

## A NONCONFORMIST MISSIONARY JOURNEY TO LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE IN JULY 1672

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F.G.S.*

The Revd Henry Maurice (*c.* 1636–1682)<sup>1</sup> was born at Methlan in the Llŷn peninsula, into a Caernarvonshire family of some substance, bound up with Church and State. He was successively at Jesus College, Oxford (1652), Puritan curate of Llannor and Deneio (1658), in which parish lay the town of Pwllheli, and incumbent of Meyllteyrn (1661). When he took to preaching, popular applause made him, on his own admission, ‘a vain-glorious fellow’, and for some time he led a loose, immoral life, and was heavily in debt. On 20 March, 1662, he conformed to the Act of Uniformity as Vicar of Bromfield, Salop, and on 3 June, 1668, moved to a far richer living as Rector of Church Stretton; but whilst here, having spent his childhood and youth in ‘vanity’, he was suddenly roused ‘to a great solicitude about his everlasting state’ by the ravages of malignant fever in the parish. He felt that he could not rest content until he had abandoned his living and had ceased to conform. He tried to keep this to himself, but his wife sensed his worry and, catching him alone, insisted on hearing everything; after which, since only his concern for his family restrained him, she urged him to go ahead, saying that she utterly trusted in God. Thus encouraged, he confided in ‘Brother’ Thomas Quarrell, an itinerant Congregational preacher in Whitchurch (Salop), Glamorgan and Monmouth, who advised him to ‘count the cost before he entered upon a suffering state’; but Maurice answered that if he remained Rector ‘his conscience would fly in his face’. With that he resigned, preached a farewell sermon on *Luke XXIII.3*, and received from the Chancellor of Hereford Diocese a citation that

charged him with reflecting on the government of the Church, to which he replied that his words were meant 'to silence the cries of an awakened conscience'.

Thus in 1671 he joined the great Diaspora of ministers – Congregational, Baptist, Presbyterian – who left comfortable or even prosperous livings for hardship and trial. A successor was instituted on 11 June, 1671; on 25 July, 1672, Maurice was licensed as a Congregational minister at Acton Round in Salop, and on 5 September at his house and Edward King's, both in Much Wenlock nearby.

After he had revealed his personal estate to his creditors, who took all, the unsatisfied had him thrown into Shrewsbury Gaol, where complete strangers relieved him. Perhaps following the example of Thomas Quarrell, he became an enthusiastic itinerant preacher in both English and Welsh. He moved to Abergavenny at the end of 1672, subsequently becoming pastor of a large congregation at Llanigon near Hay, mainly 'independents in judgement', and at Merthyr Cynog near Brecon. Though it has been asserted that Maurice was a Baptist (and he figures importantly in the Broadmead Baptist Records at Bristol), he probably remained a Congregationalist, impartially enjoying friendship on his travels with Baptists and Presbyterians, but hating the Quakers. From his home he took the Gospel across the whole of Wales, attracting great crowds of people, enduring great privations in the mountains from weather, hunger and inadequate lodging, and at risk of persecution from the authorities. Although he was only in his middle forties, the hardships, the endless travelling and the preaching weakened his constitution. He made an admirable end and, surrounded by his wife and weeping friends, passed on 30 July, 1682, into the care of the Master in whose service he had worked so tirelessly. He lies buried under a slab marked with a brass plate in the choir of St Mary's, Abergavenny.

Maurice kept a diary for a little over four months, between 1 June and 6 October, 1672. During this period, using his home in Shrewsbury as a base, he made a series of missionary journeys on horseback: to ten places in his native Llŷn, a little south to Barmouth and Machynlleth, along the Welsh Marches and through Radnorshire to Talgarth in Brecknock, extensively in Salop, and through Cheshire and on to Warrington in Lancashire. This last journey began on 4 July, when he set out from Shrewsbury and reached Sweeney (Salop), thence proceeding via

Oswestry on the 5th and Wrexham on the 6th; after two days of ministrations there, he rode away on the evening of the 8th, and entered Cheshire. His diary record of the ensuing ten days' mission is quoted in full in this article.

Cheshire has been fortunate in the survival of information about post-Restoration Nonconformity, but no detail of this July emerges from the two main sources: the Abstract of the diary of the Reverend Henry Newcome,<sup>2</sup> and the autobiography of Adam Martindale.<sup>3</sup> Maurice's diary has an immediacy lacking in the work of Martindale; it presents to us the world of the peripatetic Nonconformist clergyman, a very different type of life from that of Martindale, who was at this time chaplain to Lord Delamere at Dunham.<sup>4</sup> The journey fell within the brief period of freedom of worship (in licensed premises) enjoyed by Nonconformists and their ministers between the Declaration of Indulgence on 15 March, 1671/2 and its revocation on 7 March, 1672/3. The licences were themselves recalled on 3 February, 1674/5. Maurice himself was still unlicensed at the time of his Cheshire journey, and none of the buildings visited by him to preach had yet been licensed.<sup>5</sup>

The diary of Henry Maurice is one of a number of surviving journals of Nonconformist ministers associated with Cheshire and Lancashire who lost their livings in the period 1662–1671. There is no standard genre for the diaries, although there is a common basis in the religion of the Reformation.

