

Presbyterians and Independents or Congregationalists in Carlisle, 1648-1736

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Summary

THIS article traces the development of Congregational and Presbyterian Dissent in Carlisle from the earliest evidence, in 1648, of the active involvement of a non-Anglican Protestant minister in Carlisle, through to 1736 when the Protestant Dissenters moved from their meeting house in Blackfriars to a new and larger meeting house in Fisher Street.¹ In order to place the fluctuations in fortune of Dissenters in Carlisle in context the article commences with a brief résumé of the national background. The situation in Carlisle is then explored in three distinct phases which reflect developments nationally. The first addresses the period between 1648 and 1660. The second deals with the period from the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 through to the accession of William and Mary in 1689, and the third the period subsequent to the Act of Toleration in 1690.

The national background

The sixteenth century was the period of the Reformation in Europe. The new ideas espoused by Martin Luther, John Calvin and numerous other religious reformers soon spread across the Channel to England. The Reformation was to have great influence on religious developments in England into and through the seventeenth century. Throughout most of this period, English Parliaments struggled to maintain a system of Protestant church government and, by doing so, inhibit a resurgence of Catholicism.

The Reformation in England can be traced back to Henry VIII's break with Rome in the 1530s, over the pope's refusal to grant him an annulment from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon. Although little changed in the form of church order in the remaining years of Henry's reign, a number of his key advisers, including Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1533, were opening their minds to reforming ideas. There was a flowering of these ideas during the reign of Edward VI, who succeeded his father in 1547. A number of Protestant reformers from the Continent were welcomed and accepted posts at English universities, and the Scottish reformer John Knox became one of Edward's chaplains. The influence of these reformers is apparent in the second Prayer Book of Edward's reign, which Cranmer introduced in 1552, shortly before the king's death. It 'did away with traditional vestments, put the altar in the nave and removed any reference to the divine presence in the eucharist.'² Edward was succeeded by his half-sister Mary, who not only restored Catholicism as the national religion but presided over the execution of many of those who opposed her, including Cranmer. Mary died prematurely in 1558 and was succeeded by her half-sister Elizabeth, who restored Protestantism, although with an episcopal form of government. Early

in 1559 Parliament passed the Act of Uniformity, which incorporated an amended version of the 1552 Prayer Book. One of the amendments was the reinstatement of the requirement for the wearing of clerical vestments, as set out in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI.

Following Elizabeth's accession to the throne, most of the approximately 800 leading Protestants, who had fled to the Continent during Mary's reign, returned home. Some had been influenced by the more radical ideas being promulgated in Continental Europe, so much so that the provisions of the 1559 Prayer Book were anathema to them. They had numerous objections but prime among them was the requirement to wear vestments, which to them smacked of 'popery'. These were the Puritans, who:

...desired liberty for self-expression in matters of religion, but not to the point where it would disrupt the decent order of the church; [the Puritan] challenged the rule of the magistrate in ecclesiastical affairs, but not to the point of denying his authority; he scorned many of the rites of the established church, but not to the point of repudiating the church itself.³

Many of the Puritan clergy sought to overcome their dislike of the Prayer Book by refusing to use it in worship, but by doing this risked prosecution. In 1570 Thomas Cartwright, a reader in divinity at Cambridge University, gave a series of lectures on the Acts of the Apostles, in which he propounded a Presbyterian, rather than episcopal, system of church government based on John Calvin's system of presbyters or ministers and elders. Cornick writes, 'In Cartwright's view the only possible Biblical pattern of church government was a conciliar system in which congregations were ruled by ministers or elders, with representative councils above them.'⁴ In 1586, senior clergy, inclined to a Presbyterian viewpoint, produced the Book of Discipline, which formalised these views.

In the years after Cartwright was delivering his lectures, a more radical reforming movement, Separatism, was in its infancy. The Separatists, as the name implies, believed that church and state should be separate. They also believed in the autonomy of the individual church through its decision-making body, the Church Meeting, and in the right of the local church to appoint its own minister. From 1583, when John Whitgift was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, life became more difficult for those outside the national church. In 1590 a number of influential advocates of a presbyterial church order, including Cartwright, were imprisoned and three years later a number of leading Separatists were executed. It was to be 50 years before either group re-emerged as a potent force.

The Elizabethan church was largely Calvinistic in its theology but retained some of the rituals of the Catholic Church. Elizabeth's successor, James I, having experienced the Presbyterian system during his years as king of Scotland, was happy to maintain the episcopal status quo, much to the disappointment of those clergy who held Puritan views. James had political acumen which his son, Charles I, lacked. Charles supported William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633, in his decision to suppress Calvinism and this was seen by many as an attempt to restore Roman Catholicism. The matter came to a head in 1637 when Laud and Charles sought to impose a modified form of the English Prayer Book on Presbyterian Scotland. The consequence of this

was that in 1638 the Scots signed the National Covenant, resisting all outside attempts to impose change, and at the same time prepared for war.

Needing money to counteract this threat, and a further threat from Ireland, Charles was obliged to recall Parliament in 1640, for the first time in eleven years. Relations between the king and Parliament were strained and came to a head in January 1642, when Charles unsuccessfully attempted to impeach five members of the House of Commons; following a deadlock between the king and Parliament over control of the militia, civil war followed from August. As well as fighting the Civil War, Parliament turned its attention to ecclesiastical affairs. Although it was not initially their wish to replace the episcopal system with a Presbyterian order, when things did not go well in the early months of the Civil War, they turned to the Scots for assistance. The Scots accepted the request, but on the condition that the English adopt a Presbyterian system of church government. Consequently, in 1643 both the English and Scots Parliaments entered into a Solemn League and Covenant, which was ‘designed to impose presbyterianism on England.’⁵⁵ The responsibility for putting the Covenant into effect was given to the Westminster Assembly. The Assembly, which sat between 1643 and 1649, consisted mostly of Presbyterian divines, but included a few Congregationalists (or Independents), together with representatives of the House of Commons and a number of Scots commissioners. Progress was slow and it was not until 1645 that a scheme was submitted to Parliament, albeit incorporating a minority report produced by the small group of Congregationalists. Although the scheme was passed into law in 1646 and was to remain on the statute books until 1660, a national Presbyterian Church never came into being, though there was a rapid expansion of other groups such as the Baptists and Quakers, along with other minority groups. The best that can be said is that ‘As far as there was a national church during the Civil War and the Protectorate it was presbyterian, but ... the structures were never put in place to turn plan into reality.’⁵⁶ During and immediately following the Civil War, many Church of England livings were sequestered by Puritan ministers, who were mostly Presbyterians and Congregationalists. In some cases, however, the incumbent Church of England clergy were deemed acceptable and allowed to remain in office. Following the 1653 Instrument of Government, which regularised government in the hands of the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, a commission of 35 Triers was appointed in 1654 to approve clergy to be appointed in the localities. Local commissions of Ejectors were set up in August to remove ‘scandalous, ignorant and insufficient’ clergy and schoolmasters.

