 312).

(5) Release of No. 4 document, dated October 30th, 1755.

(6) Indenture, dated March 15th, 1756, between Thomas Simpson of Penrith, his wife with her two sisters (the three females being co-heirs of Christopher Pattinson of Carleton Hall), of the one part, and Rev. Samuel Lowthion of Newcastle and others of Penruddock and neighbourhood, of the other part. This document relates to the purchase of two parcels of land for £99 10s., viz., Thornat Ings and Five Rood Lands. The profits of the land are towards the support of the Protestant Dissenting minister settled in the congregation whereof Rev. John Dickinson is the late pastor.

(7) Isaac Noble was the longest liver of the said trustees, whereby the eldest son, Nicholas Noble, on his father's death, became heir-at-law. This indenture is dated January 2nd, 1813, and witnesseth that Nicholas Noble hath bargained to Rev. James Scott, minister of the Independent Dissenters at Park Head (Kirkoswald). In this document the Rev. Andrew Rattray is described as the Independent minister of Penruddock. Why Nicholas Noble should have bargained with the Rev. J. Scott we cannot say; as the representative of the last trustee he had possession of the deeds. The trust had been broken, for in the 1712 deed it was enjoined that if the trustees should become reduced to the number of three, they should elect four others with convenient speed. Nicholas Noble appears to have handed the Meeting-house and the deeds for the fields to the Rev. J. Scott. It is here for the first time that the word "Independent" appears on the deeds. Rattray had been settled at Penruddock quite recently.

Attached to this document is one dated 1842, between John Noble of Clifton (Bristol?), farmer, but now of Whitehaven, gent., John Miller of Penrith, the Presbyterian minister (of Penruddock), and H. B. Noble of Douglas, Isle of Man, of the one part, and others of the other part, on the terms of the 1712 deed.

(8) A deed of exchange, no date, between Thomas McGlasson, brewer, Penrith, and others of Penruddock, "trustees of the Presbyterian Chapel." McGlasson conveys the freehold close of land lying on the south side of the Cockermouth, Keswick, and Penrith Railway and called "Schoolhouse Field" in exchange for "Five Rood Lands" in the townfields of Penruddock.

(9 and 10) Both dated October 17th, 1893. These were made when the Rev. A. D. Gray obtained the old deeds from the solicitors of the late Mr. Pollock, Penrith. No. 9 is for the Meeting-house; No. 10 is for the fields. The trustees are mostly resident at Penruddock at the present time.



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Turning to the history of the cause, we find that it originated from the Greystoke Parish Church, situated about two miles from Penruddock. It was during the ministry of the Rev. Richard Gilpin, M.A. (afterwards M.D. of Leyden University; vide *Album Studiosorum*, 1875, p. 606), that the Nonconforming principle was accepted by the congregation at Greystoke. There is no proof that Gilpin ever preached at Penruddock, as the *Dictionary of National Biography* and McKelvie's *Annals* suggest. The cause, as we know it, was founded some time after Gilpin's departure from Greystoke; but as his influence was felt in its formation, a passing reference may be permitted.

Richard Gilpin was born near Kendal in 1625. Grosart says that among Gilpin's descendants there was the tradition that he had been educated at Oxford and Glasgow Universities ("Memoirs of Gilpin," in *Daemologia Sacra*, ed. by Grosart: Edinburgh, 1867. Jackson Library). "This book raised Gilpin's fame greatly," Longstaffe's *Barnes*, p. 145 (Surtees Society). The *Dictionary of National Biography* states that he graduated M.A. at Edinburgh in 1646, studying medicine first, then divinity. It is not known where he was ordained or by whom. Grosart says that the first fact in Gilpin's career is the presentation to Greystoke; but he officiated in 1649 as one of the ministers of Durham Cathedral, and received £117 9s. stipend for nine months and seven days (Shaw's *History of the English Church*, 1900, ii., 531; also Longstaffe's *Barnes* for a reference to Gilpin at Durham).

