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THE IRISH BAPTISTS,

1650 - 1780



## Abstract

Kevin Herlihy, The Irish Baptists, 1650-1780.

This dissertation is concerned with the formation of the Baptist movement in England, its subsequent arrival in Ireland, its attempt to reform and renew itself in Ireland, and the overall failure of the movement in Ireland to become a viable and independent ecclesiastical institution

Chapter one places the origin of the Baptist movement in the context of the religious and social chaos of the 1640s. Baptists for the most part were anti-authoritarian which had a subsequent part to play in their development. Chapter two is concerned with the introduction of the Baptist movement into Ireland with the Cromwellian invasion. The following chapter looks at how the Irish Baptists adapted to life in Ireland in terms of the government, other Protestants, and Catholics. In chapter four Irish Baptists are compared with their eighteenth-century counterparts in Britain and America in order to discover how Irish Baptists were similar or different from other Baptist brethren elsewhere. The next chapter is interested in looking at the Irish Baptists community in light of chapters two, three and four in order to understand how coherent (or incoherent) their communities were. The last chapter seeks to understand Morgan Edwards, a Baptist reformer who served in Ireland during the 1750s. In addition the chapter is trying to understand the extent of the organizational development of the Baptist movement as a whole.

There are four appendices. The first is a list of those person who can be identified in the Cromwellian military establishment. Number two is compilation of signatures contained in Irish Baptist correspondence during the Interregnum with any biographical information that has been discovered. The third appendix is a list of Irish contributors who subscribed money to the founding of the first Baptist seminary in America, the College of Rhode Island, known today as Brown University. The last appendix is a description in 1795 of the meeting of a Welsh Baptist Association.





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**THE IRISH BAPTISTS, 1650-1780**

**KEVIN HERLIHY**

A thesis submitted to the School of History in the University of  
Dublin for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Trinity College Dublin

September, 1992



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*Kevin Herlihy*

*18 September 1992*



## Acknowledgments

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## Note on conventions

All manuscripts have been cited in full giving the location and full title in the first note, and thereafter abbreviated without the location. All printed sources are cited fully in the first note, and abbreviated thereafter. Dates are old style, where appropriate, with the year beginning on 1 January. Quotations have been given in the original form with a (sic) added when it seems there could have been a typographical mistake.



background developed and a clearer picture of what their traditions and attitudes were, it became apparent that the situation in Ireland played a key feature in any understanding of Edwards because in many ways the ecclesiastical arrangements there represented what he loathed. Irish Baptists remained closer to the early adherents to the Baptist movement, who were primarily anti-authoritarian, than any of their counterparts in the English speaking world.

One of the main obstacles in coming to conclusions in this research was the lack of work on the social aspect of religion in Ireland. One of the first secondary sources I consulted was written in 1949 by J.C. Beckett. When first coming upon it my excitement was raised due to the title: *Protestant Dissent in Ireland*. I thought that this slight volume would be a good survey of the landscape of religious dissent in Ireland. Although the work was of a very high standard the title was something of a misnomer because it was really a study of Ulster Presbyterians. The only mention of Baptists in Ireland was when Beckett claimed, 'eighteenth century Ireland was not favourable to the subdivision of sects, both independents and Baptists, numerous enough under the commonwealth, survived into modern times only by reason of missionary effort on the part of the stronger communities in England'.<sup>1</sup> This crisp analysis was indeed as accurate as it was brief, but did not answer the the question of why this was the case.

As possible explanation for this emerged from my research, an understanding of Morgan Edwards' motives and desires became clearer. The new picture of Edwards revealed just how far the Particular Baptist movement had come since its revolutionary beginnings in the England of 1640s, and the extent to which Baptists were willing to go in the direction of this evolution in ideas and organization. Although the Baptists were moving in the same general ecclesiastical direction as Edwards, he was unfortunate because the Particular Baptists in the Philadelphia Association were not ready for Edwards' ideas on church solidarity and government, or his vision of the role of the ministry in the church. He had found the limits of Baptist toleration of the new ecclesiastical developments that had been taking place in the eighteenth century. But Edwards' persistence in following the course of his ideas along with the political and social tensions leading up to the American Revolution resulted in his suffering the humiliation of the loss of his ministry and profession.

Edwards was reconciled to the Philadelphia Association after the American Revolution. His return enabled him to help in re-establishing the trend toward a more traditional Reformed Protestant church polity. My work from the outset was mainly interested in discovering the causes for his behaviour rather than the effects which is why I chose 1780 as the cut-off date. Also, this date seemed a good place to end because it marked the end of







## Chapter I

### The Emergence of the Baptists in England

The advent of the Protestant Reformation introduced strong forces for social change in European society. The hierarchical structure of Western Christianity was challenged by the success of new ideas. The challenge of Martin Luther (1483-1546) to the authority of the Papacy led to even more radical departures within the Protestant movement. One consequence was that three distinct views of what constituted the nature of the Church community and the clergy developed. Lutherans and Anglicans maintained a modified hierarchical structure of church polity. The Calvinists moved further by developing the reformed or presbyterian model of church government whereby the minister was called by the congregation but the other ministers within a presbytery or synod approved the call. Finally, radical reformers moved even farther by, in many cases, denying clerical authority altogether and by asserting that the true Church was made up of elect individuals meeting in voluntary association. The Lutherans and Calvinists believed in a state church, but the radicals generally repudiated this idea.

The former view generally prevailed in early Protestant Europe, and by and large the radical conception did not succeed in the sixteenth century. But it later emerged triumphant after adjustments were made to the original ecclesiastical blueprints once unforeseen problems posed by the radical prototype had been addressed. The radical vision of the Church re-emerged in seventeenth-century England through the Puritan movement. And the triumph was mainly due to the ability of radical sects in the Commonwealth period to transform themselves into permanent denominations.<sup>2</sup>

### **Religion in England in the Early Seventeenth Century**

One of the most important effects of the Protestant Reformation was on religious practice in England in allowing elements of magic to fall out of control of the Church of England. The medieval church, through the sacraments, was able to claim to control magic and assert that its magic was stronger than any other. This gave the church, mediated by the clergy, a virtual monopoly on magic through the use of rituals and sacraments. The Protestant movement by making preaching the focus of worship and by reducing the importance of sacraments and rituals created serious ramifications that caused problems for themselves that would have to be remedied. Keith Thomas has shown in *Religion and the Decline of Magic* that this led to a proliferation of unofficial belief in magic in segments of English society.<sup>3</sup> But there were other



unanticipated consequences as a result of the new theology. The most obvious was the change in the role of the clergy. Their function was transformed now that ritual was reduced to a lesser status. There was a greater need for the clergy to be educated and because of the shortage of trained clergymen in the early days of the English Reformation liturgical innovations such as the Book of Common Prayer and the Book of Homilies were essential.

Adjustments could be taken too far. The early Stuart kings were committed to the view that church and state were two pillars that supported one another. James I thought that the Presbyterian form of church government was 'too democratic' and that presbyterianism and episcopacy were utterly incompatible, indeed that the eclipse of episcopacy would signal an end to royal supremacy. His famous declaration after the conference at Hampton Court in 1607, 'No bishops, no king, no nobility,' sums up his view. Charles I and his archbishop, William Laud (1573-1645), carried on James' policy, but with more vigour. Laud asserted in 1637 that church and state were, 'so nearly united and knit together, that they can be accounted as one.' And Charles I in the very changed circumstances of 1646 lamented that Parliament had taken away the church's dependence on the crown because 'people are governed by the pulpit more than the sword in times of peace.'<sup>4</sup>



The Stuarts had moved very far away from the Elizabethan religious settlement of 1559 which had brought loose religious uniformity and had allowed some latitude to those of differing theological and ecclesiastical opinions. The Stuart premise about the nature of church and state was consistent with contemporary conservative Protestant opinion, but their implementation of it was out of step with seventeenth-century sentiment in England. Revisionist historians have rejected the idea that 'Puritanism' was a revolutionary ideology of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. They point out that up until at least 1625 Calvinistic characteristics described as 'Puritan' were in fact shared by most Protestants in England.<sup>5</sup> Archbishop Laud's innovations (i.e. Arminian theology, the use of vestments and the reinstatement of altars) produced a more specific opposition that appropriated the Puritan label. Also, this opposition has to be seen in political as well as theological terms - as a conservative Protestant opposition to what was seen as Charles' subversion of the constitutional balance of king, lords and commons. Furthermore, conservative English Protestantism subscribed to the belief that there was an international war in progress between Christ (the Protestant powers) and Anti-christ (the Catholic powers). As a result <sup>of</sup> the Stuart refusal to participate in the Thirty Years War, <sup>AND</sup> Laud's innovations were construed by many as the work of Anti-christ.

Moving away from the larger picture of politico-religious conflict of the early seventeenth century we must focus on some of the more humble religious developments out of which the Baptist movement emerged.

### The Rise of Separatists in England

Separatism was the belief among radical Protestants that true believers (the elect) should separate themselves from the state church because it was corrupt and contained the unregenerate. Separatism was slow to develop. The implications were unsettling even for those who first advocated the move toward separatism, and awkward for conservative Protestant opinion in general to adopt. The medieval idea of 'Corpus Christiania' was still strong in European society in the late sixteenth century. Also, many conservative Protestants were afraid of the ramifications of separatist ideas; especially the prospect of a proliferation of sects. Thomas Edwards (1593-1647), the London Presbyterian divine who wanted a state church based on a presbyterian model, found this aspect particularly alarming in the 1640s and was a vehement propagandist against the sects that were emerging from what might be called the Puritan underground.<sup>6</sup> Murray Tolmie and B. R. White have shown some of the intellectual difficulties that had to be overcome. Quasi-separatism or semi-separatism was an intermediate step on the road to full blown organizational independence. Semi-separatists usually operated within the existing church order by having prayer meetings and



discussions about sermons before and after orthodox church services. And although the Established Church frowned on such activity these groups formed very few separate congregations at first. Those that did opt for complete separatism in the 1640s were a small minority and were subsequently plagued by further fragmentation after the Civil War.<sup>7</sup> There were also degrees within separatism. Conservative 'Independents' were not opposed to ecclesiastical establishments. Sometimes referred to by Anglicans as 'the younger brother of the presbyterians' they sought greater independence for individual congregations under the protection of the magistrate. The Massachusetts colony formed an ecclesiastical establishment on this principal. More radical 'Independents' became complete separatists, believing that the saints should be given complete freedom to set up ecclesiastical organizations based on the principle of voluntary association. After 1641 radical separatism built up momentum and went as far as to question every aspect of church and society so that eventually they appeared to endanger the order of society. The Baptists were complete separatists and certainly crossed over the threshold of radicalism, probably farther than many of them would have liked. This radical impulse was of course losing momentum in the conditions of the 1650s, and those who had developed baptistic beliefs retreated in line with other radicals towards a more conservative disposition. This conservatism was not only in the religious sphere but, as with all of the surviving sects, in the social sphere as well.