In 1660 the monarchy was restored in the person of Charles II. During the Interregnum the Congregationalists had felt able to take an active role in church life but once the monarchy was restored they readily withdrew from their livings. The Presbyterians, however, whose preference was to operate from within a state Church, had welcomed the Restoration and, not without reason, had high hopes that under Charles II some meaningful accommodation could be reached with the episcopalians. These hopes were soon dashed when Parliament introduced a series of oppressive measures, collectively known as the Clarendon Code, after Charles’ Lord Chancellor, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. Firstly, in December 1661, it passed the Corporation Act, which limited members of municipal bodies to those who would swear loyalty to

the king and receive the Communion by the rites of the Church of England. It was followed, in May 1662, by the Act of Uniformity, which required all clergy to accept the Prayer Book, denounce the Solemn League and Covenant and submit to royal authority. All those who refused to conform were ejected from their livings on St Bartholomew's Day, 24 August, 1662. It has been estimated that the numbers involved amounted to more than 2,000, most of whom were Presbyterians. On the other hand, many of those whose livings had been sequestered in the 1640s were restored to their livings. Next, in 1664, came the Conventicle Act, 'forbidding five or more people from meeting together for worship except in accordance with the liturgy of the Church of England.'⁷ Finally, in 1665, came the Five Mile Act, which 'forbade all ministers who had not accepted the Act of Uniformity from going within five miles of any corporate town or place where they had previously ministered, except as travellers.'⁸ The Conventicle Act expired in 1669 but was replaced, in 1670, by the second Conventicle Act, which incorporated a substantial increase in the level of fines for non-compliance.

In March 1672 Charles II acted to afford some relief to Dissenters,⁹ when he issued his Declaration of Indulgence. The Indulgence permitted them to worship openly, provided that they obtained licences for their places of worship. Within a year the Indulgence was revoked by Parliament and so ended a short-lived period of limited religious freedom for Dissenters. In that year, 1673, Parliament also passed the Test Act, directed at Catholics, and requiring 'that all civil or military office holders should accept the royal supremacy, receive communion according to Anglican rites and forswear the Catholic doctrine of the mass.'¹⁰ In 1678, the second Test Act, banning all Catholics from both Houses of Parliament, was placed on the statute book. Following the brief reign of the Catholic James II, Mary, his Protestant daughter and her Protestant husband, William of Orange, accepted Parliament's offer of the throne.

William was determined that the Church of England and the Protestant Dissenters should work together to create an inclusive national church; however, when the Comprehension Bill, which would have facilitated this, was placed before Parliament in 1689, it was not well received. A compromise was reached, the Bill was dropped and the Act of Toleration was passed into law. The Toleration Act gave permission to Trinitarian Protestant Dissenting congregations to meet openly, provided that each congregation obtain a certificate from a diocesan bishop, or a JP, and that all adult Dissenters swear the oath of allegiance. This was counterbalanced by the continuation of the Test and Corporation Acts on the statute book. The collapse of the Comprehension Bill finally ended Presbyterian hopes of an inclusive national Church, but at the same time the Toleration Act satisfied the Congregationalists, and other Dissenters such as the Baptists and Quakers, in that it finally gave them freedom of worship outside the state church.

In the years following the Act of Uniformity, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists had worked together to form closer ties. The level of co-operation increased once the desire of the Presbyterians to be involved in a national Church had finally been extinguished by the failure of the Comprehension Bill. In 1690 most London ministers of both denominations set up a Common Fund, whose purpose was to provide financial

assistance to poor ministers and congregations and to fund ministerial training. In the following year a set of proposals, the 'Heads of Agreement', or the 'Happy Union' as it became known, was adopted by the London ministers of both denominations and endorsed in other parts of the country, including Lancashire. The problem with the 'Heads of Agreement' was that it sidestepped many of the key differences between the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists and consequently arguments soon arose. The agreement effectively expired in 1695 when the Congregationalists left the Common Fund and set up their own fund.¹¹ The differences between the two Calvinist denominations, in matters of church order, had originally been set out by the Congregationalists in the Savoy Declaration of 1658 and it was these issues that divided them now. The differences have been summarised as follows:

Presbyterians were essentially parochial in organisation; Congregationalists believed that a gathered community of saints was the true church. Presbyterians inclined to admit to communion all who lived respectable lives and professed some Christian conviction; Congregationalists restricted communion to church members. Presbyterians placed great store by an educated ministry; Congregationalists looked rather for evidence of the work of the Holy Spirit regardless of educational attainment.¹²

Despite the collapse of negotiations in London, co-operation continued in the provinces to the extent that in some parts of the country the distinctions between the two denominations became blurred. The possibility that this may have been the case in Carlisle is a matter to be considered further in this article.¹³

The situation in Carlisle

If there was any Puritan or Separatist activity in Carlisle during the reigns of Elizabeth I or James I, little record of it survives. There is only one tenuous link in the person of a Mr Lowth, sometime minister at Carlisle, who, in 1574, was presented in the High Commission of York for nonconformity.¹⁴ Although later, in the reign of Charles I, Barnaby Potter, Bishop of Carlisle (1629-1642), was known as the 'Puritan bishop', there is nothing to suggest that he had any influence on religious activities in Carlisle. Circumstances soon changed once the Parliamentary forces had taken control of the city in 1645; by the end of 1646 most of the cathedral clergy had been ejected from their livings¹⁵ and by February 1648, Roger Baldwin, the first non-Anglican Protestant minister known to have been active in the city was being described as the 'present' minister of St Cuthbert's, one of two parishes in the city, the other being St Mary's, in the cathedral premises.

In this article the development of Presbyterian and Independent activity in Carlisle is traced from that event in 1648, through to the move by the Presbyterians, in 1736, from their meeting house in the Blackfriars to their new meeting house in Fisher Street. For that purpose, the information on a board in the foyer of St George's United Reformed Church on Warwick Road, purporting to list all Presbyterian ministers in Carlisle going back to 1647,¹⁶ is used as a basis for comparison with the evidence presented in this article. The period under consideration is subdivided into three distinct phases. The first phase covers the period from 1648 to the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. The second covers the period from the Restoration to the accession of William and Mary in 1689, and the third the period subsequent to the Act of Toleration.

From Civil War to Restoration¹⁷

The list in the Warwick Road Church names the following as having ministered in Carlisle during that period:

- 1647 Roger Baldwin, afterwards Vicar of Penrith.
- 1654 Theo Polwhele, afterwards at St Mary's, Carlisle, on 1672 Presbyterian Indulgence license at Tiverton, Devon.
- 1656 Timothy Tullie, Vicar of Cliburn 1639-1656, and afterwards Vicar of St Cuthbert's, Carlisle.
- 1657 Comfort Starr, ejected from Carlisle Cathedral, had Presbyterian Preaching licence at Sandwich, Kent, died minister of Presbyterian Foundation, Lewes, 1711.¹⁸

Roger Baldwin, a native of Wigan, studied at Glasgow and Edinburgh universities. After graduating M.A. at Edinburgh in April 1645, he returned to Lancashire, where he ministered in the parish of Ellenbrook, near Eccles, probably until the autumn of 1646.¹⁹ By 16 February 1648, he was in Carlisle, since on that date it was 'ordered that the sd 50li a yeare be pd to Roger Baldwin a godlie and Orthodox devine the pnt minister of the sd Church [St Cuthbert's].'²⁰ Bearing in mind the closeness of the above two dates, there is every likelihood that Baldwin moved to Carlisle shortly after leaving Ellenbrook. Whenever he arrived in Carlisle, he did not stay long, because in the spring of 1650 he moved to Penrith²¹ where he ministered until the Restoration. Between the departure of Baldwin and the arrival of Polwhele, preaching duties were briefly carried out by a Mr Houldsworth or Holsworth.²² There are two references to him in the City Chamberlain's Accounts, both probably referring to the same transaction. The first dated 13 June 1650, being an 'Item pd to Mr Houldsworth 07.00.00.' The second comes under the heading 'A generall account of the Chamberlains Disbursements for ye yeare 1649 & 1650', being 'for Mr Holsworth paines in preachinge 8 weekes 07:00:00.'²³

