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A table of contents for *The Baptist Quarterly* can be found here:

[https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles\\_bq\\_01.php](https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_bq_01.php)

## The Signatories of the Orthodox Confession of 1679

(Continued)

2. STEPHEN DAGNALL, bookseller, was elder of the church at Aylesbury and one of the Twelve Confessors. Edwards in the third part of his *Gangraena* (1646) mentions "one Dagnell, a Bookseller, a map of errors, who to a godly minister denied original sin, and maintained many other wicked opinions." At this time the Baptists were the most extreme sect in Buckinghamshire, but they were soon assailed by the wild antinomian sect of Shelomethite Ranters, whose centres were at Uxbridge and Abingdon.<sup>21</sup> In October, 1650 Dagnall published Raunce Burthall's *An old bridle for a wilde asse-colt* to expose their practices. They claimed to be restored to such perfection that they could not sin; they were above and beyond the Scriptures; Christ was a Ranter, and they were Christ; private property was a devil, and all things were common. "Oh what quicke returnes have they in their journeyes to such places, and houses, where their lanck bellies, and purses, are made Plump." In fact they had "no more Religion than a wild Bull"; they would "drink, and tittle and swear like mad." John Bunyan was sorely troubled by Ranters of this sect at about this time.<sup>22</sup>

In February, 1651, Dagnall published *Severall Proposals for the generall good of the Common-wealth*, a radical pamphlet which began moderately enough with a defence of the existing courts of judicature, though with some criticism of their uncertain and excessive fees. Dagnall then warmed to his task and denounced a strange variety of abuses. Unpaid and often unwilling parish officers should be replaced by paid permanent officials with well-defined duties and emoluments. The statute-book should be revised and freed from obscurities. Every man's estate should be liable for the payment of his debts. Measures should be taken "for prevention of abuses daily committed by guardians," and no married woman should be a guardian, since her husband may "strive to raise his fortune by the Infants ruine." The trustees of all charities should be made accountable to commissioners. Schools should be erected for "the children of the poorer sort whose ingenuities shall make them capable thereof," and such free schools should be associated with particular colleges. Tithes should be abolished, with compensations to impropriators out of general taxation, and the parochial ministry maintained in "some other inoppressive way." Each parish should elect its own incumbent, subject to some check on scandalous appointments. Dealing with economic policy, Dagnall attacked customs duties as a source of revenue; they increased the cost of living disproportionately, and should be replaced by direct taxes "which are the easier to be born in regard they are brought in at a certaine, and cheap rate, and the collectors thereof more subject to a strict acctomp." He admitted that protective duties might be retained to secure "the ballancing of Trade with foreign States," but preferred to safeguard home manufacturers by direct prohibition of imports when necessary. Coastal fishing by foreigners should be forbidden. Rogues and vagabonds should be set to work or transported to the plantations. To prevent the increase of landless labourers, no cottage should be built without sufficient land to supply its occupants' needs, and excessive rents should be

reduced. All tenants should be entitled to compensation for improvements. Dagnall expressed sympathy with the Levellers' demand that where commoners or owners of "vast circuits of ground lying waste" refused to improve their land, liberty should be given to any others to do so. His suggestions follow *A Declaration of the Wel-affected in the County of Buckingham* (1649) which claimed to represent the views of "the middle sort of men" in the Chiltern Hundreds and part of Aylesbury hundred. "All wel-affected persons that joyn in community in God's way, as those *Acts* 2, and desire to manure, dig, and plant in the waste ground and Commons, shall not be troubled or molested by any of us, but rather furthered therein." Other local grievances included the custom by which certain parishes intercommoned on each other's land (this had caused trouble in Bucks. since the fourteenth century), the claim of some commoners to turn out an unlimited number of beasts (this persisted into the nineteenth), the planting of warrens and diversion of watercourses. Commissioners in each county should enquire into such general nuisances. The repair of highways leading to market-towns should be a liability of the frontagers, "for commonly such waies are made defective by the meanes of those that border thereupon, and therefore the more fit to be repaired by them." Fairs should be held on fixed days of the month. Sales of horses should be registered in the toll books to prevent theft. The whole pamphlet, which is quite temperately written, is a significant indication of the true nature of contemporary radicalism. Its underlying theme is that the advantage of the commonwealth must outweigh particular interests, and that the State should intervene to protect those who cannot protect themselves. In some respects Dagnall was remarkably moderate; he was not opposed to titles of honour, and did not favour a widening of the Parliamentary franchise.

Dagnall signed the Humble Representation and Vindication, and in 1659 he and Francis Smith published the second edition of William Jeffery's *Whole Faith of Man*. In 1661 Dagnall alone issued Joseph Wright's *Testimony for the Son of Man*, an attack on the "bundle of equivocations, confusions and hypocrisies, in those who call themselves preachers of, and to the Light within all men." The Quakers had been active in Aylesbury and the neighbouring villages for some years, and regarded the Baptists as "deceived people of the world."<sup>23</sup>