The oldest of these is by the Revd Edward Burghall (1600–1665), Vicar of Acton 1646–1662. Termed *Providence Improved*,<sup>6</sup> it consists of a series of brief reminiscences covering the years 1628–1642 and 1648–1663, with an expanded central section covering 1642–1648 which is largely plagiarized from Thomas Malbon's, *Memorials of the Civil War in Cheshire*. The reminiscences were probably the enlargement of a memorandum book containing incidents of local importance and selective national events. A substantial part of the work consists of instances of divine judgment, catalogues of the sudden deaths of sinners deprived of the leisure to repent, portents, and moralizing glosses.

Both Burghall's book and the autobiography of the Revd Adam Martindale (1623–1686), Vicar of Rostherne 1649–1662, were written towards the end of the lives of their compilers. Internal evidence indicates that the work of Martindale was based on a number of personal papers

which have not survived. Well structured and informative, the book loses some of its historical value through Martindale's reluctance to use names in his narrative because he had no wish to cast opprobrium on the names or families of the dead:

'Nullum cum victis certamen et aethere cassis'

Like Burghall's, his work was not designed for private use and has been tailored accordingly. Martindale is a fine stylist, unsparing in his self-appraisal, sententious and aphoristic. Unlike Burghall, he was not without humour. His editor, the Revd Richard Parkinson, compared his picture of himself with that given to Isaac of York by Scott in *Ivanhoe* as one which 'mingled liberality and parsimony.'<sup>7</sup>

The finest and most extensive of these clerical diaries of Lancashire and Cheshire ministers is that written by the Revd Henry Newcome (1627-1695), an ejected fellow of Manchester College and lecturer at Stockport. The only surviving volume<sup>8</sup> runs from 30 September, 1661, to 29 September, 1663, and has a freshness and vitality which spring from the active, educated and enquiring mind of its author, its contemporaneity with the events, and its being intended solely for Newcome's own use. Although a Presbyterian like Martindale and Burghall, he was a man of wider sympathies, anxious, reflective, sincere, hardworking, and moderate in his attitude to the Established Church whilst firm in his unwillingness to conform. In addition he compiled an Abstract of his diaries spanning his life from birth to a few weeks before his death. It was largely compiled some years after the events recounted, for the use of his children. Unfortunately the Abstract has not been printed for the period during which the surviving diary was kept, and it is impossible to know how much gloss was added, and how many amendments were made to it during compilation.

Compared with the works of Newcome and Martindale, Maurice's diary is a sorry affair. Lacking almost all signs of learning and bookishness, it is unpolished and written without thought of an audience. To him his diary jottings were a looking-glass from which he could chart the spiritual health, temptations and peregrinations of his soul. The diary principally recorded his spiritual exercises and his relationship with God; historical and factual detail was relatively unimportant, although there was no conscious suppression of names as in Martindale's work.

Though Newcome preached in Cheshire, Lancashire, Shropshire and Staffordshire the record of his journeys lacks the urgency of Maurice, which most closely resembles that of the Revd Oliver Heywood (1630–1702),<sup>9</sup> the ejected minister of Coley Chapel, near Halifax. Heywood's missionary journeys after the Five Mile Act extended through Yorkshire, Cheshire and Lancashire up to Westmorland, and down to Staffordshire and Nottinghamshire. The scale of his journeys, like those of Maurice, is staggering – some 1,400 miles in 1681 alone.<sup>10</sup> A broad Presbyterian, a good scholar and well read, Heywood shared Burghall's trait of moralizing on the punishment of the wicked, but like Maurice stressed in his sermons the goodness of God rather than His wrath. Again like Maurice, 'it behoved him at all times to be on the crest of the wave, to be constantly filled with assurance of support from his god'.<sup>11</sup>

