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John Wigan and the first Baptists of Manchester

MANCHESTER was graphically described in 1642 as "the very London of those parts, the liver that sends blood into all the countries thereabouts". With a population of more than five thousand, it was the largest town in seventeenth century Lancashire. Early in the Civil War, the town's allegiance became clear when it withstood a six-day Royalist siege. It was from Manchester that the local Parliamentary Committee directed the military campaigns that secured the complete mastery of Lancashire. But the war also brought trade to a standstill, and further impoverished Mancunians by high taxation.¹

1. *John Wigan—Independent Divine.*

Nothing is known of John Wigan until his appointment as Curate of Gorton in 1642.² Gorton was one of nine chapels connected with Manchester in 1650.³ While at Gorton, which was a Chapel of Ease of the Manchester Collegiate Church, Wigan signed the Protestation, which had been adopted by Parliament 3 May, 1641.⁴

Soon after this, John Wigan was moved north-west to be preacher at the Chapel of Heapey, being placed there by the Parliamentary Committee for Plundered Ministers for the County of Lancaster. The hamlet of Heapey is near Leyland. At the time of the 1666 Hearth Tax Return, only two of its houses had as many as three hearths chargeable, and only 34 houses were listed in all.⁵ While at Heapey, Wigan was paid £1 a week from the sequestrations of Royalists in Leyland Hundred. This probably did little to increase his popularity locally, and in May 1644 he is reported to have been forced to leave at the approach of Prince Rupert with Royalist troops. His last sermon at Heapey was on 19 May, 1644.

Since the people of Heapey did not want him back, John Wigan was now made Curate of Birch Chapel (late 1644). The Plundered Ministers Committee for Lancaster continued his weekly allowance of £1, obtaining it now from sequestrations in Salford Hundred.⁶ Birch Chapel, about three miles south of Manchester, was dedicated to St. James. It was erected by the Birch family on their estate, and seems to have been consecrated in the later years of Elizabeth's reign. Its early use was probably limited to the Birch family and their dependents, but gradually extended to the surrounding population.⁷ The Chapel-Book of 1636 shows that, in addition to the Birch family, residents of Slade, Chorlton, Levenshulme, Rusholme, Fallowfield, Ladybarn, and Withington worshipped at the Chapel.⁸

Several of the families connected with Birch Chapel aligned them-

selves strongly with Parliament during the Civil War. Thomas Birch (1608-78) became a Colonel in the Parliamentary army, was made Governor of Liverpool in 1644, and elected MP for that town in 1649.⁹ Charles Worsley of Platt (1622-56) was made Lieutenant-Colonel in 1650, and in 1654 became Manchester's first MP—representing the town in the first Parliament of the Protectorate.¹⁰

Evidently while still at Gorton, Wigan had attempted, without success, to introduce Congregational principles to the Chapel. Adam Martindale followed Wigan as Curate of Gorton, being appointed in April, 1646. He recounts his predecessor's policy there and at Birch Chapel:¹¹

"This was that bustling yeare (1646) wherein the Presbyteriall and Congregationall governments were like Jacob and Esau strugling in the wombe. The latter (not waiting for a civill sanction as the former did) was got into possession at Duckenfield, in Cheshire, within two miles and an halfe of us, had been tugging hard at Gorton to get in there in the dayes of Mr. Wigan, my predecessor, who spent his afternoone's sermons constantly to promote it, and meeting with remoras too weighty to be removed, he was then using all endeavours to get it up at Birch (as neare to us as Duckenfield), which in time he effected."¹²

There is no evidence to show what policy Wigan followed at Heapey. But at Birch, Wigan made an overt and successful attempt to establish Congregational polity. Martindale objected to some of Wigan's Independent innovations; for instance his method of ordination:

"I very much disliked . . . the ordination of a minister by the imposition of the hands of a few ruling elders chosen by the people (as was practised at Birch in Mr. Wigan's case)."¹³

Parliamentary Presbyterianism was established in Lancashire 2 Oct., 1646. In 1647, John Wigan clashed with the Presbyterian hierarchy, by refusing to recognise delegates from the Manchester Classis as anything other than fellow Christians:

"The members of the last classis appointed to deale with Mr. Wigan return'd answer that the said Mr. Wigan, not desireing to meete them as members of a classis but as fellow-brethren, promised to returne his scruples to them in writing. Not yet done."¹⁴

Whether or not he eventually submitted his reasons in writing, they do not survive. They would give a most useful summary of his ecclesiastical thinking at this period. He was unrepentantly pursuing Independency. He refused to recognise the authority of the Manchester Classis, and his congregation at Birch stood in much the same relation to the Presbyterian establishment as an independent congregation does to the modern Anglican church. Since Birch was not a Chapel of Ease, the Presbyterians had very little control over it.¹⁵

In 1649, the matter of Wigan's allowance was brought to the attention of the Committee for Plundered Ministers for Lancaster. "Mr.