Gilpin was instituted at Greystoke 1652-1653. The parish records were imperfectly kept during his rectorship. Grosart thinks that during this period the living was subject to the Commissioners of Parliament. Gilpin condemned the execution of Charles, but accepted the government of Cromwell. Instead of living quietly at Greystoke, as Prebendary Gilpin states, he took a foremost part in organising that modification of church government

which the abolition of Episcopacy demanded. In 1656 he drew up the articles of Association for the Dissenting ministers of Cumberland and Westmorland, and, in Dr. Drysdale's opinion, they reflect the genius and spirit of Presbyterianism (*History of the Presbyterian Church of England*, p. 368). The form of church government that he adopted at Greystoke was that of a congregation of pledged members forming an Independent "church" in his parish, and similar to that at All Saints, Cockermouth. In Jackson's "Memoirs of Gilpin" (Jackson Library), it is stated that while Gilpin was inclined to Presbytery, he could not be persuaded to sign the Solemn League and Covenant. In 1658 he preached a sermon at Keswick, entitled, "The Temple Rebuilt," which advocated union among all Christians (an imperfect copy in Jackson Library). Gilpin preached at the opening of Carlisle Assizes, September 10th, 1660. When Richard Sterne became Bishop of Carlisle on December 2nd, Gilpin was not called upon to vacate his living. He anticipated the ejection of 1662 by retiring on February 2nd, 1661, to Scaleby Castle, which he had bought. The King, upon the passing of the Act of Uniformity, offered Gilpin the bishopric of Carlisle (MS. vol. of "Memoirs of the Gilpin Family," drawn up by Prebendary Gilpin about 1824, in the possession of Charles Bernard Gilpin, Juniper Green, Edinburgh, in 1867). This offer, which was declined, had been made to his relative Bernard Gilpin in the reign of Elizabeth (vide *Life of Bernard Gilpin*, by W. Gilpin, 1780). Richard Gilpin went from Scaleby Castle to Newcastle about 1668, where until February 13th, ~~1700~~¹⁶⁹⁹, he exercised an important ministry (Grosart's "Memoirs," *Dictionary of National Biography*, Jackson's "Memoirs"). It is to be regretted that in the registers at Greystoke no mention is made of the rectorship of Gilpin.

During Gilpin's ministry at Greystoke the Quaker

movement began in Cumberland.* The doctrines spread probably from Westmorland through Cockermouth. Itinerant Quakers entered the church and disturbed the congregation, even disputing with Gilpin. Several of the leading members accepted the tenets of the new sect. Henry Winder, a yeoman living at Green Close, became entangled, to the grief of Gilpin. A day of humiliation was observed by Gilpin and the neighbouring ministers. The efforts were unavailing. Winder remained a Quaker for some years, holding the position of Receiver of Collections for Cumberland. Then he began to get dissatisfied with their views of the Scriptures and of the Sacraments. In 1663 he was still a member of the Society, and married as his second wife a member of the same sect. In 1665 he and his wife were among the Gilpinites—Gilpin had left the district, and the two Winders formed part of the first Presbyterian congregation at Penruddock (vide “Greystoke Registers,” these *Transactions*, vol. i.). In 1673, a remarkable charge of child murder against Winder was brought by two married women, who were Quakeresses from Westmorland. One was Margaret Bradley of Knipe, in the parish of “Banton;” the other was Mary Langhorn of Helton, in the parish of Askham (for probable reference to the death of Mrs. Langhorn, who was a sister-in-law of Winder, vide “Bishop Nicolson’s Diary,” August 31st, 1684). The two women went to Winder in the harvest field, and accused him of taking his newly-born child and hiding it on Spark-head Moor (now Sparket Moor), on the Hutton John estate, on a common about a mile from Mr. Andrew Huddleston’s house. After a year’s annoyance, Winder took the case to the Carlisle Assizes in August, 1674. In the meantime, the three women—they had been joined by Margaret Walker of Soulby, in the parish of Dacre,

* The Quaker movement exercised Gilpin throughout his ministry. As late as 1691 we find him discussing the subject during a visit to Scaley Castle.—Vide Thomas Story’s “Journal,” p. 41 (Jackson Library).

another sister-in-law of Winder's—had appealed to Mr. Huddleston, a justice of the county, and to Bernard Kirkbride, sheriff of the county. Winder begged Mr. Huddleston to try the case. Both parties met at Hutton John. A particular spot was named as the one where the child had been buried. When the snow melted, a crowd gathered upon the common. "Margaret Bradley with a staff drew a circle of about ten yards circumference, and said she had it by the revelation of Jesus Christ that the child was within that place. So they got some to begin to dig. But the ground proved so hard a gravel that the indifferent spectators advised them to shift to a softer place." Ultimately they had to retire in confusion. Winder brought an action for defamation. The jury sat at Elizabeth Robinson's in Penrith, Mr. William Williams of Johnby Hall being foreman. A verdict was given for Winder with £200 damages (Easter Term, 26 Carl. II.). The full particulars of this very interesting case can be found in the "Memoirs of Dr. Henry Winder," probably by Rev. George Benson, D.D. (a native of Great Salkeld), and published in Dr. Winder's book, *The History of the Rise, Progress, Declension and Revival of Knowledge*, 2 vols., 1745 (Jackson Library).