There are a number of people and places that link the diarists together. Martindale and Newcome were friends, and mention each other in their works. Heywood met Newcome in September 1672 for a day of fasting and prayer, and again in October at an ordination in Manchester.<sup>12</sup> Heywood was the son-in-law and biographer of John Angier (1605–1677), the Curate of Denton, Lancashire, who regularly came to listen to his friend Newcome preach the Friday exercise at Stockport before he lost the place in 1662. Newcome also knew Burghall, and attended an ordination with him in Manchester in 1652.<sup>13</sup> Maurice is linked to Newcome through the Warburtons of the Grange, with whom both stayed, and through Robert Yates, ejected Rector of Warrington, for whom both Maurice and Newcome had preached, and on whose behalf Newcome tried to negotiate release from prison during the aftermath of the Farnley Wood Plot.<sup>14</sup>

The people who were visited by Maurice on this journey into Cheshire and Lancashire were, for the most part, known to the authorities as active Dissenters, who during the 1660s had either been arrested at conventicles, or been absent from their parish churches, or both. William Bathoe,<sup>15</sup> George Hamnett<sup>16</sup> and Arthur Beckett<sup>17</sup> were all well-known figures. Maurice's contact with them appears to have been intimate and natural; it is probable that this journey was not his first.

After the Five Mile Act became law in October 1665, many Nonconformist families in Cheshire lost the ministers

who had continued to serve their congregations after the Act of Uniformity.<sup>18</sup> The result was that those families who refused the ministrations of the Established Church were wholly dependent on the visits of itinerant ministers such as Maurice. In Cheshire his hosts formed the backbone of Nonconformity; they included former Parliamentary officers like Lieutenant Moore<sup>19</sup> of Waverton, armigerous gentlemen like Robert Warburton of the Grange near Weaverham,<sup>20</sup> minor gentlemen like Arthur Beckett of Sound Heath, yeomen like George Hamnett of Monks Coppenhall and Thomas Hamnett of Newhall in Wrenbury,<sup>21</sup> and Chester tradesmen like William Bathoe, tanner, and Randle Morgan,<sup>22</sup> glover.

The most important of the people visited by Maurice was Robert Warburton (*c.* 1620–1696), eldest son and heir of Peter Warburton (1588–1666),<sup>23</sup> deputy to the regicide John Bradshaw as Justice of Assize of Chester in the years after 1645,<sup>24</sup> and, as a Justice of the Common Pleas, one of the judges who condemned to death the Revd Thomas Cooper, Usher of Gresham's School, Holt, for his part in the Royalist rising in Norfolk in 1650.<sup>25</sup> Robert Warburton was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Alderman William Berkeley (*c.* 1590–1653), an influential London haberdasher active in City affairs in the early 1640s, who was reputed to have Independent sympathies.<sup>26</sup> Both husband and wife were attached to the Nonconformist cause. Newcome knew the family well, and with his wife stayed at the Grange between 26 December, 1665 and 1 January, 1666, noting in his Abstract an illustration of God's providence which was recounted to him by Mrs Warburton.<sup>27</sup>

The Grange was licensed as a place of Presbyterian worship at the Declaration of Indulgence, shortly after Maurice's visit of 10–11 July, 1672.<sup>28</sup> Newcome was at the Grange again on 18–20 May, 1674, and quite frequently in the 1680s and early 1690s, following the presentation of his son to the Anglican living of Tattenhall in 1675, when the Grange became a convenient stopping-point on his journeys to and from Manchester.<sup>29</sup> He records the 'sad and astonishing news' of the death of his 'dear friend' Mrs Warburton, who drowned herself one Sabbath day in February 1686.<sup>30</sup> Newcome's description of 'jogging over the forest' on his way to the Grange, and preaching there, mirrors that of Maurice in 1672.

Although we know of no other Nonconformist minister who stayed at the Grange at this period, Newcome's diary

intimates that the family were known to Adam Martindale.<sup>31</sup> In the late 1680s a frequent visitor to the Grange was Newcome's young friend the Revd Matthew Henry (1662–1714), a much respected Nonconformist minister of Chester, later made famous as the author of *The Exposition of the Old and New Testaments*. The links between the Warburtons and Nonconformity were strengthened by the marriage in 1690 of their daughter Elizabeth (c. 1667–1731), the eventual heiress of the Grange, to Matthew Henry.<sup>32</sup>

The Revd William Tong, in his life of the Revd Matthew Henry (1726), remembers the family at the Grange as 'a little sanctuary to the silenced ministers and those that had adhered to them'.<sup>33</sup>

During his visit, Maurice met three ministers: one Anglican, one Nonconformist and one layman turned preacher. The Anglican priest was the Revd Richard Dod (1634–1672), the stipendiary curate of Waverton from 1665 to 1672.<sup>34</sup> He was one of a number of non-graduate clergy active in the county in the Commonwealth and Restoration periods, who were of little learning and often of less morality, or who were ordained in the period immediately before and after 'Black Bartholomew's Day' to fill the shortages caused by the removal and resignation of Nonconformist clergy. Dod was an adulterer, and in gaol for murder. It was only fourteen years since the clerical community in Cheshire had been shocked by a similar case, when the Revd Roger Ward, Minister of Siddington, was hanged in 1658 for murdering his wife.<sup>35</sup> Dod's crime was particularly shocking in that, while his wife was *enceinte*, he fathered a child on his maid and aided her in its destruction. It is noteworthy that both ministers were poor stipendiaries, the very bottom line of the Anglican hierarchy, who without degrees had no chance of preferment and could be dismissed at will by their paymasters, who were either incumbents, lay-patrons of impropriations, or parishioners. Dod's bastard would almost certainly have cost him his livelihood.

