

PURITANISM IN DEVON, AND THE EXETER ASSEMBLY.

BY R. N. WORTH, F.G.S., ETC.

(Read at Kingsbridge, July, 1877.)

WE know that Wembury produced in Walter Britte an ardent and sincere follower of Wickliffe, who took up the work of his master after that master's death. We know that in John Cutcliffe, of Ilfracombe, the North of Devon also had its fourteenth century reformer. Nevertheless the dawn of the Reformation sheds little light on the religious history of Devon, and we merely infer, not trace, the course in this county of the earlier phases of that great conflict of practice and opinion. Britte apart, there is no evidence whatever that Devon contained any sympathisers with Wickliffe. There is no proof that Lollardy was welcomed within its borders. I know of no operations therein of those early and harmless sectaries the Gospellers, unless the martyr Benet and his friends were such. Nor do we find mention of Anabaptists in the county so early as elsewhere. And yet I cannot but hold that a maritime county like Devon, between the ports of which and Holland—that great centre of divergent religious activity—there was constant and peculiar intercourse, must have been influenced by foreign thought long before it became a sanctuary for those Flemish refugees to whom the shire owes the still existing handicraft of Honiton lace, and did owe important hints and aids in the once flourishing cloth manufacture. But all this is matter of inference only, and our record of the history of Puritanism in Devon cannot commence earlier than the dissolution of the religious houses.

It was in 1535 that Leyton visited the monasteries of Devon; not then with a direct view to their destruction, but to enforce new regulations for their future conduct. However, in the following year the lesser houses were suppressed,

and in 1539 the work was completed by the dissolution of the greater.

Sir Wm. Petre, a Devonshire man, was one of the Commission by whom the monasteries were visited, and gained his knighthood thereby. What is very remarkable, the favour he won under Henry he retained under Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. Yet he does not quite appear to have played the part of a lay Vicar of Bray; for it was said of him that in Henry's time he observed his humour, in Edward's kept the law, in Mary's intended wholly State affairs, and in Elizabeth's was religious. But whichever way the wind blew, his sails were filled.

Twenty-four religious houses were suppressed in Devon by Henry VIII. These were:—Tavistock Abbey; St. Nicholas Priory, Exeter; Cowick Priory; Polsloe Priory (nuns); Totnes Priory; Pilton Priory—Benedictine. Plympton Priory; Hartland Abbey; Frithelstock Priory; Canonsleigh Priory (canonesses); Cornworthy Priory—Augustinian. Ford Abbey; Newenham Abbey; Buckfast Abbey; Buckland Abbey; Dunkeswell Abbey—Cistercian. St. James Priory, Exeter; St. Mary Magdalene, Barnstaple; Carswell Priory—Cluniac. Franciscan Convents at Exeter and Plymouth. Dominican Convent, Exeter. Carmelite Convent, Plymouth. Tor Abbey—Norbertine or Premonstratensian. The Benedictine Priories at Otterton and Modbury had been suppressed in previous reigns, the property of the first going to Sion House, of the latter to Eton. Concerning the Dominican house at Plymouth there are no details; and we are not certain when it ceased to exist.

No disturbances followed the suppression of the monasteries in Devon; but we are not to assume that the county was strongly attached to the new faith. Probably the course adopted elsewhere was pursued here, and the pensioned monks placed in the parochial livings as they fell vacant, to the saving of their pensions; so that the change might be far more in appearance than in fact. That there was, however, Protestant feeling in the county is clearly proven from this,—that under the law of the Six Articles, by which it was sought to destroy Protestantism in England, persecutions broke out in Devon. Among those who fled the county to escape them was Edmund Drake, the father of the famous Sir Francis.

The six articles were as follows:

I. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remains no substance of bread and wine, but

under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ is present.

II. That communion in both kinds is not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God, but that both the flesh and blood of Christ are together in each of the kinds.

III. That priests may not marry by the law of God.

IV. That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God.

V. That private masses ought to be continued, which, as it is agreeable to God's law, so men receive great benefit by them.

VI. That auricular confession is expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the Church.

We have some clue to the religious characteristics of the diocese in the opinions of its bishops, who may surely be credited with a desire to propagate their own views, and for the most part with an anxiety to put down antagonistic influences. Moreover, it is quite certain that in the miserably time-serving days which gave birth not to one, but to many Vicars of Bray, there must have been much fashionable or politic adherence to episcopal doctrine. John Voysey was the bishop under whom the changes introduced by Henry were made; and that he was not very favourable to the Reformation and still less to Puritanism is clear, since he resigned soon after the accession of Edward VI. He was succeeded by the famous Miles Coverdale, translator of the first complete English Bible, published in 1536 under the sanction of Henry VIII., who returned from the Marian exile so staunch a Puritan that he would not wear the habits, and that he died, old and poor, the silenced incumbent of a little church in London.

But Coverdale was a Puritan from the beginning, and there can be no doubt that under him Puritanism in Devonshire was fostered. When Mary came to the throne he was deprived, and Voysey, who had been her godfather and governor, restored. Voysey was, however, then a very old man and could have had little personal concern with the affairs of the diocese. He was succeeded by Bishop Turbervil, who in his turn was deprived soon after the coronation of Elizabeth, and replaced by William Alleigh, a man of the new views, but no leader in controversy. It is worthy of remark, that of the only two heretics burnt in Devon, one, Thomas Bennet, a Master of Arts, was put to death at Liverydole, near Exeter, in 1531, under Voysey; the other, an unfortunate Cornishwoman, Agnes Priest, or Prest, in Southernhay, under Turberville.

And here it is desirable that we should pause a while, and enquire what Puritanism really was? In the words of Mr. Froude: "The early Protestant did not bring forward any new scheme of doctrine, but protested only against a false superstition, and insisted on the principle of obedience." The Puritans were Protestant of the Protestant; the advanced guard of the army of the Reformation. They did not conduct a separatist guerilla warfare until compelled thereto by circumstances. They scrupled at first habits and ceremonies only; then sought a reformation of discipline; finally, when both these points had been denied, the controversy reached to doctrine. And so at length by a Puritan was to be understood "a man of severe morals, a Calvinist in doctrine, and a nonconformist to the ceremonies and discipline of the Church, though he did not wholly separate from it."* From the National Church the Puritans did not willingly part. Their earliest efforts were directed to retain a place therein; and it was not until this seemed hopeless that they established the exterior organization of Presbyterianism. Even then the contest for inclusion was not abandoned, though by degrees the battle-field widened, embracing wider differences and, in the end, claims that were irreconcilable. In the 16th century latitude of comprehension was still possible; and Anabaptists and Brownists apart on the Protestant side, and the adherents of the old faith on the other, the National Church might have been the nation. In the 17th century the day of concession and compromise set; and Episcopacy and Presbyterianism ceased to have aught in common save the desire of supremacy.

Puritanism, in short, passed through three stages. At first it aimed at the abolition of those externals of worship which had been associated with the Roman Catholic faith—vestments, rites, and ceremonies—desiring in all things plainness and simplicity. And so long as uniformity of practice was not required there was nothing to prevent these ceremonial Puritans from remaining in the Church. When Elizabeth and her ministers insisted on uniformity, Puritanism entered upon its second stage; and widened its area of dissentience to the inclusion of questions of church discipline and government. The more its demands were rejected the greater they grew; and thus Presbyterianism was set up as a rival to Episcopacy by those Puritans who adhered to the principle of a National Church, while a smaller, but not less earnest, section advanced the claims of Independency, based upon a

* Neal, *Hist. of Puritans*, preface, p. vii.

fuller acceptance of the idea of the religious freedom of the individual—in other words, upon a more thorough interpretation of the right of private judgment.

In its third stage Puritanism was doctrinal. It abandoned none of its opposition to the ceremonial observances which at first provoked it into active life; it renounced none of its antagonism to Episcopacy; but as Arminianism came into favour with the Court, it deepened the fervour of its Calvinism; until at length the triple breach divided the nation into two hostile camps, and religion and politics became inextricably interwoven.

I am using the word Puritanism here in its widest sense, to include all the more distinctly Protestant characteristics of the nation; but it must be borne in mind that the bulk of the Puritans were Presbyterians, and that between them and the Episcopalians, when the battle came finally to be fought out, the issue was not what we should understand as a contest between Conformist and Nonconformist. There were two parties in the one National Church, each seeking to have that Church modelled after their own views, and to compel the reception of those views by all outsiders.

It was not a consequence so much of its religious principles as of the political necessities of its position—of its absolute need to struggle for existence against the dominant authority in the State—that Puritanism became “identified with the principle of civil liberty” in the wars of the Commonwealth.

But to return to the local current of historical events. We shall find that by the death of Henry Devonshire was largely Puritan, though the majority of the inhabitants were probably still Catholic.

After the coronation of Edward there was a royal visitation of the kingdom, which was divided into six circuits; and thirty-six injunctions were laid down, which the bishops were commanded to see observed. By these articles the conduct of divine service was regulated, and special reference had to pilgrimages and images. One of the articles prescribed that images abused with pilgrimages and offerings should be taken down. This it was found necessary to carry out by the central authority; and it was further ordered “That they take away all shrines, coverings of shrines, tables, candlesticks, trindills or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and other monuments of feigned miracles, so that no memory of them remain in walls or windows.”

The steps taken to carry these orders into effect were

followed up in various ways from time to time during Edward's brief reign. That the injunctions were generally operative in Devon is proved by the fact that the Devonshire rebels demanded, among other things, that images should be restored.

This Western Rebellion was the most formidable popular opposition to the Reformation that England saw, the rising in Norfolk under Ket not excepted. It was almost wholly a rural movement, and had little support from the towns. And here we may note, I think, an essential distinction between the town and the country. The uprisings of town populations are commonly associated with the idea of progress; however subversively that idea may be urged. When the country rebels its action is commonly retrogressive. From the earliest days when a distinction could be drawn between town and country, until now, town folk have been more learned, more active, more independent—in a word, more civilized—than their country brethren. We all know that Christianity first took root in the cities of the ancient world. Indeed, we still speak of unbelievers as heathen, by survival from the days when the dwellers on the heaths outside the towns were unchristianized; and the literal meaning of pagan is in like manner a countryman simply. Something of the same distinction abides with us yet; and we may be sure that in Devonshire and Cornwall, three centuries since, with their wide wastes and scattered towns, and with their civilization confined mainly to the fringe of coast-line, the distinction was very marked indeed.

The movement was undoubtedly in one sense economical. The suppression of the monasteries had placed large numbers of the poorer dwellers in their immediate neighbourhoods at a disadvantage. Not only did alms cease, but those into whose hands the Abbey lands fell proved harder landlords than the monks. The progress of enclosures, and the substitution of pasturage for tillage, increased this disadvantage; and the result was a vast amount of smouldering discontent, which it required very little to fan into a flame.

In Devon the occasion for the outbreak was the abolition of the mass, and the substitution of the prayer book service; and the rebellion commenced in the remote parish of Sampford Courtenay, which lies far off from any town on the northern skirts of the great waste of Dartmoor.