Wigan . . . a very godly and paneful minister, and well deserving a greater allowance" was apparently receiving only a fraction of what was due to him. The Committee recommended the County Committee for Sequestrations to look into his case.¹⁶ Just six days later, on July 31, 1649, the Committee heard of the "great paynes, piety, and faithfulness of *Mr. Wigan*", who might be forced to leave if sufficient maintenance was not forthcoming. Consequently £50 annually was added to his allowance.¹⁷ It would seem possible that Wigan himself gave this ultimatum that he could not continue without a more generous allowance.

2. *John Wigan*—"Antipaedobaptist and I know not what more . . ."

A final reference to John Wigan in Adam Martindale's "Life" provides more light and several new problems. He writes of the situation immediately following the execution of King Charles:

" . . . The colledge lands being sold, and the colledge itself to Mr. Wigan, who now being turned Antipaedobaptist and I know not what more, made a barne there into a chappell, where he and many of his perswasion preached doctrine diametrically opposite to the ministers perswasion under their very nose."¹⁸

Wigan's alleged new antipaedobaptist views raise the question as to when and why he adopted such a position. In the absence of any documentary evidence, I suggest that W. T. Whitley's theory that the New Model Army catalysed Baptist activity in Lancashire contains much truth.¹⁹ In 1648 the New Model was campaigning in Lancashire during the Second Civil War. 17 August Cromwell beat the Scots at Preston; 18 August Baillie surrendered to Cromwell at Warrington. Several of the higher-ranking officers were Baptists, as were men throughout the army. Before the army came to the area, there is no certain evidence of Baptist activity. It would seem very likely that Wigan's Baptist views emerged after contact with members of the New Model Army in Lancashire.

It is interesting, but rather futile, to speculate as to Martindale's intention in writing that Wigan became Antipaedobaptist "*and I know not what more*". Possibly it is nothing but a literary device to exaggerate the change in Wigan's views. But it is conceivable that Wigan was already showing a predilection for the Fifth-Monarchy views which we know he later held.

The "Colledge" to which Martindale refers was originally the College of Thomas La Warre (now known as Chetham's Hospital), immediately north of the Manchester Collegiate Church (now the Cathedral). This erstwhile College of Priests had been dissolved in 1547, and passed into the hands of the Earls of Derby. During the Derby ownership, the house was used as a temporary residence by some members of the family. The College was confiscated under the Commonwealth, most of the buildings being used as a prison, others for a powder-magazine or private dwellings.²⁰ Here it was that in 1649 or 1650 John Wigan gathered a Baptist congregation in a barn

which he had converted into a chapel. I have been unable to find any evidence apart from that of Martindale that Wigan purchased the property at this time.

3. *Major John Wigan—New Model Officer.*

In 1651, Wigan's fortunes become identified with those of the New Model Army. He took a commission as Captain of a troop of horse in Colonel Grosvenor's regiment, which was serving in Lancashire.²¹ We have already noticed John Wigan's connections with Colonel Birch and Lieut. Col. Worsley at Birch Chapel, and the probable importance of members of the New Model in communicating Baptist principles to him. In view of these military connections, it is not completely unexpected to find him taking a commission—though perhaps an even more natural progression might have been to the position of an army chaplain.²² Even so, there is no clue (apart from the complaint about his allowance) as to why he abruptly left Manchester at this particular point.

Early in 1651 information about Royalist plotting was coming to light. In March, 1651, Captain John Wigan, together with Lieutenant Colonel West and Major Robinson, were occupied in dealing with disaffected men in Lancashire. The three officers were congratulated by the Council of State on successful completion of their task.²³ By December, Wigan had risen to the rank of Major, and, with Major Allen, was commanding the two regiments guarding Whitehall, St. James' and the City of London.²⁴ It can hardly be doubted that his period in London strengthened Wigan's Baptist views, since here he could contact the thriving and numerous London Baptist congregations.

In June, 1653, Wigan was still in the capital, and was given responsibility for guarding prizes captured by the Navy—the "Samson", "Salvadore" and "George". He was serving by this time in the Lord General's regiment of foot, which drew its men largely from Lancashire.²⁵

Early in 1654, John Wigan was faced with another crisis. 16 December, 1653, Oliver Cromwell was installed as Lord Protector, according to the provisions of the Instrument of Government. The Fifth-Monarchy Men in London immediately attacked Cromwell's action. Major-General Harrison refused to serve under the new government. Wigan himself decided that he was unable to sign the address to the Protector, which implied agreement to the articles of the Instrument of Government, and thus lost his commission.²⁶ Later in the decade we have definite evidence of Wigan's Fifth-Monarchy principles. It seems almost certain that it was these views that prevented him from signing the address at this time. Cromwell's willingness to take the office and title of "Protector" was repugnant to those who looked for the reign of Christ and His Saints.