The imprisonment, trial, sentence and pardon of Monk, Dagnall and ten of their flock have already been described. Dagnall's previous Arminianism may have been modified by the thought that he owed his life to the good offices of the Calvinist William Kiffin. In the Clergy Returns of 1669 Dagnall is reported from Bierton, Drayton Beauchamp, where he preached to a small congregation at the house of Robert Clarke, husbandman, and Wingrave, where he and William Smart of Walton taught the "middle and meaner sort of people." From the Quarter Sessions records it appears that in 1684 Stephen and his son Matthias or Matthew Dagnall also lived at Walton, the eastern suburb of Aylesbury; both were indicted for absence from church. Stephen had probably died or retired by 1688, when his son was among the booksellers who subscribed to the folio edition of *Paradise Lost*. In the same year Matthew was constable of the Lord's Fee in Aylesbury. His later life is obscure. One Matthew Dagnall of Haddenham registered his house for public worship in 1689 and was juror in 1706, 1708 and 1710. Matthias Dagnall of Aylesbury was churchwarden there in 1701-2 and was accused by his successors of procuring an illegal rate at a clandestine meeting. The Court set aside the rate, yet he was again churchwarden in 1703. He is probably the Matthew Dagnall of Aylesbury, gentleman, who was accused in 1709 of accepting payment for a warrant appointing new surveyors of the highways at Stone, and escaped by pleading an Act of Indemnity. It seems impossible that the extortionate churchwarden of

Aylesbury can be the Haddenham dissenter, and in none of these records is Matthias or Matthew called a bookseller: but in 1709 Matthew Dagnall, stationer, and Stephen Dagnall, both of Stone, stood sureties for five victuallers to keep good order in their alehouses. In a similar record of 1712 they are called Matthew and Stephen Dagnall, both of Aylesbury, stationers. Stephen, who was presumably a younger son or grandson of the elder of the church at Aylesbury, had moved to Chesham by 1719, when he published the important tract *A Word in Season*, by J. H. (almost certainly Joseph Hooke) defining the orthodox General Baptist view on subscription to creeds. Not all the family adhered to that connexion: John Dagnall represented the Haddenham Particular Baptists at an Association at Markeyate on Christmas Day, 1690, and provided a site for their meeting-house in 1734<sup>24</sup>; and Mary Dagnall was admonished by the church at Cuddington in 1704 and later excluded for worshipping with these Calvinists.

3. RICHARD YOUNG of Hudnall in the parish of "Edgborow" or Edlesborough, near the junction of Bucks., Beds. and Herts., seems to have been politically active as early as 1647, when he was one of the promoters of the petition called the "Husbandman's Plea" signed by 5,000 farmers and others in and around Hertfordshire. This radical manifesto demanded the abolition of tithes, and claimed for the farmer the full produce of his outlay, including compensation for improvements. "The husbandman's labour is envied him; and others, by a state policy, live upon his labour." Among the 94 principal signatories may be noticed such Baptist surnames as Garret, Monk, Dover, Goodson and Babbe. Under the Commonwealth Richard Young was one of the Hertfordshire trustees "for providing maintenance for preaching ministers and for uniting of parishes." By 1662 he had begun to frequent conventicles, and in 1669 he was holding a Baptist meeting at his house (see No. 38) and was also a leading member of a conventicle at Redbourn (see No. 39). In 1682 he was one of nine members of the Berkhamsted church who agreed to bear equal portions of any fine that might be levied on any member on account of religion. The others, according to Taylor (i. 231) were John Russell, Henry Baldwin, George Catherall, John Garrett and Robert Catlin, all mentioned below, F. Lewin (probably Francis Lewyn of Chesham), Charles Edge and T. Laird. Taylor's inference that this church suffered greater persecution than its neighbours is not supported by the records. Young attracted attention outside the denomination: in 1690, when he was preaching at Wycombe, he was one of the few Baptists mentioned by the Presbyterian compilers of a review of the Pedobaptist dissenting interest,<sup>25</sup> and in *A Monitorial letter* (1699) "Mr. Yong" is listed as one of the twenty-four leading Baptists.

4. JOHN TRULOVE was probably a Bedfordshire man. On 17th January, 1695 the Buckinghamshire justices confirmed a warrant removing John Trulove, junior, from Soulbury to Leighton Buzzard, Beds., which was his place of legal settlement and presumably his father's home. It was then very difficult for a poor man to acquire a fresh settlement in another county. Soulbury was a General Baptist centre; in 1669 nearly a hundred, all men,<sup>26</sup> worshipped at Henry Keach's home<sup>27</sup>: their leaders were Joseph Keach, bricklayer, Thomas Mead, blacksmith, and John Hall. Other references to the name Trulove are scarce. William Trulove was an Aylesbury Baptist in 1662. The church at Newport Pagnell resolved in 1829 that the short ends of candles should be Brother Trulove's perquisite.<sup>28</sup>

5. JAMES FENNE is so far unidentified, but may also have come from Bedfordshire. John Fenne, a hatter of Bedford who assisted John Gibbs,

was preaching in 1669 to two hundred at Widow Tears' house in Olney, and was licensed in 1672 to preach at Stagsden. Other clues are that on 17th January, 1684 Richard Fenne of Stewkley, where there had long been a Particular Baptist church, stood surety for John Holland of Granborough (No. 22 below); and that in 1702 Francis Fenn of Northall near Edlesborough registered his house for worship. In 1697 Matthew Fenn of Coggeshall published *A few lines touching baptism*, and at the General Association in 1699 Daniel Fenn of Deptford asserted the independence of the local church, which most General Baptists then rejected. James Fenne, however, has eluded enquiry.

6. JOSEPH COOPER attended the Assembly of the Five Churches (Aylesbury, Berkhamsted-Chesham, Cuddington-Ford, Wing, Winslow) at Berton in 1690, and signed the agreement which reconciled the swearers and non-swearers (see No. 29 below). A year later Sarah Cooper, widow, registered her house at Great Horwood for worship. Other North Bucks. Dissenters of the same surname prosecuted in 1682-85 included Henry, Thomas (draper) and Edward Cooper of Newport Pagnell and Thomas (grocer), John and Elizabeth Cooper of Olney. It may also be noted that Thomas Cowper was a Lollard leader in 1521 at the hamlet of Woodrow, later a Baptist centre from which Amersham Lower Meeting sprang. William Cowper, the poet, although born at Berkhamsted, was not of a local family.