Theophilus Polwhele was in Carlisle by September 1651, for on the 16th of that month a Chamberlain's 'Item [was] p^d for spices bestowed upon Mr Polwheele when he sett up house 3:0:0.'²⁴ His connection with Carlisle goes back earlier, however, because later in his life he acknowledged the kindness of the governors and citizens of the city while he was a student at university.²⁵ On 25 December 1652, he received a lecturer's stipend of £12 covering a period of one year and a half,²⁶ but it was not until 29 March 1653 that he was officially approved by the Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel in the four northern counties.²⁷ Soon after, in 1654, he was appointed to the committee for ejecting scandalous ministers in the Counties of Cumberland, Durham, Northumberland and Westmorland.²⁸ Polwhele left Carlisle in 1655 and moved back south to Tiverton in Devon, where, under the Indulgence of 1672, he secured a Congregational rather than a Presbyterian licence.²⁹

During the vacancy between the departure of Polwhele and the summer of 1656, when Timothy Tullie and Comfort Starr were appointed to St Mary's and St Cuthbert's respectively, the pulpit was supplied by a variety of local ministers. An itemised record of these ministers and those who gave them hospitality in the period between

16 December 1655 and 2 June 1656 is given in the Chamberlain's Accounts under the heading 'A note for the Ministers charges when they preached here in the time of the vacancy of Ministers.'³⁰ Among those who preached were Richard Gilpin of Greystoke, George Larkham of Cocker mouth and Nathaniel Burnand of Brampton. Tullie and Starr must have been under consideration from early in the vacancy because on 24 December 1655 a Chamberlain's 'I^m [was] p^d for wine and beare when Mr Tully and Mr Starr and others came to towne.'³¹ It is not known why two ministers were now needed to carry out work that had previously been done by one unless, of course, their workload had increased.³² Both men remained in Carlisle until the Restoration. Tullie, who was the brother of Isaac Tullie, diarist of the 1644-1645 siege of Carlisle and mayor of the city in the year leading up to the Restoration, subsequently conformed to the requirements of the Act of Uniformity and was appointed rector of Middleton in Teesdale. Meanwhile, Starr, who originated from Kent, returned there in 1660. The list of ministers describes him as a Presbyterian. He was, however, an Independent, as evidenced by a letter he wrote on 1 September 1658, acknowledging receipt of an invitation to attend the Savoy Conference of ministers of the Congregational Way held at the Savoy in London in that year.³³ Furthermore, the preaching licence he was granted in 1672 was for Congregational, not Presbyterian, worship.³⁴

Some documents describe Baldwin, Polwhele, Tullie and Starr as lecturers, others as ministers. R. S. Ferguson explains that 'The lectureship [was] an institution of Puritan origin ... its aim was to supplement the work of the Parish Minister with a view to securing for the people the fullest possible measure of religious instruction and worship'³⁵ The lecturer was a city official appointed by and paid for by the Corporation, and in Carlisle he continued to be so appointed well into the eighteenth century. It is probable that the men listed above acted in the capacity of both lecturer and minister in the recognised sense of the word 'minister'. As ministers, they would have taken on at least some of the responsibilities normally performed by the local clergy. On the subject of reimbursement, it is known that Baldwin was paid £50 a year and that Tullie and Starr received a salary of £14 and £10 half yearly respectively. They also received £1 for conducting the annual service which followed the election of the mayor and their house rents were paid.³⁶ Payments to Polwhele were augmented by a whole series of tithes being conferred upon him. Baldwin, Tullie and Starr were also reimbursed out of the tithes.³⁷ Of these four men, only Baldwin was a Presbyterian, whilst Polwhele and Starr were Congregationalists. Tullie's denominational allegiances are more difficult to pin down: he was Vicar of Cliburn, south-east of Penrith, at the outbreak of the Civil War; but was sufficiently adaptable to remain in office through to the Restoration and beyond. Polwhele, who moved north from Somerset, and Starr, from Kent, must have had good reasons for moving so far north, but whatever they were they are not readily apparent.

One important document that survives from the pre-Restoration period is 'The Agreement of the Associated Ministers and Churches of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmerland'.³⁸ The document was printed in 1656 and demonstrates that some form of church organisation, originally involving only Presbyterian, but later both Presbyterian and Congregational ministers existed. It was sold by, among others, Richard Scot, bookseller in Carlisle, and set out rules by which the association should

function and agreed ‘to divide ourselves into three Associations Carlisle, Penrith and Cockermouth [and to] meete once a month more or less as occasion shall require.’ The document refers to ‘we whose names are here under-written’, but the printed copies do not contain any names.

The restored monarchy

Little is known about what happened to those people who continued to hold Presbyterian and Congregational beliefs in the immediate aftermath of the Act of Uniformity and subsequent Acts of Parliament, or how many of them there were. The list of ministers in the Warwick Road Church throws little light on the subject, naming only the following five ministers, set tentatively against a date of 1662:

John Welsh (great grandson of John Knox), ejected from Trongray [Irongray],
Dumfries.
Samuel Arnott.
Gabriel Semple, ejected from Kirkpatrick [Durham].
John Scott, sometime minister at Hawick.
James Cave.³⁹

The first four of these men were Scottish Presbyterians who had been deprived of their livings following the Restoration. Driven from their parishes, they actively defied the law by preaching regularly at conventicles.⁴⁰ Whilst there is no direct evidence linking any of these men with Carlisle specifically, Robert Wodrow refers to them as coming into the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland in 1677 rather than 1662, where they ‘... were very useful instruments among many rude and ignorant people, who were some way fallow ground, and scarce had the Gospel preached to them before.’⁴¹ James Cave, however, was an Englishman active in Cumberland in the period before the Restoration, not after. He was a native of Banbury, in Oxfordshire, and had come north to serve in the wars in Scotland.⁴² According to Calamy, he was a preacher at Carlisle for some time,⁴³ which is compatible with Nightingale’s description of him as being briefly preacher in the three parishes of Crosby, Scaleby and Stanwix, north of Carlisle, before being appointed itinerant preacher in the Keswick area in November 1652.⁴⁴ Cave was one of the preachers who preached during the vacancy preceding the appointment of Tullie and Starr when, on 24 December 1655, an ‘Itm [was] p^d for Mr Caves charge at Edward James 00:05:10.’⁴⁵ He remained in Keswick until the Restoration, when following his ejection, he moved away.⁴⁶

Under the Declaration of Indulgence issued by the king in 1672, two licences were granted in Carlisle; one Presbyterian, for the house of Edward James in the Blackfriars and the other Independent, for the house of Barbara Studholme.⁴⁷ The Indulgence licence does not identify the location of Barbara Studholme’s house, but it may have been the property in Castle Street listed in the inventory to her will made on 1 December 1688.⁴⁸ If there was a clerical beneficiary of the Indulgence, his name has not been recorded. Edward James and Barbara Studholme’s late husband, Cuthbert, had both been active in local politics during the Interregnum.

Edward James was admitted to the Carlisle Merchants' Guild in 1637⁴⁹ and it may also have been the same Edward James who was a member of the Shoemakers' Guild and its clerk in 1661.⁵⁰ He was, certainly, a 'Comon Counsellman', i.e. a member of the lower house of the city corporation, below the level of alderman, for several years during the 1650s. He was also one of a number of people who gave hospitality to ministers who preached during the vacancy prior to the appointment of Timothy Tully and Comfort Starr. There is no record of James's death in the St Cuthbert's parish registers, although the death of his wife Barbara is recorded, but he may well have died between 1679 and 1684, years for which both the registers and the bishop's transcripts are missing.