The Nonconformist pastor met by Maurice was the Revd Robert Yates (c. 1612–1678), the ejected Presbyterian minister of Warrington.<sup>36</sup> While Maurice was in Warrington, Yates engaged him to preach to the Presbyterians in the town.

The acute shortage of Nonconformist preachers in the 1660s and 1670s resulted in numerous laymen preaching and expounding the Scriptures. Such a man was John Trevis, a Chester ironmonger, 'who was accounted a gifted

man'; he preached regularly at Chester and Tarporley. It was at a conventicle held by Trevis in Northgate St, Chester, in August 1668, that William Bathoe was apprehended and bound by two sureties of £20 apiece to appear at the next sessions. Tarporley was commonly reported and believed to have frequent and well-attended 'Anabaptist' conventicles,<sup>37</sup> and it was here that Maurice heard Thomas Lowe,<sup>38</sup> a smallholder of Rushton in the parish of Tarporley, preach so winningly. It is clear from the Diary and the existing records that Maurice ministered impartially to Presbyterians and Congregationalists on his journey, and had enough breadth and compassion to deplore on 13 July how 'strange to one another' were the Baptists and Presbyterians in Warrington.

Unfortunately, one person mentioned in his itinerary in Cheshire cannot be identified: 'Brother Wright', who came and stayed at Arthur Beckett's in Sound Heath on 13 July and shared a bed with Maurice, and on 17 July 'prayed in the family' at Thomas Hamnett's in Newhall. The 1673/4 Hearth Tax Return lists ten men of the name Wright in Nantwich, three in Baddiley, two in Newhall, and others in adjacent townships, and none of them is known from records to have attended conventicles.

The jottings that Maurice made give an insight into his spiritual self-examination. His ministrations can be divided into four parts: private prayer, both mornings and evenings; public prayer, usually with the family with whom he was staying, and probably before the first meal of the day; preaching, either in fields or in houses; and repeating his sermons and teaching from the Bible in the evenings to his host's family, which was occasionally augmented by friends and neighbours. He had periods of meditation and prayer, sometimes on horseback, and sometimes alone in fields. His preaching had a pattern, and the themes which he emphasized were those of divine love and human salvation. For example, the text *John XV.13* formed the basis of his sermons on 10, 11 and 12 July. Although there is little doubt that he did some preparation, he left the rest to the Holy Spirit; but as It 'bloweth where It listeth', Maurice often felt 'dry' and uninspired.

## THE DIARY, 8-17 JULY 1672

8uo 5ti Mensis . . . I ridd away to Chester this euening, & prayed in Wm Bathoes family at night, hauing much freedome of spirit & some sense of duty. I prayed in priuate also, hauing little sense.

9no 5ti Mensis. I prayed in priuate this morning, being earnest in, but much confused in, my apprehensions. I prayed againe in priuate att Mr Morgans, hauing some freedome, but little sensible encouragement. I preached this afternoon from John, 15.13, hauing some considerable freedome in prayer & preaching. Some of the people seemed much affected. This euening I came out of Chester to Leiutenant Moores house, where I prayed in priuate also, labouring much to affect my heart with the consideration of that fearfull miscarriage of Mr Dod, the parish Minister of this place, who had liued lewdly with his mayd, & gott her with child, & among them, had made away the child. Oh, what would have become of me, if God had utterly left me to my selfe & to the power of my horrid lusts? And what distinguishing rich grace hath he shewed me! Blessed for euer be his name.