7. WILLIAM HOWES or House of Oving, yeoman, also bore an old Lollard surname. In 1662 he was a "reputed anabaptist" with two children unbaptized, and was holding a conventicle at his house "for people of several families to resort unto under pretence of preaching, prayer, etc." The 1669 returns also mention a meeting at his home, taught by him and John Hartnoll, thatcher, the Messenger in North Bucks. Howes and John Mountague (see No. 30) also assisted Hartnoll at his house at North Marston, where thirty or forty "mean people" assembled. After the Toleration Act Howes at once took the new oaths and registered his farmstead as a meeting-house. No proceedings against him are recorded; indeed, he served as juror when the last persecution was approaching its height. Another branch of the family at Berton included several Popish recusants, among whom was one of the king's lifeguard. John Howse of Kimblewick is often mentioned in the Ford records during 1705-20.

8. DANIEL COX's identity is uncertain. On 19th March, 1714 John Cook, Daniel Cox and four others certified that the house of Thomas Matthews of Coney-street in the parish of St. Stephens was "designed for a public meeting for the Baptists to solemnise the worship of Almighty God."<sup>29</sup> This meeting, a branch of the Berkhamsted-Chesham church, was connected with an earlier cause at Bedmond Pond, mentioned by Evans and Urwick but overlooked in *The Baptists of London*. Cox was such a common Baptist surname that the identification is doubtful. Another possible clue is that Bridget Cox, widow, registered a meeting-house at Princes Risborough in 1689. The Cuddington-Ford church resolved "That Bro. Lawley is to be acquitted from keeping a meeting at his house . . . for soe Long time till the meeting has gone round or may goe round at the houses of Bro: J: o: ny Bro: Delafield and Sister Cox."<sup>30</sup> In 1703 her son Richard Cox was asked to send a letter commending a member to "our sister-churches in London"; he represented Cuddington at the General Association 1700-04, but was suspended next year for marrying out of the connexion. Edward and Robert Cox, glovers, were preaching at Haddenham in 1669, and Richard Cox's house at Wallingford was licensed in 1672. Others against whom proceedings

were taken in 1682-85 included John Coxe of Cuddington, glover, and his wife Margaret, Thomas and Mary Cox of Calverton, John Cox of Sherrington and John Cox of Astwood. Was one of these the John Cox who later distracted the Northern churches by seeking to revive the whole law of Moses? Francis Cox (1735-1803), yeoman of Cranwell, who came from an old Baptist family at Nesbury House, a farm at Shenley Brook End, was a leader of the revival in Buckinghamshire; he built and endowed the historic meeting-house on Waddesdon Hill where the Bucks. Association was founded.<sup>31</sup> There was another Baptist family of Cox or Cocks in Northamptonshire; Cock is a frequent variant in South Bucks. and elsewhere. In 1690 Joseph Symonds of North Marston was indicted for attempting to bewitch Elizabeth Cox; this gives some indication of the dark superstition with which Hartnoll had to contend in his own village.

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9. NICHOLAS RENNOLD is not known in Buckinghamshire; Dr. Whitley, no doubt on good authority, places him at West Hendred, an old Lollard centre. If so, he was the only representative from Berkshire; that county had been among the fifteen or sixteen represented at the General Assembly at Aylesbury in 1659,<sup>32</sup> but Jeremiah Ives found it unfruitful soil,<sup>33</sup> and by 1679 it was strongly Calvinist. The only General Baptist church in Berkshire to survive long was a cause at Maidenhead, overlooked by Evans, last represented at the General Assembly in 1742 and omitted from its minutes after 1747.

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10. HENRY BALDWIN of the Berkhamsted-Chesham church was delated to the Bishop in 1669. In 1682 he was one of the nine members who guaranteed payment of fines (see No. 3). His name occurs in a list of signatories of the Brief Confession of 1660, sent in 1696 to the Doopsgezinden of Amsterdam, and preserved in the Mennonite archives. An earlier Henry Baldwin, a Puritan churchwarden of Watford, was ordered to do penance in 1599.<sup>34</sup> In 1669 Daniel Baldwin, a fuller, was teaching ten people, "mostly silly women," in his own house at Bledlow. Six other Baldwins, four of them called Richard, were presented at Bucks. Quarter Sessions for absence from church during 1683-86.

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11. WILLIAM GLENESTER cannot be distinguished from William Glenister (No. 41). William Glenister, junior, of Pightleston (now Pitstone, Bucks.), gentleman, was appointed county treasurer for the King's Bench and Marshalsea in 1699, and several times served as juror. William Glenister, gentleman, not distinguished as "junior," was churchwarden of Pitstone in 1703-4; another (or the same?) was churchwarden of Cheddington, 1705-6, and yet another from Amersham served as juror in 1701. Which of these signed the Orthodox Confession is quite uncertain; none of them was presented or indicted for absence from church, but they were of good position, and few parish constables would bring in a presentment against their social superiors; the persecution was mainly directed against day-labourers and small tradesmen.