## The Rise of Baptists in England 1612-60

The Baptists grew out of a theological proposition that infants should not be baptized and that baptism was to be administered only to those who made a profession of faith in Christ. The modern view of this proposition began in Switzerland in the 1520s. The idea spread to other parts of Europe and gained its strongest foothold in Holland through the work of Menno Simons (1496-1561), whose followers were later to be known by those outside the community as the Mennonites or Anabaptists. The English name anabaptist came from Greek and Latin, meaning to re-baptize. The continental Anabaptists accepted the name, but in England those who subscribed to 'believer's baptism' looked upon the epithet as odious. This was because of the association of the name 'anabaptist' with the debacle of Jan Van Leyden's Munster community in Germany. Van Leyden and his followers had threatened societal as well as religious assumptions of sixteenth-century christendom, and his cause ended in chaos and destruction. Unlike the Quakers who accepted the name they received from outsiders because they supposedly 'quaked', English Baptists, and later Irish Baptists, were sensitive when the name 'Anabaptist' was applied by those outside their community. This was because the word symbolized chaos and destruction for many of their enemies. They preferred to be called simply Baptists. On the eve of the Restoration, as earlier, there was a great deal of printed

propaganda in both England and Ireland that attempted to associate Baptists, and also Quakers, with tyranny and anarchy.<sup>8</sup> Although the doctrine of believer's baptism first appeared in English seaports in the late sixteenth century through the influence of Dutch traders and merchants, the traders seemed to have made little headway in spreading the doctrine in England.<sup>9</sup>

In the English debate the question of baptism was concerned with the validity of the rite itself. Among the many unresolved issues in the English Reformation was the theological status of baptism. As early as 1590 the English religious radical Henry Barrow (d.1593) wondered whether the Church of Rome's baptism was valid and, if not, should there be another baptism. Separatists would later ask if the Church of England's baptism was valid. But after 1641 the question centred on the scriptural authority for the baptizing of infants. Baptists considered the New Testament commands such as 'believe and be baptized' to be plain and unambiguous; belief must precede baptism. Continental Anabaptists retained the traditional form of baptism that was used by Protestant and Catholic alike, sprinkling or pouring water on the head, but many English Baptists adopted the mode of total immersion in water.

Those defending paedobaptism realized there were no specific commands concerning the baptism of infants, but held



that the Old Testament rite of circumcision was a precedent for including children in the Christian community. The denial of baptism to infants had unpleasant implications for conservative Protestants since the doctrine made deeper the separation of church and state. Baptism was in a general sense an initiation into civil as well as Christian society having some of the characteristics of modern citizenship. The refusal of infant baptism gave rise to ambiguity over the relationship of an individual to society at large. Many contemporaries believed that Baptist doctrine threatened the institution of the family insofar as children were not included in the Christian community. This idea could be taken to extremes in propaganda against Baptist doctrine. In 1647 a pamphlet appeared claiming that a woman in Dover beheaded her baby to prevent its being baptized.<sup>10</sup> Some were repulsed by the doctrine because of superstitious beliefs. Many people believed that baptism had a magical quality that enabled their infants to enter into heaven in the event of death. And with the high levels of infant mortality in the seventeenth century there was a perennial concern among wide sections of the population for the spiritual status of the most vulnerable section of the family. The mode of baptism also caused widespread suspicion. To avoid the civil authorities Baptist ministers began to baptize clandestinely at night and this led to rumours and allegations that there was sexual misconduct taking place during the rite. One of the most blatant attacks that focused on this issue was by Daniel Featley (1582-1645) in



1645, who depicted naked women in a river on the front of his anti-Baptist tract, and with sarcasm entitled them 'Virgins of Sion'.<sup>11</sup> Taking into account the hostile and suspicious attitudes of many contemporaries it is difficult to come to definitive conclusions from contemporary sources concerning Baptist practice. All contemporary observations were highly partial.

The first English Baptist church was formed in Spitalfields, near the city of London, in 1612 by two separatists, Thomas Helwys (c.1575-1616) and John Murton (c.1587-c.1626). They received their anti-paedobaptist doctrine from Dutch Mennonites while sojourning in Holland. They retained an Arminian theology - a belief in general redemption - from the Dutch, but did not accept the view prevalent among Mennonites that the magistrate had no right to regulate religion, nor did they subscribe to their pacifist beliefs. Identified by their Arminian doctrine, this first group came to be known as General Baptists. Another group of Baptists formed in London in 1638 accepted Calvinist theology, and they were called 'Particular' Baptists, so called because of Calvinist belief in 'particular redemption'. This later group was drawn from the separate churches of London.<sup>12</sup> These labels serve better purposes in describing the baptist movement after the Glorious Revolution than they do in the early or mid-seventeenth-century. This is because the rise of the English Baptists was due more to propositions that grew out of Puritan

questioning. Christopher Hill's statement explains this problem best:

We know, as a result of hindsight, that some groups - Baptists, Quakers - will survive as religious sects, and that most of the others will disappear. In consequence we unconsciously tend to impose too clear outlines on the early history of English sects, to read back later beliefs into the 1640s and 50s.<sup>13</sup>

English Protestantism in all its varieties was developed as a result of the questioning of received doctrine, and this tradition of fundamental questioning continued in some degree for many generations after its inception. Many Puritans were well known for their questioning of what might be viewed today as trivial items. For example, Hanserd Knollys (c.1599-1691), a prominent London Baptist school-master and pastor, had in early childhood a major disagreement with his brother followed by a reconciliation that was achieved by praying in a field extemporaneously. This event, he claimed later in life, led him to believe that offering the written prayers of others (i.e., the Book of Common Prayer) was improper.<sup>14</sup> This kind of religious questioning led many to spontaneous and independent ideas about various doctrinal teachings. Thus Knollys, who was ordained in 1629 by the Bishop of Peterborough, became 'convinced of some things about the Worship of God (which I had conformed unto) to be sinful, to



wit, the Surplice, the Cross in Baptism, and admitting wicked persons to the Lord's Supper'.<sup>15</sup> As a result of occurrences like this there was very little homogeneity or uniformity in the belief of the groups making up the early Baptists, whether General or Particular, over many of the important issues they faced.

By the 1630s this sort of questioning was leading many to diverse and separate ideas about the validity of infant baptism. In New England it erupted early in the development of the colony. Thomas Patient (d.1666) who later served in Ireland and Hanserd Knollys came to the conclusion, independent of one another, that infant baptism had no scriptural basis. Both were inspired while sojourning in New England.<sup>16</sup> In Ulster there was also a controversy concerning baptism in 1630.<sup>17</sup>

During the 1630s this type of fermentation was taking place underground, but after 1640 as political authority in the three kingdoms was breaking down it became more visible. In 1642 a contemporary observed that 'Anabaptisme is very rife in England, though not perhaps in one entire body'. He further testified to the anti-authoritarian attitude that was so often a prevalent feature of early Baptist adherents by commenting that there was no uniform agreement regarding religious tenets except, 'the hatred of all rule'.<sup>18</sup>



Attempts were being first made in London to form ties with other Baptist meetings that had begun to appear in the early 1640s. By 1644 church meetings in London, both Baptist and Independent, were sending out messengers to organize groups that began to appear during the first Civil War.<sup>19</sup> During the 1650s a network of Particular Baptists were led by a group of congregations in London which provided a kind of leadership for the rest of their brethren, whether in England, Wales or Ireland. As we will see the leadership of these London churches was not as effective as they would have liked due in part at least to the nature of Baptist beliefs. Furthermore, the London Baptists were closely aligned with other separatist congregations with whom they shared many common beliefs and were threatened by many common problems. A distinct Baptist identity was forming but at a very slow pace.

### **What Baptists Believed**

One historian of the Baptists has commented that they were people who did not know what they believed or what they stood for in any precise sense.<sup>20</sup> This was because of the spontaneous rise of the movement. Also, the momentum of radical ideas in the 1640s contributed to the problem of developing a defined and refined belief. This radical momentum was particularly disturbing to religiously conservative Protestant opinion which was trying to establish a more godly state church. When the London Baptists published

a confession of faith in 1644 it was primarily to allay the fear of society at large: in fact they set out what they did not believe rather than a comprehensive definition of what they did believe. But some Baptists with radical instincts, who were caught up in the vehemence of the time, found the period rather stimulating and in fact moved further in their radicalism.

There is therefore a problem in finding what is distinct in early Baptist belief. Personalities who are frequently classified as Baptist were often for whatever theological reasons anti-paedobaptist. But there were broad areas where most of those who were anti-paedobaptist had general views that were shared with one another. These areas included common positions on toleration, the role of the clergy in society, and the relationship of church and state. These were important issues, interlinked with one another. Toleration was necessary in order to gain space that would enable ideas to spread. The elevation of toleration as a principle led to a natural antagonism against coercive ecclesiastical organizations and the authority that governed the church (i.e.. the clergy). Given the pre-eminent role of the English state in providing financial and civil support to the state church, many Baptist radicals believed that the role of the state in religious matters required profound alteration.