10mo 5ti Mensis. I prayed againe in priuate with much earnestnes & some brokennes. So I prayed also in the family with some restraint of spirit. I went to see Mr Dod & the Mayd, that destroyed her Child; I prayed there, but with confusion of spirit and some restraint. I found the man very yeelding, so that I was induced to presse vpon him to seeke a through & sincere conuiction of his sin. I found the mayd hardned, which induced to speake to her of the freegrace of God & loue of Christ, which I found more to moue her than any other discourse. I ridd away hence to Tarpoley, where I found Thomas Low at prayer, & afterwards he taught from Luke, 11.13. I found the sauour of the knowledge of God manifesting itselfe in this good mans praying & teaching. Blessed be the Lord. I ridd over the forrest<sup>39</sup> this euening, & came to Mr Warburtons house att Warham<sup>40</sup>, where I was kindly entertained. I spoke a little here in the family from Reuel., 3.20, & prayed, but with some restraint, yet not without encouragement. I prayed in priuate this euening, & I found that some pride of heart, & selfe-conceite growing & preuayling, which stirred me vp to pray earnestly against it, & I had but a little sense or encouragement in this duty. I find that when any lust is stirring & working vp in my soul, it takes away all sauour of spirit, and the ready way is to cry out & to fall to earnest prayer to allay & coniure downe these cursed Ghosts.

11mo 5ti Mensis. I seeke the Lord in priuate this morning with some more satisfaction & encouragement. I prayed in the family also with some freedome & enlargement. I ridd away hence to Warington. I gett little but wounds & guilt by my distracted meditations all this iourney. I prayed a little in the close of my iourney, as I was drawing neere the towne. This euening Mr Yates engaged me to preach among the Presbiterians. I went to prayer first, hauing very little sense. But before I went to this priuate

duty, the Lord came in manifestly (as I imagined) & lay a text vpon my spirit, from which I much preach; so that I hope God had some designe for good to souls by this opportunity. I preached from John, 15.13, hauing some considerable measure of enlargement in praying & preaching. This euening after I prayed in my lodging, hauing two or three ioining with me, hauing also some liberty & help from the Lord. Blessed be the Lord. I committed also my selfe to the Lord in prayer after.

12mo 5ti Mensis. I prayed this morning in priuate with much freedome of spirit & encouragement. I ridd away hence towards George Hamnetts house<sup>41</sup> (which was by Nantwich) where I preached againe from John, 15.13, & in preaching here I found ebbings & flowings in my spirit, hauing assistance from the Lord, & supportment, else I was very vnfit in soul & body to goe through my worke. Blessed be the Lord. The people seemed much affected, & seemed very kind. In the euening I repeated in the family & prayed, but very dead and drousy I was in this duty. I had prayed a little (after I had taught), out in the feilds, but found little sense or encouragement. So I committed my selfe to God in priuate againe, ere I went back to bed, but my spirit out of order.

13tio 5ti Mensis. I prayed in priuate this morning, being earnest in spirit, yet little brokennes, if any att all. I prayed in the family also, hauing some disorder in my spirit, & euills of heart working.

Memd. I found the Presbiterians & Baptists att Warrington very strange to one another, which something troubled me to find it soe. I prayed in priuate after, being dry & hard, yet very earnest in spirit. I came away hence this euening to Nantwyche & so to Soonde Heath<sup>42</sup>; where I prayed out in the feilds, & performed also that weekly duty of thanks giving, hauing some freedome, but little sense, Satan disturbing me what he could. I taught a little in the family this euening from Iohn, 5.40, hauing some considerable freedome of spirit in teaching & praying. Blessed be the Lord. This night Brother Wright, lying with me, committed vs both to the Lord in prayer. My spirit was under some restraint all this day, & Satan & my euill heart much indisposed me for any good discourse.

14to 5ti Mensis. I sought the Lord in priuate, & renewed my couenant this morning, some liberty & cheerfulness of spirit I enioyed in both these duties, & fayth also; but little or no brokennes. Disorder & discouragement would fayne preuayle vpon my spirit this morning; & I had much adoe to belieue that Christ would carry me comfortably through the worke of this day. Brother Wright performed family duty, hauing much enlargement (as I apprehended), & my spirit was very earnest with God in ioining in this duty. I taught this morning from Ezek., 16.3, 4, 5, & 6t Ver., hauing much life & liberty & help from the Lord in preaching & praying. Blessed for euer be the Lord, this was almost contrary to expectation. In the afternoon I prayed & preached againe, hauing freedome & assistance, though not soe much sense of it, as I had in the morning. I had some kind of persuasion, that was introduced vpon my

spirit (I know not how) that God had spoken life to some souls there that day. This evening, after I came to Mr Becketts house, I prayed in the feilds there, hauing some little freedome & refreshment. I repeated in the family this night & prayed, hauing not much sensible encouragement. I closed the day againe with priuate prayer, hauing encouragement.