Of particular relevance to the house in the Blackfriars, for which the Indulgence licence was granted, is the deed of sale dated 10 April 1658, of a freehold garth or garden in the Blackfriars, from John Aglionby to Edward James and his wife Barbara. The land abutted the garden belonging to the heirs of John Jackson, on the east; the highway next to the city walls, on the west; the highway next to the present day Tithe Barn, on the north; and a garden already owned by Edward James, on the south.⁵¹ This places the property, on part of which a house and barn had been built by 6 December 1659,⁵² at the junction of the West Walls and what is now Heads Lane, as well as identifying Edward James as the owner of the adjacent property. Confirmation that James owned property in that locality is found in the Cullery Admittance Book covering the period 1673-1680 which lists 'Edwardus James merc.' as a free tenant of two properties in Botchergate.⁵³ On the basis of the foregoing evidence it seems likely that it was the house built in 1659 that was licensed for Presbyterian worship in 1672.

Cuthbert Studholme, like Edward James, was a member of the Carlisle Corporation during the Interregnum and served as mayor in 1652. The evidence suggests, however, that he was much more actively involved on behalf of Parliament. For example, together with a number of other leading citizens, he had been involved on the Parliamentary side during the siege of Carlisle in 1644.⁵⁴ In 1654 he was appointed as one of Cromwell's Commissioners responsible for the ejection of 'scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient' ministers and schoolmasters in the four northern counties of Cumberland, Durham, Northumberland and Westmorland.⁵⁵ He was also a captain and Justice of the Peace at Carlisle⁵⁶ and, in the latter capacity, he was recognised by the Quakers as one of their persecutors.⁵⁷ On the evidence of his will, Cuthbert Studholme, who died in 1668, was a man of property and wealth.⁵⁸

Within a year the Indulgence was revoked by Parliament, so ending the short-lived period of limited religious freedom for Dissenters. There is no evidence of rigorous persecution of Dissenters in Carlisle, although this was not always the case elsewhere: John Bunyan, for example, spent 12 years in Bedford gaol for his beliefs.⁵⁹ However, in the years before and after the Indulgence there are several lists of presentments in the diocesan records, for non-attendance at church or being present at conventicles. No specific references to Presbyterians or Congregationalists are given, the terms Papist, Quaker, Anabaptist and more generally Nonconformist being used. The only recognisable name among those listed is Barbara Studholme when, in 1669, she is described as a Nonconformist.⁶⁰ The only documentary evidence of the strength of

Dissent in Carlisle at that time is found in a census of the Diocese of Carlisle taken in 1676.⁶¹ This lists two papists, 19 Quakers and 22 other Dissenters in the parishes of St Mary's and St Cuthbert's, compared with 909 'persons of the age to communicate.'

The small number of Dissenters, who remained true to their faith through the difficult years that followed the Restoration, was soon to be given the opportunity to take a more open role in the life of the city following the accession of William and Mary to the throne in 1689.

The Act of Toleration and beyond

The list of Presbyterian ministers, in the Warwick Road Church, names the following as having served during the years subsequent to the Toleration Act:

- 1692 Daniel Jackson, removed 1696.
- 1696 John Menzies, M.A., sometime at Caerlaverock.
- 1703 Miles Baxter, translated to Wimborne Dorset.
- 1710 Thomas Dickinson, retired 1745.

In fact, the first Dissenting minister known to have been active in Carlisle following the Act of Toleration, and indeed since the Restoration, was Daniel Bull. He was:

att Carlisle came a month since from Lond: 9r ye 12:90 ... Carlile hath some Dissenters but no Minister can be got Mr Bull lately come to Carlile ... Mr Dan: Bull designes to reside there [Carlisle] among a poor inconsiderable number of people to carry on ye work of the Gospell but without some assistance, they must Starue him from amongst them, they desire their case to be considered.⁶²

The quotation suggests that he found a small, impoverished and disorganised group of people, with insufficient funds to support a minister and urgently in need of support from the newly formed Common Fund. In numerical terms, this is compatible with the numbers given in the census of 1676. Local evidence of Bull's presence in Cumberland at that time is provided by the minutes of the Quarter Sessions for January 1691 which records his taking of the oath of allegiance.⁶³ He probably stayed in Carlisle for about a year and then moved to Kendal. The case made for assistance must have been viewed favourably because at a meeting of the Common Fund Board on 29 December 1690 it was 'ordered that £10 per annum be allowed towards the Propagation of the Gospel att Carlisle in Cumberland.'⁶⁴

The name of Daniel Jackson first appears in the church book of Cockermouth Dissenting Meeting, when on 31 July 1692 'The Church brake bread at cockermth. The same day Three persons were received into comunion; To wit, Mr Daniel Jackson, a preacher of the word, who is called to preach ye Gospel at Carlisle ...'⁶⁵ Although there is no record of his having preached at Carlisle, it is recorded in the minutes of the Quarter Session held on 5 October 1692 that 'Mr Daniel Jackson a dissenting Minister hath appointed a house of Mrs Stanwicks att Stanwicks bankes he tooke the Oathes and Subscribed the Articles and Declaration.'⁶⁶ He was soon in trouble, however, when on 11 January 1693 he and eight other people, from in and around Burgh-by-Sands, west of Carlisle, were brought before the Quarter Sessions 'ffor an unlawfull assembly

and or ptense of Religious worship.⁶⁷ One of those who was indicted with him was Thomas Craghill of Oughterby. Although this brush with authority could have been initiated by Tories and High Churchmen, who were unhappy with the Toleration Act, the likelihood is that Jackson was acting outside the law in his enthusiasm to propagate his religious beliefs.

As well as being in difficulties with the law, Jackson was also in trouble with his church. On 27 January 1693, ‘The Church had a meeting at Cockermth, and after the sermon... There was read several letters from Elder Eaglesfield at Carlisle, giving an acc^t of the scandals of Mr Dañ^l. Jackson some time before received into com^ñunion.’⁶⁸ The scandals involved Jackson’s refusal to live with his wife and for falsely stating that they were divorced. As a consequence of this meeting, the pastor, George Larkham, sent a strongly worded letter to Jackson setting out his misdemeanours in detail and notifying him:

That if you reject this their admonition, and pst in y^r obstinacy for Living in sin notoriously Scandalous, they [the Church] must be & shall be found in their duty; to put y^{ou} away from among them. I have not further to signify to you, except my owne p^{ti}cular dissatisfac^on, manifested (thoh: not much minded) when you were lately at my house:-⁶⁹

The Elder Eaglesfield referred to above was almost certainly the Richard Eaglesfield or Eaglesfeild of Allerby Hall,⁷⁰ who had been ordained to the office of elder in the Cockermouth church in October 1672.⁷¹

It is not known when Eaglesfield moved to Carlisle, but it is probable that he had been there for some time prior to the Jackson incident. He certainly had business activities in the city since on 21 September 1694 he entered into an agreement with the mayor and citizens to ‘contrive lay and use of a conduit pipe for the conveyance of water from the City milldambe to his malthouse in the Abbey throug and under the ground called Towndike...’⁷² Soon after, on 19 December 1695, he was appointed collector of customs at the port of Carlisle⁷³ and was sworn into this post before the Justices of the Peace on the 10 February 1696.⁷⁴ In order to secure this public position Eaglesfield, a Dissenter, should have complied with the provisions of the Test Act of 1673. It is doubtful, however, that he did so, at that time,⁷⁵ because when in 1704 he was threatened with removal from office by the Recorder, John Aglionby,⁷⁶ possibly because he was a Dissenter, he approached Bishop Nicholson expressing his wish to conform to the Test Act. This he appears to have done because Nicholson, in his diary entry for 26-27 April 1704 – the dates the Quarter Sessions took place – records that ‘At Mr Eglesfield’s takeing of ye Test, I explain’d y^e meaning of Communion; and had a very satisfactory Ans^r from him.’⁷⁷ Richard died some months later and was buried at St Mary’s, Carlisle, on 28 January 1706. In the register his place of residence is given as ‘Abbey.’⁷⁸ Other than his reporting of Daniel Jackson’s misdemeanours, there is no surviving evidence of his activities as a Dissenter in Carlisle. An R. Eaglesfield was, however, one of the witnesses to Barbara Studholme’s will.