## Baptists and Toleration

Christopher Blackwood (1606-1670) who served in Ireland in the 1650s and was known there as the 'oracle of the anabaptists',<sup>21</sup> was one who welcomed the development of radical religious opinions and the religious and social ferment of the 1640s. In 1644 he published a work in London advocating religious toleration. His argument rested on assumptions and presuppositions that were derived from his view eschatology. The reason he had these assumptions can be seen in his conversion to baptistic beliefs. In 1642 he had engaged in a controversy concerning the legitimacy of infant baptism, and after considering the argument of his opposition he became convinced that they were correct.<sup>22</sup> Blackwood's conversion to Baptist principles led him to believe that the same process would be repeated in others who looked impartially at the merits of baptist polemics. He thought that religious toleration was necessary because to do otherwise would jeopardize a 'thorow' reformation. His belief in toleration stemmed from the Puritan belief that the godly could reform society. God, according to Blackwood, made revelations through the godly, and the absence of toleration might thwart the godly, depriving society of the benefit of a Luther or Calvin. He and many other radical Puritans realized that religious toleration might lead to a degree of chaos, but the risk of chaos was a necessary price to pay if the saints were to be guided by the revelatory power of the Holy Ghost. The saints would be led to the 'truth' which would finally triumph over error and the

reign of God would be realized on earth. As the title of his book suggested, Anti-christ was the only one interested in suppressing the godly and the 'truth'. Religious toleration was necessary in order for progress toward a 'thorow' reformation to take place.<sup>23</sup>

Blackwood was breaking new ground which led to major difficulties for Baptists. Toleration worked against the development of a clearly defined doctrine that would enable Baptists to develop a distinct organizational identity. Was someone who had anti-paedobaptist beliefs to be considered ipso facto a Baptist? As questions like this one were answered there was a need to exercise discipline against those that did not conform to the embryonic group identity. Exercising discipline against those who did not conform led to further difficulties in refining the original proposition of toleration.

### **Baptists and Anti-clericalism**

Anti-clerical attitudes were at the heart of Puritan radicalism and these were far more vociferously expressed in the early 1640s when government censorship had broken down as a result of the civil war. In 1647 Richard Lawrence (fl.1643-1684), later to become an important personality among the Irish Baptists, claimed in a pamphlet that the saints were no longer being persecuted, 'especially these five or six last years, since their persecutors have had no leasure (sic) to look after them'.<sup>24</sup> The breakdown of order allowed further



momentum for new ideas, and the Anglican church became the enemy of the revolution the focal point of religious opposition and a target for radical thought.

The basic theme of much of radical anti-clericalism after the breakdown of state authority during the first Civil War was that clergymen by and large were deceivers and seducers. Before the Civil War the conservative Protestant criticism of the clergy in the Established Church had concentrated on the poor quality of the clergy; now the attack on them became more comprehensive.<sup>25</sup> The question of tithes posed another problem: they were seen as a totally unnecessary burden by many, both conservative and radical, and a system which insured the survival of a the corrupt established clergy. Clergymen, it was widely believed, were in the church for personal enrichment rather than service to their flocks. Gerrard Winstanley (c.1609-1676?), the leader of the Diggers, moved from specific anti-clericalism to a total opposition to any form of ecclesiastical organization. Quakers, spurred on by an eschatological belief that the age of the 'spirit' had dawned and that sacraments and the clergy belonged to an age now ending, followed this line of thought with their rejection of any role for a salaried ministry in the church. Seekers, who were among the most radical, denied clerical authority on the basis of a belief that 'truth' had been lost and that no one was able to claim authority. The saints, according to them, must wait for God to reveal a new authority.

For the Baptists there was considerable ambiguity concerning their anti-clericalism. The general consensus among them was that the establishment of a state church in any strict sense should be opposed. In 1647 Richard Lawrence serving then in the Parliamentary army at Oxford as a Marshal General and captain in the regiment of Thomas Fairfax (1612-1671), published two attacks on clerical power. His first volley was aimed at the Presbyterians who were trying to establish a state church for England based on the model developed in Scotland before 1640. His second attack was aimed at clerics in general. He subscribed to Blackwood's theory of an Anti-Christ who was transforming himself continually into the 'subtlest disguise to deceive the Nations'. His objections to clergy were motivated by a fear that an organized state church would put an end to religious toleration. History taught Lawrence that Anti-Christ's transformation took place when he realized the futility of continuing in an institution that had been discovered to be his vehicle: the supporters of Anti-Christ turned like the 'weathercock'. When Henry VIII dissolved the abbeys and monasteries he did not react out of 'pious zeal he had for the Reformation, but with wrath, pride and covetousness'. During the short reign of Edward VI the 'anti-christians' turned again, and once more when Queen Mary ascended the throne. The most recognizable feature of Anti-Christ was that he was always associated with the exercise of power.<sup>26</sup>



Once again we see Baptist theories coming forth as a result of negative propositions: that of no state church. After the destruction of the state church what was to replace it? How would a truly constituted church be organized, and what would the role of the ministers be in it? Later, out of necessity, Baptists did develop positive formulations that resolved some of the questions that arose from their criticism of the status quo. But at this time the agenda of questions continued to expand with the momentum of radical religious ideas in the 1640s. The question of toleration had led to the questioning of any form of clerical authority. The questioning of clerical authority naturally led to the question of civil authority.

### **Baptists and Church and State**

The age-old problem of the relationship between church and state had been seemingly resolved by Luther when he sought to place the reformed church under the control of the prince or equivalent civil authority. This solution was, of course, challenged by some of the religious radicals who wanted to limit, and in some cases remove, civil authority over the church.

In Massachusetts, considered by many as a conservative sphere of Puritanism, there was a partial separation of church and state. The political franchise was left open to all who were members of the local church, and the political community chose

the civil authority. This system insured that the godly would remain in control of temporal affairs. It also gave clerical authority a position of power in civil authority, but at the same time allowed individual congregations limited autonomy. But the 'New England Way' was not completely accepted and was criticized by many Puritan contemporaries for being too conservative or sometimes for not being conservative enough. One reason for the success of the godly commonwealth in Massachusetts was that the annual meeting of the shareholders of the corporation met in Boston rather than London which severely limited direct English control over the colony. Also, the open frontier of the colony gave an outlet for dissent, which led to the formation of other communities elsewhere in the New England area, such as New Haven and Providence.<sup>27</sup> The 'saints' had the opportunity of starting over and building anew. Another Puritan colony which shewed a much different approach to the relationship of church and state was that of the New Providence, founded on an island off the coast of present day Nicaragua in 1630. A cleric participated in the local government there, but simply as an individual member of the community.<sup>28</sup>

The attitudes prevalent in these early English colonies were not in any way anti-clerical, but the conception of the proper role of the clergy there was much different from that held by Laud and the Anglican establishment. Placed in juxtaposition to the state church in the 1630s, these two



examples are severe departures from the traditional Protestant polity (Anglican and Reformed), and in some respects may be seen as a radical precedent.

In considering radicalism however one must see the very wide spectrum of beliefs as to where to draw the line to distinguish what legitimately is 'radical'. I have chosen to include all those who questioned the fundamental assumptions of the conservative Reformation Protestant viewpoint. Radicals by definition were interested in a 'thorow' reformation, a restitution of the pristine purity of the first century church. Some radicals, such as the Seekers and Ranters, went further than this in questioning the very basis of Protestant thought, Christianity and the Bible.

Quakers, Seekers and Ranters were more fundamental in their radicalism than the Baptists, but Baptists were generally more radical than the dominant Puritans in the colonies. It is difficult to characterize radicalism because of the diversity of opinions among personalities, and the variety of relationships that these personalities had with their chosen sect.

Baptist were by and large radical due to their anti-authoritarian sentiments. Richard Lawrence's Calvinistic belief about the depravity of man led him to conclude that men could not be trusted with authority. He thought that the people of God were either in the minority or were less powerful from the

beginning. Cain and Abel, Joseph and his brothers, Elijah and the eight hundred and fifty false prophets were Old Testament examples that illustrated this point. According to him, the New Testament showed a Church with no civil power but rather one that was confronted by an established Jewish religion which was quite prepared to fall back on the power of the magistrate when challenged by the godly. In their own time the Apostles were perceived as 'unlearned and ignorant men' according to Lawrence. Now in 1647 the opponents of the godly were still active 'crying against poor illiterate mechanick fellows, as we call them'.<sup>29</sup>

Many Puritans with more conservative opinions thought that the church coupled with the magistrate would be able to reform society. Some Puritans who had attacked the Established Church aimed at creating another more godly Established Church. But after the actual overthrow of the established church there was considerable ambiguity as to the nature of a newly established church; no outline of an agreement was reached about what should replace the old one. We see in Lawrence's anti-clericalism of 1647 a typical distrust of the magistrate and his role in governing religious affairs.

A year later in December 1648 another London pamphleteer John Vernon (d.1667), soon to be a prominent member of the early Irish Baptist community, advocated the ending of all civil authority over religious activities. This sort



of questioning was leading some Baptists toward the Mennonite view of the magistrate. Vernon claimed that the 'Parable of the Tares' (Matt. 13: 24-30, Mark 4: 26-9) was proof 'that men, though the servants of Christ, and clearly discerning his Enemies, may not yet pluck them up, or restrain them by Humane Power without trespass, against the express command of Christ, who hath reserved that work to his Harvest, the end of the world'. He further elaborated his argument by pointing out that the Apostle Paul was originally a restraining magistrate. His thought also shows a shift toward the Mennonite doctrine of pacifism. He believed that opposition to religion should be countered by 'Peace, Love, Gentleness, glad Tidings, Freedom, and not forcible restraint'.<sup>30</sup>

It is not clear what kind of religious establishment Baptists of the 1640s would have accepted. William Kiffin (1616-1701), the most prominent London Baptist pastor and prosperous merchant, had issued a vague statement in 1641 concerning the authority of the church when he said 'Christ hath not given this power to his church, not to a hierarchy, neither to a national presbytery, but to a company of saints in a congregational way'.<sup>31</sup> Ideas such as this along with their negative views of the religious functions of the magistrate implied a total separation of church and state. Later, Baptists would indeed explicitly advocate a total separation, but at an early stage this was not fully developed. However many early English Baptists believed that the state should not interfere

with an individual's conscience concerning religious affairs, but probably a majority still thought that it was permissible for the state to financially support religion. When the Cromwellian regime was establishing itself in Ireland there was no opposition from Baptist quarters to financial assistance from the Commonwealth government, ostensibly to help in the propagation of religion. Opposition to state support came from the Quakers, and Baptist individuals receiving recurrent state subsidies became the object of intense Quaker criticism.<sup>32</sup> During the 1650s ministers in the newly formed Baptist Association in Wales benefited from government subsidies.<sup>33</sup> Much later-in the mid-eighteenth century - Welsh Baptists were to receive occasional financial assistance from the crown.<sup>34</sup> In eighteenth century Ireland Baptists tacitly supported the principle of the Regium Donum, the payment made to Presbyterians from the crown, and hoped eventually to benefit from it themselves.<sup>35</sup>

### **Early Baptist Identity**

Dr. Murray Tolmie has shown how the radical debates at Putney and the trial and execution of Charles I were a measure of the extent of radicalism of the 'gathered churches of London'. These events that concluded the Second Civil War in England were a watershed for religious radicalism and from that stage the leadership of the Puritan churches of the capital began to try to steer a new course leading to a more settled orthodoxy, and indeed to religious conservatism.<sup>36</sup> The Particular Baptist



leadership in London had its origin among the gathered churches in London, of which they were still an intrinsic part and were to remain such until beyond the end of the seventeenth century. The theological evolution of London sectaries was similar to the Baptist evolution towards a religious conservatism.