The prayer book service was used according to the new law on the 9th of June, 1549; but the parish priest was compelled to resume his vestments, and say mass as usual,

on the following days, by a body of the inhabitants, headed by William Underhill, a tailor, and one Segar, a labourer. We shall hereafter see reasons for believing that the popular element in the movement was not directed from within, but from without.

The rising soon affected the adjoining parishes. The efforts of the justices to suppress it were very feeble, and very vain. William Hellions, a Fleming, settled at Sampford, was killed, I presume because, being a Fleming, he was also a Protestant. From Devon the movement spread on the one hand to Somerset, and on the other to Cornwall, which had been long prepared for such an outbreak. Crediton became the place of rendezvous, and there ere long a strong force assembled, led by men of repute and family—Sir Thomas Pomeroy, John Berry, Sir Humphry Arundel, of the great Cornish family of that name, Coffin, and Winslade. Marching upon Exeter, 10,000 strong, they summoned the city to surrender. The summons was refused; and assault being unavailing, they set themselves down regularly before it.

The Royal forces then in Devon, under the Carews, were unable to make head against the rebels; and Lord Russell, who, being Lord Lieutenant of the county, was sent thither as speedily as possible, finding his force at first too small tried negotiation. And here we have, in the demands of the insurgents, ample evidence of that exterior influence to which I have referred. The terms are not such as would come from a body of country folk, however eager for their old faith; and they bear internal proof of being dictated in a professional sense so far as the religious articles are concerned, and in their economical relations of being prompted by an aversion to new blood. The articles were:

I. We will have all the general councils and holy decrees of our forefathers observed, kept, and performed; and whosoever shall gainsay them we treat them as heretics.

II. We will have the law of our sovereign lord King Henry VIII. concerning the Six Articles, to be used again as in his time they were.

III. We will have the Mass in Latin, as was before, and celebrated by the priest, without any man or woman communicating with him.

IV. We will have the sacrament hung over the high altar, and there to be worshipped as it was wont to be; and they which will not consent, we will have them die like heretics against the holy Catholic faith.

V. We will have the sacrament of the altar but at Easter delivered to the people, and then but in one kind.

VI. We will that our curates shall administer the sacrament of baptism at all times, as well in the week-days as in the holy days.

VII. We will have the holy bread and holy water every Sunday, palms and ashes at the time accustomed, images to be set up again in every Church, and all other ancient and old ceremonies used heretofore by our mother holy Church.

VIII. We will not receive the new service, because it is but like a Christmas game; but we will have our old service of Latin mass, evening song, and procession, in Latin as it was before. And so we the Cornish men, whereof certain of us understand no English, utterly refuse this new English.

IX. We will have every preacher in his sermon, and every priest at mass, pray especially by name for the souls in purgatory, as our fathers did.

X. We will have the Bible, and all books of Scripture in English, to be called in again; for we are informed that otherwise the clergy shall not of long time confound the heretics.

XI. We will have Dr. Moreman and Dr. Crispin, which hold our opinions, to be safely sent unto us; and to them we require the King's majesty to give some certain livings to preach among us our Catholic faith.

XII. We think it very meet, because the Lord Cardinal Pole is of the King's blood, that he shall not only have his pardon, but also be sent for to Rome, and promoted to the King's council.

XIII. We will that no gentleman shall have any more servants than one to wait upon him, except he may dispense one hundred mark land. And for every hundred mark we think it reasonable that he should have a man.

XIV. We will that the half part of the abbey lands and chantry lands in every man's possession, however he came by them, be given again to two places, where two of the chief abbays were in every county where such half part shall be taken out, and there to be established a place for devout persons, which shall pray for the King and the commonwealth. And to them we will have all the alms of the Church box given for these seven years.

XV. For the particular griefs of our county we will have them so ordered as Humphrey Arundel and Henry Bray, the King's mayor of Bodmin, shall inform the King's majesty, if they may have safe conduct in the King's great seal to pass and repass with a herald of arms.

These demands being inadmissible, nought remained but the arbitrament of force. Russell's head-quarters were at Honiton, and there he remained until sufficiently strengthened by German and Italian mercenaries. His first skirmish with the rebels was at Feniton Bridge, whence he returned to Honiton. Then he met and beat them at Woodbury, and followed them up through the Clist Valley, inflicting such

loss upon them, on the 5th of August, at St. Mary Clist, though they fought desperately, that the siege was raised. The rebels who remained retreated to Sampford; and there in its cradle the rebellion as an organized movement was finally crushed. The leaders were sent to London, tried, and executed; those of the common sort put to the sword, to the number of 4,000; while the whole country round Exeter for many a mile was harried and spoiled by Lord Russell, and for years presented a sad scene of desolation. Welch, the vicar of St. Thomas, who was one of the leaders of the rebellion, was made a notable example. He was hanged in full canonicals, after the Oxford fashion, on the summit of his own church tower; and there his body remained dangling, until the accession of Mary turned the rebel into a martyr.

The siege of Exeter lasted for thirty-five days, from the 2nd of July to the 6th of August, during ten of which the citizens suffered miserably from famine, being reduced to live on horse-flesh and "horse-bread." They had their reward. Their charter was renewed, and they received a grant of the valuable manor of Exe Island. It is stated that at this time the Catholic party in the city outnumbered the Protestant, and that treachery was threatened. Fortunately, whatever their faith, the mayor and his brethren were loyal.

The fighting was not wholly confined to the neighbourhood of Exeter. Plymouth was attacked; but it must either have been by an independent body, or by some of the Cornish men on their retreat; for the only records that we have refer to the rebels being driven out of the town on the 15th of August. They burnt the "town's steeple;" but were thoroughly thrashed, and lost eighty prisoners. The Plymouth men followed them up, and a "traytour of Cornewall" was executed on the Hoe. He was drawn thither on a hurdle, hung and quartered, his head and one quarter set on the Guildhall, one quarter sent to Tavistock, and the residue burnt. A large number of people appear to have taken refuge in Plymouth; and there is a reference to persons of quality on Drake's Island.

The point to be noted here is that the two largest towns in the county, Exeter and Plymouth, were thus distinctly on the Protestant side, though Plymouth was probably the only one that could fairly be called Puritan.

I cannot find that the reign of Mary was marked by peculiar religious activity in the county. Only one martyr-fire was lit; and though there is a tradition connected with the little Baptist society at Moretonhampstead—the oldest existing

dissenting association in the county, that some of its members were persecuted under Mary—it is very evident that the Protestantism of Devon could not have been very pronounced, or that its Catholicism must have been peculiarly tolerant. The former is the more likely.

Under Mary the mass had been restored, and images and the like therewith. One of the first acts of Elizabeth's reign was to pluck these down again. So injunctions and visitation articles were framed, similar to those of Edward, and Commissioners for the extirpation of Popery sent round to see them carried out. Those for Devonshire were about their work in September, 1559, when they visited Exeter. They were the Earl of Pembroke, Henry Parry, William Lovelace, and a famous Devonian, Dr. Jewel.

Bishop Jewel was born at Berrynarbor, in May, 1552. He became a Protestant under Henry; recanted under Mary; then, conscience-stricken, returned to his former faith, and fled abroad. Returning when Elizabeth ascended the throne, he was by her appointed one of the Commissioners for the West, and subsequently Bishop of Salisbury. He was a Puritan, since, though himself a Conformist, he desired reformation to be carried farther.

Strype states that the Visitors took effectual care to remove all the roods, images of tutelary saints, altars, and the like. In other words, that which under Edward had been pulled down, and by Mary had been restored, Elizabeth again took away. I do not think that in Devon generally this Visitation was violently carried out; otherwise there would never have remained down to the days of churchwardenism so many examples of the magnificent rood-screens which adorned our country churches.

We have indeed the authority of the historian Hoker for stating that while the Commissioners were in Exeter they defaced all the altars, and pulled down all images and monuments of idolatry. Still they could not have made a thorough parochial visitation; for a quarter of a century or so later we find the Archdeacon of Exeter enquiring whether all images and superstitious things were clean defaced, and rood-lofts taken down; and if not, by whose default it was? All this points toward the continued existence in Devon of a Catholic element of some strength and importance.

Divisions among the Reformers really began during the exile caused by the Marian persecutions. "Some of the exiles were for keeping to the liturgy of King Edward as the religion of their country, while others, considering that those

laws were repealed, apprehended themselves at full liberty. . . . When the exiles, upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, returned to England, each party were for advancing the Reformation according to their own standard. The Queen, with those that had weathered the storm at home, were only for restoring King Edward's liturgy; but the majority of the exiles were for the worship and discipline of the foreign churches, and refused to comply with the old establishment, declaiming loudly against the Popish habits and ceremonies."*

Elizabeth was no friend to the Puritans; but despite the persecution to which they were subjected under her, Puritanism took deep root in the West. The proofs of this are manifold. It is worthy of note that, in the discussions in Convocation in 1562 concerning the rites and ceremonies of the Church, among those who sought for further reformation after the Puritan ideal were Dodds, the Dean of Exeter, and Tremayne, proctor for the Exeter clergy.

It was in consequence of the subsequent ejection of Puritan ministers from their livings that the people of Cornwall petitioned Parliament in the following terms, which may surely be taken as an indication of the state of feeling in Devonshire, and are very remarkable as showing what a change half a century had made in rebelliously Catholic Cornwall: "We are above the number of fourscore and ten thousand souls, which for want of the word of God are in extreme misery, and ready to perish, and this neither for want of maintenance nor place; for besides the impropriations in our shire, we allow yearly above £9,200, and have about 160 churches, the greatest part of which are supplied by men who are guilty of the grossest sins: some fornicators, some adulterers, some felons, bearing the marks in their hands for the said offence; some drunkards, gamesters on the Sabbath-day, &c. We have many non-residents, who preach once a quarter, so that between meal and meal the silly sheep may starve. We have some ministers who labour painfully and faithfully in the Lord's husbandry; but these men are not suffered to attend their callings, because the mouths of Papists, infidels, and filthy lucre are open against them; and the ears of those who are called lords over them are sooner open to their accusations, though it be but for ceremonies, than to the others' answers. Nor is it safe for us to go and hear them; for though our own fountains are dried up, yet if we seek for the waters of life elsewhere, we are cited into the spiritual courts, reviled, and threatened with excommunication. There-

* Neal, vol. vi. p. vii.

fore from far we come beseeching this honourable house to dispossess these dumb dogs and ravenous wolves, and appoint us faithful ministers who may peaceably preach the word of God."

Bishop Bradridge, Alleigh's successor, who was appointed in 1570, was so troubled with the burden of the diocese, which seems to indicate, though we have no details of importance, that his were times of controversy, that he actually wished to resign the bishopric and return to his former preferment, the quiet deanery at Salisbury. However he held the bishopric until his death, in 1578.

In the next episcopate there were other disturbing elements in the diocese besides those of Puritanism and Recusancy; for Bishop Walton—"constantly an earnest asserter of conformity against the opposers thereof"—in 1581 felt compelled to take proceedings against Anthony Randal, Vicar of Lydford, one of the "family of love," whose tenets had found such acceptance that Walton brought twenty of their adherents to open recantation in the Cathedral Church. Randal was deprived, but adhered obstinately to his opinions.