15to 5ti Mensis. I prayed in priuate this morning, being earnest in spirit & refreshed. I spoke a little in the family this morning from Psal. 78.8, & prayed with some freedome & encouragement. So I did also afterwards in priuate with some life and fayth. I went away hence to Thomas Hanmetts<sup>43</sup> this afternoon, where I taught this evening to some persons that came in to the family, from Reuel. 3.20. Some of them seemed exceedingly affected with what was spoken. I enjoyed some considerable freedome in teaching & praying, blessed be the Lord. I prayed in priuate this night, hauing little life or sensible encouragement. After I went to bed, and putt out the Candle, Satan began to disturbe me, & continued so all night, till about the breake of day, halling & pulling & oppressing me outwardly, that I was exceedingly weary of his company; yet the Lord supported my heart, that I did not fear him. At length I was fayne to gett vp & fall to prayer, I had some disturbance after, but I fell asleep not long after. Blessed be the Lord, my preseruer. I found that this night with his disturbance, he stirred all the humours in my body, that next morning I was something indisposed.

16to 5ti Mensis. I sought the Lord twice in priuate this morning with some freedome and refreshment. I had hopes of enlargement of spirit in my preaching and praying this day, before I began, but it fell out something otherwise, for my spirit in the exercise performed this day, was often vnder restraint, and I had not much sensible enlargement throughout: I preached from I Peter, 4.18. I repeated this evening (seuerall of the neighbours coming in to vs) & prayed with some fredome of spirit, but much restraint also. I prayed in priuate hauing little sense or encouragement, yet blessed be the Lord for euer.

17mo 5ti Mensis. I prayed in priuate with earnestnes & encouragement. Brother Wright prayed in the family. I came homewards this morning, my spirit being something liuely and enlarged. . . .

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Perhaps the best summary of Maurice's life and work is to be found in an elegy composed by one Roger Williams, in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Additional MS 366A, f.135. After thirty-four lines of loose and often incoherent heroic couplets, Williams bursts into two surprises: a dismally failed anagram of *Henry Maurice* 'I have run my race' and four lively couplets of octosyllables,

Here lyeth one of Abels race  
 Whom Cain did hunt from place to place  
 Yet not dismaied about he went  
 Working untill his daies were spent  
 Now having done he takes a nap  
 In our comon mothers lap  
 Waiting to heare the Bridegroom say  
 Arise my deare and come away.

## NOTES

The Authors thank Miss Eileen Simpson, formerly of Chester County Record Office, for her assistance with the Hearth Tax Returns, and Miss Jane Grundy for typing the Manuscript.

- 1 Maurice's life can be reconstructed from
  - (a) T. Richards, 'Henry Maurice: Piwritan ac Annibynnwr', *Y Cofiadur* 5-6 (Wrexham, 1928), pp.15-67.
  - (b) T. Rees, *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales* (2nd edn., 1883), pp. 209 ff.
  - (c) T. Richards, *Wales under the Indulgence 1672-5* (1928), pp. 129-152.
  - (d) S. Palmer, *The Nonconformist's Memorial... originally written by Edmund Calamy, D.D.*, III (1803), pp. 159-162.
  - (e) Revd A.G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934), p. 346.
  - (f) Maurice's own account of Nonconformity in Wales contained in E.B. Underhill, ed., *The Records of a Church of Christ meeting in Broadmead, Bristol*, for the Hansard Knollys Society (1847), pp. 511 ff.
  - (g) W.T. Pennar Davies, 'Episodes in the History of Brecknockshire Dissent', *Brycheiniog* iii (1957).
  - (h) Maurice's 1672 MS Diary, now in the possession of Dr Basil Cottle, M.A., F.S.A., University of Bristol.

To the first three of these sources we are particularly indebted for much of the background to the life.

- 2 R. Parkinson, ed., *The Autobiography of Henry Newcome, M.A., part 1*, Chet. Soc. O.S. 26 (1852); *part 2*, 27 (1852).
- 3 R. Parkinson, ed., *The life of Adam Martindale, written by himself*, Chet. Soc. O.S. 4 (1845).
- 4 *D.N.B.* XXXVI (1893), pp. 304-307; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 343.
- 5 *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, transcribed and edited by G. Lyon Turner, I (1911), pp. 535, 536, 539, 540, 556, and II (1911), pp. 677, 692, 698, 741.
- 6 J. Hall, ed., *Memorials of the Civil War in Cheshire . . . by Thomas Malbon . . . and Providence Improved by Edward Burghall*, R.S.L. & C., 19 (1889).
- 7 *Adam Martindale*, p. 221.
- 8 T. Heywood, ed., *The Diary of the Revd Henry Newcome from September 30th, 1661, to September 29th, 1663*, Chet. Soc. O.S. 18 (1849).
- 9 *The Revd Oliver Heywood, B.A., 1630-1702, His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdotes and Event Books*, edited by J. Horsfall Turner, 4 vols (Bingley, 1882-1885).