After 1650 and the establishment of the Commonwealth the crystallization of a distinct Baptist identity became evident. Part of the process of forming a distinct identity involved a retreat from earlier principles. The Baptist leadership in London had been dismayed by the proliferation of radical elements such as the Ranters, which espoused libertine principles. One of the most important motives for their concern about the more extreme groups was that by their actions they threatened to provoke legislation that would limit general toleration. In 1648, for instance, Parliament had passed a Blasphemy Act that was used to prosecute some Baptist preachers in the 1650s.<sup>37</sup> London Baptists were also concerned because they found the behaviour that was associated with the extreme radicals to be morally offensive. Early in 1650 the London Baptist churches published an epistle in which they admonished libertine practices. Although no specific sect was named in their attack the 'abominations' they described were Ranter ideas that in some respects were the precursor of early Quaker beliefs. The term 'Ranter' identifies personalities with the most radical religious ideas. Antinomian

doctrine - the belief that saints need no longer obey religious laws - was at the core of their radical theology along with a strange pantheism that is reminiscent of gnosticism - the belief that all matter is inherently evil - which was the main challenge faced by the early Church. The Baptists appealed to Scripture and the Apostle's Creed to combat this newly emerging heresy.<sup>38</sup>

The significance of their new approach in the 1650s was it marked clearly the distance between the Baptist and other radicals, while at the same time they tried to remain faithful to their early religious tenets. The emphasis on the Apostle's Creed is significant: its authority for them rested on its being the earliest Christian creed, which dated from a time when the pristine purity of the Church was beyond dispute. Also, emphasis on the creed allowed for a latitude of belief within the separatist movement of which they were a part. But the 1650 epistle was a considerable move away from Blackwood's theory that the 'truth' will eventually win and Vernon's idea that 'love' should be the weapon against error. The Baptist leadership in London believed that because extreme radicals were 'against civil societies, violating the bonds of marriage, and Laws of families', which even heathen societies adhered to, they 'justly incur the punishment of the rulers of this world'.<sup>39</sup>

This is a clear sign that Baptist ideology and theology were beginning to be modified and that the London leadership



was trying to disassociate themselves from more radical elements. Rules of behaviour and belief were emerging which moulded the long term character of Baptists. For instance, Christopher Blackwood published a catechism in 1651 which was designed to proselytize and instruct the faithful.<sup>40</sup> Eventually as the Baptists moved toward denominational status they became more conservative in their religious and social outlook, but the process involved more problems in developing a distinct Baptist identity.

In 1657 Richard Lawrence, by then serving in Ireland, published a book entitled *Gospel Separation Separated from its Abuses*, with the aim of resolving some of the tensions that had developed as a result of separatist principles. His stated motivation was his belief <sup>that</sup> the 'godly party' was losing its influence in society, due to a lack of unity. The work harkens back to Blackwood's original idea on toleration, but Lawrence's scope is much more limited. Lawrence justified the practice of separation. He demonstrated that the ancient Hebrews had separated from the world at large, and that the early Christian church had developed a separate identity from the Jewish community - thereby justifying Protestant separation from Rome. He believed in moderation and thought that 'vertue' was to be found in 'mediums' and 'vice' was to be found in 'extreams.' He believed that although the saints should be separated from the world 'the difficulty lieth in a right distinguishing betwixt the World and the Church'.<sup>41</sup> The

traditional view concerning the Church and the world had been that Europeans were the Church and Jews, Turks and Pagans were the world, but the Reformation had changed this formula. Luther's emphasis on the individual making a separate peace with God and thereby becoming regenerate led many to question the nature of the Church. The Church and the world took on new definitions. The Church was now the regenerate of elected individuals and the world was the unregenerate. The problem was how to distinguish the regenerate from the unregenerate. This would be an important underlying element in the thought of many religious radicals and quietists after the revolution. Cultivating the inner life would lead many to anti-formalistic conclusions about the nature of what constituted a true Church. Using our spectrum again we can see the Established Church under Laud with the high emphasis on forms at one end and the Quakers with their rejections of forms at the other. Baptists in England were closer to the Quaker end of the spectrum in the 1640s, but would gradually move toward the other, partly in reaction to the Quakers. This process began in the 1650s and was interrupted by the Restoration.

The task of defining the new identity that was forming was extremely difficult for Baptists and their fellow separatists. Particular Baptists had strong ties and allegiances with separatists of differing opinions concerning baptism, but shared a commonalty of belief in many other theological propositions.



When Lawrence wrote his work on separation he admitted that he really did not have explicit solutions for solving the problem.

The ensuing Discourse is rather intended to tell thee there is such a Principle accommodated with such excellent Qualifications, and to provoke thee to enquire after it, and endeavour acquaintance with it, then to give the[e] an exact description of it.<sup>42</sup>

Lawrence was not trying to produce a definitive formula for resolving the tensions that had been created as a result of the developments of the 1640s and 50s. His work was designed to stimulate discussion among the 'saints' in order to maintain a solidarity among them. He related to the saints what was wrong rather than what was right. For example, he condemned the Quakers because they were a 'rigid censorious, dividing principled people.' His interest was concerned less with forming a distinct Baptist identity than with preserving consensus among the godly. The problem of separatist principles comes to the fore. How is unity to be maintained in the midst of diversity?

The individual nature of the salvation process was at the heart of the problem. Puritan clergy early in the century had emphasized that the elect would experience internal effects as a result of being transformed from unregenerate to regenerate. The morphologies of conversion that were popular in English

Puritan circles during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth were attempts to categorize and systematize spiritual experiences in order to assure people of their election. There was also the added purpose of trying to standardize religious experience and thereby control enthusiasm.<sup>43</sup> But, as we have seen, the breakdown of order during the 1640s made enthusiasm impossible to control.

Lawrence and other Baptist leaders, as a result of these developments, were trying to narrow the spectrum of religious speculation and establish a limited latitude for those of differing opinions within what might be considered orthodoxy. William Erbury (1604-1654), considered by many contemporaries to be a Seeker, claimed in 1653 that 'the baptized Churches in London are subdivided into three parts, one Church is for free will, a second for universal Redemption, a third count themselves more Orthodox in Doctrine, as the Church of England'.<sup>44</sup> Although Erbury's remark is not entirely accurate it does indicate the fragmented disposition of the those subscribing to believer's baptism and, coupled with contemporary Baptist publications, shows an attempt was being made by the Calvinist Baptist leadership in London to put limits on religious speculation. This effort was to be continued in England after the Restoration by notable Baptist personalities such as William Kiffin, the prominent Devonshire Square pastor, Benjamin Keach (1640-1704), a West Country minister who later became a London pastor and had a powerful



impact, along with Hanserd Knollys. The course taken by the London leadership excluded many with baptistic beliefs and their efforts culminated in the more precise creed in 1689. But the doctrinal course taken in Ireland, which was led mainly by Lawrence, was quite different due to the particular circumstances in Ireland. Baptists in Ireland became more dependent on Protestant patrons from other theological persuasions, whereas in England, especially in London, Baptists remained more dependent on other religious dissenters, but were able to carve out a distinct identity within the larger milieu.

As we shall see the problems inherent in early baptistic ideas were more acute in Ireland in the 1650s. After the Restoration the problems faced by Baptists were somewhat different to their counterparts in England and Wales. Baptist development in Ireland was slower and much less successful than their counterparts elsewhere. This was due primarily to the type of direction of the ideas adopted by Lawrence during their formative period in the Restoration. After the Glorious Revolution there was an attempt in Ireland to introduce the organizing principles that were already being advocated among the English Baptist leadership elsewhere. This attempt was only partially successful and was primarily responsible for Baptist survival in Ireland. But early Baptist and radical religious ideas still occupied a prominent place in eighteenth-century Irish Baptist thought as to their place and

distinctiveness in the wider body of believers, and to some extent retarded their development when compared to their co-religionist in other places in the English speaking world.

### **Conclusion**

The Baptists had first appeared at a time of religious ferment and in many respects they reflected the beliefs of all who had supported the 'Good Old Cause' - a vague set of propositions that were fundamentally critical of the status quo. Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) demonstrated this aspect of the problem of the Puritans when he stated his opposition to the state church. When he was asked what he would replace it with he did not know.<sup>45</sup> After the execution of the king the more radical Puritans were faced with inaugurating positive proposals for a new social establishment. They were less than successful due to the removal of opposition. As long as there was an offensive political and religious establishment it served as a uniting force that allowed all separatists to share a common identity that included the Baptists, but when they were faced with the responsibility of governing the unity was shattered. Political and religious change had gone far ahead of experience. The Commonwealth regime never had the much needed time to adjust to revolutionary changes that had taken place following the breakdown of authority in the 1640s.

Baptists would have the time to make adjustments. They did continue to evolve from a sect to a denomination after the



downfall of the regime that made it possible for them to form. In the religious realm they took the same direction that Cromwell took politically. There was further movement toward conservative religious principles. This religiously conservative shift also led to a shift toward more conservative social principles, especially in Ireland, which played a significant role in bringing about uniform belief. And we will see that part of the motivation for this course or direction was the result of factors outside their community. But the bedrock of their early radical religious thought remained to some extent, although its importance varied from locality to locality. As the Calvinistic Baptists shifted toward a more conservative outlook there was certainly a great dilution of their early principles, but these would never completely disappear.