What were called Prophesyings of the Clergy had been established in 1571, and had spread rapidly into several dioceses. The clergy of various districts were divided into classes or associations under a moderator appointed by the Bishop. Their meetings were once a fortnight. The people were present at the sermon, and after they were dismissed, the members of the association, whose names were subscribed in a book, "censured the performance."† These prophesyings were of course puritanical in their character, for insistence on the importance of preaching was one of the most marked Puritan characteristics. That they existed in Devon is apparent from the fact that the Bishop of Exeter testified of their value to Archbishop Parker.

I cannot trace in full detail here the course of the conflict between Puritanism and the governmental form of faith, which continued throughout the whole of the reign of Elizabeth. That monarch and her advisers sought to abolish Puritanism by silencing its advocates. The Puritan leaders never ceased to proclaim their principles, and in spite of ejections from livings and withdrawals of licenses to preach, contrived to retain a position in the national Church, in which zeal to a large extent made up for want of numbers. In Devonshire, several important parishes were in the hands of Puritan clergy; but Presbyterianism as a distinct organi-

* Isaacke's *History of Exeter*, p. 140.

† Neal, vol. i. p. 262.

zation does not seem to have proceeded further than the embryonic form of prophesyings already noted.

When Elizabeth came to the throne whatever Puritanism existed in Devon was hidden. During the whole of her long reign she was engaged in attempting to put Puritanism down. Yet when she died, Puritanism, invigorated by the bracing air of persecution, was stronger than it had ever been. There were several reasons for this. Her efforts were directed rather against the Puritan clergy than the Puritan laity, and there was ample room for the wide holding of Puritan opinions among the latter. Drake and Hawkins, and other famous seamen of that day, were Puritan, and she valued them none the less. It was reserved for her successors to persecute the sheep as well as the shepherd; and meanwhile, the dearth of competent clergy and the exercise of private influence, enabled not a few quietly-working Puritans to retain their cures.

When James succeeded, Devonshire played its part in the celebrated Conference at Hampton Court, held in the hope—a very faint one—that some ground of reconciliation might be found between Puritanism and the dominant faith, or as we might now better put it, between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism.

At this Conference the chief Puritan champion was a Devonshire man—Dr. John Reynolds. He was originally a Catholic, and his brother William a Protestant. Each sought to convert the other from the error of his ways, and with signal success. John Reynolds converted William, and William converted John. The Catholic champion became the great Puritan leader; the Protestant advocate was transformed into the zealous Papist. John Reynolds was born at Pinhoe, near Exeter, about 1549, four years before the birth of that distinguished Exonian and defender of the Established Church, the “judicious” Hooker. Reynolds, though unsuccessful at the Conference, was one of the translators of our present Bible, the need for a new version of which he had pressed upon the King.

The failure of the Hampton Court Conference left the Puritans in far worse case than before; and when James ordered a renewed subscription on the part of the clergy, fifty-one ministers in Devon and Cornwall refused to subscribe; so that Puritanism in the West seemed for a time to have lost its leaders. But the scene of the conflict was soon to be shifted from Conference and Convocation to Parliament and field.

The continued dearth of clergymen, and the still greater dearth of preaching ministers acceptable to the people, led to an organization for the acquisition of livings in the Puritan interest, and to the appointment of lecturers, who might supply the need the parochial clergy did not or could not meet.

It was a Devonshire man, Thomas Ford, born at Brixton, nigh Plymouth, who, when Dr. Fewens, president of Magdalen Hall, converted the communion table there into an altar, preached mightily against it in a university sermon at St. Mary's, on the 12th of June, 1621. For this he was expelled; but he was not without friends and sympathisers. The Corporation of Plymouth chose him as their lecturer, and it took a letter from the King under the Royal sign manual, and one from Laud himself, to make them change their minds. That they had purely submitted to circumstances, and

"Convinced against their will,
Were of the same opinion still,"

was abundantly evident not many years later.

Charles the First brought no healing influences to the throne; but nothing could quench the Puritanism of Devon, though scores of Devonshire men and women, of all ranks of society, were dragged before the High Commission Court, and brought under the influence of the Laudian policy. We find among the lists such names as Strode and Fortescue and Prideaux, Churchill, Sainthill, and Yarde, members of the oldest and most respected families in the county, side by side with those of poor husbandmen and handicraft folk, recorded only in the dismal records of the time. They come from nearly every part of the county; but what does seem very significant is this, that they are almost wholly from the rural districts, and the smaller towns. Was it the recognition of the growing strength of the popular feeling that caused the larger communities to be thus passed by? Assuredly it was not because they were not Puritan; for they were its very heart and life.

From 1633 to 1636 there were brought before the High Commission Court from Devonshire—John Beare, Bovey Tracey, tanner; Richard Beare, Bovey Tracey, clerk; John Pincombe, Esq., Poughill; Francis Bernard, vicar of Ugborough; Josiah Hart, Uplyme; Edward Prowse, Tiverton; William Tyler, vicar of Witheridge, at his wife's suit for alimony; Richard Jayer, Upottery; Philip Walker, Brampton; Henry Wyatt, Brampton; Roger Beere, rector of Morchard Bishop; William Herniman, Mary Herniman, Willmot Brampton, Northam; John Horsham, vicar of Staverton; William

Lange, vicar of Bradworthy; William Cock, Chumleigh; Sir Richard Strode; Sir H. Rosewall, Ford; Sir Peter Prideaux; John Sanders, Farway; Henry Hoddy, Thomas Cole, St. Mary Ottery; Ed. Fortescue, Fallapit; Ed. Prowse, Tiverton; Ed. Prideaux, St. Mary Ottery; Peter West, Thorverton; Toby Camper, Barnstaple; Edith West and Peter West, Tiverton; William Preston, Staverton; George Churchill, Francis Sainthill, Rockbear; Hugh Wyatt, Richard Allen, Edward Garins, Roger Hunt, Edward Langford, Richard Cocke, J. Dennys, William Whitford, Richard Scoare, Branton; Guy Carleton, Bradworthy; Mary Tucker, alias Lane, St. Mary Ottery; George Yarde, Churston. These will suffice as a sample of the stubborn resistance offered in the West to the Laudian policy; which it will be seen involved men of all ranks in society. A century of controversy was now rapidly widening to a crisis, in which both sides made the appeal to arms.

The temper of these times was of a very uncompromising character. Thus William Strode, who sat in the House of Commons at various times for Plympton and Beeralston, actually moved the House in 1643 that all who refused the Covenant should be deprived of the benefit of the laws. The motion was rejected, but the fact that it was proposed is worthy of note. This Strode will be remembered as one of the five members whom Charles sought to arrest. His election for both Plympton and Beerferris is some indication of the markedly Puritan character of the South of Devon. That of Pym, the greatest of the five, for Tavistock, is still more significant.

We have nothing to do here with the conflict between King and Parliament, otherwise than in its results on the religious history of the county. Puritanism gained the upper hand in the Presbyterian form, and set itself to work to trample down Episcopacy, with the weapons which Episcopacy had aforetime used. The two changed places as the national faith. How many clergymen were ejected from their livings for Episcopacy I cannot exactly say. Walker, in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, includes not only those who were unquestionably sequestrated, but many whose cases he himself thought very doubtful, and some who were not deprived, but whose sufferings were purely political—the inevitable result of the nation being divided into two hostile camps. Walker himself estimates the number of clergy deprived at a third of the total number in the county, which contained, according to Camden, 394 parish churches. His *Sufferings* gives the

names of just 200; but when the doubtfuls are weeded out, errors corrected, and allowance made for those who, being pluralists, were simply restricted to one cure, we get 128, which agrees very closely with Walker's own estimate of the number actually ejected. Most of the ejections were from rural parishes; but Episcopacy was represented in almost all the large towns, Plympton, Tavistock, and Dartmouth being the chief exceptions. And that Episcopacy in the West was by no means without friends is proven by the fact that when in 1641 petitions were presented for and against the bishops, Devon sent up one with 8,000 signatures in their behalf. Somerset had 14,000. Bishop Hall, who had written in advocacy of the divine right of Episcopacy, then lay in prison. In some parts of the county Presbyterianism had gained so great a hold during the disturbed period preceding the Commonwealth, that the abolition of Episcopacy brought no change. This was notably the case at Plymouth, where the Corporation had chosen the famous George Hughes as vicar. At Exeter, on the contrary, the changes were great. Not only was the entire Cathedral establishment swept away, a necessary consequence of the substitution of Presbyterian organisation for Episcopal, but by an ordinance of Parliament, passed in 1656, for the promoting of the more frequent preaching of the gospel in the city, the maintenance of ministers, and the uniting of parishes and churches, it was decreed that the Cathedral should be divided into two meeting places by a wall, and that of the superabundant churches thirteen should be sold, and used for schools and cemeteries. Those selected for retention for worship were St. Mary Major, St. Petrock, St. Mary Arches, and St. Edmund on the Bridge. Seven of those offered for sale appear to have been purchased by the parishioners, but none disappeared; and when Episcopacy came in again the "Babylonish wall" in the Cathedral was easily removed, and the churches restored to their original purpose.

It is the fashion to charge the Puritan soldiery with wholesale debasement and spoliation of sacred edifices.

During the rule of Laud, a great deal that had been undone under Elizabeth was indeed done over again; but there is evidently gross exaggeration in the account given by Dr. Bruno Ryves in the *Mercurius Rusticus*, from hearsay, of what befel Exeter Cathedral after the city was taken by Fairfax. I do not doubt that the Puritan soldiers broke monuments, shattered windows, tore prayer books, and turned the place into a powder magazine; but I doubt very much that they

did certain other things with which they are charged. Moreover there had been two destructive Visitations before that date, under Edward and Elizabeth, and when we bear in mind what must have been destroyed in them, and what is left to continue to the present day, we shall see that the Cromwellian soldiery were not such outrageous iconoclasts after all. It has long been the custom to put down all damage in churches to the period of the civil war, and to father it upon the Puritans militant. They were certainly men of strong opinions, and by no means particular; but they did not do a tithe of the mischief that was done by the Visitors of Edward and Elizabeth. Besides, nothing is commoner in war than to utilise churches for barracks and hospitals. We did it continually in the Peninsula. Both French and Germans followed the same course in the Franco-German war. And the Cavaliers themselves were never too good to garrison a church against those very Roundheads if they thought it a defensible post. I honestly believe that the fabrics of the churches suffered far more from the church-wardens of the 18th century than from the Roundheads of the 17th.

The sequestrations of the Episcopal clergy took place at intervals during the Commonwealth, and were individual in their character. Nevertheless, long as they continued, and numerous as were the ejections, there must have been left in the livings of the county a considerable body of clergy who were either Episcopal at heart, or who knew how to trim their course to suit the favour of the party in power.

When Charles II. returned from exile, he declared liberty to tender consciences; and it was believed for a while that some mode of reconciliation between the rival claims of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism might be devised. The Act of Uniformity put an end to these pleasant dreams, and when in 1662 two thousand ministers resigned their livings, rather than violate what they deemed to be conscientious conviction, 132 at least were found in Devonshire. The Episcopalians sequestrated and the Puritans ejected were thus nearly equal in number; but the areas of deprivation in either case were by no means identical. In 44 towns and parishes, including nearly all the chief centres of population, both parties suffered in turn. In about 70 Episcopalians were alone turned out; in about 50 only Presbyterians and Independents; but at one time or another more than half the parishes in the county were affected.*

* See Appendix i.