It is known that John Menzies, Jackson’s probable successor, was in Carlisle by 13 April 1696, because on that day the Congregational Fund Board ‘... ordered that Mr Menzy of Carlyle be put off till another time.’⁷⁹ He was, however, in Carlisle

much earlier since at the Quarter Sessions held on 26 April 1693 ‘Mr John Menzies a dissenting minister tooke the Tests and subscribed to the Articles and Declaration.’⁸⁰ The presence of Menzies in Carlisle at that time suggests that Jackson did not survive long as a preacher in Carlisle following the ultimatum presented by George Larkham.

Menzies had come to Carlisle from Scotland, as the first Scotsman to minister in Carlisle, something not to be repeated for another fifty years. In order to place his ministry in Scotland in context and his probable reasons for moving to Carlisle, a brief outline of the national background needs to be given here. At the Restoration in 1660, Presbyterianism had been the primary religion in Scotland for several decades, though despite this, in 1662, the Scottish Parliament decided to follow the example of the English Parliament and re-introduce an episcopal system of Church government. This resulted not only in a substantial proportion of ministers being deprived of their livings, but in a plethora of illegal conventicles and two armed uprisings. In order to put pressure on the troublemakers, in 1681 the Scottish Parliament introduced the Test Act, which ‘required all office holders in Church and state to accept the Scots Confession of 1560 and royal supremacy in both civil and ecclesiastical government, and to renounce the Covenants.’⁸¹ Following the accession of William and Mary, the situation was reversed and in 1690 Presbyterianism became the official religion of Scotland.

John Menzies graduated M.A., from Edinburgh University on 15 April 1645, the same month as Roger Baldwin. He was ordained to Johnstone in Annandale in 1658, where he conformed to episcopacy in 1662. Shortly after moving to Caerlaverock in Dumfriesshire in 1670, he had a change of heart and renounced episcopacy because of its tendency to ‘popery’, but he did comply with the 1681 Scots Test Act. In 1686 he transferred to Coulter in Lanarkshire from where he was deprived by Act of Parliament in 1690.⁸² This brief biography may suggest a man who was capricious in his religious affiliations, but he was far from alone among Presbyterian ministers who both conformed in 1662 and took the Test in 1681. If Menzies graduated from university in 1645, as Scott asserts, he must have been of advanced years by the time he moved to Carlisle. Other than the reference in the Quarter Sessions, there is no other evidence of his ministry in the city. There are, however, a series of entries in the minutes of the Presbyterian Fund Board allocating £3 half yearly to Mr Menzies at Carlisle, the first of these being dated July 1696,⁸³ and at least two payments from the Congregational Fund Board, the first of £3 on 14 June 1697.⁸⁴

Before considering the ministry of Menzies’ successor, Myles Baxter, and the opening of the new meeting house in the Blackfriars, there are two issues that warrant further consideration.

The first relates to the denomination of the group which emerged in Carlisle in the early 1690s. History is largely silent on what happened to the two groups of Dissenters who were meeting at the houses of Edward James and Barbara Studholme in 1672. For that reason it is not possible to know how they fared in the years between 1672 and the passing of the Act of Toleration in 1689, and which, if either of them, survived. Those

writing from a Presbyterian viewpoint have sought to establish that the Dissenters continued to meet in the house of Edward James in the Blackfriars, until the opening of the 1707 meeting house, perhaps unaware of the entry in the Cullery Admittance Book which records his property as having been sold in 1680.⁸⁵ On the other hand, no mention has been made of Barbara Studholme by those writing from an Independent viewpoint, although there is some evidence to suggest that it was the Independent group which survived.⁸⁶ For example, Daniel Jackson was received into communion at the Dissenting meeting in Cockermouth, which was founded on Independent principles, before moving to Carlisle where he operated under the watchful eye of Richard Eaglesfield, himself an elder of the Cockermouth meeting.

John Menzies, on the other hand, was a Scottish 'Presbyterian'. So where does he fit in? There is of course the possibility that Jackson and Menzies ministered to different Dissenting groups, but this is not borne out by the evidence. Firstly, the earliest evidence of the presence of Menzies in Carlisle, in the spring of 1693, shortly after the disappearance of Jackson from the records, points to him as Jackson's likely successor. Secondly and more importantly, there was also a family connection between John Menzies and Richard Eaglesfield. Menzies, Eaglesfield and George Larkham, the Dissenting minister at Cockermouth, were all married to sisters of Henry Fletcher of Tallentire Hall.⁸⁷ It is not known when Menzies met Katherine Fletcher but if it was after his arrival in Carlisle, it may well have been through his association with Eaglesfield. In the context of the family connection, both Richard Eaglesfield and his son Robert were witnesses to Menzies' will made in 1703 and proved in 1704.⁸⁸

Richard Eaglesfield, an Independent, is the thread that runs through all of these events: as a witness to Barbara Studholme's will; as an elder of the Cockermouth Dissenting Meeting, in which capacity he reported back from Carlisle on the misdemeanours of Daniel Jackson; and as the brother in law of John Menzies and witness to his will.

Having established that Jackson, an Independent, and Menzies, a 'Presbyterian', ministered to the same group of Dissenters, the most likely scenario is that the group consisted of both Independents and Presbyterians, which was not unusual in the provinces at that time. This is supported by the fact that it is most unlikely that Menzies, as a Presbyterian minister of a solely Presbyterian congregation, would have received grants both from the Presbyterian Fund, in 1696, and the Congregational Fund, in 1697, so soon after the disharmony, which led the London Congregationalists to set up their own fund in 1695.

The second issue relates to the matter of worship certificates. As explained earlier, one of the requirements of the 1689 Act of Toleration, was that all Dissenting congregations obtain a certificate from a diocesan bishop, or a JP. Despite this requirement, only one certificate is recorded as having been issued for Carlisle between 1689 and 1707, that given, in October 1704, to Hugh Henry, Dissenting minister, for public worship by Protestant Dissenters in his house in Rickergate, immediately outside the city walls.⁸⁹ As far as Henry is concerned the entry in the Quarter Sessions records is the only evidence of his presence in Carlisle. The branch of Dissent which he represented is

not identified and there is no record of him, or his congregation, having received any support from the Presbyterian Fund.⁹⁰ In the absence of any further evidence, it seems likely that his Rickergate meeting house did not survive for long. The only other certificate for a meeting house within the environs of Carlisle was the one issued by the Quarter Sessions to Daniel Jackson in October 1692 for the house of Mrs Stanwix at Stanwix Bank, north of the river Eden.⁹¹ If the Rickergate meeting house is disregarded, then until 1707 the only meeting house at which Jackson, Menzies and Baxter were legally entitled to preach was outside the city at Stanwix Bank. It seems unusual that, with their new found freedom of worship, the Protestant Dissenters did not obtain a certificate for a house within the city, which suggests the possibility of an element of laxity in enforcing the law in this regard. If that was the case, then there could be some truth in the tradition that the Dissenters continued to worship in Edward James's former house in the Blackfriars, before and after 1689.⁹²

John Menzies was succeeded by Miles, or Myles, Baxter. Baxter was admitted to Richard Frankland's academy for Dissenting ministers at Rathmell, near Settle in the West Riding, on 29 January 1697 and, following Frankland's death, completed his training under James Coningham at Manchester.⁹³ The earliest evidence of Baxter's ministry at Carlisle is in the minutes of the Presbyterian Fund Board, which records the first of a number of grants to him in the sum of £6 for the period 25 December 1703 to 25 December 1704.⁹⁴ He left Carlisle sometime before 8 January 1711 since on that day the Presbyterian Fund Board 'resolved that the allowance formerly made to Mr Baxter of Carlisle be still continued to the Congregation at Carlisle.'⁹⁵