## Chapter II

### The Origin of the Baptists in Ireland

As with the origins of the Baptist movement in England any exploration of the birth of the Irish Baptists has to begin with the problems of definition. Distinguishing Baptists from Independents and other separatists in the religious sphere, who in many respects were remarkably similar in outlook and disposition, is highly problematic. Also, Baptists must be differentiated from radicals; many Baptists were indeed army radicals, but not all army radicals were Baptists. Many contemporaries had problems with these distinctions; especially in the controversy between Henry Cromwell (1628-1674) and the military leaders in Ireland. Another problem has been noted by Christopher Hill in the English context, but applies at least as well in Ireland: the tendency of subsequent writers to assume that the well-documented religious beliefs held by the sects in their maturity were also held by the earliest members.



Sometimes historians who have covered the Baptists in Ireland treat them as if they were an homogeneous group. One of the earliest attempts in modern historical research to examine the Baptists during the Cromwellian period was done by the American historian Louise Fargo Brown in 1912. She recognized that the Baptist movement in England was diverse and fragmented due to the nature of their beliefs, and that in Ireland the problem was particularly acute.<sup>46</sup> But historians who came after her tended to lose sight of this underlying problem. St. John Seymour in 1919 was the next modern historian to study the Baptists in Cromwellian Ireland in any detail. He recognized the difference between Baptists in Dublin and those in the hinterland, but failed to distinguish the fact that personalities who happened to be Baptist were at the root of the trouble in Ireland that resulted from the attempt to establish civil authority in the 1650s. His argument seemed to indicate that there was a homogeneous character to the Baptist movement in Ireland under the Commonwealth and Protectorate.<sup>47</sup> Toby Barnard, who provided a far more sophisticated account of Cromwellian Ireland, has set out the most recent research on the Baptists in Cromwellian Ireland. He was able to identify many Baptists who made up the Cromwellian establishment in Ireland. Unfortunately Dr. Barnard's work concerning the Baptists rested fairly heavily on hostile contemporary and near contemporary observations concerning them. In Barnard's work the character of the

Baptist movement was seen primarily through the eyes of the Irish Baptists' opposition, and he therefore missed the mark as far as Irish Baptists were concerned as to who they were and what they stood for.<sup>48</sup> J. F. McGregor has pointed out that contemporaries were prone to assume that a doctrine required a sect to propagate it.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, reliance on the assumption of contemporary opinion can lead to a misunderstanding of the sect and the ideas that were being dispersed during the 1640s and 1650s. When discussing Irish Baptists it is important to realize that contemporary opinion was based on vague and ill-informed assumptions about them.

The early Irish Baptists were not a homogeneous group. In the first chapter we saw some of the reasons why English Baptists did not have a uniform identity. This was principally because they did not have an organizational apparatus that could bring about any uniformity in belief and religious practice. Organizational success in England, Wales, America, and to some extent in Ireland, was a feature of the eighteenth century. As we shall see the organizational structure which had the most profound impact on the Irish Baptists was the Methodist movement in and after the middle of the eighteenth century, which of course transformed the Evangelical movement as a whole. This chapter will seek to shew the nature of early Irish Baptist behaviour in the light of the beliefs that were formed in the 1640s and early 1650s. By focusing on the individual personalities who made up the early



Irish Baptist constituency and seeing if indeed there was much solidarity in terms of political opinion we will be able to determine to what extent their organizational structure, or rather their lack of it, presented the Irish Baptists with a problem for the future.

### **Baptist Beginnings in Ireland**

The Baptist movement came to Ireland as a result of the Cromwellian invasion of 1649-50. The Baptists had attained prominent positions in the Parliamentary army in England during the 1640s as a result of Oliver Cromwell's policy of recruiting men on the basis of loyalty and competence of service to the Parliamentary cause, rather than on social position or religious affiliation. The most celebrated example of this policy was Cromwell's reinstatement of Capt. Paul Hobson (d.1666) in 1645 after he had been dismissed by a superior officer for being an 'Anabaptist'.<sup>50</sup>

Many Baptists held important commands in the army, and some had gained a reputation for ruthless behaviour in their treatment of the native Irish during the campaign of 1649-53. Col. Daniel Axtell (d.1660) had to be disciplined by Gen. Henry Ireton (1611-1651) because of cruelty and for not keeping the promise of quarter for surrendering Irish troops. When the Irish commander Col. John Fitzpatrick (d.1693) surrendered one of the conditions of surrender was 'that I may not be under the power of Col. Axtell' in 1652 because he did

not trust his safety to him.<sup>51</sup> Col. Robert Barrow (fl.1642-1660), who certainly held baptistic convictions, was another commander known for intemperate behaviour toward the native Irish. He was responsible for the massacre of eighty soldiers during the campaign in Ulster in 1653.<sup>52</sup> Another member of the political faction that formed an opposition to Henry Cromwell's government, but was not a Baptist, was Col. John Hewson (d.1662) who referred to himself as a 'child of wrath'.<sup>53</sup> Many Baptist military commanders and their political allies were rightly perceived by contemporaries as dangerous. But not all Baptist commanders were as extreme as these men, and there are examples of this type of temperament in the opponents of the Baptists with Sir Charles Coote being the most notable.

It is hard to judge Baptist strength or numbers in the early days of the re-conquest of Ireland. Contemporaries believed that it was considerable, but this may have been because the visibility of a few prominent Baptists in the army and the fear they inspired. In October 1655 Thomas Harrison (1618-1682) reported privately to the Secretary of State, John Thurloe (1616-1668), concerning the state of the 'Anabaptists' in Ireland:

alas how is this land shared out amongst persons of this persuasion, governours of towns and citties 12 at least, collonells 10, leiut. colonels 3 or 4, majors 10, captains 19 or 20, preachers in salary 2, officers in the



civill list 23, and many of whome I never heard.<sup>54</sup>

These figures must be seen in light of the fact that there were at least three hundred garrisons in Ireland in an army that numbered around 35,000.<sup>55</sup> Another consideration is whether Harrison distinguished between Baptists and separatists. The tendency of the period was to label anyone with separatist or unorthodox opinions as 'anabaptist'. Col. Thomas Sadler, for example, may not have been a Baptist; he is assumed to have been one because of his alignment with malcontents in the army and due to the fact that his wife was rebaptized.<sup>56</sup> He was probably in fact in religious terms a radical separatist (as well as a political radical); his name never appeared in Baptist correspondence, but he was certainly involved with the radical faction which created problems for Henry Cromwell's government. Col. John Hewson, a republican, a religious separatist and lay preacher, has also been mistaken as a Baptist.<sup>57</sup> This is because he was the leader of an army opposition faction in Ireland between 1653 and 1657 that was made up primarily of Baptists, and because Henry Cromwell referred to Hewson and 'his three annabaptist(sic) sons'.<sup>58</sup> This reference was to Col. Lawrence, Dr. Philip Carteret and possibly John Vernon, who were seen as important leaders at the head of the opposition faction, and who were married to Hewson's daughters.<sup>59</sup> But Hewson stated in a letter directly to Oliver Cromwell, in a defence of Irish Baptists from

contemporary criticism, that he himself was 'not an annabaptist'(sic).<sup>60</sup> Col. John Jones (c.1598-1660), a religious separatist and a regicide - executed in 1660 - commented on baptism in 1653 when writing to Vavasour Powell (1617-1670) to tell him that Col. Heirom Sankey (c.1620-c.1685) had been rebaptized in Dublin; Powell was a religious and political radical who himself was later rebaptized: 'Lett every man doo as he is persuaded in his own heart, but lett noe man despise his brother that hath not attained to his light or withdraw his communion with him because he submits not his judgement to him'.<sup>61</sup> This statement by Jones illustrates the permeable borders that separated Baptists from other theological radicals.

Beliefs concerning the doctrine of baptism were always imprecise and as a result many in the Commonwealth period were uncertain as to what they really believed and what they stood for concerning baptism and the true nature of the corporate church. This created a real problem for contemporaries - as well as modern historians - in categorizing the actual affiliation of personalities. Baptist political strength in the early years of Cromwellian rule in Ireland rested on the close relationship of Baptists with the larger number of undifferentiated separatists in the army. Frequently 'anabaptists' were conflated with the army faction of separatists as a whole in both hostile and neutral accounts. The coalition of separatists and Baptists formed a very powerful



military party which posed difficulties when the transition to civil government began in Ireland.

One reason for the early political success of Baptists in the Cromwellian army was due to the important positions they held in the military administration in the early 1650s. It has been possible to identify with certainty some fifty individuals in the Cromwellian civil and military establishments who were Baptists: thirty officers, twelve civilians, and eight men serving in ministerial capacities.<sup>62</sup> Among the officers there were seven colonels, one lieutenant-colonel, five majors, eight captains, six lieutenants, a cornet, an ensign and a sea captain. The civilian personnel consisted of three attorneys, a deputy treasurer, an auditor general, a comptroller, a revenue commissioner, four suppliers and a 'clerke for the council of warre.' Another eight ministers were on the civil list or were receiving government subsidies.<sup>63</sup>

The Baptist position in the upper levels of the Cromwellian military establishment points to the ubiquity of the movement. It also shows the sandy foundation of their strength: they were dependent on the military establishment and its patronage. And for the military establishment to stay intact it depended on a large financial charge being repeatedly extracted from an unwilling civilian population, a population which had been decimated by famine, plague and war. The reduction of the military was the issue which was the

underlying problem faced by the Cromwellian civil regime and would cause a controversy between it and the army in Ireland.