The following tracts concerning the case are in the Friends' Institute, Bishopsgate, London :—

Winder's Tract, 1696 :—"The spirit of Quakerism and the danger of their divine revelation laid open."

Thomas Camm, 1698 :—"An old apostate justly exposed."

Winder's reply, 1699 :—"A penitent old disciple vindicated from the impudent clamours of Thomas Camm."

Camm's reply, 1706 :—"Truth prevailing over Reason."

Audland's reply to Camm's tracts, principally to the first, 1707 :—
"The spirit of Quakerism cloven-footed."

Camm's reply to Audland, 1708 :—"A lying tongue reproved."

Henry Winder was buried at Greystoke, February 9th, 1718, aged 101 (article on "Greystoke Registers," *Transactions*, i., p. 342).

Gilpin was succeeded at Greystoke by Rev. William Morland. He was a graduate of Jesus College, Cambridge (Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*). He had been ejected from Greystoke by Sir Arthur Haselrig's Commission. The people were unwilling to receive him as the successor of Gilpin. There occurred "a somewhat remarkable scene." The minority attempted to put John Jackson, the ejected minister of Hutton, into the pulpit. (Walker, in his "Sufferings," has a poor and possibly a prejudiced opinion of Jackson). "The majority did so violently oppose with threats to crush them into the earth, that Mr. Jackson went with his followers into the parsonage house and preached there." (Noble, "Postscript," p. 43.) This was the first meeting held by the men who were afterwards to become the leaders of the Presbyterian congregation at Penruddock.

Among them was a yeoman of remarkable power. John Noble was the leader of the cause after Gilpin left Greystoke. He appears to have had a large estate. In a document dated 1668, which relates to an arbitration case between Edward Rakestraw and Andrew Huddleston, Esq., Noble is one of the largest landowners in the neighbourhood of Penruddock, judging from the customary rents he had to pay. (This document is in the possession of Mr. William Todhunter, Penruddock).

The story of Noble's life is told in a postscript to a sermon which was preached at his funeral on March 14th, 1707. This sermon was reprinted in 1818 by a descendant. An original copy and a reprint are in the Jackson Library. A curious difficulty as to the authorship of the sermon has been raised by a third copy in the same collection. In a volume of sermons, entitled *Sermons by Atkinson*, there are eight sermons by at least five authors. One of these sermons is that reprinted in 1818, on Acts xiii., 36 and 37, but the name of Rev. John Atkinson is on the title-page as preacher, while the name of Rev. Samuel Audland appears on the title-page of the reprint.

After some consideration, I am of the opinion that the author of the sermon was Audland, for the following reasons :—(1) The title-page of the sermon in the volume is apparently no part of the sermon, which in all probability is a copy of the original edition. It has not the name of a publisher upon it, and does not bear a date. It has a new appearance, and is unlike a title-page. I surmise that it has been inserted by the one who bound the volume, but the association of Atkinson's name with it is an interesting problem. (2) Audland was at Penruddock in 1708, and there is no record that Atkinson was ever there. (3) The reprint in 1818 was from the 1708 edition, and was published by a descendant of John Noble (vide advertisement). There is no such explanation upon the title-page of the one in the Jackson Library.

The "Postscript" is the valuable part of the sermon, and in all the copies it is stated to be by another hand. The authorship and date are unknown. With regard to the former, the internal evidence would suggest that it was someone who did not know the neighbourhood, and who wrote the sketch at a distance from the spot—possibly one of John Noble's London friends. The name of Atkinson suggests a possibility that he was the author of the "Postscript" and not of the sermon, and this theory could be supported by the fact that there was excommunicated in the year 1684 a John Atkinson, schoolmaster of Motherby, adjoining Penruddock. Whether he was the Rev. John Atkinson of Stainton, Kendal, or the John Atkinson of Crook, Kendal, afterwards of Cockermouth, it is not possible to say (vide Nightingale's *Westmorland volume, History of the Cockermouth Congregational Church*, by the Rev. W. Lewis).