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12. JOHN CARTER was an ostler at Newport Pagnell, presented at Quarter Sessions for absence from church in 1685, together with John Gibbs, the "lean, lone, Pagnell saint," formerly vicar, ejected in 1659-60. In 1698 Carter registered his house at Olney for public worship; two years later the congregation, a branch of Gibbs' church at Newport, registered a barn which had been purchased in 1694 from John Foster and others and vested in John Carter and others as feoffees in trust, subject to the condition that no person should be permitted to preach there but such as should be of the

same judgment in respect of doctrine, discipline and worship as John Gibbs, clerk, pastor of the church. Gibbs' opinions may be gathered from his own works, his preface to Bunyan's *A Few Sighs from Hell*, and from Richard Carpenter's lively tract *The Anabaptist washt and washt and shrunk in the washing*,<sup>35</sup> which also refers to Baptist activity at Aylesbury. Like Bunyan, who was probably his schoolfellow at Bedford, Gibbs was an open-membership Baptist with a passion for souls and a deep concern with judgment and eternity. He did not sign the Orthodox Confession, but would have had no objection to Carter's doing so: a moderate Calvinist or Baxterian might well have accepted Monk's careful formulation of the doctrines of grace, which satisfied Ivimey but perplexed Adam Taylor. Gibbs kept in touch with the General Baptists, and in 1698 published a sermon on the death of his kinsman William Hartley, apothecary, a General Baptist leader at Stony Stratford since the Civil War. The Olney church was originally called Independent, and seems to have included Arminians and Calvinists, Baptists and Pedobaptists; but such a United Free Church was in advance of the age, and soon after Gibbs' death in 1699 the Congregationalist members, led by Matthias Maurice (later pastor at Rothwell) withdrew to the Lower Meeting. Carter and others rallied the Baptist members, but during his later years the cause declined. In 1707, several members of Gibbs' former church at Newport asked John Moore's church at Northampton whether they ought to begin their church state anew.<sup>36</sup> In 1711 Joseph Palmer was frequently preaching at Olney, but he had left by 1715 and next year seven members wrote to the College Street church at Northampton complaining of "want of soul-food." Soon afterwards the church split into two sections, presumably General and Particular. In Northampton, the Particulars outnumbered the General Baptists by six to one, but at Newport Pagnell and Stony Stratford there were undivided churches under General Baptist ministers. The church at Olney was so weak that John Evans' informants did not think it worth mentioning. Carter died soon after, and according to W. Andrews<sup>37</sup> a stone in one of the aisles of the Upper Meeting bore the inscription: "John Carter, a minister, lies buried in this place: died 1720, aged 88." The next pastor soon removed to Northampton Green, and the cause seems to have become a branch of Walgrave near Kettering. These were Strict Communion churches, and in 1738 Olney was reorganised by Moses Deacon as a distinct church on the same lines, in spite of the trust deed. In 1741 a rigid Calvinist from Princes Risborough was settled as pastor, but Olney did not quite forget its earlier and more liberal traditions; John Newton found its worship acceptable, Sutcliff revived its interest in missionary endeavours, and through his personal influence the church called William Carey to the work of the ministry and sent him out to preach the Gospel wherever God in His providence might call him.

13. HENRY GOSSE, senior, of Dinton, married Anne Somes on 12th February, 1643; he was not then a Baptist, for their son Roger (d. 1667) was christened on New Year's Day, 1645. In 1653 Gosse (or possibly a cousin of the same name) was "sworne Register for the Parish of Dynton" by Simon Mayne the Regicide under an Act for the civil registration of births, marriages and deaths. He opened a new book, in which christenings were not recorded until 1662, so that no inference can be drawn from the birth in 1655 of his daughter Mary (d. 1681). In the Church Book of Ford, Gosse cannot always be distinguished from his more prominent son (No. 42), but two entries certainly relate to him. On 17th April, 1689 he was asked to collect contributions in the Vale of Aylesbury for "a poore brother that is of considerable vse amongst Gods people who now is in a state of Indigence." Three years later the two Gosses were deputed to admonish William Bate (No. 18) to attend the next church meeting to give satisfaction for

his excess in drinking. Henry Gosse who registered his house in Dinton for worship in 1689 was probably the father. He and his wife Anne were both buried on 15th May, 1693, soon after their golden wedding, "and Affidavit was deliuered in according to ye Act for burring in wollen."

14. JOHN RENNOLDS is identified by Dr. Whitley with John Reynolds who was preaching at Horne in 1669. The surname was common among General Baptists; William Reynolds, one of the seven who signed *Sion's Groans*, was Messenger in Leicestershire, and Thomas Reynolds was a leader in Lincolnshire in 1660. Another Thomas Renolds of Lee Common was excluded from the church of Cuddington or Ford in 1703 for swearing, threatening to murder his wife and other misbehaviours. The only admissible John Reynolds in Buckinghamshire appears to be a yeoman of Kimblewick, whose name is associated with two Goodchilds in a list of recognisances discharged in 1693; but there is nothing else to suggest that he was a Baptist.

15. R. BURNAME was probably Richard Bonham or Bennam of the Cuddington church; he was preaching at Long Crendon in 1669, signed the Bierton resolutions (see No. 29) on 24th April, 1690, and later that year was requested to go with Clement Hunt and others to Haddenham meeting "on ye occasion of Br. Cokers case." In 1692 Brother Burnaham was sorry that he had grieved the brethren by cutting the common woods, and promised to cut no more until it was tried whether it was his right: this minute may, however, relate to Thomas Burnham of Princes Risborough, tailor, who took the oaths in 1689 and was later suspended for drunkenness but restored upon his repentance. The surnames Burnham, Bonham, Boneham were common in the Vale of Aylesbury. Dr. Whitley was inclined to identify R. Burname with Robert Burnam, who in 1645-6 published *A remonstrance; or, a necessitated vindication of R. B. against two false Scandalous Libells, maliciously scattered in the name of Elizabeth Burnam his Wife . . . or, the plaine Mans Declaration against Conjugall separation, wherein as in a Mirror or glasse, you may lively behold the vast difference betweene a good wife and one transcendently bad*. Burnam lived in Westminster, c. 1632-8, and then moved to Coventry, leaving his wife in the City, where he took her a house and a chandler's business. On his return, she turned him out and accused him of threatening, beating and trying to strangle her. This Burnam, however, was a Calvinist; he would only pray for his wife under the condition that she was among the elect.