It was in 1707, during Baxter's ministry, that the Blackfriars meeting house, the first purpose-built Protestant Dissenting meeting house in Carlisle, opened. On the 13 June of that year the following application was made to the bishop of Carlisle:

... to yo^r lordshpp that wee whose names are underwritten in behalfe of ourselves and others the protestant dissenters in and about Carlile declare the new house at the Blackfryars in the City of Carlisle and County of Cumberland to be erected for religious ends by those psente conform to a law made in the reigne of our latte sovereignes William and Mary before we perform the religious worshipp of God in that house do certify it to yo^r lordshipp in order that it may be recorded in yo^r court ...⁹⁶

The application was signed by Myles Baxter and Tho[mas] Craghills. The certificate was issued on the 16 June 1707 and signed by Richard Aglionby, notary public, on behalf of the bishop as his principal registrar.

The identity of Thomas Craghills is uncertain. It is possible that he was the 'Thomas Craghill di Oughterby' who, along with Daniel Jackson and others, had been indicted for an unlawful assembly in January 1693.⁹⁷ However, it is more likely that he was Thomas Craghill of Parkbroom, whose will was proved on 11 February 1742.⁹⁸ One of the witnesses to this will was Thomas Pearson, and a Thomas Pearson is known to have been a prominent local Dissenter at that time.⁹⁹

The wording of the application raises a number of points. Firstly the use of the non-specific term Protestant Dissenters could signify that the congregation continued to be made up of both Presbyterians and Congregationalists.¹⁰⁰ Secondly, it is evident

that the applicants saw themselves as the unrivalled Protestant Dissenters, not only in Carlisle but also around Carlisle. Thirdly, it was for a new house erected in the Blackfriars, the exact location of which has been the subject of much speculation, but has not yet been ascertained.¹⁰¹ The 'new house', which was funded by a gift of £50 from a Mr Edgar, a merchant in London,¹⁰² had a seating capacity of 100.¹⁰³

Baxter's successor, Thomas Dickinson, was in Carlisle by July 1711, being one of a number of people who took the tests at the Midsummer Sessions in that year.¹⁰⁴ Dickinson was to remain in Carlisle until his retirement in 1745. Like Baxter, Dickinson trained for the ministry at Frankland's Academy and was ordained on 26 May 1698.¹⁰⁵ Prior to coming to Carlisle, he had ministered at Alston Moor, in east Cumberland. Some idea of the strength and mix of the Carlisle Blackfriars congregation during his ministry can be found in the 'Evans list' of Dissenting congregations. The returns for Carlisle, which were probably submitted in 1717 or 1718, name the minister as Thomas Dickenson and record him as receiving £9 twice yearly from the Presbyterian Fund. The membership is given as 100 hearers, 12 county voters and four borough voters; seven of the members being gentlemen and the rest yeomen and tradesmen.¹⁰⁶ This indicates a substantial increase in the numbers of Dissenters in the period since the 1676 census of the Diocese of Carlisle; albeit in a more favourable climate for Dissenting worship. Although in this instance Dickinson is recorded as receiving money from the Presbyterian Fund, this was not always the case. For at least part of his ministry he appears to have been of independent means, since at their meeting on the 28 April 1723 the Presbyterian Fund Board 'Upon a report from Dr Calamy relating to Cumberland agreed that the allowance to Carlisle be Discontinued Mr Dickenson having an Estate.'¹⁰⁷

Not only do we have an idea of the strength of Dissent during Dickenson's ministry but the registers of St Mary's and the records of Brampton Presbyterian Church provide some information about both his family and his activities. In the registers of St Mary's Church, Carlisle, there are four family entries.¹⁰⁸ The first records the simultaneous baptism of his daughters Elizabeth and Mary at the 'Conventicle House', i.e. the meeting house, on 3 August 1712; the second the burial of an unnamed child on 2 April 1713;¹⁰⁹ the third relates to the burial of his wife, probably between 18 and 29 November 1723, in which he is described as a Nonconformist minister. He must have been married and widowed twice since on 21 September 1741 a second Mrs Dickenson was buried. In all but the third of these entries his address is given as Castle Street, whilst in the third it is rendered as English Street. There is one other relevant entry in the registers which reads: 'Roper Lain Andrew Small child was baptiz^d by Mr Dickinson and buried here July ye 20th' At Brampton he baptised the daughter of 'Mr Robert Wight minr to the Dissenting Protestants at Brampton' on 8 January 1728 and in 1733 and 1734, during the interregnum between the departure of Robert Wight and the induction of his successor, John Herries, he officiated at a number of baptisms.¹¹⁰

Dickinson was among a number of ministers from churches as far apart as Falstone, in Northumberland, and Kendal present at the induction of John Herries to Brampton on 10 April 1734.¹¹¹ In this entry he is described as 'Moderator'. This may simply

mean that he had served as the Interim Moderator, or acting chairman, of the Brampton meeting during the vacancy, which would explain the number of baptisms he officiated at during the interregnum, but he may well have been acting in the capacity of moderator of a Presbytery. Certainly the presence of so many ministers at the ordination suggests that by this time the local Presbyterian congregations had organised themselves into some form of Presbyterial body.

In 1736, during Dickinson's ministry, the Protestant Dissenters, by then describing themselves as Presbyterians, moved from the Blackfriars to their new church in Fisher Street, a site which was to be their home for the next 250 years. Meanwhile the Independents were not to re-emerge in Carlisle until 1809 when Christopher Hill was appointed as minister of Lady Glenorchy's chapel in Annetwell Street.

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Notes and References

- ¹ In general terms the words Independent and Congregationalist superseded the word Separatist in the 1640s, but in specific terms there were differences between them. For a detailed explanation of the differences see Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters from the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 2002), 94-99. In this article I have used the word Congregationalist except where sources quoted or referred to have used the word Independent or where the word Independent has been considered more appropriate.
- ² David Cornick, *Under God's Good Hand, A History of the Traditions which have come together in the United Reformed Church in the United Kingdom* (London, 1998), 25.
- ³ Watts, *Dissenters*, 16.
- ⁴ Cornick, *Under God's Good Hand*, 28.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 52.
- ⁷ Watts, *Dissenters*, 225.
- ⁸ Cornick, *Under God's Good Hand*, 64.
- ⁹ Dissenters are those Protestants who found themselves outside the established church consequent upon their refusal to submit to the Act of Uniformity and related laws. The word Nonconformist replaced the word Dissenter, in general use, during the nineteenth century.
- ¹⁰ Cornick, *Under God's Good Hand*, 65.
- ¹¹ For a detailed description of these events see Watts, *Dissenters*, 289-297.
- ¹² Cornick, *Under God's Good Hand*, 77.
- ¹³ In putting together the national background, which is of necessity brief, I have relied heavily on Cornick and Watts. For those who may wish to make a more detailed study of the history of Dissent, Watts writes comprehensively about all branches of Dissent, whilst Cornick concentrates on the Presbyterians and Congregationalists.
- ¹⁴ Benjamin Brook, *The Lives of the Puritans* (London, 1813), iii, 505.
- ¹⁵ David W. V. Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral History* (Carlisle, 2000), 145, 146.