Of the sequestered Episcopalians, some 50 regained their livings. Of those who had replaced them, a still larger number submitted to the conditions imposed in 1662, and retained under the bishop what they had received under the presbytery. Thenceforth Puritanism ceased to be represented within the Church in any clear party sense, and the Presbyterians found themselves as distinctly Nonconformist, as the Independents had been in theory, and the Baptists and Quakers in fact. For a hundred years Puritanism had struggled to maintain a place within the National Church. For ten it had enjoyed a supremacy. It was now altogether cast out, and in more desperate strait than even in the days of Elizabeth and of the first James. Every effort was made to silence the ejected ministers, and to put down all religious observances exterior to the Church. But the Confessors of the English Bartholomew was not easily silenced; and they had a large and earnest body of adherents. And so when in 1672 Charles issued his short-lived and illegal Declaration of Indulgence, of the survivors of the ministers who had been ejected about 65, or just one-half, availed themselves of its provisions, and took out licences to bring them within the law, which for ten years, by preaching whenever and wherever they had opportunity, they had defied. And when eleven years later still William of Orange landed on the shores of Devon, among the heartiest in their welcome were those of the ejected who still remained, and their faithful followers.*

And let it be noted that in one sense these were no feeble folk. They were not the mob. There is no greater error than to imagine these old Puritans rude, uncultivated, unlettered boors. There were among them many of the common people; but the strength of Puritanism did not lie in the masses. There were earnest believers, fanatics, sectaries if you will, in all ranks of life; but the most Puritan class was the middle class, whether in town or country. Thus we find among the Presbyterian and Independent ministers of Devon such well-known family names as those of Acland, Ford, Stucley, Polwhele, Karlake, Yeo, Woolcombe, Prideaux, Carew, Whiddon, Haydon, Shute, Harris, and Fownes.

And throughout the last century, while Devon enjoyed the dignity and profit of being a great manufacturing county, her staple woollen trade was almost wholly in the hands of the descendants, Presbyterian both by ancestry and profession, of the Nonconformists of 1662.

And now for a moment to retrace our steps. Presbyterian-

* See Appendix ii.

ism had been established in this county in a somewhat modified form. There were Presbyteries, but there was no actual Synod. Still there was an organization of like character in the Exeter Assembly.* On the 18th October, 1655, an association of Presbyterian ministers of the county of Devon was formed at Exeter to deal with matters of doctrine and discipline. The Association held two meetings a year, and under it the county was divided into seven divisions, the members in which met monthly. The articles of association were signed by 131 ministers. In the following year Independents were admitted, and an address voted to the Lord Protector. There is no record of the history of the Assembly during the troublous times of the second Charles and James; but after the Act of Toleration the Assembly became the governing body of the Presbyterians of the county, examining and admitting candidates to the ministry, ordaining, and exercising generally presbyterial powers. These old Nonconformists were heedful to provide a learned ministry as well as a spiritual. The Ejected were almost to a man university bred. The exclusion of the Nonconforming students from Oxford and Cambridge led to the establishment of academies, some of which obtained great and deserved repute. The most famous in the West was that of Mr. Warren of Taunton; but Mr. Hallet had a notable one at Exeter. Into the latter Hallet's son, who corresponded with Whiston, introduced Arian views about the year 1708. These were taken up by five or six of the students and eventually spread into the ministry, giving rise to the western Arian controversy, which raged fiercely among the Presbyterians and Congregationalists of Devon and the adjoining counties. Matters came to a head in the Assembly in 1716. The orthodox carried the day, ejecting Pierce of Exeter, the leader of the Arians, with several other ministers. But the expulsion of the Arian element by no means purged the Assembly. Arianism found such favour with its younger members, that in 1735 the Assembly refused to declare against the admission of candidates to the ministry who would not profess faith in the deity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. And so in process of time the Assembly became, though there were never tests, first Arian and then Unitarian.

The Association, which still exists, is now known by the name of the Assembly of Presbyterian Divines. It is governed by a moderator, and its records kept, in the old-

* See Appendix iii.

fashioned phrase, by a scribe. It meets yearly at Exeter to transact business, hear a sermon, and eat a dinner. The business consists chiefly in the voting of grants to poor congregations. Among these there is at present one Independent, the minister whereof is a member, and preached before the Assembly last year. The Association has however at various times taken corporate action with regard to matters affecting the well-being of Nonconformists generally, and thus in various ways still pursues its career.

The Exeter Assembly is an interesting link between the elder Puritanism and modern Nonconformity; but the historical succession and representation is much more extended and complete. The last survivor in Devon of the Ejected of 1662 was John Knight, minister of Littlehempston, who lived on to 1715. When he died there were in the county fifty-nine congregations which had been founded by his brethren and himself, and which had a total attendance of 21,750. Of these over thirty continue to this day unbroken.* But their off-shoots, and the societies founded by the congregations which have themselves passed away, make a much larger total; and if we add thereto the various Baptist societies, which may be taken to represent Puritanism in its extremest phase, we shall find that the older Nonconformity is to be found at this day in more than two hundred towns and parishes in this county. Or let me put it in another form. The places in Devon from which ministers were ejected in 1662 numbered over 100. The places in and for which preaching licenses were taken out in 1672 made rather a larger total. The two lists, though to a great extent identical, are by no means wholly so. There was always special difficulty in an ejected minister remaining in his parish, particularly if it were small; and in any case he did so at his peril. The fact which I wish to note is this, that in more than half the parishes or places for which licences were granted, Independent, Unitarian, or Baptist societies are existing at this day, though, it is true, in the majority of cases not in direct succession. The chief religious societies which do derive directly from the Ejected, and through them from the elder Puritans, are to be found at Exeter, Plymouth, Totnes, Dartmouth,† Tavistock, Newton, Crediton, Barnstaple,

* See Appendix ii.

† As an illustration of the difficulties into which many places were placed by the ejection of their ministers, I may quote the following from the Receiver's accounts of the borough of Dartmouth for 1662:—"Pd. Mr. John Crocker, of Stockflemming, to preach in Dartmouth the 24th of August, 1662, is 12s. 6d.; to Mr. Jesse, of Littlehempston (Littlehempston,

Bideford, Moretonhampstead, Tiverton, Honiton, Axminster, Ashburton, Collumpton, Colyton, Ottery, Okehampton, Sidmouth, Topsham, Torrington, and Uffculme.

My task is done. I have attempted to sketch an outline of the local history of that Puritanism which, commencing with Reformation, has by the force of circumstances developed into Nonconformity. I have sought to trace the process of that development, and to recognize in agencies still active the results of a mighty impulse, quickening human thought and feeling here in Devon three centuries ago. I do not care to draw a moral. My aim is simply to set forth facts. Yet this at least I may say, that these facts contain a pregnant lesson concerning the vitality of opinion when underlain by principle, even though the times may alter and we with them. There are few landscapes in Devon, save on the changeless moorland, that we should recognise could we see them as they were seen by Raleigh, or by Drake. There is not a single town that has not changed mightily for the better or the worse. Only here and there should we recognize some ancient building, less venerable than we see it now—fit emblem of my theme. For where all else is changeful we see no change in the opposition of opinion, and the old controversies are a legacy of which we cannot get rid.

near Totnes), for preaching 30th August, nothing (a barrell of anchovies, and a barrell of olives) 8s.; pd. Mr. Ellis, of Allington, for preaching the 7th Sept., 14s.; pd. Mr. Lewis Sharpe, 14th Sept., 13s.; pd. Mr. Landas, of Morley, 21st Sept., 13s.; pd. Mr. Clifford, Newton Ferris, 28th Sept., nothing (sent a barrel of anchovies, and a barrel of olives), 9s.; pd. Mr. Ernbery, of Torr, for preaching Oct. 5th, 13s.; pd. Mr. Nicholas Downay for preaching Oct. 12th, 16s.; pd. John Penny for going to several places to procure preachers to come here, 6s. 6d."

APPENDIX I.

SEQUESTRATIONS AND EJECTIONS IN DEVON.

[The facts in this Appendix are taken chiefly from Walker and Calamy, but checked from other sources. The names to which an asterisk is attached are those of ejected or silenced ministers who founded congregations. R indicates sequestrated ministers restored.]

Parishes.	Sequestrated.	Ejected.
Aveton Gifford and Ringmore	William Lane	
Abbotsham ...	John Luxon	
Awliscombe and Upottery	James Burnard R	
Ashwater ...	— Hammond	
	John Hoar	
Anstey, West ...	Thomas Washer R	... John Mauduit *
Ashprington ...	John Lethbridge	... John Burgess
Ashbury ...	.....	... Daniel Morton *
Ashton ...	.....	... Thomas Bawden
Axminster ...	.....	... Barth. Ashwood *
Ashcombe ...	John Troas	
Alphington ...	Thomas Alden, Prebendary	
Bridestow ...	Ed. Cotton, Archden. and Canon	William Knapman
Bradworthy ...	William Lange	
Bradninch and Whimble	John Phare	
Bow ...	— Lethbridge	
Bickleigh ...	Bartholomew Ashwood	
Barnstaple ...	Martin Blake	... Nathaniel Mather
Bovey Tracey ...	James Forbest R	
Brent, South ...	John Gandy R	... Christ. Jelinger *
Bratton Fleming ...	Matthew Gay	... Anthony Palmer *
Bigbury ...	Daniel Getaius R	
Buckland Filleigh ...	Henry Wilson	
Bideford ...	Arthur Gifford R	... William Bartlet *
Burrington ...	William Harvey R	
Brixham ...	John Travers	... John Kempster *
Brixton ...	.....	... John Quick
Broadhembury & Coombe Raleigh	Samuel Knot	... Josiah Banger
Buckland, West... ..	.....	... Josias Gale
Bramford Speke ... ..	.....	... — Haller
Budleigh, East ...	Stephen Chapman	
Bishops Tawton... ..	.....	... Jnthn. Hanmer, * also Lecturer Barnstaple
Charlton ...	Andrew Lake R	
Coomb Martin ...	John Newel	
Chumleigh ...	C. Baitson, afterwards replaced	
Coombinteignhead ...	Thomas Buckland	
Calverleigh ...	Nicholas Burch	... — Horsford