16. ROBERT IONY, whose usual signature was Robert J:ony, was a barber-surgeon of Princes Risborough and a somewhat unstable pillar of the church of Cuddington or Ford. In 1688 he was preaching at Wendover with Nehemiah Neale of Frithsden; presumably the old dispute about ministers' right to maintenance (see No. 39) was resolved. At the Midsummer Sessions in 1689 Jony subscribed the Articles, whereupon Clement Hunt suspended him from communion but allowed him to preach at Bishopstone. He was restored to fellowship on his repentance and submission, and was nominated deacon, but in June, 1690, he was again under church censure "touching some Disorders." By December he had "submitted to the Church Authority touching the difference of the former fast," and next year he represented the church at the Easter meetings at Aylesbury. In 1692 he was admonished for absence from the Lord's Table and for not having "demeaned himself soe orderly as becometh a Christian Conversation." Yet at the same meeting he was asked to assist Widow Dancer of Princes Risborough to make terms with Joshua Lock, to whom she owed £20. The church had guaranteed



£10 of this, and on 5th October Hunt, Jony and others wrote to Lock as a Christian brother, accusing him of slighting the church and "pressing vpon the poore Widow with the greater seuerity or exactness." They admitted an obligation to support insolvent church members, but not to discharge their debts in full, "neither doe wee know of any precedents in other Congregations that are otherwise." Nine months later the widow's debt amounted to £52, but Lock finally accepted £30 which the church agreed to raise in four months "according to each pticular members temperall capacity." Jony subscribed £2 and no one contributed more; evidently bloodletting was profitable. Later he was sent to exhort John Lawley, who had refused to subscribe, to "Enlarge his hand to ye poor and to take heed of Coveteousness and over much Springness of the Good Things which God hath lent him and for which he will one day require an Account of his Stewardship." In 1693 the Church resolved that Jony should bring in his bills at the next monthly meeting and receive his money "or else to be foreclosed and never to expect it to be any more taken care of by ye Church." He was also to take his turn in accommodating the Risborough meeting, but it does not appear that his house was ever registered for this purpose, and only one church meeting there is mentioned. In 1694 Jony was preaching at "the Coomes" (Coombe near Ellesborough) and at Wycombe with Hunt. Next year he was again raising money in the Chiltern parts, where wage rates were higher than in the Vale, and on 30th January, 1699 he was asked to "perfect ye free will offering against ye next church meeting and bring an account of what he hath done." The post of church treasurer was not yet clearly defined. Later that year he is called a "gifted disciple" and authorised to edify the church, but not to preach at funerals without "ye Authority of ye Higher Powers." This followed a decision of the Five Churches (see No. 6) to reserve funeral sermons to their elders. In 1700 Jony and others were summoned to show cause why they withheld their collection. Jony abjured the Pretender in July, 1702, made his will 18th January, 1703 and probably died soon after.

Another Robert Jony, probably his son, also took the abjuration in 1702, and is constantly mentioned in the Ford minutes from 1707; he was nominated deacon in 1721, attended the General Assembly at Stony Stratford 1728-30 and, after the reunion, in London 1731-34, was ordained elder in 1739 by Messengers Stanger and Drinkwater, and is last mentioned in 1743, after which the minutes are fragmentary until 1820. In 1758 John Iony represented Glasshouse Yard at the General Assembly; the elder there was Benjamin Treacher, of an old Lollard and General Baptist family from Buckinghamshire (see No. 39).

17. THOMAS HEADACH was a grocer of Monks Risborough in 1689, of Princes Risborough by 1701, and of the church of Cuddington or Ford throughout. During the persecution which preceded the first Indulgence he was entrapped by an agent-provocateur, one John Poulter of Salisbury, called the Trepan, and accused of treasonable words, which might have led to a capital charge; but Poulter was himself accused of "some wretched practices" and disappeared, and the testimony of his fellow-informer Lacey of Risborough was insufficient. This Poulter had previously tried to pass as a Quaker, and to prove his contempt for infant baptism had blasphemously christened a cat.<sup>38</sup>

In 1688 Headach was directed to admonish members who had refused to contribute on behalf of sister Somersby in accordance with a church agreement. He subscribed the Articles at Wendover in 1689 as the Toleration Act required, but later said that he acted inadvisedly and would not do it again. He signed the Bierton resolutions which ended this controversy, and was appointed elder (elect) for the "uphill" or Chiltern parts of the