- ¹⁶ This list of ministers is a transcript of a list formerly in the Fisher Street Presbyterian Church, which was demolished in 1987. The original list was probably compiled by R. S. Robson in about 1912.
- ¹⁷ For an authoritative and comprehensive history of these events the reader is directed to B. Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland Their Predecessors and Successors* (Manchester, 1911), i, 133ff.
- ¹⁸ List of ministers in the Warwick Road Church.
- ¹⁹ Frances Nicholson, *Roger Baldwin Ejected Minister of Penrith*. Undated transcript of an article from the *Penrith Observer* in the Jackson Collection, Cumbria County Library, Carlisle.
- ²⁰ Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662*, i, 143.
- ²¹ A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised, being a revision of Edmund Calamy's 'Account' of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced, 1660-1662* (Oxford, 1934), 24.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 272. Matthews identifies Houldsworth with a Josiah Holdsworth, who in 1672 was granted an Indulgence Licence for Presbyterian worship for his house in Wakefield.
- ²³ CRO (C), Ca4/3, the Chamberlain's Accounts, 1649-1694. The Chamberlain, who was the equivalent of the present day City Treasurer, made payments to lecturers on behalf of the Corporation.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), 44, 788. According to Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662*, 145. Polwhele was preacher at Kirkbampton, six miles west of Carlisle, for some time before moving to Carlisle. This could explain his earlier connection with the people of the city.
- ²⁶ CRO (C), Ca2/438, Schedule of Old Documents Relating to the Lectureship.
- ²⁷ Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662*, i, 146. See also Francis Nicholson and Ernest Axon, *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal* (Kendal, 1915), 19. These Commissioners were appointed under an Act of Parliament passed on the 1 March 1650 'for the better propagation and preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in the four Northern Counties and for the maintenance of godly and able ministers'. The Act carried the proviso that it was to be in force for three years from that date.
- ²⁸ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), 44, 788.
- ²⁹ Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662*, i, 151.
- ³⁰ CRO (C), Ca4/3, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1649-1694.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662*, i, 150 and 151. He quotes various documents identifying both Baldwin and Polwheele as being ministers of both parishes.
- ³³ Frank Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, 2 vols., 1732-1735 (London, 1779), 510.
- ³⁴ Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662*, i, 172, 173.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 141.
- ³⁶ CRO (C), Ca4/3, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1649-1694.
- ³⁷ Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662*, i, 144ff.
- ³⁸ There is a copy in the Jackson Collection, Cumbria County Library, Carlisle. A number of other county associations were formed, the first of these being in Worcestershire in 1653. Cornick, *Under god's Good Hand*, 62.
- ³⁹ Kirkpatrick Durham is in Dumfriesshire, north of Castle Douglas.
- ⁴⁰ Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* (Edinburgh, 1928), vii, 475.
- ⁴¹ Robert Wodrow, *The History and Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution* (4 vols. Glasgow, 1830), ii, 346.
- ⁴² Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 105.
- ⁴³ Samuel Palmer, *The Nonconformist Memorial: being an account of the Ministers who were ejected or silenced after the Restoration ... originally written by Edmund Calamy (1671-1732)* (London, 1775), i, 299.
- ⁴⁴ Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662*, i, 660.
- ⁴⁵ CRO (C), Ca4/3, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1649-1694.
- ⁴⁶ Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662*, i, 665.
- ⁴⁷ Frank Bate, *The Declaration of Indulgence 1672* (London, 1908), Appendix vii, lxii. Of the approximately thirty Cumberland licences listed, only two were for women, the other being for the house of Isabella Dixon in Whitehaven.
- ⁴⁸ CRO (C), microfilm JAC 1309, will of Barbara Studholme, 1689.
- ⁴⁹ R. S. Ferguson and W. Nanson, *Municipal Records of Carlisle* (Carlisle, 1887), 90.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 202 and 203.
- ⁵¹ CRO (C), D/AY/1/328, Aglionby Family Records. I am grateful to Denis Perriam for drawing my attention to this document.

- ⁵² CRO (C), D/AY/1/329, Aglionby Family Records.
- ⁵³ CRO (C), Ca3/3/29, The Cullery Admittance Book 1673-1680. Cullery rents were customary rents levied by the lord of the manor, in this case the city of Carlisle. The Admittance Book contains a record of the tenants. For further information on cullery tenancy, see W. Nanson, 'On the Customary Tenancy at Carlisle called 'Cullery Tenure'', *CW1*, vi, 305ff. At that time English Street and Blackfriars Street came under Botchergate within the Walls. Edward James was the freeholder of two adjacent properties on English Street, the first inherited from his father in 1653 and the second from his aunt, Elizabeth Atkinson, in 1659. One of these properties was situated on land now occupied by House of Fraser and the other on land now occupied by House of Fraser and Marks and Spencer bridging Barwise Court. I am grateful to Denis Perriam for giving me sight of correspondence between himself and Bruce Jones from which I obtained this information.
- ⁵⁴ Isaac Tullie, *A Narrative of the Siege of Carlisle, in 1644 and 1645* (Whitehaven, 1988), 1.
- ⁵⁵ Francis Nicholson and Ernest Axon, *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal* (Kendal, 1915), 30. Studholme had previously been one of the commissioners appointed under the Act of 21 March 1650, see note 27.
- ⁵⁶ R. S. Ferguson, 'The Dormont Book of Carlisle', *CW1*, vi, 302.
- ⁵⁷ P. H. Fox, 'The Note Book of William Thomson of Thornflatt Justice of Peace for Cumberland during the Commonwealth', *CW2*, xiv, 159 and 160. This information would appear to place in question the possibility, postulated by Nightingale, that Cuthbert and Barbara Studholme had Quaker leanings. However, Barbara may have had a subsequent change of heart because in her will she entrusted money, which she had bequeathed to her granddaughter, to a Quaker merchant, Isaac Huntington.
- ⁵⁸ CRO (C), microfilm JAC 1333, Will of Cuthbert Studholme, 1668. At the time of his death, he was lord of the manor of Rickerby.
- ⁵⁹ Watts, *Dissenters*, 227-238.
- ⁶⁰ CRO (C), DRC5/3, Act Book 1667/8-1670.
- ⁶¹ CRO (C), DH/PH/1/15, Census of the Diocese of Carlisle 1676. This is a photocopy of an original in the Bodleian Library. See also Francis Godwin James, 'The Population of the Diocese of Carlisle in 1676', *CW2*, li, 137. The 909 seems low compared with the population of 5,060, compiled by Denton, for the two parishes in 1688 and referred to by S. Jefferson, *History and Antiquities of Carlisle* (Carlisle, 1838). There are a number of possible reasons for the difference. For example the 909 includes only 'persons of the age to Communicate', which could be limited to those over 16. On the other hand, the actual population in 1676 may have still been recovering from the combined effects of the plague and the civil war. This census was contemporary with, but different from, the Compton Census, which applied to the province of Canterbury.
- ⁶² Alexander Gordon (ed.), *Freedom after Ejection A Review 1660-1692 of Presbyterian Nonconformity in England and Wales* (Manchester, 1917), 22-24.
- ⁶³ CRO (C), CQ1/1, Quarter Session Minute Book Mich 1667-Mids 1695.
- ⁶⁴ Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662*, ii, 1275. When the Congregationalists left the Common Fund in 1695 to set up their own fund, the Presbyterians retained the term Common Fund for many years afterwards. Notwithstanding this, for the purpose of differentiation between the two I have used the term Presbyterian Fund for the period after 1695.
- ⁶⁵ CRO (C), microfilm JAC 481, Cockermonth Church Book 1651-1706, 1692 item 7.
- ⁶⁶ CRO (C), CQ1/1, Quarter Session Minute Book Mich 1667-Mids 1695
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁸ CRO (C), microfilm JAC481, Cockermonth Church Book 1651-1706, 1692 item 15.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁰ His name is normally spelt Eaglesfield by others but on two documents he signed his name as R. Eaglesfeild.
- ⁷¹ CRO (C), microfilm JAC 481, Cockermonth Church Book 1651 -1706, 1672 item 16.
- ⁷² CRO (C), Ca5/3/56, Articles and Agreement between Mayor and Citizens and Richard Eaglesfeild of Carlisle Gent, 21 September 1694.
- ⁷³ Chester L. Shaver, 'The Griffith Family: Wordworths Kinsmen', *CW2*, lxiii, 201.
- ⁷⁴ CRO (C), CQ1/2, 4.
- ⁷⁵ Eaglesfield did appear in a long list of people, including a number of Dissenting ministers, who were described as taking the Test at the Quarter Sessions on 20 July 1689. On the basis that this was subsequent to passing of the Act of Toleration, and that Test Act did not apply to Dissenting ministers, it is more likely that the test referred to was the provision of the Act of Toleration which required all Dissenters to abjure the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. It seems unusual that Eaglesfield,