John Wigan had certainly not forgotten the interests of the Manchester Baptist congregation while in the army. He took steps to strengthen their tenure of the chapel at the College. 6 April, 1653,

Major John Wigan and Captain Jeffery Ellatson petitioned the Commissioners for Compounding, at Haberdashers' Hall, London, for the farming of the sequestered College in Manchester. The two officers explained that other petitioners had approached the trustees, and that their contract would be prejudicial to Wigan and Ellatson. Consequently, the Commissioners resolved to value the property, and discover who was in possession. The valuation was made, and submitted to the Commissioners 5 May, 1653:

"One large building called the Colledge in Manchester, consisting of many Rooms, with two Barnes, one gate house very much decayed, one pcell. of ground formerly an Orchard, and one garden now in the possion of Joseph Werden, gent., who pays for the same to the use of the Commonwealth Ten pounds yearly. There is likewise one other roome in the said Colledge reserved and now made use of for publique meetings of Christian Conscientious people. All which wee concieve to bee worth to bee lett for seaven yeares the cleare yearly rent of Ten pounds."²⁷

24 May, 1653, the lease was granted to Wigan and Ellatson.²⁸

It seems clear that the "Christian Conscientious people" mentioned in the valuation were the Manchester Baptist congregation. It was to guarantee their continued occupation of the room "reserved" for them that Wigan petitioned for the lease of the College.

11 October, 1653, Major Wigan had returned to Manchester to take part in the funeral of the prominent merchant, Humphrey Chetham.²⁹ 6 December, 1653, Chetham's feofees determined to buy the College House. 24 January, 1654, they offered Mr. Holbrook and Mr. Gathorne, who acted for Wigan and Ellatson, who were presumably away again on military service, £400. Though the offer was refused, the same offer was accepted a few months later, and "the great barne and Rosthorne's house, the workhouse, and the house of correction" were purchased.³⁰

14 April, 1657, the four bays on the South end of the College Great Barn, which had been divided off from the rest of the Great Barn, were sold. Previous historians, presumably taking their cue from Martindale's reference to Wigan's use of a barn as a chapel, have assumed that the property sold in 1657 was the Baptist Meeting House. However, the survey submitted to the Commissioners for Compounding, quoted above, seemed to show that the Baptists were meeting in a room in the College.³¹

Meanwhile, during 1653, a second edition of Christopher Blackwood's "*A Soul-Searching Catechism*" was printed, "for the satisfaction and information of the people of God in Lancashire". His catechism was based on the six fundamentals of Hebrews 6:1-2. Clearly Baptists were active in the County.³²

4. *John Wigan—Manchester Minister.*

Several accounts state that Wigan had resigned from Birch Chapel around 1650, when he joined the New Model Army. I have been able

to find no record of his resignation. Wigan had been paid an allowance up till 29 April, 1651, for his ministry at Birch.³³ Soon after this date, Mr. Robert Birch became minister at Birch. He received an annual allowance of £50 from March, 1652.³⁴ November 2, 1654, an order was made out by the Protector to pay John Wigan £357, "being an arrear of the allowance due unto him as late Preacher of the Gospell at Birch Chappell in the County of Lancaster."³⁵ This must have helped compensate for resigning his commission in the Army.

Thus in 1654, John Wigan returned to the ministry in Manchester. He was granted by the Trustees for Maintenance of Ministers an Augmentation of £100, together with his arrears since 29 December, 1654.³⁶ By December, 1657, his allowance had fallen behind again, and another order for payment of arrears was made.³⁷ Though it is clear that Mr. Wigan (as he is denominated in the documents over his allowance) was again exercising his ministry, it is most unlikely that he returned to Birch Chapel. The orders simply speak of him as "one of the ministers in Manchester". Was he receiving an augmentation for his ministry to the Baptist Congregation at the College? If so, this would place him in that small group of Baptists who were prepared to accept an allowance from the state.

February 19th, 1657, John Wigan's daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Daniel Dunbaven, a Warrington draper, by Rev. Thomas Birch.³⁸ Next year, June 10, 1658, a second daughter, Lidia Wigan, was married to William Morris, clerk, of Manchester, by Mr. John Harrison, minister at Ashton-under-Lyme. The register was witnessed by John Wigan and Edward Gathorne.³⁹ These two marriages point to close links between the Baptist communities of Manchester and Warrington. It was William Morris, Lidia's husband, who on February 2, 1661, granted a lease of land in Stockton to a Peter Daintith (one of the witnesses being a Thomas *Dunbabin*). Daintith sub-let June 3, 1663; and 23 September, 1663, John Morris, William's son, granted the reversion. On the falling of the lives of the three original lessees the ground was to be:

" . . . used and employed and shall continue remayne and bee for the use of a Buriall place for all such person and persons and those people which are commonly called Anabaptists with such other of the Congregationall people way, or persons as shall desire to bury their dead there being in the said Counties of Cheshire and Lancashire, or either of them for ever . . . "

The trust deed was signed by, among others, John Wigan, Lydia Morris (his daughter) and John Wigan, junior.⁴⁰ Moreover, a Samuel *Dunbabin* was among those cited as Anabaptists in Warrington in 1665 and 1666.⁴¹

It is not clear where the Baptists were meeting in Manchester in the later 1650's. Did they still meet in the "roome" in the College? In 1657 Wigan was still tenant of the College Gate House—but this is clearly distinct from the "roome" in the College, mentioned above.⁴²

5. *John Wigan—Fifth-Monarchy Man*

By 1657, there is no doubt about John Wigan's Fifth-Monarchy allegiances. Wigan's name is found among lists of Fifth-Monarchy agents discovered by Thurloe after the abortive rising of Venner in April, 1657.⁴³

Richard Cromwell's Protectorate came and went, September, 1658—May, 1659, overthrown by ambitious military leaders. The danger of Royalist uprisings re-appeared, and July 21, 1659, the Committee of Safety and for the Nomination of Officers discussed the officering of Colonel Robert Overton's horse regiment. It was agreed that John Wigan should be offered a commission as Lieutenant-Colonel.⁴⁴ Wigan was evidently dissatisfied with this arrangement. He seemed to have hoped that those who had been forced to resign at the setting up of the Protectorate would be restored to their former positions. He therefore complained to the Committee of Safety, and added that all the officers in Overton's regiment were strangers to him. He even cast doubts on their fitness to serve:

"He observes that Fifth Monarchy men are generally objected against by those that have the nominations, but his judgment is that Jesus Christ is King of Saints, as well as nations; His laws are laws of righteousness, and His people ought to be employed in all place of public trust, according to Parliament's declaration, but he observes this is little respected in votes for Commissions of the Peace."⁴⁵

However, in spite of these misgivings, he joined Overton, and in August, 1659, they were authorised to raise a regiment of foot at Hull.⁴⁶

During this turbulent period between the Protectorate and the Restored Monarchy, there was considerable doubt as to the future. John Wigan was one of the twenty signatories to a Fifth-Monarchist Tract "*An Essay toward Settlement upon a Sure Foundation*", which advocated a non-monarchical constitution, with liberty of conscience, and the abolition of tithes. Other signatories included John Vernon, William Allen, Henry Jessey, and Robert Overton, Wigan's commanding officer.⁴⁷

In Manchester, Sir George Booth's Royalist rising, July, 1659, was strongly supported by the Presbyterian clergy. 500 Manchester men went to join Booth at Warrington.⁴⁸ On August 5th, it was rumoured that Lilburne's troops were approaching Manchester from Yorkshire, to quell the rising. A certain Edward Gathorne, who had apparently been allowed his freedom "upon his promise of not stirring", was arrested while allegedly on his way to inform Lilburne. Henry Newcome described his action as "A most perfidious and unneighbourly part, but suitable to the spirit of a bloody Anabaptist".⁴⁹ Evidently Edward Gathorne was well-known in Manchester for his Baptist allegiance. On the following Sunday, Newcome heard that he had been attacked by the "Anabaptist minister" Mr. Jones, for his activity in the Rising.⁵⁰ I have been able to find no earlier evidence of the

name of Wigan's successor as pastor to the Manchester Baptist congregation. It is unclear when he took up this office.

In spite of Wigan's Fifth-Monarchist activities and commission in the Army, we have no evidence as to what happened to him immediately after the Restoration. 20 July, 1661, Ann Wigan, probably his daughter-in-law, was buried in Manchester.⁵¹ 8 December, 1663, the Bishop of Chester issued a Certificate for the arrest of John Wigan for illegal preaching; and by early 1664 he was imprisoned in Lancaster Castle, apparently for plotting against the Government. Again, links with the Fifth-Monarchy Men are strongly suggested. Certainly the Government intelligence service rated him high among the subversives.⁵²

6. *John Wigan—Baptist Controversialist*

Even in jail, Wigan's activities were not brought to a standstill. He had a controversy with a group of Quakers who were also in confinement—though this was certainly not his first encounter with Quakerism. On 10 January, 1656, he had been involved in arranging a dispute with a group of Quakers in Manchester.⁵³ The Quaker William Houlding reported another dispute held about the same time:

"I had been an eyewitness, and an ear witness of some proceedings there, and of thy (John Wigan) joyning with *William Barret* a *Cheshire* man, and this was about nine years ago at Manchester at *John Maddocks*'s⁵⁴ House in a Dispute with our Friends; another time there was a Dispute held at the same House between thee and *Richard Huberthorn*, at that time thou made thyself manifest, for thou broke into passion, and said he was a publick person, so that thou was reproved by one of thy own Auditors, *Edward Gaythorn* by name, but not withstanding, thou rose up and went away, uttering these words, That if thou had known that so many would have been present, thou would not have been there that time."⁵⁵