Parishes.	Sequestered.	Ejected.
Churchstanton ...	John Salkeld	
Cornwood ...	Henry Smith	
Colyton and Samp. Peverell	Thomas Rollins, Prebendary, R	John Wilkins
Coombe Raleigh & Broadhembury	Samuel Knot R	William Taylor
Clayhidon ...	.....	Matthew Pemberton
Cheriton Fitzpaine	.....	Nathaniel Durant
Collumpton ...	.....	William Crompton *
Churston ...	.....	— Elyott
Cheriton Episcopi	William Huchenson, Canon	
Clist Lawrence & Honiton	— Eedes	
Diptford ...	William Peterson, Dean	
Dunchideock ...	William Helliar, Archdeacon	Edward Hunt *
Dittisham and Littlehempston	John Strode R	Edmund Tucker *
Denbury ...	Richard Searle	John Knight *
Drewsteignton & Ringsash	Anthony Short	Richard Herring *
Dean Prior ...	Robert Herrick R	John Syms *
Down, East ...	.....	John Berry *
Dartmouth ...	.....	James Burdwood *
Dartmouth ...	.....	Allen Geare
Dartmouth ...	.....	John Flavel *
Dunaford ...	.....	William Pearce *
Exeter ...	Bishop Brownrigg	Thomas Ford *
Exeter ...	Lawrence Burnell, Chan. & Can.	Robert Atkins *
Exeter ...	George Hall, Canon	Thomas Powel *
Exeter ...	William Cox, Chaunter & Canon	John Bartlet *
Exeter ...	John Bury, Canon	Ferdinando Nicoll *
Exeter ...	Henry Byam, Prebendary, R	Thomas Down
Exeter ...	Timothy Shute, Prebendary	Mark Down *
Exeter ...	Charles Fotherby, Prebendary	Lewis Stucley *
Exeter ...	Edward Gibbons, sub-Chaunter	Thomas Mall *
Exeter ...	Robt. Parsons, Priest Vicar, R	Alexander Hodges
Exeter ...	John Mayne, Priest Vicar	
Exeter ...	W. Hopwood, Priest Vicar, R	
Exeter ...	Edward Young, Arch. & Preb.	
Exeter ...	Richard Hall	
Exeter ...	Nicholas Hooper	
Exeter ...	Richard March	
Exeter ...	Thomas Baker	
Exeter ...	Matthew Bennett R	
Exeter ...	John Winnel	
Exeter ...	— Briant	
Exeter ...	James Lake	
Exeter ...	Richard Long	
Exeter ...	— Flavin, Curate	
Exeter ...	— Stucley, Curate	
Egg Buckland ...	James Bache R	
Exminster ...	Daniel More	
Exbourne ...	.....	— Finney
Feniton ...	Charles Churchill R	Samuel Hieron
Farway ...	Thomas Foster	
Fremington ...	Richard Wood	John Bartlet *

Parishes.	Sequestered.	Ejected.
Heavitree ...	John Bray, Canon	
Holne ...	Richard Kay	
Halberton ...	John Carew R	... James Haddridge *
Honiton and	— Eedes	... Francis Soreton *
Olist Lawrence		
Huntsbam ...	John Padfield	
Holsworthy ...	.....	... Humphry Saunders
Harberton ...	.....	... George Mortimer *
Iddesleigh (Hittersleigh)	Nicholas Enker	
Ipplepen ...	William Gibbs R	
Inwardleigh ...	Francis Nation R	... — Bridgman
Ide ...	William Saterly	... Robert Gaylard *
Ilington ...	.....	... William Stooke *
Instow ...	.....	... William Clyd
Jacobstow ...	.....	... Peter Osborn
Kentisbeare ...	John Parsons R	... Richard Saunders *
Kenton ...	.....	... George Kendal
Knowstone and Molland	Daniel Berry	
Lydford ...	Richard Pote R	
Littlehempston & Dittisham	John Strode	J. Knight,* also stated T. Friend
Lifton ...	Bernard Herniman	
Luppitt ...	.....	... Thomas Wellman *
Littleham ...	.....	... John Bowden *
Loddiswell ...	Henry Warren, Prebendary, R	— Hind
Lamerton ...	John Cooper R	
Manaton ...	James Hill	... John Nosworthy *
Mary Tavy ...	Thomas Jackson	... Benjamin Berry,* or from Huxham
Modbury ...	Henry Bagley	
Mary Church ...	Robert Ball R	... William Stidson
Marwood ...	William Bourcher R	
Morleigh ...	John Lavers	
Mariansleigh ...	Edward Reed	
Maristow ...	.....	... John Herring
Molland and	Daniel Berry	
Knowstone		
Moreton ...	.....	... John Mills
Morchard Bishop ...	.....	... Robert Snow
Merton ...	.....	... Bartholomew Yeo *
Musbury ...	.....	... Richard Farrant *
Moretonhampstd. ...	.....	... Robert Woolcomb
Monkton ...	.....	... Thomas Lisle
Newton Ferrers...	Matthew Clifford R	... John Hill *
North Huish ...	John Edgcumbe	
Newton Tracey ...	Zechariah Smith R	
North Tawton ...	.....	... Thomas Maynard *
Northam ...	.....	... Anthony Down *

Parishes	Sequestered.	Ejected.
Offwell ...	Thomas Jones	
Otterton ...	Richard Ven R	
Ogwell, East ...	.....	... John Stephens
Plymouth ...	Aaron Wilson	... George Hughes
Plymouth ...	Thomas Bedford	... Thomas Martyn *
Plymouth ...	.....	... Obadiah Hughes,* from Oxford
Plymouth ...	.....	... Samuel Martyn
Plymouth ...	.....	... Nicholas Sherwill,* unbeneficed
Petrockstow ...	Anthony Gregory	... William Trevithick
Paignton ...	David Davies	
Pyworthy ...	.....	... Michael Taylor *
Plympton St. Mary	.....	... John Serle *
Plympton ...	.....	... — Pitts
Poltimore ...	.....	... Lawrence Musgrave Ambrose Clare
Plympton Maurice	.....	... — Williams
Pinhoe ...	.....	... — Grove
Pyworthy ...	John Kellard	
Roseash ...	Roger Trosse R	
Romansleigh ...	Thomas Woodcock	
Ringsash and Drewsteignton	Anthony Short	
Ringmore and Aveton Gifford	William Lane	
Rewe ...	.....	... Edward Parr *
Silverton and Whimble	Wm. Cotton, Chaunter & Canon	Nathaniel Byfield
Shobrook and Bridestowe	Edward Cotton, Arch. and Can.	Thomas Trescott *
Sampford Peverell and Colyton	Thomas Rollins, Prebendary, R	Stephen Coven
Stockleigh Pomeroy	Robert Bowher R	
Sydenham Damrl.	Erizeus Triggs	
Shaugh	— Wall	
Stoke Fleming and Woodleigh	Richard Reynolds R	... William Bailly
Satterleigh and Warkleigh	Edward Sally R	... Lewis Hatch
Stokenham ...	Jonas Stiles R	... Benjamin Cleland
Stoke Damarel ...	.....	... John Hicks *
Staverton ...	.....	... John Horsham
Sowton ...	.....	... John Mortimer *
Shute ...	.....	... John Gill
Shebbear cum Sheepwash	William Battishill, afterwards restored	
Tallaton ..	John Pinson, Prebendary, R	Robert Collins *
Thorncombe ...	.....	Nicholas Wakely *
Thorverton ...	Samuel Travers	
Tedbourn St. Mary	Anthony Turner	
Teignmouth ...	Samuel Ware	
Topsham ...	William Livermore	
Tiverton ...	George Pierce R	... Theophilus Polwhele *

Parishes.	Sequestrated.	Ejected.
Torrington, Great	Richard Newte	... John Chishul
Thurlestone ...	Theophilus Powell	... John Howe
Totnes ...	John Snell R	
	William Adams	... Francis Whiddon *
Tavistock ...		... John Garrett
Tamerton ...		... Thomas Larkham
Trusham ...	— Haycraft	... Robert Wyne
Upton Pyne ...	Philip Hall R	
Upottery and	James Burnard R	
Awliscombe		
Uffculme ...	— Parsons	
Ugborough ...		... Nathaniel Jacob *
Upton Hellions ...		... Lewis Facy *
Uploman ...		... Robert Carel
Uplyme ...		... Thomas Godwine
Whimble and	William Cotton, Chaunter and	
Silverton	Canon	
Woolfardisworthy	George Holgrew	... Thomas Walrond
Whitstone and	Thomas Baker	
St. Mary Major		
Whimble and	John Phara, Curate	
Bradninch		
Woodbury ...	Barnabas Gouch, Curate	... Samuel Fones
Woodleigh and	Richard Raynolds R	... Richard Binnmore *
Stoke Fleming		
Warkleigh and	Edward Selly R	
Satterleigh		
Wolborough ...		... William Yeo *
Woodland ...		... Thomas Palk *
Werrington ...		... William Carslake
Yarcombe ...	Gamaliel Chase	
Places unknown, or unbeneficed.		... John Gay *
		... Ralph Sprake *
		... John Hoppin *
		... John Gidley *
		... Oliver Peard *
		... John Hammer, jun. *
		... Samuel Atkins
		... John Cardmore
		... John Pope
		— Randall
		— Lawrence
		— Brown
		George Tross

APPENDIX II.

NONCONFORMIST SOCIETIES IN DEVON.*

[This appendix shows the places for which licenses to preach were taken out in 1672; the places in the county which had Nonconformist Societies (Quakers excepted) in 1715; and those places of either class where the elder Nonconformity is now represented, whether in direct or indirect succession.]

Licensed in 1672.	Existing 1715.	Existing now.
Azminster ...	500 hearers	... Independent.
Arthington (? Atherington) .....	.....	... Baptist.
Alvington, West ...	.....	... Independent.
Ashburton ...	360 hearers	... Ind. and Bapt.
Awliscombe ...	120 hearers	...
Appledore ...	250 hearers	... Ind. and Bapt.
	Aylesbeare, 100 hearers	... Independent.
Bideford ...	(two con.) 1050 hearers	... Ind. and Bapt.
Barnstaple ...	950 hearers	... Ind. and Bapt.
Buckfastleigh ...	.....	... Independent.
Bampton ...	.....	... Baptist.
Bigbury ...	.....	... Baptist.
Brixham (?) ...	.....	... Ind. and Bapt.
Buckerell ...	100 hearers	...
Brent ...	.....	... Independent.
Bradninch ...	.....	... Baptist.
Bridford ...	.....	...
Brixton ...	.....	...
	Bovey 200 hearers	... Baptist.
	Bow 160 hearers	... Ind. and Bapt.
	Braunton 150 hearers	... Independent.
	Budleigh 300 hearers	... Baptist.
Broadhembury ...	.....	... Independent.
Bishop's Clyst ...	.....	...
Crediton ...	600 hearers	... Unit. and Ind.
Cruwys Morchard ...	.....	... Independent.
Chumleigh ...	250 hearers	... Independent.
Collumpton ...	400 hearers	... Unit., Ind., Bapt.
Colyton ...	(two con.) 360 hearers	... Unit. and Ind.
Christow ...	.....	... Baptist.
Chivelstone ...	.....	... Baptist.
Culmstock ...	.....	... Baptist.
Chudleigh ...	300 hearers	... Ind. and Bapt.
Chittlehampton ...	.....	...
	Cofton 220 hearers	...
Cromford (? Kennford) .....	.....	...
Cockerton (? Cockington) .....	.....	...

* The return of Licenses for 1672 is taken from papers found by Mr. Marsh in the Public Record Office.