- who must have been a known Dissenter, was not required to take the Test Act, on taking up office as collector of customs.
- ⁷⁶ John Aglionby was not particularly enamoured of Dissenters.
- ⁷⁷ 'Bishop Nicholson's Diaries (1703-4): Part II', transcribed by Thomas Gray, and edited by Eric Birley, *CW2*, i, 118. I can find no record of this event in the Quarter Sessions minutes. The first Test Act of 1673 required 'that all or every person or persons as well as peers and commoners, that shall bear any office or offices civil or military; or shall receive any pay, salary, fee, or wages by reason of any grant from his majesty ... shall receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England ... in some parish church ...'. As a conscientious bishop, Nicholson would have been anxious to explain the sacrament Eaglesfield was receiving.
- ⁷⁸ CRO (C), microfilm JAC 707, St Mary's Parish Registers Burials 1655-1732.
- ⁷⁹ Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662*, ii, 1276.
- ⁸⁰ CRO (C), CQ1/1. As with Eaglesfield, the Tests are probably the requirement to abjure the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation and swear allegiance to the crown, whilst the Articles and Declaration refer to the need for Dissenters, under the Act of Toleration, to accept 36 of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, which most were prepared to do.
- ⁸¹ Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* (Edinburgh, 1915), i, 246, for most of this brief biography of Menzies' ministry in Scotland, but see also Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, (Edinburgh, 1917), ii, 207. The Scots Confession was a 25-article Calvinist Confession of Faith drawn up by John Knox and others, and approved by the Scottish Parliament in August 1560.
- ⁸² *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (Edinburgh, 1993), 817.
- ⁸³ Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662*, ii, 1276.
- ⁸⁴ Dr Williams Library, London. Minutes of the Congregational Fund Board on microfilm.
- ⁸⁵ CRO (C), Ca3/3/29, The Cullery Admittance Book 1673-1680.
- ⁸⁶ T. S. James, *The History of the Litigation and Legislation respecting Presbyterian Chapels and Charities in England and Ireland between 1816 and 1849* (London, 1868), 842, makes reference to the relators' evidence in the Attorney-General v Wilson, which contains accounts of many old chapels formerly in the hands of the Independents being carried over to one or other of the Scots denominations and a few, including Carlisle, being gained by barefaced violence, with sad narratives given of the scenes they presented. In the absence of the source material, it would be wrong to comment on these claims, other than to say that there is little evidence of Scots' involvement in the local records. A relator was an informant who supplied information to the Attorney-General under oath
- ⁸⁷ For John Menzies, see will of John Menzies, CRO (C), microfilm JAC 1277, proved 26 February 1704. For George Larkham, see William Browne, 'Bridekirk and its Registers', *CW1*, iv, 266. For Richard Eaglesfield see Chester L. Shaver, 'The Griffith Family: Wordsworth's Kinsmen', *CW2*, lxiii, 200 note 4.
- ⁸⁸ CRO (C), microfilm JAC 1277, will of John Menzies, proved 26 February 1704.
- ⁸⁹ CRO (C), CQ6/1, Public Order Book Mich 1696-Epi 1709, 372.
- ⁹⁰ The Congregational Fund Board records for the period between 1700-1737 have not survived.
- ⁹¹ I have not been able to find any information about Mrs Stanwix or why her house, which was outside the city, was chosen.
- ⁹² Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, (Edinburgh, 1928), vii, 475.
- ⁹³ Nicholson and Axon, *The Older Nonconformity*, 603. See also *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), 12, 945. Coningham's first ministry was at Penrith in 1694, and from there he moved to Cross Street, Manchester as co-pastor and assistant in the Academy there.
- ⁹⁴ Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662*, ii, 1277.
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1277.
- ⁹⁶ CRO (C), DRC5/6, Diocesan Records.
- ⁹⁷ CRO (C), CQ1/1, Quarter Session Minute Book Mich 1667-Mids 1695. See also, CRO (C), microfilm JAC 1258, will of Ann Craghill of Oughterby, proved in 1714. She may have been the widow of Thomas Craghill of Oughterby.
- ⁹⁸ CRO (C), microfilm JAC 577, will of Thomas Craghill, proved in 1742.
- ⁹⁹ It is recognised that Pearson is a common local name, but it seems likely that the combination of the names of Craghill and Pearson in the same will is sufficient evidence to tie the Thomas Pearson of the will to Thomas Pearson the Dissenter.
- ¹⁰⁰ Michael R. Watts, *Dissenters*, 297. Some caution is needed in reaching this conclusion, since when the congregation moved to Fisher Street in 1736 they again applied for a certificate as Protestant Dissenters, although at the time they purchased the land for the new meeting house in 1731 they

were describing themselves as Presbyterians. In this context it is noted that as late as 1726 Robert Eaglesfield, the son of Richard, and the then minister, Thomas Dickinson, were both Trustees of the will of James Haddock, merchant: see CRO (C), microfilm JAC 1156, will of James Haddock, proved 7 October 1726.

- ¹⁰¹ I am currently preparing an article which seeks to establish the exact site of the meeting house.
- ¹⁰² CRO (C), DFPCP3/33, Fisher Street Presbyterian Church, Carlisle, Session Minutes 1867-1884. Notebook/scrapbook (m.s.) headed *Fisher Street*, currently in private hands, gives his surname as Pagan: though I have been unable to trace the original source of this information, it does have the ring of authenticity.
- ¹⁰³ R. S. Robson, article in the *Carlisle Journal*, 31 May 1912.
- ¹⁰⁴ CRO (C), CQ1/2, 343. In this instance the Tests, almost certainly, refer to the requirements of the Act of Uniformity and not those of the first Test Act of 1673.
- ¹⁰⁵ Nicholson and Axon, *The Older Nonconformity*, 586.
- ¹⁰⁶ T. S. James, *The History of the Litigation and Legislation*, 654. The membership details, provided by James, are taken from a list of Presbyterian and Independent Chapels in England between 1717 and 1729 recorded by Dr Evans, the original of which is in Dr Williams Library in London. I am grateful to Dr Wykes, the Director of Dr Williams Library, for providing me with an accurate transcript of the entry.
- ¹⁰⁷ Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662*, ii, 1277.
- ¹⁰⁸ CRO (C), St Mary's Parish Registers, microfilm JAC 707, baptisms 1648-1732, and burials 1655-1732, microfilm JAC 708, burials 1732-1761.
- ¹⁰⁹ This entry includes a word which I have been unable to decipher, although others have transcribed it as 'Presbyterian'.
- ¹¹⁰ CRO (C), DFPCP1/1, Baptisms Brampton Presbyterian Church.
- ¹¹¹ CRO (C), DFPCP1/1, Session minutes Brampton Presbyterian Church, 53.