With regard to the date, I should put it shortly after the sermon had been preached. (1) In the original edition of the sermon, there are three short paragraphs in the "Postscript" that are lacking in the reprint. In one of them the following passage occurs :—

Your former pastors were held long on duty ; but Dr. G. now is not, and worthy Mr. Sleigh is not, and now J. N. is not rejoice in Christ, because He has raised up and set another over you to lead you in the way, the life.

This evidently refers to the settlement of the Rev. Samuel Audland, who went to Kendal shortly after 1708.

(2) The date cannot be later than 1718, as the following passage shows :—

There is yet living in the parish one Henry Winder, &c.—Vide article on “Greystoke Registers” (these *Transactions*, vol. i.) for reference to Winder’s death.

The particulars in the “Postscript” concerning Noble are these :—He was born 1627 or 1628. He inherited two estates in the manor of Hutton John. In his youth he took part in the Civil War, suffering imprisonment ; on one occasion, “God provided one to avert a blow when Sir T. F. (Fletcher?) attempted to kill him with a battle-ax.” He took part in a struggle with the successive lords about fines and customs. It was begun in his infancy, in the award by Mr. Baron Trevor in the Exchequer, June 27th, 1635. “That fatal suit cost him many journeys to the Term. He never regretted any pains to serve the public in a just cause, and it is known that this has often been so judged in Westminster Hall and in County Assizes. It was of late years that the Master of the Rolls decreed for the tenants. The late Lord Keeper confirmed that decree, and when an appeal was made the House of Peers affirmed the same, January 20th, 1704.” He also took part in a tithe case. It appears that the rector of Greystoke collected a tithe called “bushel-corn,” by a measure “which anciently contained 16 gallons, but by a certain art had been enlarged to contain far above 20.” The tenants appealed to law, “wherefore it was rectified to the common ease.” His next experience of law was in Carlisle Goal, when he received six weeks’ imprisonment for Nonconformity (“Postscript,” p. 44). The Indulgence

gave the Dissenters "a liberty without law." Noble applied for his house to be licensed as a Presbyterian Meeting-house. Unfortunately we cannot specify the house, but after a careful observation we think that it was probably Garth Head, a cottage opposite the present place of worship (*Monthly Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of England*, May, 1903). The recall of the Indulgence did not deter this little company, and they continued to preach. While they were doing so, three men—Whitfield, an old officer in the army; Robson, a proctor and servant to Dr. Smallwood, parson of Greystoke; and Wilkinson, a drunkard—informed Justice Musgrave of a conventicle held in the house of Noble, who was accordingly convicted, and the fine levied by distress ("Postscript," p. 45).

In these disheartening times, "when they could scarce find bread or rest," Noble devoted a son to the ministry, declining the favour of a presentation at Queen's College, Oxford, offered by Dr. Halton of Greenthwaite Hall, Greystoke, Provost of Queen's from 1677 to 1704. This son has been called Joseph by some and Isaac by others, and the confusion has probably arisen through the name not having been written in full; but it is highly probable that the son was the Rev. John Noble, whose memorial sermon is in the Jackson Library, and whose dates agree with those of a student named Noble, who entered Frankland's academy on April 9th, 1692, and died in 1727.

In these days of strain, it is pleasing to read that "his constancy did not degenerate into bigotry, for on just occasions he paid respects to and received courtesies from divers of the Bishops at Rose Castle, and in times of need he would hear the best of the parochial clergy; in his London journeys, lodging in Holborn, he would sometimes hear Dr. Stillingfleet. His public business made him known to Sir George Fletcher, the late Lord Lonsdale and his father, and the Earl of Carlisle, to whom he had free access." It is possible that John

Noble received encouragement from Mr. Andrew Huddleston of Hutton John, who was the first Protestant of the family.

Noble was buried in Greystoke Churchyard on March 14th, 1708, aged 80 years (vide Parish Register). A descendant of his was the late Mr. H. B. Noble of Douglas, Isle of Man, who died last year, leaving large sums to charitable and religious objects. Mr. Warwick Noble, who a few years ago lived at Penruddock, also claims a kinship.