The Quakers even accused Wigan of laying violent hands on John Abraham, when he and James Harrison were arguing with the Manchester Baptists.⁵⁶ Certainly Wigan was regarded as a doughty opponent of the Quakers: "Wigan (who) Goliath-like defied the armies of Israel."⁵⁷

Both Wigan and George Fox have left accounts of the Disputation in Lancaster Castle, so that it can be reconstructed in some detail.⁵⁸ The Quaker Thomas Curwen accused Wigan of several errors, and threatened to pin these to his prison door unless he replied to the accusation. Eventually, after further letters, and when arrangements had been made, a disputation was arranged for 17 March, 1664, to discuss the proposition: "Christ doth not lighten every man that comes into the world with a saving light."

It was agreed that:

1. Everything should be determined by Scripture.
2. The meeting should be in love and meekness.

3. The meeting should be orderly.
4. The meeting should not be limited to one hour.⁵⁹

John Wigan immediately opened the argument by stating that "All the Light that man had in his Created integrity, whether set up in his Spirit or in the Law implanted in him, was not sufficient to manifest or make known unto him a Redeemer". "Not every man that comes into the world, but he that is born of the Spirit, and made a New creature is inlightned with the marvellous Light of Christ".⁶⁰ Wigan's position was answered by John Stubs, but at this point Margaret Fell and George Fox came in, and "great disorder began".⁶¹ Fox expounds his own arguments at some length in his *Journal* (see appendix).

Both protagonists committed their arguments to print. Wigan's account is particularly interesting in that, as well as attacking the fundamentals of the Quaker position, he points out those features of Quakerism that he finds commendable. He admired their freedom from ignorance, pride and formality, and their open testimony against evils. He lists the specific testimonies he agrees with:

"Do they bear a witness against hyreling priests and teachers, against tythes, against superstitious carnal, formal worship, against swearing, against corrupt worldly customs in any part of our conversation? herein I joyn with them."⁶²

His first point of agreement is significant. Until as late as 1657, Wigan was receiving an Allowance from the Trustees for Maintenance of Ministers, as we have seen above. His conscientiousness over receiving such an allowance must have come fairly late. One wonders whether it was delayed until he *could* no longer receive a state allowance. He was evidently not in favour of women exercising their gifts in public ministry, as some Baptists were.⁶³

The accounts of Curwen and Fox both accuse Wigan of getting released from prison by underhand dealing. Apparently he refused to take the oath when he was brought before the Assizes. His claim to scriptural objections to such an oath is borne out by the quotation above, where he pointed out his agreement with the Quakers in some issues. Curwen continues:

"Furthermore, did not *John Wiggan* enter into a promise before the Jdg that he would preach no more, and that he might have time to consider of the Oath: And so upon this condition he was set at Liberty, and to appear at the next Assizes: And then did not *John Wiggan* give the slip and goe to London: And when he should have been at the Assizes, he lay there in holes and corners, and preached and published his lyes against the Truth."⁶⁴

If this account is substantially true (and it is borne out by Fox) it does not reflect very favourably on Wigan. Fox decreases the offence a little, by admitting that Wigan had permission to go to London—though not to stay there. George Fox sees the judgment of God in

the fact that John Wigan and his wife both died of plague in 1665, while still in London.

Meanwhile in Manchester we continue to find scattered references to the Baptists. The Manchester Deanery Returns of 1669 admitted the existence of conventicles of Anabaptists, and derisively described them as consisting of "Tradesmen & mostly women".⁶⁵ Edward Gathorne, a chapman, whose perfidy Newcome objected to above, is referred to a number of times in the Court Leet Records. His will was proved 16 February, 1680.⁶⁶

NOTES

¹ C. F. Carter, ed. *Manchester and its Region*, Manchester, 1962. pp. 125-8.

² A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, Oxford, 1934, p. 529. (Hereafter; *Calamy Revised*). A John Wiggan, or Wighorn, matriculated Sizar from Magdalene, Cambridge. Easter 1631. B.A. 1633-4. J. & J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. Cambridge. 1927, p. 402.

³ William Farrer & J. Brownbill, *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, London 1911. Vol. IV, p. 178. (Hereafter: *VCH Lancaster*).

⁴ *Calamy Revised loc. cit.*

⁵ *VCH Lancaster*, Vol. 6, pp. 50-1.

⁶ B.M. Add. Mss. 15671, fol. 209.

⁷ John Booker, *A History of the Ancient Chapel of Birch*, Chetham Society, Manchester, Vol. XLVII, 1859, p. 137.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-50.