congregation. Presumably he could not be ordained immediately, as no Messenger was available; Clement Hunt was beginning to act in that capacity, but his own position was not regularised until 1698. Headach helped to arrange Hunt's visits to other churches and took part in the negotiations with Haddenham, but his main concern was with church discipline. In 1698 he and Gosse were "appointed to followe with Admonishon" one Edward Dover who went to "Towne fesstes"<sup>39</sup> and neglected meetings thereby. Next year Headach and Coker were asked to compile a full church roll for the scattered Vale meetings. In 1701 a church meeting at Headach's house warned members not to worship with Edward Hoare and Thomas Norris, who had established their own Calvinist meeting at Princes Risborough. Hoare was not excluded, however, and until the final breach in September, 1702, Headach still sought to persuade him to give satisfaction to the church. The following April fourteen other members were excluded, and Headach was directed to inform those living in and below Risborough how far the church had proceeded against them. In 1704 he represented the church at the Buckinghamshire Association, which was being distracted by Pelagian as well as Calvinist errors, and on 12th March, 1707, he was appointed to admonish "ower Troblesome brother Theophilus Delafield"<sup>40</sup> who had denied the imputative righteousness of Christ. Headach's daughter Mary had married a Delafield; the strict General Baptist rule against mixed marriage tended to turn every dispute into a family quarrel. He was no more successful in this than in former cases, yet this painful duty was still entrusted to him, and his warnings in 1708 to John Parker, junior, who was keeping ill company, gave Dr. Whitley the opportunity for the headnote *Headach Admonishes a Drinker*. In 1711 he admonished Abraham Ransome for breach of promise and for neglecting the meetings. In 1713 he was making enquiries about the suitability of Joseph Jenkins for the office of Messenger, and the financial support he might expect. We last hear of Headach on 25th January, 1716, visiting an erring sister King who had married out of the fellowship. He was evidently a simple-hearted man, loyal to his church and creed and implicitly trusted by his bishop and his fellow-members. He deserved to have lived in quieter times.

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18. WILLIAM BATE was a labourer of Dinton and deacon of Cuddington. He married Susan Bishop in 1655. Clement Hunt was preaching at his house in 1669. On 9th May, 1688, the church sent Bate to preach at Aylesbury "next first day." He did not take the new oaths after the Revolution, but he signed the Bierton resolutions. On 13th April, 1692 he was suspended for excess in drinking, but soon restored. In 1693 he objected to Clement Hunt's altering the time and place of church meetings, but the church supported Hunt. At the next meeting Hunt himself was accused of excessive drinking and Bate was somewhat tactlessly sent to cite him to appear and answer; Hunt was naturally incensed and after several cross-charges the accuser was himself suspended. On 4th March, 1696 Bate was required to produce an account of the disposal of £5 given by the late brother Saunders, and when the matter was raised again in September he "seamed to Evade an Answer." He had in fact little capacity for business, and in 1699 John Hunt was appointed to assist him in the deacon's office; Bate was to help with the money and advice, but before he could do so he was again suspended for overmuch drinking. He was restored to fellowship by 1701, when Henry Gosse (No. 42) charged him with perverting the sense of *Isaiah* lxiv. 6, "We are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousness are as filthy rags." Gosse held that the prophet did not include himself, but spoke only of the wicked. The church upheld Bate's exegesis, but next year pronounced him disorderly in some things and suspended him

for overmuch drinking as heretofore. This time he was not restored for over a year, after which he preached at Westlington. He is last mentioned on 28th March, 1705, involved in another dispute about some accounts. He was an honest and obstinate old man, much esteemed by the church because of his constancy during the years of persecution; but he should not have been entrusted with church office.

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19. WILLIAM GILES, senior, shopkeeper, later called gentleman, was assisting Hartnoll in 1669, when he preached to "not above twenty mean people" at George Deverell's farmhouse at Swanbourne.<sup>41</sup> Giles lived in a house overlooking the market-place in Winslow, in which he set up two rows of stalls from 1661 to 1677, when the Duke of Buckingham (Dryden's Zimri, Pope's "lord of useless thousands") claimed the sole right, as lord of the manor, to place and let stalls, his bailiffs receiving the profits to their own use. The Duke accused Giles of attempting to suborn a witness whom the steward of the court leet had examined six years before concerning the stalling.<sup>42</sup> Whatever the outcome, Giles continued to prosper (unlike the Duke, who died in the utmost misery in 1687) for he was chief constable of the Three Hundreds of Cottesloe in 1682. During his year of office Thomas Smallbones, labourer, pleaded guilty of stealing from him a turkey, valued as sixpence, and a duck, fourpence, and was sentenced to be whipped in the gaol "until his body be bloody," and then discharged, paying his fees. Shortly before leaving office Giles was charged with absence from church; perhaps he had made enemies, for Cottesloe was fairly safe for Dissenters. He was not troubled again, however, and after the Revolution, he was sworn in as constable of Winslow, took the oaths and registered his house for public worship. He was apparently still living in 1699, when his son was still called "junior" in the rolls of the manor court of Winslow, but was probably dead by 1702. The court roll of 1686 gives his wife's name as Mary.

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20. WILLIAM GILES, junior, wool merchant and woollendraper, later called gentleman, was presented on 11th January, 1683, for absence from Winslow parish church, together with his father and eight others. He took the oaths in 1689 and represented the Winslow Baptist church, of which he was elder, at the General Assembly in 1692 and the General Association in 1702. He was county treasurer for the maimed soldiers in 1693, and was succeeded by Daniel Giles; their accounts were not in order, but the irregularity was traced back to one of their predecessors. In the same year we find William Giles lending money on mortgage. The court rolls record his acquisition of copyhold land near Winslow, including some at "West Well in Demoram feild." On 16th January, 1696, he was prosecuted by Joseph Glenister<sup>43</sup> and John Seaton for obstructing the road to Adstock at a place called The Pickles (qu. Pightles?) by making a ditch and hedge. Later that year Jane, wife of John Inwood of Stewkley, wheelwright, was indicted for stealing 1½ yards of serge and two pairs of stockings from Giles, and sentenced to be whipped by the executioner. During Queen Anne's reign, Giles took the abjuration, served as juror for the body of the county and later as juryman for Winslow, and was nominated chief constable of Cottesloe but did not serve. He attended the Upton debate on the Gosse-Delafield controversy (see No. 42) and signed the agreed conclusions, and preached at Risborough in 1708 and Ford in 1709. In 1713 he and John Chawke purchased the rectorial tithes of Padbury from the Baldwin family.<sup>44</sup> The General Assembly had resolved in 1697 that though it might be lawful for a Baptist elder to receive tithes, it was in all cases very inconvenient; but at least three are known to have done so.