Shortly after John Noble's death, a Meeting-house was erected (vide 1712 deed). What became of Mr. Jackson, who retired with the dissatisfied minority into Greystoke Rectory, I do not know; but the leaders in the movement consulted Dr. Gilpin about a permanent minister. He recommended the Rev. Anthony Sleigh, M.A. According to McKelvie's *Annals*, Mr. Sleigh was a native of the parish. He appears to have been educated at a private academy at Durham. He graduated at Edinburgh University, July 19th, 1660. He was an occasional preacher in Cumberland and Westmorland for two years, when he was "silenced" by the Act of Uniformity. Being ordained later, he settled down to take part in the hardest struggle in the history of the congregation, and as the official head of the Dissenting party in the parish, his position was unenviable. It was during his ministry that the Dissenters were excommunicated as hopelessly defiant. This act took place at Penrith and Great Salkeld about the same time (1684), and was apparently ordered with reluctance by Bishop Nicolson.* A reference is also given to articles against Gilpin by Recorder Aglionby, December 5th, 1684 ("Bishop Nicolson's Diary," part i.). Sleigh's sufferings were almost apostolic (Calamy's *Nonconformist Memorial*, Palmer's abridgement). He remained with the congregation until his death in 1702.

* These *Transactions*, N.S., i. p. 21. Nicolson was then Archdeacon.

The first half century of the congregation's life closed with this event. The times had been tempestuous. (For an interesting analysis of the Acts of that period, vide Lucy Dale's *Constitutional History*, p. 377). The Act of Uniformity had confirmed these men in their Nonconformity; the Conventicle Act had harried them. The Five Mile Act did not mean much for Penruddock, as it was seven miles from Penrith; the Indulgence had been eagerly accepted. The Toleration Act brought about an improvement for the Dissenters, with a consequent relaxation of their opposition. Richard Gilpin's son conformed, and became Recorder of Carlisle. On September 13th, 1706, Bishop Nicolson enters in his diary the significant fact that Mr. Slee of Penruddock, the son of the late Dissenting preacher there, had applied to him for deacon's orders. For a time it seemed as if Nonconformity had exhausted itself in its effort to bring to birth its principles. Throughout the country the ministers who were ejected were becoming fewer. The cultured and affluent among those that remained set themselves to endow the youth of Nonconforming parents with an education that they were prevented from receiving at the recognised centres of learning. In various parts of the country academies sprang up. The first minister at Penruddock who had been trained in this way was the Rev. Samuel Audland—probably a native of Westmorland.* He entered on March 28th, 1699, the academy of the Rev. John Chorlton at Manchester. The teaching of Chorlton was strongly Calvinistic. I cannot find out when Audland went to Penruddock. In 1707 he was there, and published an attack on Quakerism, which movement was at that time affecting the northern counties to a tumultuous extent (vide "Bishop Nicolson's Diary")

* In a scrap book in the Jackson Library, which contains notes and queries, it is stated at No. 1064 that Samuel Audland was not the son of Ann Audland the Quakeress.

and the Winder Tracts). Winder of Penruddock had published in 1696 and 1699 two tracts refuting the charges that the Quakers apparently had been repeating from 1673. In 1705 Henry Winder, jun., began to collect material for a defence of his father's narrative. Audland had the advantage of a draft of this tract. The only other reference to Audland is in connection with John Noble's funeral sermon. He was called to Kendal some time between 1708 and 1712, as the predecessor of Dr. Caleb Rotherham, where he died in 1714, and was interred at that town. (These *Transactions*, N.S., vol. v., article on "Kendal Unitarian Chapel and its Registers.")

The next minister about whom there is any information is the Rev. Joseph Dodson, M.A., although the name of a Mr. Mitchell appears in Mr. Rattray's sketch, but no particulars are given. Dodson graduated at Edinburgh, February 15th, 1709, probably after a training at an academy in the north of England. He may possibly have been connected with James Dodgson of Tallentire (*History of Cockermouth Congregational Church*, Rev. W. Lewis, 1870). His name appears in the trust deed of 1712 as minister of Penruddock. In Dr. Evans' list, dated 1717 (in MS. in Dr. Williams' Library, London), Dodson is referred to as an ordained man at Penruddock, and it is stated, apparently as an afternote, that he removed to Farringdon, Berks., in 1721. In James' *Legislation*, p. 99, he is referred to as afterwards of Marlborough, Wilts., but there seems a doubt about this. His son, Michael Dodson (1732-1799), became a celebrated lawyer (*Dictionary of National Biography*). While at Penruddock, Dodson preached a sermon before the Dissenting ministers of Cumberland and Westmorland at Keswick in 1719 (Jackson Library). The title was "Moderation and Charity," and it may have been borrowed from the famous Matthew Henry, who in 1709 referred to the "moderation and charity" of the Dissenters (James'