Baptist organizational structures in Ireland during the 1650s were very loose. An informal coalition of like-minded personalities best describes it. As early as June 1652 the Baptists in the army occupying Ireland had formed a number of separate congregations. This is known thanks to the survival of a controversial letter sent by the Waterford 'church' to their brethren in Dublin. These Waterford Baptists were interested in establishing a separate meeting. They wanted their Dublin brethren to end their relationship with a congregation that was meeting at Christ Church. The latter was led by John Rogers (1627-c.1665), a religious radical who later embraced Fifth Monarchy ideas. The controversy had arisen because some members of Roger's meeting retained a belief in infant baptism.<sup>64</sup> Such so-called 'mixed communions' would remain a feature of many Nonconformist congregations in Ireland and England well into the Restoration period, with John Bunyan's (1628-1688) church in Bedfordshire being one of the most prominent. The continued tolerance of mixed communions caused several persons with baptist convictions to leave the meeting at Christ Church and indeed to John Rogers leaving Ireland. Although the Waterford Baptists may have wanted to establish a separate meeting, they still co-operated with other Protestants there. The Quaker John Perrot (d.c.1671) reported in 1659 that the Baptists and Independents were aligned



against him at Waterford when he was brought before the mayor and aldermen in order to be released from prison 'for the testimony of Christ'.<sup>65</sup> This controversy also shows one the earliest signs of dissension beginning in the ranks of the Cromwellian victors.

By March 1653 the Irish Baptists had formed an Association. They then established correspondence with their counterparts in England and Wales by sending letters in March and June.<sup>66</sup> This early communication shows that there were at least twelve congregations at this stage in Ireland with three primary ones, one each in Dublin, Waterford and Kilkenny.

The signatories of these early records show that the sect had many important members. Thomas Patient, one of the more important Baptist ministers, was employed by the army as a preacher to the officers at Dublin and to the Lord Deputy Charles Fleetwood (c.1618-1692).<sup>67</sup> Other important members in Dublin were James Standish, Deputy Treasurer, Dr. Phillip Carteret, Advocate General, and Edward Roberts, Auditor General.<sup>68</sup> Waterford was next in importance as a centre for the Baptists in Ireland; Col. Richard Lawrence was the key figure: in 1650 he received his commission as a commander of twelve hundred footmen and also became governor of the city.<sup>69</sup> Two other Baptists, Cols. William Leigh and Richard Le Hunt were governors in the 1650s, and George Cawdron, an active Baptist, held the Waterford city mayoralty in the

1658.<sup>70</sup> The Kilkenny church was formed through the patronage of the first Cromwellian governor of the region Col. Daniel Axtell; he received extensive lands in the neighbourhood in the Cromwellian land settlement in 1655. Major Thomas Adams, another Baptist, was also mayor there in the late 1650s.<sup>71</sup> The June 1653 letter reveals that there were at least eight other 'churches' which were the result of a combination of military patronage and evangelization within the army. In Cork city John Coleman was pastor of a congregation and remained there until his death which occurred about 1680.<sup>72</sup> The Kerry church (no specific location is known) had the patronage of Lt. Col. John Nelson (d.c.1666) and Major Thomas Davies.<sup>73</sup> Col. Henry Ingoldsby (1622-1701), who was not a Baptist, was sympathetic to the meeting in Limerick, although this church was in a weak condition. Galway had a small meeting; Lt. Paul Dod (d.1712?) the military governor was a member.<sup>74</sup> Col. Robert Barrow, military governor of Carrickfergus, seems to have been a 'General Baptist' who although he never signed any Baptist correspondence to England, had at least Baptist allies in Ireland in his wrangling with the Presbyterians. William Dix a minister on the civil list and Baptist signatory was a pastor there who engaged the Presbyterians with Barrow's assistance.<sup>75</sup> John Reade, another Baptist signatory on the civil list, served there also. In County Wexford there were two meetings that were probably not joined together in the Association. One meeting was formed in Enniscorthy and was actually still attached to the London



congregation of Dr. Peter Chamberlen (1601-1683). He later removed to Ireland for a short period but never signed Irish Baptist correspondence to England and Wales.<sup>76</sup> Col. William Eyre, a radical republican who was arrested in January 1655, was also member of the Enniscorthy congregation.<sup>77</sup> In 1653 none of the members at Enniscorthy church appeared in the Irish Baptist correspondence. It was not until 1657, when the Irish Baptists sent a petition to the Protector, that a member from this meeting first signed. He was Maj. William Walker, an officer in charge of incidental charges.<sup>78</sup> The other meeting in Wexford, possibly in Wexford town, had lay leaders Edward Tomlins a comptroller, along with Bartholomew Hussey (d.1666) and Richard Neale, who were both suppliers to the army.<sup>79</sup> The Wexford church was at this time in a fledgling state and continued in this condition. In County Cork Dr. John Harding led a group meeting around Bandon and Kinsale.<sup>80</sup> In County Tipperary there was a small meeting at Clonmel of which little is known. In 1651, when areas conquered by the army were divided into precincts, the Baptist Col. Heirom Sankey became military governor of the Clonmel district and by 1653 Clonmel was apparently a missionary outpost for Baptists evangelizing the army 'in severall garrisons' and it served 'other brethren scattered in severall places in those parts'. At this time Edward Hutchinson, who became the pastor of the Lower Ormond church during the Restoration, was a member. Later Robert Carr, a Baptist minister on the civil list, came to serve there.<sup>81</sup>

## Baptists and Independents

As has been stated the relationship between Baptists and Independents (or separatists) was indistinct and ambiguous. It varied from place to place and to some extent depended on circumstances. Since there were widely varying degrees of independency - from those who were theologically conservative to those who were in any sense radical - it is impossible to specify a precise relationship between the Baptists and the Independents. Baptists generally tended to have more disputes with conservative Independents than others. For instance Edward Worth (d.1669), who became bishop of Killaloe after the Restoration and advocated at this time a modified form of Presbyterianism that resembled Congregational church polity, published a work in 1653 giving a scriptural defence of infant baptism.<sup>82</sup> Claudius Gilbert (d.1696?), a conservative Independent in Limerick, wrote a scathing attack on Baptists and other religious radicals in 1657 concerning the role of the magistrate in civil and religious affairs.<sup>83</sup> Samuel Winter (1603-1666), provost of Trinity College, another conservative Independent also engaged in polemic concerning the validity of infant baptism.<sup>84</sup> After 1660 Gilbert conformed to the established church, gained a post in Dublin and later served in Belfast. Winter, on the other hand, refused to conform and led a dissenting congregation in the capital.



Toby Barnard has suggested that there was the political equivalent of Anglican bishops in Ireland during the Cromwellian rule and has designated twenty-one ministers paid two hundred pounds or more per annum as being in this category.<sup>85</sup> Both Winter and Gilbert number among this elite and were therefore formidable enemies for the Baptists. The basic grievance of theological conservatives seems to have arisen from the fact that they were university trained theologians, and resented the lay preaching of the soldier-ministers. But not all conservative independents resented lay preaching. Dr. John Owen (1616-1683), vice-chancellor of Oxford university in the 1650s, admired so called 'mechanic preachers' and is a most notable exception in England itself.<sup>86</sup> In Waterford, after a Baptist minister from England James Knight, had refused the invitation of Col. Richard Lawrence (only to take up a similar position in Limerick) an Independent Edward Wale became the pastor; he seems to have co-operated with the Baptists there. The Quaker John Perrot in 1659 identified Wale and other Baptists as his chief antagonists in Waterford.<sup>87</sup>

There is evidence that some radical separatists took issue with the Irish Baptists over the necessity for infant baptism. Col. Edward Warren (d.1663), a religiously radical separatist with republican sentiments and veteran member of the Cromwellian army in Ireland, entered the debate on infant baptism in 1655 by responding to Thomas Patient's recent

publication, claiming that Baptist insistence on adult baptism was a type of 'works righteousness'.<sup>88</sup> But early Irish Baptists were in general, but not uniformly, aligned with separatists, and inclined towards the radical end of the spectrum both in religion and politics; thus they were generally at odds with those Independents from the more conservative end.

### Fleetwood and the Separatists

Charles Fleetwood was a son-in-law of Oliver Cromwell and replaced Henry Ireton as acting commander in chief of the army after Ireton's death in 1651. He became Lord Deputy in 1654. Fleetwood was a patron of the religious radicals. Many of his requests to Henry Cromwell after his displacement in Ireland and his return to London were concerned with obtaining favours for members of separate churches.<sup>89</sup> His opposition in the Parliament Commission to Lt. Gen. Edmund Ludlow (c.1617-1692) on the issue of Oliver Cromwell's assumption of the title 'Protector' gives an appearance of his being more conservative than he really was. But not all religious radicals were disturbed by Cromwell's assumption of that title; the Baptist Edward Roberts, the Auditor-General, also opposed Ludlow.<sup>90</sup> Also, when Henry Cromwell recommended Ludlow's removal as a result of his opposition to the title, he recommended that Col. John Desborough (1608-1680), a Baptist, replace him. But the assumption of the title Protector did provide an issue on which firm positions were taken by opposing factions in Ireland. The division was between



'ancient protestants' supported by conservative and moderate elements in the Cromwellian establishment on the one hand, and sectarians or religious radicals in the army on the other. Due to the sectarian nature of the army, as well as many of the prior social positions of religious radicals, an enmity between the 'antient protestants' and the Cromwellian newcomers developed. The enmity seemed inevitable.

There was a natural dislike of the old protestants because they were either Anglican or Presbyterian. Anglicans were frowned upon because of their obvious connection with royalism. In 1647 Richard Lawrence had stated his position concerning the Presbyterians in Ulster. Upset over the attempt by the Presbyterians to establish a church, he asked 'what kind of Presbyter- Government shal we have settled by Irish Rebels think ye'. He further queried whether the royalist 'Lord George Digby ' was 'a reverend Presbyter'. He summed up his views on the issue by asking, 'what do you think of the gathering together of those kind of creatures in the North we used to call Cavaliers, are they all turned Presbyters think ye?'<sup>91</sup> This animosity was out of step with Oliver Cromwell's plan for a settlement of Ireland.