¹¹ Adam Martindale (1623-86): Alexander Gordon describes Martindale as "a presbyterian of the English type, exemplified in Cartwright and William Bradshaw." 1662, ejected from Rostherne Parish Church, Cheshire, where he had been since 1649. *DNB*.

¹² Richard Parkinson, ed. *The Life of Adam Martindale written by Himself*, Chetham Society, Manchester, Vol. IV, 1845. p. 61.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹⁴ W. A. Shaw, ed. *Minutes of the Manchester Classis*, Chetham Society, N.S. Vol. 20, Manchester, 1920. p. 45. June 9th, 1647, 5th meeting.

¹⁵ W. A. Shaw, *The English Church 1640-1660*, London, 1900, Vol. II, p. 127.

¹⁶ W. A. Shaw, ed. *Minutes of the Committee for the Relief of Plundered Ministers*, Lancashire & Cheshire Record Society, London, 1893, Vol. 28, Part I, pp. 75-6. July 25, 1649. (Hereafter: *Plundered Ministers Accounts*).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 77. Accounts for the Committee for Sequestrations show Wigan received £32 between Dec., 1645 and March, 1647; £62 in 1647-8; £227 between March, 1648 and July, 1650. *Ibid.*, pp. 259-60.

¹⁸ Richard Parkinson, ed. *op. cit.* p. 75.

¹⁹ W. T. Whitley, *Baptists of North-West England, 1649-1913*, London, 1913, pp. 42-3.

²⁰ Henry Taylor, *Old Halls in Lancashire and Cheshire*, Manchester, 1884. pp. 36-7.

²¹ C. H. Firth, *The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army*, Oxford, 1940, p. 484.

²² cf. Edmund Hickhorngill, of Hexham, E. B. Underhill, *Records of the Churches of Christ*, London, 1854, Hexham Records, *passim*.

²³ CSPD, 1651. p. 103.

²⁴ CSPD, 1651/2. p. 78.

²⁵ CSPD, 1652/3. p. 393, p. 421, p. 445, p. 477.

²⁶ C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 3rd ed. London, 1921. p. 370.

²⁷ J. H. Stanning, ed. *Lancashire Royalist Composition Papers*, Lancashire & Cheshire Record Society, Vol. 26, London, 1892. pp. 173-4.

²⁸ J. H. Stanning, *op. cit.*, p. 174. 26 Oct. 1653, the Countess of Derby was allowed to compound for her Estates, including the College, on payment of a fine of £7,200. The lease already granted to Wigan and Ellatson was unaffected by this composition, since the executors had come to terms with the lessees, as well as with the House of Stanley, before they could obtain possession of the College. (F. R. Raines & C. W. Sutton, *Life of Humphrey Chetham*, Chetham Society, N.S. vols. 49, 50, Manchester, 1903. p. 210.)

²⁹ F. R. Raines & C. W. Sutton, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 210. By his will of 16 December 1651, Humphrey Chetham (1580-1653) bequeathed to his nephews, George Chetham and Edward Chetham, £700, to be used to buy two estates of the clear yearly value of £240, and conveyed to 24 feoffees named, in trust. The property and revenues were to be used to found and endow a hospital to maintain, clothe, educate, bring up, apprentice etc., 40 healthy boys. Chetham expressed his wish that the College premises might be purchased for the Hospital. He wrote of its condition: "... is become noisome and filthy. . . . Some of the roof is blown off and some is fallen off, so that it is become uninhabitable". In 1656, 40 Bluecoat Boys came into residence. Edward Baines: *The History of the County Palatine & Duchy of Lancaster*, Manchester, 1889. Vol. II. pp. 78-9. F. A. Bruton, *A Short History of Manchester and Salford*, Manchester, 1924, p. 86.

³¹ J. P. Earwaker, ed. *The Court Leet Records of the Manor of Manchester*, Manchester, 1887. Vol. IV. pp. 186-8. The property is described: "all those fflower Bayes of the South end of the great Barne in Manchester . . . beinge the end towards the parish church of Manchester aforesaid containinge by estimacion Twenty yards or there abouts in length and tenn yards and an halfe or thereabouts in breadth, as the same is now parted severed and devided from the other end of the Barne."

³² W. T. Whitley, *A Baptist Bibliography*, London, 1916. Vol. i, p. 52. Christopher Blackwood: 1606-1668, sometime Rector of Staplehurst, minister of Spilshill General Baptist Church, Kent, which church he left since he maintained Personal Election, and opposed Universal Redemption. Transcript of selections from Smerden Baptist Church Records, by H. L. Mills, 1924. In Octavo book, (556 pp.) pp. 38-9. Deposited in Baptist Church House, Southampton Row.

³³ *Plundered Ministers' Accounts*, Vol. I. p. 242.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 34.