Legislation, p. 163). In the preface Dodson explains that he has published the sermon in order to disprove the charge made against him of doctrinal laxity, probably of Arminianism. It does not appear to have satisfied all his brethren, for in 1722 the Rev. John Atkinson of Stainton, Kendal, published a reply, entitled, "Jesus Christ the Son essentially the same with God the Father" (Jackson Library). Atkinson considered Dodson to be an Arian, and although Dodson's laxity does not seem to have been on the question of our Lord's divinity, it was, remembering the devastation that was to come upon the English Presbyterians, a fortunate thing for the congregation that Dodson left Penruddock. For the next few years matters were in a state of unrest at Penruddock. Although there are no records, I am certain that this was one of the most anxious periods in the history of the congregation. The children were wrestling with the half-solved problems left to them by their fathers. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Nonconformity was very strong in Cumberland. In 1717 there were ten distinctively Presbyterian congregations, with 1600 members, from the original English Presbyterian stock. Penruddock was one of the smallest, with 100 members, including three county voters (Dr. Evans' list, printed in James' *Legislation*).

Dodson was followed by the Rev. Samuel Atkinson. Neither Rattray nor Nelson has recorded this name, but it is given in Dr. Evans' list without a date. He may possibly have been connected with the ejected vicar of Lazonby. He is mentioned as having taken part in the ordination of the Rev. Thomas Walker at Parkhead, near Kirkoswald, in May, 1728, so his date would be from 1721 to 1728, or later.

The name of the Rev. Daniel Atkin appears in the list of grants by the trustees of the Lady Hewley Charity in 1728 (James' *Legislation*). There is no other record of this minister at Penruddock, nor can I discover any reference to him in the usual authorities. It is just possible that these two names refer to one person.

The next name is that of the Rev. John Helme, sen. There was also a Rev. John Helme, who probably was at Great Salkeld when his father was at Penruddock. This similarity of name has thrown an ambiguity around the few facts preserved for us, and it is difficult to distinguish the ministry of the father from that of the son. The father appears to have been minister of a Dissenting congregation at Lancaster—probably that which is now Unitarian—in 1730, but he appears on April 10th, 1734, as minister of Penruddock taking part in an ordination at Brampton Presbyterian Church (these *Transactions*, n.s., iii., p. 116). He evidently left Penruddock about 1750, removing to Walmsley, near Bolton, where he was drowned crossing a flood, 11th February, 1760 (*Monthly Repository*, 1810, p. 427). Under him, Walmsley became Unitarian. He is buried in the chapelyard there. The only reference to the son is that he was at Great Salkeld Presbyterian congregation in 1745 or 1746, and removed in 1749 or 1750. He was educated at the well-known Kendal academy of Dr. Caleb Rotherham, a native of Great Salkeld, and a pupil of Blencowe Grammar School.* Although Rotherham's academy was comparatively orthodox, he turned out a number of men with views broader than those held at the time, and I should have been inclined to think that Walmsley became Unitarian under John Helme, jun., had the dates been reconcilable (Nightingale's Westmorland volume).

The minister who succeeded Helme was the Rev. John Dickinson. Rattray's list gives the name as Roger, but this appears to be a mistake. He was born February 11th, 1713, and was no relation of the minister at Carlisle. He entered Kendal academy in 1745, and settled at Penruddock in 1749. In the release, dated October 30th, 1755, he is mentioned as the pastor of Penruddock; and

*Mr. Charles Rotherham, the last of the family, died recently at Great Salkeld, and Rotherham Green has been sold.

in the deed of March, 1756, he is called "the late pastor." He removed to Palgrave, Norfolk, where he was very friendly with the well-known Dr. Priestley in his Arian stage. In 1758 he became assistant to the Rev. Thomas Haynes of Upper Chapel, Sheffield (vide Manning's *History*), and remained assistant to Haynes' successor, the Rev. Joseph Evans. He died in 1780. He was very popular at Sheffield (*Monthly Repository*, 1810, p. 454).

Dickinson's ministry at Penruddock closes the Academy period. The Academies had done great work—especially Frankland's and Rotherham's at Kendal—(vide Drysdale's *English Presbyterians*, Neal's *Lancashire Puritanism*, Gordon's *Heads of Unitarian History*). A new period of congregational life began with the Rev. James Biggar. He was a Scotchman, and was at the Presbyterian Congregation at Keswick—now the Congregational Church—in 1730. In 1757 he was called to Penruddock (vide Provincial Minutes). He remained in this charge until 1760, when he returned to Keswick. His death is recorded in the Crosthwaite Parish Register, July 24th, 1784 (these *Transactions*, vol. ii.). He is described as a Dissenting minister, who lived at Stone in Naddle, and who held property in the manor. Stone is about three miles from Keswick on the Ambleside Road, and is now called Piper House, from the fact that a man once lived there who played the bagpipes. This may have been Biggar.