Licensed in 1672.	Existing 1715.	Existing now.
Dunkeswell	.....	...
Dartmouth	... (two con.) 580 hearers	... Ind. and Bapt.
Dawlish	.....	... Independent.
Dunsford	.....	...
Dartington	.....	...
Denbury	.....	... Baptist.
Dunchideock	.....	...
Exeter	... (five con.) 2,770 hearers	... Unit., Ind., Bap.
East Down	.....	...
Ermington	.....	...
Frithelstock	.....	... Baptist.
Hartland	.....	... Independent.
Hennock	.....	...
Honiton	... 600 hearers	... Unit., Ind., Bap.
Halberton	... 300 hearers	...
Holsworthy	... 120 hearers	...
Hatherleigh	... 150 hearers	... Baptist.
Harpford	.....	...
Harberton	.....	...
Huntsam	.....	...
	Ilfracombe, 200 hearers	... Ind. and Bapt.
Kingsbridge	... 300 hearers	... Ind. and Bapt.
Kentisbeare	.....	...
	Kingskerswell, 150 hearers	... Baptist.
Luppitt	... 200 hearers	...
Lynmouth	.....	... Independent.
Loxbeare	.....	...
Lew	.....	...
Lapford	... Lympstone, 500 hearers	... Independent. Unitarian.
Marldon	.....	...
Musbury	.....	...
Molland	.....	...
Manaton	.....	...
Modbury	... 200 hearers	... Bap., form. Ind.
Milton	.....	...
Membury	.....	...
Moreton	... Moretonhampstead, 600 hearers	Unit., Ind., Bap.
Mirlin (? Marland)	.....	...
Northam	.....	... Independent.
Newton Abbot	} 380 hearers	...
Newton Bushell		... Ind. and Bapt.
	North Molton, 100 hearers	... Independent.
Netherexce	.....	...
Norton	.....	...
Ottery St. Mary	... 700 hearers	... Ind. and Bapt.
Ogwell	.....	...
Otterton	.....	...
	Okehampton, 200 hearers	... Independent.

Licensed in 1672.	Existing 1715.	Existing now.
Plymouth ...	(two con.) 1,260 hearers ...	Unit., Ind., Bap.
Plympton St. Mary. ...	.....	Independent.
Powderham	.....
Pyworthy	.....
	Plympton Earl, 100 hearers ...	Independent.
	Puddington, 300 hearers ...	Independent.
Romaneleigh	.....
Rose Ash	.....
Ridgwell († Bridgrule)	.....
Salcombe	.....	Baptist.
Shebbear	.....	Baptist.
Sidmouth	... 250 hearers	Unit. Ind. Bap.
Sampford Pevereil	.....
Silverton	... 250 hearers	
Southmolton	... 380 hearers	Ind. and Bap.
Satterleigh	.....
Stokenham	... 360 hearers	Independent.
Staverton	.....
Stonehouse	... ..	Ind. and Bap.
Shobrooke	... 150 hearers	
	Stockland, 200 hearers	
	Sidbury, 220 hearers	Independent.
Tiverton	... 1,270 hearers	Ind. and Bap.
Tavistock	... 600 hearers	Unit. and Ind.
Topsham	... 600 hearers	Unit. and Ind.
Totnes	... 280 hearers	Independent.
Thorncombe	... 100 hearers	
Torrington	... 350 hearers	Ind. and Bap.
Talaton	.....
Trusham	.....
Uffculme	... 270 hearers	Ind. and Bap.
Uplaman	.....
Ugborough	... ..	Independent.
	Upottery, 120 hearers	
Woodleigh	.....
Welcombe	.....
Woodbury	.....
Wold (?)	.....

APPENDIX III.

MINUTES OF THE EXETER ASSEMBLY.

[These minutes are extracted from the original records, which, by the courtesy of Mr. Hill, of Moretonhampstead, I was enabled to inspect. They have never before been published; and are here given in order as entered.]

THE First General Association of the Ministers of the County of Devon, assembled at Exon, October 18th, 1655.

We Ministers of the Gospel in the Countyes of Devon & Exon whose names are vnderwritten after o' humble seeking direction from God by humiliacon and prayer for the faithful discharge of o' Ministerial duty, the right ordering of o' congregaconis & the promoting of purity and peace in the church of Christ doe agree, and resolve As Followeth.

1. That there be a Moderator chosen who is to begin & end with prayer, & to keep order in the meeting by silencing all private and impertinent discourses, that all present may attend the businesse in hand.
2. That there be a Scribe chosen to write those things which shalbe transacted & concluded in the General Assembly.
3. That the names of all be subscribed who are to be admitted into the general Associacon and to that end that there be a paper book wherein the determinaconis of the Assembly shalbe written, and the subscription of the names expressed.
4. That none be admitted into the General Associacon that will administer the Lord's Supper promiscuously to all sorts, good & bad.
5. That such person or persons as are vnknowne to vs shall not be admitted into the General Associacon without the Testimony of some particular Associacon w^hin the County of Devon.
6. That if any person desire admission into this Associacon who is guilty of any disorderly or scandalous walking (and shall appeare to be so by the just informacon of any of the Bretheren) his admission be for a while deferred, till satisfaction be given to the general Associacon.
7. That in o' consultations & debates wee will not meddle with civil or secular matters, or any state affaires, nor goe beyond the bound of o' calling, but treat of those things only which concerne us in o' Ministerial function for the discharge of o' duty, &

seeking the spirituall good of the soules of the people comitted to o' charge.

8. That we shalbe ready to give account of o' proceedings to the civil Magistrate, or any other who shall demand or desire a reason of them.

9. That we endeavo' to further an vniformity in Doctrine, Worship and Discipline in o' Congregacions according to the Rule of the word, & the example of the best reformed churches.

10. That none shall wilfully contradict the confession of faith (set forth by the Assembly at Westminster) in his preaching.

11. That we approve of the Directory as a good Rule for us in o' Ministerial actings.

12. That we will all labo' to vphold the credit of the Ministry, & the esteeme of o' Bretheren in the Ministry.

13. That we will deale faithfully with o' Brethren of this Associacofi in not suffering sin to lie vpon each other, but freely & lovingly give to, & receive admonition from, one another for any evill that shalbe discovered in any of vs.

14. That we endeavo' to vphold purity of Doctrine, and to prevent the growing & spreading erro^r of the time.

15. That we in all o' respective Congregacofis will have a special care of the flock comitted to vs.

16. That we will all of us apply o'selves to a diligent and constant course of Catechizing.

17. That in all o' consultacofis in o' General Assembly there be an actual consent or dissent by word or signe.

18. That any Brother may speak his mind freely to the point in hand without interruption.

19. That the Majo^r part of votes Determine any thing that shall be concluded on.

20. That if any Brother dissent from that which the Majo^r have voted, he give in his reasons, that satisfaction may be given to him, or by him to them, if it may be.

21. That particular Associacofis be in subordinacofi to the General in all their ministerial actings and determinacofis, and to that end be ready to give an account of their Doctrine (if it be required of them) as also of that which they have agreed on in their several meetings at the next General Assembly.

22. That in their several divisions there be Ordinacofi of Ministers as occasion shalbe offered.

23. That in each subdivision there be a meeting of the Ministers within that compasse once in sixe weekes.

24. That in every division there be a meeting of the Ministers within the precincts of it once a Quarter.

25. That there be once a yeare a meeting of the General Associacofi at Exeter, and then that there be a day of Humiliacofi appoynted, & another day for consultacofi.

26. That before the conclusion of this First General Assembly

there be a Moderator chosen for the next general Meeting, and so in Order for other successive meetings.

27. That before the next general Assembly Delegates be chosen out of the several divisions to ripen matter for debate.

28. That every minister or one in each subdivision take a copy of the determinacon of the general Associacon for their direction in practise.

29. That we doe in matters of greater difficulty humbly crave the Brotherly advice of the Ministers associated in the neighbor Countyes of Somerset, Dorset, Cornwall, or others that we may hold a brotherly correspondence wth them.

30. That we engage o^rselves not to break off from the general or more pticular Associacoⁿs, nor to recede from anything agreed on therein, without shewing our reason of dislike to the respective Associacoⁿs with all humility for their satisfaction.

DIVISION THE 1ST.

Geo: Kendall	Baldwin Ackland
Ferdinando Nicolls	William Huckenss
Thomas Ford	John Alden
John Bartlett	Francis Wilcox
Thomas Downe	Robert Gaylard
Thomas Wilcox	William Bankes
Ambrose Hare	Rob ^t Atkins
John Gandy	John Tickell
Marke Downe	John Nicoll
Will: Bowden	William Bake
E D Hunt	Alex Hodge

Jo Musgrave

According to the teno^r of severall ppositions agreed upon at the general Assembly May 22 1656 I subscribe to the foregoing Articles.

Lewis Studley Thomas Mall

DIVISION THE 3RD.

George Hughes Min^r in Plym^e
 Francis Porter min^r in Plym^e
 Joseph Squier Min^r of Lifton
 Jo: Tindall Min^r of Beerferris
 Andrewe Gow Min^r of Peter's-Tavy
 Christopher Jelinger M^r of South-Brent
 Richard Hamme min^r of Lamerton
 John Hussey min^r of Okehampton
 Tho Whiteborne min^r of Budiaux
 William Knapman Minister of Bridestowe
 Robt Wyne min^r of Tamerton Folliott
 Joseph Rowe Minister of Buckeland-monachoru
 James Watson minister of Ermington
 Charles Lamb min^r at Eggbickland
 Samuel Forde min^r at Rinnore
 Degory Polwheele min of Whitchurch
 John Herring min^r of maristow
 Will: Carslake min^r at Werrington
 Tho: Martyn Min^r in Plym^e
 Roger Ashton minister at Stowford
 Peter Maye Min^r of Bickley

PURITANISM IN DEVON,

DIVISION THE 1ST.

John Steephens minister of Eastogwell
 Rob: Lawe Mn^r of Hennock
 W^m Miller minister of Christowe
 Nich Downjao minister of Kingtengton
 William Yeo min^r of Newton
 William Woolcombe: minister of Bickington
 Solomon Prideaux Min of Combintinhead
 John Tooker Preacher of the word at Kingscarswell.
 Joshua Bowden minist^r of Ashburton
 Thomas Carew minister of Haccombe
 Robert Wolcombe minister of Morton
 Richard Herring Minister of Tainto-Drew
 Stephen Bloy Minister of Chudleigh
 Thomas Spurway Minister of Ipplepen
 John Brayne, Minister of Highweeke.

DIVISION THE 2ND.

Nathaniel Perry : minister of Payngton.
 Benjamin Cleland minister of Stockingham
 John Symas, minister of Deane-prior
 John Serle Minist^r of the word in Rottery
 Will. Baylie Min. of Stockefleming
 William Randall min : of Berrypomeroy
 John Buckley min^r at Thurstleton
 John Courtice min^r at Buckfastleigh
 John Burges Minist^r of Aishprington
 Francis Fullwood min^r of West Alvington
 John Kempster minister of Brixham
 Nathaneel Mather p^acher at Harburton
 Richard Brynmore minister of Woodley
 Nathan : Jacob minister of Ogborough
 George Hamond, Minister in Totnes
 Francis Whiddon Minister in Totnes
 John Flavell
 Allen Geare Minister at Dartmouth
 Thomas Cleland Minister of Chivelston
 Geo : Mortimer Min^r of Harburton
 Richard Luce minister of Blackauton

DIVISION 4TH.