A later William Gyles, who owned land at Winslow, was active at the

General Assembly from 1731 until 1742, when he was elected Messenger although he had never been ordained presbyter. The Assembly had ruled in the similar case of William Allen that this was permissible; this decision was reversed in 1768.

21. JOHN HENDLY was probably John Henley, gentleman, of Shipton in Winslow, whose house was certified as a public meeting-house at the Epiphany 1692-3 Sessions. In 1668 he mortgaged his copyhold property to an Oxford barber, and in 1698 exchanged land with William Lowndes; the court roll gives the name of his wife, Katherine. Henley was a county treasurer for the maimed soldiers in 1704-5, and one of the seven jurymen of Winslow in 1711, with Daniel and William Giles. Another John Henly of Olney was indicted in 1684 with thirty others for riot and unlawful assembly; the presence of Isaac Henly and John Asprey makes it almost certain that this was a conventicle, but only seventeen of the thirty-one were fined. The position of Hendly's name in the list of signatories points, however, to the Winslow rather than the Olney man.

22. JOHN HOLAN has been identified with John Holland, licensed in 1672 to preach at Faringdon in Dorset. The Dorset General Baptist churches, which deserve further study, were orthodox and adhered to the General Association, but we need scarcely look so far afield. John Holland, senior, a farmer of Granborough near Winslow, constable there in 1681, was bound over in 1684 for his good behaviour with Richard Fenne of Stewkley as surety, and after the Toleration Act Widow Holland registered her house at Granborough for public worship. Holland is quite probably the "John Holl" at whose house in "Greenborough" forty Baptists of Hartnoll's flock met in 1669; but Holl may be John Hall, reported from Soulbury.

23. HUGH GLINISTER is unknown but should probably also be sought in the Winslow area; cf. No. 53 and note 43. The Fenstanton church book<sup>45</sup> mentions a sister Glinister, at whose house in Royston Henry Denne preached and conferred until late in the night on 10th November, 1653, during his missionary tour.

24. LEONARD WILKINS, grazier, of Lee in Quainton, registered his house for worship as soon as the Toleration Act became law, in order to accommodate a branch of the church at Winslow. He represented that church at the General Association in 1700, was elected its elder in 1701, took the oaths and signed the Association in defence of King William III, abjured the Pretender on Anne's accession and again represented his church at the General Association in 1702-04. His name occurs thrice in the church book of Ford: as a signatory of the Bierton agreement (see No. 29) and of the Upton conclusions (see No. 42) and as preaching at Kingston Blount in Buckinghamshire in 1714. In 1721 the Buckinghamshire Association sent him and Nathaniel Widmer, elder of Berkhamsted and later Messenger, to ask Stony Stratford to release its elder, John Brittain (1660-1733) to serve as Messenger in Bucks. in succession to Clement Hunt. A list written between 1760 and 1775 at the end of the Bucks. Association book<sup>46</sup> gives George Wilkins as elder of Winslow in 1722, but this is probably an error, as Leonard Wilkins attended as elder in 1722-26; the transcriber may have read Leo. as Geo.

25. JOHN HOBBS, senior, of Great Horwood near Winslow, was twice presented for absence from church in 1682-83, and registered his house there for worship in 1689. Dr. Whitley was inclined to place Hobbs at Amersham, but although there were Lollards and General Baptists of that

surname there, no John Hobbs occurs, and in any event the Amersham church regarded the Orthodox Confession with suspicion; it was not in touch with Clement Hunt until 1692 and did not join the Bucks. Association till 1725. The family was well known in the eighteenth century; Joseph Hobbs, elder of High Wycombe in 1725, succeeded Brittain as Messenger in 1734, and another Joseph Hobbs (1764-1840) became an elder of Berkhamsted, Chesham and Tring in 1802 and led that church into the New Connexion in 1809; he was also influential at Ford, which followed in 1819, with Wendover. His death was occasioned through sitting in wet clothes at the opening of a new chapel at Northchurch. He was in effect the last of the old Messengers, though the title was no longer used in Buckinghamshire. After his death his churches began to loosen their denominational ties and to cultivate relations with the Particular Baptist churches springing up around them, many of which were scarcely more Calvinist than the General Baptists themselves had been in 1679.

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26. ANGEL MANTLE had a Norman surname, well known since Domesday near Chesham and Little Missenden. He served as juror for the body of the county at Aylesbury on 16th January, 1679, a fortnight before signing the Orthodox Confession, and was summoned again a year later. Richard Mantill, alias Miles, was brother-in-law to Henry Larimore, a leading member of the church of Cuddington, who was excluded in 1668 for mixed marriage and soon afterwards perjured himself recklessly during the trial of Robert Hawkins, in which Mantill and his son William gave evidence.<sup>47</sup> Was the son, under the name William Miles, one of the Twelve Confessors of Aylesbury?