Biggar was succeeded by the Rev. Timothy Nelson, M.A., who was to take a long and honourable part in the history of Cumberland Dissent. He it was who drew up the list referred to above. His knowledge of local Meeting-houses was very great. A number of his MSS. and letters are in the possession of his grandson at the Town Head, Great Salkeld. Nelson was the son of Thomas Nelson, and was born at Great Salkeld, September 16th, 1737. The family have resided in that neighbourhood since 1600. Bishop Nicolson in his diary,

December, 1684, refers to his interview with the Dissenters, and adds:—"Nelson stubborn, y^e rest especially Slack & Smith plyable." Timothy Nelson graduated at Glasgow in 1758, and was licensed by the Northumberland Classis (Presbytery) in 1760. He states that he preached at Penruddock in 1761 and 1762, though Rattray says it was from 1761 to 1763. He was minister of the Presbyterian Church at Redwing in Garrigill, near Alston, from August, 1763, to 1801 (records of Alston Congregational Church). We catch a reference to a visit to Penrith, where on June 26th, 1798, he baptised Jane Barclay (records of Penrith Presbyterian Church). In 1801 he removed to the joint pastorate of Great Salkeld and Plumpton, the former apparently being the chief congregation.* In 1827 the congregation provided him with an assistant from the Secession Presbytery of Annan and Carlisle. He died in 1830, and is buried at Great Salkeld.

In the autumn of 1763, according to Rattray's list, a Mr. Smith was at Penruddock for three months. This was probably the Rev. Thomas Smith, afterwards of Haltwhistle. The next name is that of a Mr. Moncrieff, probably William Moncrieff, M.A., who graduated at Edinburgh, 1716. According to Nelson's list, he belonged to Scotland, and went from Weardale to Penruddock, where he remained seven years. Rattray's list states that he was at Penruddock from the autumn of 1764 to June, 1771, when he became superannuated, and returned to Scotland.

The minister who succeeded him was the Rev. John Honeyman, M.A., who graduated at Aberdeen in 1763, and was licensed as a preacher of the Church of Scotland, 1767. His great grandfather, grandfather, father, and brother all held the parish living of Kinneff in Kincardine, the period extending over a century. His father, James

* These congregations were worked by one minister in 1750, and probably earlier. Plumpton was transferred to the Wesleyans in 1888.

Honeyman, was the author of the song, "Hey, bonnie lassie, blink ower the burn" (vide Struther's *Harp of Caledonia*). His mother was the daughter of Provost Allardyce of Aberdeen. The brother of his grandfather was the Bishop of Orkney, who on one occasion received a shot intended for Archbishop Sharp (Thomson's *History of the Scottish People*, vol. v., p. 153). Honeyman was at Penruddock "a good part of 1771 and 1772." He was called to Penrith Presbyterian Church on August 19th, 1772. The Session Records were kept by him, but chiefly contain entries relating to baptisms and to the distribution of Bibles from the Lord Wharton Charity (vide *The Good Lord Wharton*, by the Rev. Bryan Dale, M.A., 1901). The last entry by him was on February 4th, 1783, but a later entry states that a sum of £7 12s. was taken from the funds, and expended at Mr. Honeyman's funeral. His unmarried daughter was living at Penrith in 1864.

Honeyman was succeeded at Penruddock in 1773 by the Rev. David Johnston, who remained until 1778. Nelson's list states that Johnston came from Scotland. Rattray's list speaks of him as "the reverend and much beloved," adding, "from the autumn of 1773 until 1778, when he returned to Scotland, in bad health." This was probably the David Johnston, a native of Banff, who took his Arts course at Aberdeen between 1764 and 1768, and his Divinity course between 1770 and 1773. He does not appear to have graduated, or to have held a charge in Scotland. He was possibly a friend of Honeyman.

The next name is that of the Rev. Thomas Moresby, who was at Penruddock, 1778-1780. Nelson adds "of Kirkoswald," but as the registers of this congregation—now Independent—do not go back more than half-a-century, we cannot trace the name.