³⁵ *Bodleian Rawlinson Ms. C.328. f. 140.*

³⁶ Feb. 1, 1656, a sub-committee met to consider how the augmentation could be given to Wigan; July 22, 1656, Wigan to be given £100 annual augmentation by the Trustees for Maintenance of Ministers, together with arrears from 29 December, 1654. (W. A. Shaw, *History of the English Church*, Vol. II, p. 509; *CSPD.* 1655/6, p. 156; *Plundered Ministers' Accounts*, Vol. II, p. 146.)

³⁷ *CSPD.*, 1657/8, p. 239.

³⁸ Thomas Birch (1633-1700), of Ardwick (J. Booker, *op. cit.* p. 120 facing) —otherwise misprint for Robert Birch, minister of Birch Chapel. *Manchester Cathedral Registers*, Wigan, 1918. Vols. 55/6, p. 80.

³⁹ *Manchester Cathedral Registers*, p. 89; John Harrison, 1616(?) - 1670; Strong Presbyterian controversialist. Ejected from Ashton-under-Lyme, 1662. Wigan's brother-in-law. *Calamy Revised*, pp. 249-50.

⁴⁰ O. Knott, "Early Documents Relating to Hill Cliff, Warrington", *T.B.H.S.* Vol. 5. pp. 137-8. (William Morris buried at Grappenhall, Feb. 26, 1663).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁴² *Court Leet Records*, Vol. IV, p. 188.

⁴³ Thomas Birch, ed. *State Papers of John Thurloe*, London, 1742, Vol. VI, p. 187.

⁴⁴ *CSPD.*, 1659/60. p. 36. William Figes to be Captain-Lieutenant; Timothy

Spink, Ensign. Robert Overton had only recently been released from prison in the Channel Islands, where he had been since 1654 for military plotting against the Protectorate.

⁴⁵ *CSPD.*, 1659/60, p. 45-6, July 27th, 1659.

⁴⁶ *CSPD.*, 1659/60, p. 562.

⁴⁷ W. T. Whitley, *A Baptist Bibliography*, Vol. I, p. 72.

⁴⁸ C. F. Carter, ed., *Manchester and its Region*, Manchester, 1962, p. 129.

⁴⁹ Gathorne had acted for Wigan and Ellatson in the transactions over the College House, 24 Jan., 1654. (See above). Richard Parkinson, ed. *The Autobiography of Henry Newcome*, Chetham Society. Vol. 26. Manchester, 1852. p. 110. Henry Newcombe (1627-1694). Best known of Lancashire Presbyterians; Preacher Manchester Collegiate Ch. 1656-62.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁵¹ W. T. Whitley, *Baptists of North-West England*, p. 45. A. G. Mathews claims she was Wigan's wife. (*Calamy Revised*).

⁵² "The secrets of the plotters are bound up in the breast of Major Wigan and Evan Price, who should be kept in prison." *CSPD.*, 1663/4, p. 519, March 18, 1664.

⁵³ Joshua Dawson, Gervase Benson, and others of the Friends involved were taken from the Quaker Meeting House, at Widow Owens, and committed to prison. *Caton MSS II f. 89*. (Friends Meeting House Library). Braithwaite believed the Manchester Meeting began after Thomas Briggs of Bolton-le-Sands came there in Autumn, 1652, having been convinced by Fox at Lancaster Sessions. W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1955, p. 375. The Quakers were particularly incensed that their enemies, though divided amongst themselves on many matters of religious persuasion, were united in their violent opposition to the Friends: "Do but honestly consider, and you will see, that all them that were at variance amongst themselves, as *Wiggin*, and *Eaton*, and *Herricke*, and *Barret*, and *Hollingworth*, all these agree together in opposing and persecuting the truth." William Addamson, *The Persecution of them People they call Quakers*. N.D., n.pl. (1656?).

⁵⁴ John Maddock was one of the witnesses at the wedding of Wigan's daughter Lidia, June 10, 1658. *Manchester Cathedral Registers*, p. 89.

⁵⁵ Thomas Curwen, William Houlden, Henry Wood, William Wilson, *An Answer to John Wigan's Book, Spread up and down in Lancashire Cheshire & Wales, who is a Baptist & a Monarchy-man . . .* London, 1665, p. 123.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5, p. 77.

⁵⁷ *EQL* 127 (Swarthmore Ms. 3. 31) Friends Meeting House Library.

⁵⁸ John Wigan, *Antichrist's strongest Hold overturned; or the Foundation of the Religion of the People called Quakers Bared and Razed, In a Debate had with some of them in the Castle at Lancaster*. London, 1665. G. Fox, *Journal*, ed. John N. Nickalls, Cambridge, 1952. p. 471-2. See appendix.

⁵⁹ J. Wigan, *op. cit.* pp. 3, 4, 6, 9.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27, p. 40.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 52-3.