After the cessation of hostilities Charles Fleetwood's attachment to the sectarians was an impediment to establishing broad support among the very diverse sections of the Protestant community in Ireland. As well as having close links

with the separate churches in England, Fleetwood was antagonistic towards the old protestants. In February 1655 he was upset by Vincent Gookin (?1616-1659), an important old protestant from Cork, who had questioned the transportation of the native Irish to Connacht. He called Gookin's publication 'a very strange scandalous book', and he stated 'doth verie falsely and unworthily asperse those, that did and now doe serve the state heer'.<sup>92</sup> He was defending the 'anabaptists' and separatist party that served in the government, who were indeed the most vehement supporters of transplantation. Richard Lawrence shortly afterwards tried to make political use of this theme by accusing Gookin of casting aspersions on authority. Lawrence's chief motivation seems to have been to alienate the old protestants from the Cromwellian government and to embarrass Henry Cromwell.<sup>93</sup> Later in 1659 when Fleetwood and Lambert filled the governmental vacuum after the resignation of Richard Cromwell (1626-1712) as Lord Protector a malcontent claimed that Dr. Phillip Carteret, a Baptist, became Judge Advocate of England through Fleetwood's patronage and that many other Baptists were members of his party and were receiving preferment from him. The Royalist spy Sir Charles Mordaunt described Fleetwood as a 'Presbyterian- Anabaptist'.<sup>94</sup> Thurloe was suspicious about Fleetwood's attachment, and in March 1654 Henry Cromwell noted to Thurloe that 'I doe think he is a little too deeply ingaged in a partial affection to the persons of the Anabaptists, to answer your ends; though I doe believe it rather to proceed



from tenderness than a love of their principles'.<sup>95</sup> Henry's report of partiality, was preparing the way for Fleetwood to be recalled to London.

Fleetwood was not a Baptist, but seems rather to have been an Independent or separatist. After his return to London in 1655 he retained the title of Lord Deputy of Ireland, but he was replaced by Henry, Oliver's second surviving son, whose title at this time was Major-general of the army. Henry eventually took effective charge of government policy and was intent on changing the direction that Fleetwood had been following. This led to trouble with segments of the army. He had been chosen to replace Fleetwood in order better to implement his father's policy.

### **Vincent Gookin and the Baptists in Ireland**

Vincent Gookin was one of the more important personalities in building the rapprochement between the Cromwellian government and the old protestants in Ireland. Gookin came from an old protestant family that was part of the Munster plantation.

His difficulties with the Cromwellian newcomers began early with a dispute with Col. John Hewson and Daniel Axtell over land.<sup>96</sup> His brother was accused by them of dishonesty in obtaining a debenture. They had claimed his land to cover the arrears on pay of their troops. This incident marked the

beginning of Gookin's feuding with the Cromwellian newcomers. He had a strong distaste for the army and thought that 'those who only know how to tear down' should not have a part in building the new settlement. His criticisms and suggestions for correcting the problem of the army reflect the 'ancient protestant' side of the antagonism. He believed that army success against the Irish 'did accidentally' put many into power, who would never otherwise have a claim to it. His recommendation was that civil courts be established and that army officers no longer have authority to impose fines or the death penalty.<sup>97</sup> And indeed the delayed transition to civil law was the underlying cause of problems faced by the regime in Ireland during the middle part of the 1650s.

After his election to the English Parliament in 1654 and again in 1656 Gookin established good connections with the Presbyterians in London. He was also well connected with important personalities in the Cromwellian government, such as Roger Boyle (1621-1679), Lord Broghill.<sup>98</sup> Through these contacts he was useful to both Henry and Oliver Cromwell. Gookin arranged for the Protector to correspond with important clerical figures in Ulster, conveying guarantees to them of protection from any 'that shall interrupt or affront them'. This was most likely in reference to the friction between the Ulster Presbyterians and Col. Robert Barrow, the General Baptist and military governor of Carrickfergus. He wanted Henry to do likewise by establishing correspondence with the important



London Presbyterian ministers 'Manton, Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, Jacomb and one or two more' in order to secure ministers for Ireland.<sup>99</sup>

Gookin was a practical man. He realized the Presbyterians were not able to establish a state church so he worked energetically within the framework laid out by the Cromwells. He lobbied for ministers to come to Ireland through the London presbytery; his own brother was brought to Ireland as a minister. When the Decimation Bill, a special tax on what was left of royalist real estate designed by Col. John Desborough, was in the English Parliament, so Gookin claimed, it was being pushed forward by Col. John Hewson. Gookin opposed it for practical reasons. He believed the bill was against 'moral justice and prudence' and that the government would be founded upon force.<sup>100</sup>

Oliver Cromwell was trying to establish his government in England upon a firm foundation. This could best be accomplished by engendering loyalty through a land settlement that would make the current landowners seek the continuity of the regime; their titles to land should be dependent on the legitimacy of that regime. Although Cromwell and Thurloe supported the Decimation Bill, their political power was dependant ultimately on the army. Gookin, Boyle and other Irish members of the English Parliament rejected it, principally because they feared military rule. Gookin, having more

empathy for the royalists, believed that the legislation would cause an explosive situation to develop because it would lead many to desperation and to further unrest and instability. The radicals, many of whom were Baptists and military men, were interested in taking vengeance on royalists not least because it would solve another problem as well. It would finance their power base, the army, insofar as it would allow the plunder of what was left of Royalist estates and thus avoid the need to impose more taxes on a population that was growing weary of taxes that existed to maintain the army. The grandees in the army also wanted to maintain their military power through the Major-Generals, who were in control of local precincts in England. This example shows that although the Protector was wooing civilian support he never let go of his essential military power base with whom the Baptists had strong ties.

### **Oliver Cromwell and the Baptists**

Part of the motivation for Irish Baptist behaviour was theological. They believed that the conquest of Ireland was indeed a just judgement of God. Oliver Cromwell himself had demonstrated such a belief after Drogheda when he claimed that it was '...the righteous judgement of God'.<sup>101</sup> Many Cromwellians shared this sentiment due to the propaganda about the rebellion in Ireland eight years earlier. A newly established Cromwellian Protestant community at New Ross who supported Henry Cromwell compared current events with the Old Testament conquest of the Promised Land by the



Israelites; they paraphrased a verse from the book of Joshua: 'they had vineyards they did not plant and fields they did not till'.<sup>102</sup> Baptists in Ireland were saints who wanted to go further and make no accommodation with their enemies. Their real problem with Oliver began when the Instrument of Government was introduced in 1653 after the dissolution of the 'Rump' parliament and his subsequent assumption of the title of Protector. His assumption of that title was a compromise measure to satisfy both sides of his support. Generally his civilian supporters wanted him to become king, and his military backers found this revolting.

In June 1653 the newly formed Irish Baptist Association was proud of the fact that 'His [God's] hand hath byn still streached forth to sett his poore dispised ones on high from the kings of the earth'. God had 'cast contempt uppon princes', and 'greatly reproved kings and mighty men'.<sup>103</sup> A year later in March 1654 the Baptist Capt. John Vernon, quarter-master general in the Cromwellian Irish army, reiterated this sentiment in a letter to Oliver Cromwell when he claimed that the downfall of Charles I was the result of 'upright ones' who 'being then few & not many wise nor skillfull' but were able to defeat 'princes who walked in pride & though strengthened by Magisty proved weake'.<sup>104</sup> Such levelling sentiment's were widespread in the England of the 1640's. God had 'appeared' through instruments and many Irish Baptists, like many religious radicals, were convinced that Oliver Cromwell was an

instrument similar to the Old Testament kings of Judah and Israel, and especially to King David. God had chosen and anointed Oliver Cromwell. This belief was a restraint on their activities because Cromwell's military career was strong proof of his 'anointing' by God. The reaction of Gookin's questioning of the wisdom of the transplantation demonstrates the overreaction to even mild criticism of the regime.<sup>105</sup> However, Cromwell the patriarch was not immune from criticism by the godly. John Vernon admitted in March 1654 that he had been critical of events, but cautioned about the extent, claiming that David was given 'an unseasonable reproof' and further stated that 'if the righteous smite him it shall not breake his head.'<sup>106</sup> Opposition did not necessarily destroy a man's career in the Cromwellian state. But as the decade progressed the state became increasingly conservative and very sensitive to the criticisms coming from radical sectarians. The Baptist Capt. William Allen, a trooper and former agitator at Putney, was now adjutant-general in the Cromwellian Irish army, shared sentiments closely linked to the Fifth Monarchy men, but care must be taken in classifying him as such. The Fifth Monarchists were most notable for their anti-aristocratic rhetoric, claiming that all monarchies had come to an end. Their belief was millenarian. And according to their eschatology there had been four ages, taken from Daniel's vision in the Old Testament, and a new age was dawning when there would no longer be a nobility. The new age would bring the rule of King Jesus with the saints for a thousand years.



Allen's ideas were anti-aristocratic, and were based on religious assumptions concerning the nature of a saint. Many radicals, who were mainly drawn from the low and middling classes, were led to believe that a necessary pre-requisite for being part of the elect was that one was brought from a low estate and lifted up by God. Both Allen and Vernon reminded Cromwell of this: just as David had been called from being a shepherd to be king of Israel, so he had been called from 'a low estate'. Oliver Cromwell was, according to them, denying his calling by trying to consolidate the regime by making a broad settlement.

The Irish Baptists shared common assumptions and beliefs with these radicals, but there was no real uniformity of belief. Due to their origin tolerance played an important role in their early development. Many Baptist personalities held opinions that were shared by a segment of the church and some of these opinions were shared with many outside their particular group. William Allen's Fifth Monarchy ideas did not make him part of that faction. In April 1654 he stated in two intercepted letters one to Hugh Courtney, a quarter-master in the army occupying north Wales who was a Fifth Monarchist, and another to a Cornet Caithenes, that he loved Cromwell and was against the 'government of this world' but believed 'the rule of Christ is not yet'.<sup>107</sup> At the same time he claimed that the 'glorious reign of Christ, soe much, I fear, on mistaken ground [is] expected by Christians'. Col. John Jones expressed

the same discontent as Allen and Vernon when he complained that the 'pomp' of Cromwell's taking the oath of Protector was 'too much after the old fashion'.<sup>108</sup> Those who opposed Henry Cromwell were led by Col. Hewson who, as we have seen, was definitely not an 'annabaptist'.

The Irish Baptists were within a very loose radical consensus that was most conspicuous in the army and the separate churches of London. As a consequence, there was little homogeneity within the church because there was very little religious uniformity present. Uniformity would come after adjustments were made in defining their beliefs and the development of an organization based on the commonalty of a defined belief.