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27. ROBERT CATLIN, husbandman, of Whelpley Hill near Chesham, was one of the nine members of the church at Berkhamsted and Chesham who agreed in 1682 to bear each an equal part of any fine levied on a fellow-member for nonconformity. After the Revolution, Catlin took the oaths and registered his house for public worship. The cause at Whelpley Hill was maintained first by Chesham Broadway and later by Hinton; it was not strong and flickered out some ten years ago. It is tempting to associate Robert Catlin with the London bellfounder of the same name, whose first known work was cast for a church at St. Albans in 1739 and who was responsible for several South Bucks. bells in 1742-47.<sup>48</sup>

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28. JOHN BABB has not been identified, but was probably related to Nicholas Babb, weaver, who taught a congregation of "Jewes" (really Seventh-day Baptists) at Sarah Grimsell's house at Amersham in 1669. This was probably the Buckinghamshire Sabbatarian congregation mentioned in the Llanwenarth records<sup>49</sup>; it was in touch with similar groups at Chorleywood and Bledlow, and with the Amersham General Baptist church. William Babbe signed the "Husbandman's Plea" (see No. 3) and in 1659 joined in nominating a lecturer for the parish of Berkhamstead St. Peter.

(To be concluded)

ARNOLD H. J. BAINES

#### NOTES

<sup>21</sup> C. E. Whiting, *Studies in English Puritanism* (1931), p. 273.

<sup>22</sup> *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, s. 45.

<sup>23</sup> Jeane Bettris, *A lamentation* (1657), pp. 1-4.

<sup>24</sup> G. Loosley, *Trans. Bapt. Hist. Soc.* (1912), iii. 37-8.

<sup>25</sup> *Trans. Bapt. Hist. Soc.* (1918), vi. 60.

<sup>26</sup> The women no doubt met elsewhere, a practice condemned by Bunyan in his rare tract, *A case of conscience resolved* (1683).

<sup>27</sup> Presumably Stableford Mill: see A. A. Reid, *Baptist Quarterly* (1940), x. 68.

<sup>28</sup> F. W. Bull, *Baptist Quarterly* (1930), v. 140.

<sup>29</sup> Wm. Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herts.* (1884), pp. 156, 219.

<sup>30</sup> As late as 1765 the Shelfanger church was making payments to a member "for troubling his house": M. F. Hewett, *Baptist Quarterly* (1948), xii. 332.

<sup>31</sup> G. Lipscomb, *Hist. and Antiq. of the County of Buckingham* (1847), i. 512-3: *Baptist Magazine* (1812), iv. 360, (1828), xx. 613: R. Gibbs, *Bucks. Miscellany* (1891), p. 129.

<sup>32</sup> *The humble Petition of the Baptized Congregations assembled at Ailsbury* (1659); L. F. Brown, *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men* (1912), p. 180; W. T. Whitley in *Baptist Quarterly* (1926), iii. 34, cites the Dalwood Church Book.

<sup>33</sup> E. A. Payne, *The Baptists of Berkshire* (1951), pp. 34-46.

<sup>34</sup> Urwick, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

<sup>35</sup> The Angus Library copy, which belonged to John Read, has the MS. date 1650, but the date 1653 assigned by the British Museum seems preferable, as Gibbs was probably not appointed minister until 1651. See M. F. Hewett, *Bapt. Quarterly* (1927), iii. 315-22.

<sup>36</sup> J. Ryland, *Bapt. Register* (1802), p. 717. Churches in this area seem sometimes to have formally dissolved when they were too weak to support a constant ministry, though the members continued to meet for worship and re-enriched when they could again "uphold a church state."

<sup>37</sup> *Bapt. Magazine* (1822), xv. 163. The misprint Castor for Carter was corrected at p. 201, but is inadvertently repeated in a useful note on Olney in *Bapt. Quarterly* (1927), iii. 199.

<sup>38</sup> *Quaker Minute Book for the Upperside of Bucks.*, ed. B. S. Snell (1937), xiv-xv; Ellwood's *Autobiography* (1714), p. 276; Crosby, ii. 236-8; Ivimey, *History of the English Baptists*, ii. 75-7.

<sup>39</sup> i.e. village feast-days. In the Bucks. dialect, any village was a town, and feast (pl. festes) = *fešta*, the "Sunshine Holyday" to which the "upland Hamlets" invited Milton. The first hundred lines of *L'Allegro* appear to contain many Chiltern allusions.

<sup>40</sup> In 1695 Theophilus Delafield, scrivener, had been appointed "Scribe or Register of the Churches acts and to be paid for soe doing." His Pelagian tendency became apparent in 1700.

<sup>41</sup> George (1614-1685?) was the son of John Deverell, churchwarden in 1658, who allowed Thomas Deverell, a Cromwellian major, to set up a pew 5ft. square before the pulpit: *Swanbourne Registers*, ed. R. Ussher (1915). Thomas and William Deverell, churchwardens in 1662, presented other dissenters but not their kinsman George, though there is a significant blank at the head of their list.

<sup>42</sup> *Victoria County History of Bucks.* (1925), iii. 467, citing Exch. Dep. Mich. 29 Chas. II.

<sup>43</sup> This Joseph Glenister, a Winslow grocer, was public-spirited almost to excess; we find him serving as constable, bringing in recruits for Marlborough's armies, assisting the county gaoler to convey prisoners to Buckingham assizes, and standing bail for a surgeon, who absconded.

<sup>44</sup> *Vict. C.H. Bucks.* (1927), iv. 214, citing Feet of Fines, Bucks., Hil. 11 Anne.

<sup>45</sup> *Fenstanton Records*, ed. E. B. Underhill (1854), p. 80.

<sup>46</sup> *Trans. Bapt. Hist. Soc.* (1913), iv. 217.

<sup>47</sup> *The Perjur'd Phanatick* (2nd edn. 1710), p. 3.

<sup>48</sup> A. H. Cocks, *The Church Bells of Buckinghamshire* (1897), p. 140.

<sup>49</sup> E. A. Payne, *Baptist Quarterly* (1951), xiv. 165.