⁶³ Thomas Curwen, *op. cit.* p. 71.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁶⁵ G. L. Turner, *Original Records of Nonconformity*, London, 1911. Vol. II, p. 685.

⁶⁶ *Court Leet Records*, Vol. VI, p. 240n.

T. DOWLEY.

APPENDIX

George Fox' Account of his dealings with Major Wigan. (1664)
(From G. Fox, *Journal*, ed. John N. Nickalls, Cambridge, 1952.
p. 471-2.)

"And there was also one Major Wigan, a prisoner and a Baptist preacher, a very wicked man, and he boasted what he would say at the Assizes if the oath were put to him, and that he would refuse to swear. But when the oath was tendered to him he desired time to consider of it, and before the Assizes came again he got leave to go to London, but did not come down again the next Assizes, but stayed at London, and there he and his wife were cut off by the plague. The judgements of God came upon them, who had given forth a very wicked book against Friends, full of lies and blasphemies.

For while he was in Lancaster Castle he challenged Friends to have a dispute with them and I got leave of the gaoler to go up to them. And he affirmed that some men never had the spirit of God, and that the true light which enlightened every one that cometh into the world was natural.

So I told him, seeing there was liberty for any one to speak, I had something to say to him. For he affirmed, as before, that some men had not the spirit of God, and that Balaam had not the spirit of God. So I proved and affirmed that Balaam had the spirit of God and that wicked men had the spirit of God, else how could they quench it, grieve it and vex it and resist the Holy Ghost like the stiff-necked Jews.

And also I showed him that the true light which enlightened every man that cometh into the world was the life in the Word that was divine and not natural. He might as well say that the Word was natural as that the life in the Word was natural. And wicked men were enlightened by this light, else how could they hate it. And the reason why they did hate it was because their deeds were evil and they would not come to it because it reprovved them, and that must needs be in them that reprovved them. And that light could not be the Scriptures of the New Testament, for it was before the four Evangelists and the Epistles and Revelation were written. So it must be the divine light which is the life in Christ the Word, before Scriptures were written; and the grace of God which brought salvation had appeared unto all men, which taught the saints.

And they that turned it into wantonness and walked despitefully, against the spirit of grace, were the wicked. And the spirit of truth, the Holy Ghost the comforter, which leads the disciples of Christ into all truth, the same should reprove the world of sin, of righteousness and of judgement and of their unbelief. So the wicked world had it to reprove them, and the true disciples and learners of Christ, that believed in the light as Christ commands, had it to lead them. But the world did not believe in the light, though they were enlightened, but hated the light which they should believe in, and loved

the darkness rather. Yet this world had a righteousness and a judgement, whom the Holy Ghost reprov'd for their unbelief, their righteousness, and their judgement.

So I proved here that the good and the bad were enlightened and that the grace of God had appeared unto them all, and that they had the Spirit of God, else they could not vex it and grieve it. So I told him the least babe there might see him. And there stood up one Richard Cubban and proved him an antichrist and a deceiver by Scripture. Then the gaoler had me away to the prison.

This Wigan being poor, sent into the country for the poor suffering people of God in prison, for relief for them.

So many people did give freely, thinking it had been for us, but when we came to hear of it we laid it upon him and writ into the country to let Friends and people know the truth, and that it was not usual for us to have collections made for us and how that those collections were only for Wigan and another drunken preacher of his, that would be so drunk that he lost his breeches.

And he writ a book of this dispute and put in abundance of abominable lies, and after went up to London and there the Lord cut him off in his wickedness as aforesaid, and his wife. And I was kept in prison till the next Assizes."

CAPTAIN JOHN GARLAND, JAMES COKAYNE AND THE STAFFORDSHIRE BAPTISTS: A NOTE

IN HIS article on Garland and Cokayne in the *Baptist Quarterly*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, October, 1971, Dr. White says later links between "Garland and Cokayne and the Baptists have not been found".

The Preaching at Ipstones was discussed by A. G. Matthews in his *Congregational Churches in Staffordshire with some account of the Puritans, Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers in the county in the 17th century* as long ago as 1924.¹ No further connexions between Garland and the Baptists have been found though there is a suggestive reference in the *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)* for 1662 which reads:—

"14, Nov. 1 1662. Lincoln. Richard Winstanley to Henry Muddiman. The fanatics there increase by over indulgence, but are quiet. Capt. Pierrepoint has been sent for to Nottingham and his troops searched the house of Garland formerly a captain of the rebels, where they found a peck of bullets, and powder and match proportionable."²

James Cokayne appears subsequently as Anabaptist Minister of Frodsham, Cheshire in 1649-58. Walker says of Rowland Haywood,

"He lived to see the *Restoration* but did not Return to the Parish. His first successor was a *Presbyterian* and the next an *Anabaptist* who quitted it at the *Restoration*, leaving most of the Parish either of his *own* Perswasion or the Quakers.