- 10 W. Notestein, *Four Worthies, John Chamberlain, Ann Clifford, John Taylor, Oliver Heywood* (1956), p. 228. Compare a typical two-week missionary journey by Heywood, summarised on p. 227, with that made by Maurice.
- 11 Notestein, *Four Worthies* pp. 214–215.
- 12 Horsfall Turner III (1883), pp. 114, 116. Other meetings are recorded in the 1660s and 1670s; Horsfall Turner I (1882), pp. 242, 252, 283, 288, 289, 295, Meetings with Martindale are recorded pp. 252, 277.
- 13 *Newcome's Autobiography*, p. 35.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 76, 8 August, 1658; *Newcome's Diary*, pp. 152, 157–158, 179.
- 15 Tanner, admitted Freeman of Chester 1656/7, J.H.E. Bennett, ed., *The Rolls of the Freemen of the City of Chester R.S.L. & C.*, 51 (1906), p. 139; died 1685, will proved, *An index to the wills and inventories at Chester, 1681–1700, R.S.L. & C.* 18 (1888), p. 21; apprehended at a conventicle in 1668, Chester City Record Office Q/F 79, f.101, 28 August, 1668, and Cheshire Record Office (hereafter C.R.O.) EDV 1/35, 1668/1670, The Rural Deanery of Chester, ff. 21–28.
- 16 Yeoman, formerly of Newhall in the parishes of Wrenbury and Audlem, where a conventicle was apprehended at his house in 1666 and he was fined £5, C.R.O., QJF 94/1, Northwich, 24 April, 1666, No. 57; his house still being used for meetings in 1669, C.R.O., EDV 1/36, f. 10v; subsequently styled yeoman of Monks Coppenthal, where he paid for one hearth in the Hearth Tax Return 1673–74, C.R.O., E179/86/155, Mf 13. After the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, one James White was licensed as Congregational preacher at George Hamnett's house in Monks Coppenthal; Frank Bate, *The Declaration of Indulgence 1672, A Study in the Rise of Organisational Dissent* (Liverpool, 1908), p.xix.
- 17 Gentleman, of Sound Heath in the parishes of Acton and Wrenbury; conventicles were noted as taking place in his house in 1669, C.R.O., EDV 1/36, f. 10v; of sufficient importance to be one of the men recommended to hold the office of High Constable for the Hundred of Nantwich in 1670, C.R.O., QJF 98/3, 4 October 1670, No. 30; he paid for five hearths in the Hearth Tax Return 1673–74; C.R.O., E179/86/155, Mf 13.
- 18 M.J. Crossley Evans, 'The Clergy of the City of Chester, 1630–1672', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, 68 (1985), p. 121.
- 19 Henry Moore paid for two hearths in the 1673–74 Hearth Tax Return; buried at Waverton on 2 April, 1678, will dated 26 March, 1678, proved 11 April, 1678, C.R.O., WS 1678. With him, compare Captain George Ball of Irby (1599–1671), who was arrested at Dr Harrison's conventicle in Chester in 1665, Revd W. Urwick, *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in the County Palatine of Cheshire* (1864), p. 47; *C.S.P.D., 1664–65* (1863), p. 461.
- 20 Will 19 May, 1691, proved 17 June, 1696, termed 'of Hefferston Grange', C.R.O., WS 1696; burial recorded as 'Armiger' 17 April, 1696, C.R.O., Weaverham Bishop's Transcripts EDB 1696; he paid for five hearths in the Hearth Tax Return of 1673–74; the Grange was licensed for Presbyterian meetings in 1672, Bate, *The Declaration of Indulgence 1672, op. cit.*, p.lxi.
- 21 He paid for two hearths in the Hearth Tax Return of 1673–74; his house at Wrenbury was licensed for Congregational meetings in 1672, Bate, *The Declaration of Indulgence*, p.lxi.
- 22 *Freemen of Chester, op. cit.*, pp. 134, 152; inquest 1694, Chester City Record Office C/1/16/34.