Pet : Osborne Minister of Jacobstowe
 Nicolas Beckett Minister of Bradford
 Anthony Palmer Minister of Bratton-Fleming
 W^m Knaplock minister of Doulton
 William Clyd minister at Instow
 Jonathan Hammer minister of Bishopstawton
 Anthony Downe minister of Northam
 Leond Prince mint^r of Ifardcombe
 Humfry Saunders of Hollesworthy
 Will Wethicke (? Wirthicke) of Petrockstow
 Bartholomew Yeo minister of Afferton
 Nathaniel Haydon : Minister of Alphington
 Thomas Bridgman Minister of Inwardleigh
 Jonathan Bowden minister of Littleham
 Hum : Shute minister of Hunsham
 Danyel Morton minister of Aishberry
 W^m Hutton minister of Northlew.
 Elias Eastway minister of Bradworthy

John Berry minister of Lankey
 Benjamin Mawditt mynister off Sutcumbe
 Michael Taylor Minister of Pyewoorthy.
 William Yeo minister of Eastbuckland
 Robert Triggs Minister of Chittlehampton.
 Law. Hatch minist' of Marwoode
 Lewis Bradford minister of Goodleigh
 Samuel Symmonds

DIVISION THE 5TH.

Tho Trescott Minister of Shebrooke
 Nath. Durant M' of Cheriton
 Ro: Snow Minis of Morchard Bp
 John Hopkins of Sandford
 William Harris Minister of Washfield.
 Edmund Condy Minister of Nymet-tracey.

DIVISION YE 6TH.

Samuell Fones of Woodbury
 Willm Wright of Axmouth
 Jn^o Willing of Colyton
 Robert Parr of Clyst St^e George
 Richard Conant of Merton
 Francis Wilcox of Budley
 Philip Serle
 Thomas Ayshford miu' of Topisha
 Edw Serle minister of Kenton and Beare
 Thomas Chanon Minister of Harpford

DIVISION 7TH.

Richard Saunders of Kentisbeare
 Robt Collins mins of Tallaton
 Samuel Hieron of Feniton
 Josiah Banger of Broade-Hembury
 W^m Crompton of Columpton
 Theoph: Polwheile
 Tho. Wrayford Mins Rector of Bradinch
 Jo Crishull M' in Tiverton
 Francis Sourton Mnr in Honyton.

At o' General Associacōn in Exon May 22. 1656. M' George Hughes Moderato' these pticulurs passed: (viz).

1. There was a paper given in from o' B^{rm} of the Congregational way to the general assembly expressing their desires in order to associating with vs (totidem verbis).

Some that are deairous to associate with their Bretheren in order to their more comfortable joyning do humbly propose to the Rev^d Assembly as followeth.

1. That we resolve to come as neare to each other in practise as o' different principles may possibly allow vs to doe.

2. That wherein o' different principles may necessitate to any different practises we resolve not to infringe each others liberty as to those different practises.

3. That we will freely submit o' differences to amicable & brotherly debate.

4. That there be no publike mention of o' differences, till endeavors be first vsed more privately to the vttermost in order to accord.

5. That all reflections & sarcasticull expressions tending to the disgrace of each others persons or principles be wholly forborne whether in o' preaching or conferences.

6. That there be this addition made to the 10th Article [in any of the fundam^{nt} doctrines therein contained.].

7. That no more be required of such as offer themselves to the Associacōn about the matter of Ordinacōn then that the Ministry be acknowledged to be an office vnto wch a mediate externall call (is ordinarily) requisite.

Lastly that there be some persons of knowne integrity appoynted in the severall divisions without whose Certificate none shalbe admitted into the Associacōn.

Votes that passed the General Assembly this session were as followeth.

1. That after consideracōn particularly had of the proposalls given in by o' Brⁿ it is agreed; that we doe associate leaving all further differences to a B^y & amicable debate.

2. Voted. That the literal and open breach of any of the Comandm^t of the first & second Table in the face of the Church vnrepented of is a scandall.

3. Voted. That Obstinacy in lesser sins generally knowne to be sins, after due admonition from the Church is a scandall.

4. Voted. That no grossely ignorant & scandalous persons are to be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

5. Voted. That M^r Ferdinando Nicolls Minister of Mary Arches (Exon) be the Moderato^r at o' next general Assembly.

To his Highnes the Lord Protecto^r of the Comonwealth of England &c. The Humble Petition of the Ministers of the Gospel in the County of Devon Associated. May it please yo^r Highnes.

We humbly crave leave here to tender to y^r Highnes o' most hearty acknowledgem^t of the signall Happines we at p^{re}snt enjoy in the free vse of the holy Ordinances of God; which as much as some did erewhile superstitiously corrupt, & others would still more sacrilegiously abolish them, are yet by gods special providence & y^r Highnes protection graciously continued to this sinfull Land in their power & purity; Blessed be the name of our merciful God we have full liberty to doe all the good we either can, or ought.

Yet sadly weighing the many fearfull dangers daily threatned to the truthe of God, & the peace of his people by the malicious Contrivancies of our comon enemy, & his serpentlike instruments, who have had no greater advantage then o' vnkind distances which we blush to remember, wee hold it o' duty to lay aside the insisting on such smaller circumstantialls which have too long occasioned

too great divisions among vs, & in a brotherly agreement to contribute o' mutuall Counsell for the better preservation of fundamentall Truthes & the happier promoting of the greater worke of god on the hearts of o' people which we rejoyce to looke on as the major busines we have in the world. To this purpose we have had two general Meetings, the first the 18th of October 1655. & the other the 21 of this instant May; In each of which we found it not invaine to seek the face of o' God, but assure o'selves we had his eare open to o' prayers on the days of o' Humiliacofi because by his grace o' hearts were so happily knit together the dayes following which we sweetly spent in brotherly consultacons & amicable debates.

And whereas we canot but take notice how vnreasonably o' faithfull actings have bene misconstrued by some in the Countrey; & are jealous they may be as vnworthily misrepresented to your Highnes we humbly crave leave to p'fesse to y^r Highnes as in the p'sence of that great God (who knowes all the secrets of all o' hearts) that we have had no other aime in these o' meetings then the necessary securing of the Doctrine according to Godlines generally maintained in all the Reformed churches, the Conforming the lives of o' people to that holy doctrine which they p'tend to embrace, and the leading of them to a peaceable & Brotherly Conversacofi, by o' exemplary practise.

And that y^r Highnes may the better discern the reall truth of this o' solemne Protestacofi we have assumed the boldnes to p'sent to y^r Highnesses hands the particular results of all o' chiefest debates, which we are fully assured will readily receive y^r Highnes gracious approbacoñ.

May it therefore please y^r Highnes to vouchsafe vs the favo' to continue to look on vs as Ministers of Christ, And to protect vs as long as we shalbe found faithfull to the great interest of o' Comon Lord & his people, and we shall ever pray for the daily encrease of all god blessings on y^r Highnes and this Comonwealth & more especially for the flourishing of the Gospel whose great p'rogative it is to sanctify them all.

At o' general Assembly in Eton May 27. 1657 M^r Ferdinando Nicolls Moderato^r these pticalars voted.

Agreed.

1. That ignorant & scandalous persons are not to be admitted to the Lords Supper.

2. All persons baptized in infancy before their first admission to the Lords Supper give an account of their knowledge & professe subjection to the gospel.

3. Such persons having given account of their knowledge & professed subjection to the gospel be admitted to all church priviledges, vnles they shalbe found guilty of scandall.

4. Persons so admitted shall not be debarred from church

priviledges vnles found guilty of scandall & that by censure, if there be time for such censure.

5. All others shall give satisfaction in poynt of their knowledge & professe subjection to the gospel before they be readmitted.

Voted also 1. That M^r Humphry Saunders of Holsworthy be Moderato^r of the Assembly for the next years following.

2. That M^r Robert Atkins } be the Scribe of this Assembly
Minister in Exon } for the next Session.

Voted that o^r parish churches were true churches of Christ.

Mar 31 1658

Agreede on by the delegates of the severall divisions.

1. That at the next general meeteing there bee a caution given agst incestuous marriallges, & that the Min^{rs} of y^e severall divisions bee desired at their meetings to endeavour the p^rvention of such marriadges.

2. That the Question whether or noe ye Sacram^t of y^e Lds Supp be a converting ordinance bee then alsoe debated.

3. That the bosynes of confirmacō bee p^rsented & debated by y^e next g^rall Assembly.

4. That it bee p^rposed to y^e Assembly that some expedient may bee concluded on for ye continuance of o^r Classical meeteings.

5. That it be p^rposed to y^e Assembly that two dayes may bee allowed for consultacō.

At the generall Assembly in Exo May 12th 1658. M^r Humfry Saunders beeing Moderato^r were voted these pticulurs following.
Agreed.

1. That noe such person as neither have or will subscribe the Articles (strangers excepted) bee p^rsent at ye Assembly.

2. That M^r Nathanael Durant, & M^r Tho: Trescott bee desired to p^rsent to y^e Justices the paper brought in concerning incestuous marriadges & to consider whether or-noe all marriadges menctied in that paper bee incestuous.

3. That a letter be drawne up & sent to M^r Dury in answer to his directed to the Assembly, both to thanke him for his great care in endeavouring y^e mind of y^e churches of X^t, & to pmise him o^r best assistance.

4. That the Delegates of y^e severall divisions both at the sumer & winter assize do p^rpare matter for debate in y^e next generall Assembly.

Whither the Parochiall Congregations in England be true visible Churches of X^t

The question stated

1. By Parochial Congregations, wee doe not understand persons as inhabiting within parish bounds:

But wee doe understand those severall societies, w^{ch}, inhabiting

within such bounds doe publicly p^{re}ss y^e true faith of X^t, together with their children.

2. By true visible Churches wee doe not mean such Congregations as are absolutely pure or perfect.

But that they are estially true Churches, that is, Haveing ye matter and forme of true Churches of Christ.

By the true matter of visible Churches we doe understand the persons professing the true faith of Christ, & their children.

By the forme, theire being associated for y^e worship of God.

To the question thus stated, M^r Mal, in y^e name of the dissenting Brethren promised to bring in their answers to the Min^{rs} of Ex^o at y^e end of two moneths.

M^r Squire Moderato^r

By the Generall Assembly at Exon May 5th 1659.

Enquired

Whither the promise made by M^r Mall in the name of the Congregationall Brethren to the last Generall Assembly be performed.

Resolved neg.

vpon a debate touching the 5 Votes past the Assembly May 22. 1657 Resolved

That enquiry bee made in every division of such mⁱnisters as neglect the administration of the Lords Supper that such ministers be quickned to that dutie by the Brethren of their division, the reason of their neglect required & returned to the next Generall Assembly.

vpon the Question debated

Whither the profession of the Gosple required in the second vote May 22. 1657. bee *necessary* to bee made in publicke

Resolved neg.

vpon the question debated.