His successor, the Rev. Robert Potts, had a curious career. He was a licentiate of the Presbytery of Jedburgh, and was ordained at Brampton, Cumberland, on

October 16th, 1759 (these *Transactions*, N.S., iii., p. 120). His ministry there for thirteen years was an uneventful one. He was presented to the church and parish of Ettrick in the Presbytery of Selkirk, December 9th, 1772. The sermons of Mr. Potts were the first that the "Ettrick Shepherd" heard, and during his ministry the elder Hogg was ordained to the eldership (vide Session Records). He was loosed from his charge May 9th, 1780, his retirement being due to his drinking habits. He came to Penruddock in 1781 with an allowance of £35 per annum from the Ettrick Parish Church. He died at Penruddock, and is buried in the tiny churchyard.

Potts was succeeded by the Rev. J. Cockburn from Scotland, who remained at Penruddock "for about twelve months." Of him nothing further is known. The Rev. John Beattie probably followed, although no date is given for his ministry, nor can any record of his college career be found. Beattie was appointed by the London Missionary Society to the South Seas, and sailed December 19th, 1799, in the "Duff." After exciting adventures through being captured by a French privateer, he and about thirty other missionaries returned to England, October 13th, 1800, having been sent back from Monte Video (vide *Missionary Ships in connection with the London Missionary Society*). The official record is to the effect that Beattie was one of a party of missionaries who returned somewhat willingly from the field, and caused inconvenience by claims for monetary compensation from the directors. He took up work at Penruddock, where he did not long remain, in consequence—according to Rattray—of his having embraced the principles of the Sandemanian Baptists. This is evidently the minister to whom McKelvie refers in his *Annals*, but it is hardly correct to speak of him as a Baptist minister during the time he held the charge at Penruddock.*

* About this time the subject of baptism was possibly discussed by several members of the congregation. One of the members was a John Slee, whose

The Rev. Andrew Rattray succeeded Beattie. He was educated at the academy of the Brothers Haldane in Edinburgh, the founders of Scottish Congregationalism, through the result of the Act of 1799 passed by the Church of Scotland ("Scottish Church History," by Walker, in Clark's *Hand Books*, p. 124). Rattray officiated for a short time at Annan, and went to Penruddock in 1812, where he remained until his death in 1829. He is buried in the churchyard there. He instituted the first Sunday School at Penruddock. The mention of his name raises an interesting discussion regarding the polity of the congregation, which has been fully dealt with in the *Monthly Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of England*. Rattray claimed the cause as an Independent one; but there is ample evidence to show that the traditional polity was Presbyterian, and that the transition which occurred in Rattray's time was the result of the unfortunate circumstance that in 1813 all the trustees were dead (vide Trust deed).

After the death of Rattray, the congregation joined the United Associate Presbytery of Annan and Carlisle. The first minister from that church was the Rev. John Miller, a native of Newarthill, near Motherwell. He was ordained at Penruddock, August 5th, 1830, and died at Borrowstounness in 1862, aged 60. He was the village schoolmaster at Penruddock for a long time. During Miller's ministry, the United Associate Synod joined with the Relief Synod, and became in 1847 the United Presbyterian Church. Upon the pulpit becoming vacant, the congregation was declared a preaching station, and a licentiate was sent to take charge of the work. This was the Rev. John Hutchison, B.A. He remained a short time at Penruddock, and proceeded to the United Presbyterian congregation at Renfrew, where he was ordained.

son Isaac was licensed to the perpetual curacy of Plumpton in 1773, but left to become a Baptist pastor. There are five copies of his farewell sermon in the Jackson Library.

He removed to Bonnington, Edinburgh, where his ministry was very successful. He received the degree of D.D., became Moderator of the United Presbyterian Church in 1897, and died recently. During his ministry at Penruddock, the Meeting-house was refurnished and the porch added.

Hutchison was succeeded by the Rev. D. Y. Storrar, a native of Strathmiglo, Fifeshire. He entered St. Andrew's University in 1850, and was licensed by the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Kinross in 1860. He accepted a location at Penruddock in 1864, but returned to Scotland in 1866. He died in 1887, aged 50, and is buried at Strathmiglo.

From that time the individuality of the ministry has been lost, and the congregation has been under the charge of the Penrith congregation. In 1876 Penrith came into the union of congregations that formed the Presbyterian Church of England (vide Synod *Proceedings*, 1877). From that date the Presbytery records specify the changes at Penruddock. Since 1880 there have been about thirty-five licentiates from Queen Square House, London, which college is now represented by Westminster College, Cambridge. Most of this number are at present ordained members of the Presbyterian Church of England.