- 23 D.N.B. LIX (1899), pp. 299–300; J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1500–1714* IV (1891), p. 1568; *Selden Society*, Supplementary Series V (1984), pp. 87n, 94n, 189, 400–401, 442, 543; *Harleian Society*, New Series V (1986), p. 104 and n.
- 24 J.S. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630–1660, County Government and Society During the English Revolution* (1974), pp. 110–111, 185n, 189, 231–232.
- 25 For accounts of it see Norfolk Record Office ANW/21/1, ff. 21v–22; Bodleian Library, Oxford, J. Walker MS.1072 (old el), f. 103, MS.10860, f. 149, and MS. 10859, f. 28, ff. 42–43; Revd L.B. Radford, *A History of Holt* (Holt, 1908), p. 55; Revd A.G. Matthews, *Walker Revised* (Oxford, 1948), p. 266; M. J. Crossley Evans, 'Masters and Ushers', *The Grasshopper* (Holt, 1982), pp. 46–47; *Journal of the House of Commons, 1648–1651* (1803), pp. 504–507, 525; *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding* IV (1892), p. 2906; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1650* (1876), pp. 447, 449, 451–452, 454–456, 461–463, 465–468, 472, 474, 481, 488, 604; *Diary of the Revd Ralph Josselin 1616–1683*, edited by A. Macfarlan (1976), pp. 221–222; Revd C.L.S. Linnell & A.B. Douglas, *Gresham's School History and Register 1555–1954* (Ipswich, 1955), pp. 14–16; *Archaeologia* xxv, part 1 (1833), pp. 591–594; R.W. Ketton-Cremer, *Forty Norfolk Essays* (Norwich, 1961), pp. 24–29.
- 26 V. Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution, City Government and National Politics 1625–1643* (1961), pp. 140n, 155, 240, 244, 244n, 245, 274, 313.
- 27 *Newcome's Autobiography, part 1*, pp. 85, 155.
- 28 Bate, *The Declaration of Indulgence 1672*, p.lxi; Lyon Turner, *Original Records . . .* (see footnote 5), I, 527, II, 692.
- 29 *Newcome's Autobiography, part 2*. pp. 205, 230, 233, 236, 246–247, 255, 261–262, 266, 268, 274, 280, covering various dates, 10 January, 1680 to 4 October, 1693.
- 30 *Ibid.*, pp. 261–262, 270.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 207.
- 32 G. Ormerod *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 2nd Edition (1882), edited by Thomas Helsby, II, pp. 174–175. The old house known by both Maurice and Newcome was replaced by a Georgian building in 1741; it passed from the family in the middle of the 19th century. Sir N. Pevsner and E. Hubbard, *The Buildings of England: Cheshire* (1971), p. 378.
- 33 Revd W. Tong, *The Works of the late Reverend Mr Matthew Henry: being a Complete Collection of all the Discourses, Sermons and Other Tracts that were published by himself together with An Account of his Life and A Sermon preach'd on the Occasion of his Death* (1726), pp. 24, 31. Urwick, *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity . . .* (see footnote 19), pp. 461–462.
- 34 Ordained by George Hall, Bishop of Chester, as deacon 22 September, 1662, priest 6 March, 1662/3, licensed curate of Waverton 20 July, 1665; Borthwick Institute, York, The Metropolitan Visitation 1669, Exhibition Book RVI C 13 A. He signed the Bishop's Transcript for Waverton in 1671 (about April), C.R.O. BT Waverton 1671. He was married by licence dated 13 September, 1671 to Anne Harrison of the parish of St Oswald, Chester, spinster, at Chester Cathedral; *Marriage licences granted within the archdeaconry of Chester in the diocese of Chester, 1667–80* R.S.L. & C., 69 (1914), p. 100. Their son Benedict was baptized at Waverton on 22 September, 1672, C.R.O. BT Waverton 1672. Marriage licenses were directed to Dod at various times, e.g. *ibid.*, 1661–67, R.S.L. & C., 65 (1912), p. 103, 24

- March, 1663/4; p. 147, 27 March, 1665; p. 189, 25 May, 1666. A deposition by Dod is preserved in C.R.O., QJF 96/4, Chester 12 Jan. 1668/9, No. 52.
- 35 C.R.O., QSF 89/3, Knutsford No. 37, 15 Oct. 1661. The August of 1672 also saw the scandalous murder by a Durham preacher, earning £300 a year, of his wife, whom he stabbed after a quarrel over supper; Horsfall Turner III (1883), pp. 193-194.
- 36 *Newcome's Diary* p. 179; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 551; Bate, *The Declaration of Indulgence 1672*, p. xxxv, notes that he was licensed as a Presbyterian preacher in Warrington in 1672.
- 37 C.R.O., EDV 1/36, f. 14.
- 38 He paid for one hearth in Rushton in the Hundred of Eddisbury in 1664, *The Cheshire Sheaf*, Ser. 3, XII (1915), p. 60, and for one hearth there in 1673/4, C.R.O., E179/86/155, Mf 13.
- 39 Delamere Forest.
- 40 Weaverham, at the house called Hefferston Grange, or more simply the Grange. It was situated in an enclave of Whitegate parish within Weaverham.
- 41 At Monks Coppenhall, about 4 miles N.E. of Nantwich.
- 42 Sound Heath,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles S.W. of Nantwich, in the parishes of Acton and Wrenbury.
- 43 Read *Hamnetts*; he was at Newhall, the adjacent township to Sound and divided between the parishes of Audlem and Wrenbury.