Whither the profession of the gosple required in the 2^d vote May 22. 1657. bee Non Expedient to bee made in publicke in All o^r Congregations

Resolved neg.

vpon the Question debated.

Whither the children of those christian parents who may not bee admitted to the Sacrament of the Lords Supp, may bee admitted to the Sacrament of Baptisme?

Resolved Affirm.

vpon enquiry what might now be done by vs in o^r ministry for the Reforming those persons, that either neglect the Lords Supp. or are suspended from it, & yet have their children Baptized, & are themselves still accounted members of the church, &

vpon the Question debated

Whither after private Admonition, & Admonition before witnesses of a scandalous offender proved to bee such, & remayning

obstinate, the ministers rebuking him before all, & noting that man in the most plaine & prudentiall way (if not naming him) that others may have no Company with him, bee a Good Expedient in o' tymes for the Reformation of o' Congregations :

Resolved Affirm :

vpon the question debated touching the same enquiry.

Whither before this publicke prudentiall noting of such a person the minister shall take the Advice & Consent of the Associated Brethren of that division or subdivision whereof hee is a Member?

Resolved Affirm :

Resolved

That one delegate from each division doe meete at the vsuall & appointed place in Exon on Wednesday in the Assize weeke, & if there bee no Assize then on the second Wednesday in March to consult & determjne with the mjinisters of Exon what matters shalbee debated in the next Generall Assembly.

That the fast on the day before Consultation bee managed by Three persons, one p'paring & praying another onely preaching the third concluding with prayer, that all may end wthin sixe houres frm the beginning.

That one delegate fro every division doe meete on that evening, immediately after the publicke exercise at the vsuall & appointed place, farther to p'pare the worke of the next daies Consultation.

That M^r Tindall be Moderato^r at the next yeares Session of the Generall Assembly.

[Here the older minutes break off, not to be resumed again for many years. The selections which follow are made from entries of varying dates.]

Students educated at the Exeter Academy under M^r Hallett sen^r. Jos : Hallett the son was not consid^d as a Tutor : tho he gave some assistance in the last 2 or 3 years of its Existence [In another and later hand the words "opened about 1720" are added after Academy].

Dr. Huxham ; Mudge Zachary ; Parr John ; Starr John ; Foster James ; Rocor Will^m ; Prior Will^m ; Pitts Aaron ; Force John ; Forse John ; May ; Beadon Roger ; Bond ; White ; [here inserted in the margin in the later hand "King. afterwards Lord Chan"] ; Stogdon Hubert ; Bishop Tho^s ; Colton Edward ; Bar Jeffry ; Tho Jeffery ; Jos Hallette jun^r ; Will Hallette D ; Follet ; Westcot Sam^l ; Elurs ; Hornabrook Thos ; Facy Mark ; Jacomb Geo ; How James ; Adams Sam ; Gould ; Churly.

Under M^r Moore at Tiverton—Stoneman Benj ; Moore Rich^d ; Fléxman Roger ; Glass D^r ; Dowdel ; Walker John ; Majendiè ; Gilbert John ; Walrond Hen ; Rowe ; Manston ; Bradick.

Students at the Academy at Exeter under Mess^{rs} Towgood, Merivale, Turner, and Hogg.—Eveleigh ; Bretland Jos ; White James ; Follet Abra ; Lang ; Irwin ; Westcot ; Bartlet Perry ;

Pope John; Youat Will^m; Rowe; Finnemore James; Vicary James; Taylor John; Porter; Pike; Wrazal; Remmet; Gwatkin; Coke; Mugg; Temple; Sandon; Berry; Heath Geo; Clarke; Short John; Parr Barth; J Gaves; J Berry; Hooker Will^m; Gibbs; Jam Green; Geo Graves; Katercamp; Rich Green; Bealy; Smith; Butler; Hall; Bell; Carter; Jellicoe; Jeffry; Jno Green; T Graves; Merivale John; Manning James.

At Shepton Mallet under M^r Mat Towgood---West William; Patrick; Martin

[These lists are written on a loose piece of paper pasted into the book].

May 5th 1718.

A List of the Presbyterian and Congregational Bretheren in Devon and Cornwall.

[Added to down to 1760, and corrected from a duplicate list.]

	Ordained	Died
Thomas Tingcomb	... 1662	Nov 11 1719
Joseph Hallet	... 1683	Nov 1743
Isaac Gilling	... Aug 25 1687	Aug 21 1725
Will Horsham	... Nov 24 1687	May 22 1725
Jacob Sandercock	... May 1 1688	Dec 24 1729
Saml Wood	... May 1 1688	May 5 1725
Ed Bishop	... June 13 1688	
Thos Welsh	... Apl 2 1690	Nov 1729
Nath ^l Harding	... Aug 27 1690	Feb 23 1744
John Rosewell	... Dec 31 1690	
Sam Hall	... Jan 23 1691	Jan 23 1729
John Moore	... July 29 1691	Aug 25 1730
Deliverance Larkham	... Aug 20 1691	March 1722
John Withers	... Aug 20 1691	Nov 26 1729
Angel Sparke	... June 21 1692	Oct 1721
John Powell	... May 13 1693	1721
Jacob Baylies	... May 30 1693	
Richard Evans	... Aug 16 1694	July 1743
Michel Martyn	... Aug 1694	Aug 9 1745
Daniel Kellow	... Aug 23 1694	Feb 5 1721
Peter Kellow	... Dec 11 1695	Jan 1731
John Ball	... Jan 20 1695	May 6 1745
Jelinger Symonds	... March 18 1695	Apl 28 1724
John Enty	... May 11 1698	Nov 26 1743
John Walrond	... June 16 1698	Oct 4 1755
James Pierce	... 1699	March 30 1726
Thomas Edgley	... June 20 1700	Feb 21 1722
William Giles	... Oct 2 1700	
Andrew Majendie	... Sept 8 1701	
George Bowcher	... Oct 16 1701	Jan 1756
Sam Short	... Oct 16 1701	Apr 1726
Henry Atkins	... Oct 16 1701	Dec 1742
John Cox	... Aug 6 1702	1754
Josiah Eveleigh	... Aug 6 1702	Sept 9 1736
John Stoly	... Aug 6 1702	May 23 1749
John Hughes	... Aug 6 1702	May 1726
Penuel Symons	... ..	1733

	Ordained	Died
William Bartlett	... Nov 11 1702	Sept 23 1720
Joseph Manton	... March 30 1703.	Apl 1720
Jasper How	... June 1704	
Peter Baron	... July 19 1704	
Mat Haddy	... July 19 1704	1728
Sam Grigg	... June 6 1705	
Richard Glanvil	... Aug 9 1705	March 1748
Robert Wood	... Aug 9 1705	
William Palk	... Oct 17 1705	
Benj Wills	... Oct 17 1705	Oct 25 1747
Jonathan Wheeler	... Nov 14 1705	Oct 2 1723
Nicholas Brinley	... Aug 22 1706	
Sam Staddon	... Dec 26 1706	1755
Henry Brett	... Aug 10 1707	Jan 8 1724
Hugh Brown	... Apl 8 1708	May 1748
Robert Gough	... July 7 1708	June 1727
Roger Beaden	... July 21 1709	
Thomas Bishop	... Dec 1709	Jan 17 1738
Sam Carkeet	... July 19 1710	June 17 1746
Walter Furse	... Aug 23 1710	Sept 1723
Eliezer Hancock	... Aug 23 1710	June 1757
Benjamin Flavel	... Aug 23 1710	
Isaac Clark	... April 4 1711	March 18 1721
Cornelius Bond	... July 17 1711	
Alex Walker	... July 17 1711	
Edw Colton	... July 17 1711	Jan 1747
John Edmonds	... June 18 1713	
Sam Adams	... June 18 1713	July 1751
James Green	... Sept 1713	Jan 21 1749
William Youat	... June 29 1715	1745
John Parr	... July 20 1715	
John Lavington	... Oct 19 1715	
John Hallet	... Oct 19 1715	Apl 2 1744
James How	... Oct 19 1715	
Stephen Towgood	... July 4 1716	
Thomas Jones	... Oct 2 1716	1734
Nat Cock	... Oct 24 1716	
Bennt Stephenson	... Apl 25 1717	
John Force	... June 27 1717	July 27 1728
John Cadmore	... July 16 1718	Sept 12 1748
John Coplestone	... Nov 19 1718	
ORDAINED SINCE.		
George Brett	... Aug 25 1719	
George Hanmer	... Aug 10 1720	Oct 27 1724
John Walker	... Aug 10 1720	May 25 1749
Sam Westcot	... July 1721	
Danl Caper	... Oct 1721	Aug 31 1727
Joseph Cock	... March 21 1721	Feb 9 1742
Will Nation	... March 21 1721	Sept 1742
M. Towgood	... Aug 21 1722	
Will Tucker	... Oct 25 1722	
Josiah Follet	... Oct 30 1723	
Peter Gillard	... Oct 21 1724	
Richd Evans	... Aug 24 1725	Nov 19 1725
— Dunster	... Apl 1726	June 1729
Henry Moore	... July 26 1727	
Sam Thomas	... July 26 1727	
— Chunleigh	... Oct 1727	

	Ordained	Died
John Frost	... Oct 1727	
Wm Gillespy	... Ap 1729	1743
— Atkinson	... July 1 1730	March 1746
Joel Orchard	... July 1 1730	
Roger Flexman	... July 15 1730	
Benj Stoneman	... June 17 1731	Ap 17 1737
Ricd Moore	... June 28 1732	Sep 7 1764
Aaron Pitts	... July 12 1732	
Bernard Dowdell	... Nov 9 1732	
John Walker	... Aug 9 1733	
Robert Bartlett	... Ap 10 1734	
— West	... July 30 1735	
Peter Kellow	... Aug 15 1735	
John Cranch	... Aug 11 1736	June 6 1746
Daniel Harson	... July 27 1737	
John Walrond	... Aug 1738	
— Wheeler	... Aug 29 1739	
John Lavington	... Aug 29 1739	
— Lacy	... Aug 29 1739	1741
Isaac Clark	... June 10 1741	Apl 1758
Sam Wreyford	... June 10 1741	Apl 1760
John Beynell	... Aug 19 1742	
John Biddle	... Nov 17 1742	
John Rudge	... Nov 17 1742	1748
John Berry	... Dec 14 1743	
Sam Merivale	... Aug 23 1744	
John Adams	... June 26 1746	
George Castle	... Aug 6 1746	
John Short	... Aug 6 1746	
Richard Daniel	... Aug 2 1749	Jan 7 1751
John Hammer	... Aug 2 1749	
Thomas Hancock	... Oct 4 1749	Oct 26 1751
George Waters	... June 20 1750	
Peter Fabyen	... Oct 4 1750	
Joseph Baller	... Oct 23 1751	
Henry Wills	... Oct 23 1751	Nov 16 1744
Henry Kiddle	... Feb 28 1753	
Sam Lavington	... July 4 1753	
Thomas Chapman	... Oct 10 1753	
Sam Morgan	... Aug 2 1758	
John Hogg John Turner	... Oct 30 1759	
Poole and Watkins	... Aug 7 1760	