An important common denominator among the radicals was their disdain for titles and aristocracy. Oliver Cromwell sympathized with this view but was too practical a man to follow the logical consequences of this line of thought. As a result, Henry Cromwell supplanted Fleetwood in Ireland with a brief to implement a practical settlement. Henry tried to steer a middle course that would be tolerant of differences among Protestants in the country. By the time of his arrival the army radicals were firmly entrenched in the military establishment that was governing Ireland. 1655 was the critical year. Oliver Cromwell's problem with the radicals was affecting foreign policy. Thurloe claimed that the government's inability to deal



with radicals caused continental powers to wonder about the stability of the regime. The French ambassador reported that the Protector was purging the army of Baptists little by little.<sup>109</sup> In August of that year a 'well-wisher to the Anabaptists prosperity, and all the rest of the Separates of England' published an inflammatory broadside against Oliver claiming that the defeat of the expedition to Hispaniola was a sign of God's displeasure at the government's policy towards the anabaptists and separatists.<sup>110</sup>

But the purge must not be seen as a total shift in course by the Protector in regard to his policy of toleration. The shift was only partial and mainly for practical reasons. The radicals were causing embarrassment to the regime abroad and instability at home. In Ireland there was no wholesale purge of Anabaptists but only of difficult personalities who were less than willing to compromise or search for practical solutions. This can be seen by looking closely at the controversy between Henry Cromwell and the radicals.

### Henry Cromwell and the Baptists

When Henry Cromwell arrived in Dublin in 1654 in order to survey the problems of the regime in Ireland, a segment of the army was less than pleased with the prospect of his leadership. Jenkin Lloyd, a chaplain who had accompanied Oliver Cromwell's expedition in 1649, informed Thurloe that 'the citizens are glad, hoping that their corporation, which was

more than threatened by the C[ongregationals] and the A[nabaptists], is now secur'd'.<sup>111</sup> Two enemies of the Commonwealth in Ireland as early as 1651 had noticed the division that was occurring. Donagh Mac Carthy, Lord Muskerry (1594-1665), in August reported to James Butler (1610-1688), who became the Duke of Ormond after the Restoration, that 'there is a world of distrust and jealousies between these new Independent comers and the old Protestants, which expect no better measure at their hands, if they prevail, than we do'. Muskerry also thought that these old protestants could be induced to 'declare and act against them, if the king stand upon reasonable terms in England'. The Earl of Clanricard, Ulick Burke, in November commented similarly, 'the enemy in this kingdom are (in a manner) equally divided into two parties the Presbyterian and the old Protestant makes one, the other are the independents of whom Ireton is head, and Broghill and Coote of the former'.<sup>112</sup> Clanricard was hopeful that a breach would occur that would cause war and confusion between them. Now that the royalists and Irish were vanquished it was necessary for the government to heal this division. Henry was interested in building good relations and support among all the Protestant inhabitants, most of whom, had settled before the Irish rebellion of 1641.

One of the reasons for Henry coming to Ireland arose from the problems that had resulted from his father assuming the title of Lord Protector. Edmund Ludlow, then commander



of the army in Ireland, was the principal personality in the opposition to his assumption of the title. Henry's unfavourable report about Ludlow eventually led to his own instalment as Major-general of the army in Ireland. There was also the problem, as we have seen, between the newcomers and the old protestants concerning the land settlement.

Henry Cromwell assumed complete power over the Irish government from Fleetwood in September 1655. The following year was to be the most difficult. Dissatisfaction concerning him in the previous year continued with more vehemence as the radical opposition attempted to have Fleetwood reinstated. Many thought that the mere presence of Henry was enough to curb the opposition. Dr. Thomas Harrison, who after the Restoration became a dissenting pastor of the Winetavern Street meeting in Dublin, claimed to Thurloe shortly after Henry's first arrival that the 'good hand of the Lord hath wonderfully broken them'.<sup>113</sup> His observation was premature. Sympathetic sources show that the Baptists were beginning to decline. Ralph Jennings reported in April 1654 that Thomas Patient's congregation in Dublin was declining. John Vernon also acknowledged a decline in 1657.<sup>114</sup> But many Baptists still retained important positions in the government and many personalities would continue to be troublesome until January 1658 when Henry was finally able to come to an understanding with them.

Henry Cromwell's main antagonists among the Irish Baptists were Col. Richard Lawrence, Adj.-Gen. William Allen, Quartermaster-Gen. John Vernon, Col. Daniel Axtell, Col. Heirom Sankey and Thomas Patient. The disagreements between them were not clear cut. This is because some of the antagonisms were a clash of personalities. Thurloe, however, believed that there was a connection between radicals in Ireland, Wales and London. During the early 1650s the politically and religiously radical 'Fifth Monarchy Men' had emerged in England, and become disruptive to the government due to Oliver Cromwell's assumption of the title 'Protector'. The leaders among this 'party' were Vavasour Powell, John Sympson (d.1662), Hugh Courtney (fl.1649-1671?), Henry Jessey (1601-1663) and the Irish army malcontents. Col. Heirom Sankey tried to act as a mediator between the government and the leaders of the faction. On October 9, 1655 he wrote to Henry from London in order to inform him of the progress of negotiations between Oliver and Sympson and Jessey. Sankey thought that the 'chiefest of that gange' were difficult to deal with and that Oliver had an 'excellent temper to deale with them.'<sup>115</sup> The negotiations between the government and the radicals in London broke up without any progress except that there was to be another session. Negotiations seem to have worked to little advantage for either party. Thurloe reported on 17 December that, 'John Symson preached, or rather rayled at them, and did it in such a scurrilous language that all this Towne [London] rings of it.' Sympson referred to the government at Whitehall



as 'thieves & Robbers' and referred to the Protector as 'ye great thiefe' and 'the tyrant & usurper'.<sup>116</sup> Eventually there would be a reconciliation between Symson and the government, but this would occur much later. At the same time as these disturbances were occurring in London, radicals in Ireland were giving trouble to Henry.

These antagonisms caused difficulties. Henry's relations with individual Irish Baptists were erratic. In March 1654 shortly after taking charge Henry enlisted the aid of two prominent London Baptists to help curb Baptist dissatisfaction in the army in Ireland. His request resulted in William Kiffin and John Spilsbury (1593-c.1668) writing to Irish Baptist dissidents. Henry described their letter as dealing 'verry homely and plainly with those of their judgment heer' concerning the installation of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector. Later, in April 1656 Spilsbury turned down a ministerial appointment offered by Henry through the Independent minister Thomas Goodwin (1600-1680).<sup>117</sup> At times he distrusted Col. Sankey saying to Thurloe, 'I dare not too much boast of him at present least he should leave me in the lurch'.<sup>118</sup> However Sankey had been Henry's agent in London. In addition to acting as an agent he had provided intelligence concerning governmental affairs there and acted as an arbitrator between radicals and the government. Later in November 1658 Henry knighted Sankey. Sankey clearly recognized Henry's ambivalent attitude toward him. This may

have been the motivation behind his attack on Henry's ally Sir William Petty (1623-1687) insofar as he tried to have charges drawn up for fraud against him in his survey of Ireland. Petty claimed later that Sankey was motivated by revenge because of the treatment of Baptists during Henry's tenure in Ireland.<sup>119</sup> Henry also suspected Dr. Carteret of being a part of the opposition. Carteret had sympathy with his co-religionists, but not to the extent that Henry suspected. He had limits. In a letter that was intercepted by the government he stated that he thought Allen was a good man but one too inclined 'to bustle' in the world.<sup>120</sup>

William Steele (1610-1680), a respected Baptist, was assigned to Ireland as chancellor during this period of discontent in order to introduce stable personalities that would calm opposition. Steele was an older man who was respected among the Baptists. Later he and Henry became estranged over Steele's giving too much advice. At times Henry went too far in dealing with his opposition. His father had to rebuke him concerning his disgracing Lt.-Col. Alexander Brayfield (fl.1647-1661), a commander in Athlone, because he compared Henry to Absalom the traitorous son of King David in the Old Testament. Brayfield seems to have been a Baptist, but never signed any Baptist petitions or correspondence. The problems with Brayfield were not isolated. Lt. William Heydon, an officer in his regiment and a Baptist, was charged with attempted murder inspired by Brayfield's dismissal.<sup>121</sup> In December 1655 Col.



William Cooper, who was probably a Baptist, was given a commission in Gen. Venables' regiment in order to survey the situation secretly and report back to Oliver his findings. By late January 1656 Cooper, accompanied by Sankey, set out from London. Cooper filed a report. Vincent Gookin shortly after learned about the design and the report filed by Cooper, and told Henry that his 'actions were prudent and warrantable and gave not the least grounds for what had bin suggested'.<sup>122</sup>

There were also fluctuating dispositions among the opposition. At the height of the controversy with Henry the army faction sent a letter in January 1656 to the Protector for the return of Fleetwood to Ireland. There were ten signatories of whom only two who were definite Baptists; Lawrence and Sankey. The others were Hardress Waller (c.1604-1666?), Sir John Reynolds (1625-1657), Henry Ingoldsby, Henry Prettie, Anthony Morgan (1621- 1668), Theophilus Jones (d.1685), John Hewson and Thomas Sadlier. The other signatories show that the opposition was primarily formed by radically disposed personalities. Hewson, Prettie, Ingoldsby, and Sadlier were radicals with connections to the Independent churches of London. Hardress Waller was an old protestant from county Limerick with politically radical sentiments who had sided with Cromwell and Ireton at Putney. Anthony Morgan started out as a royalist, but became a parliamentarian in 1645. He was knighted by Henry in 1656, and again by Charles II in 1660. Theophilus Jones was a conservative who was very influential

in bringing about the Restoration in Ireland. The opposition to Henry Cromwell was not therefore a neat and politically identifiable group. It was generally drawn from personalities of a radical disposition religiously and politically. Henry's support was generally from more conservative personalities. But these distinctions were general rather than precise.<sup>123</sup>

Among the radicals in Ireland there was a variety of opinions concerning rule by the Protector and his son. Although important Baptist personalities were involved in opposition, not all Baptists in Ireland were favourable to their brethren's position. Edward Wale the Independent minister in Waterford who at least co-operated with Baptists was disappointed with the Baptists in Dublin, stating in a letter to Dr. Thomas Harrison, that 'I doe marvell what that people would have'. He further stated that Col. William Leigh, the Baptist governor of Waterford, was favourable to Henry.<sup>124</sup> Coinciding with this political split, the Baptists there were dismayed over Waterford attempts to end mixed communion with those of differing judgements concerning baptism. Other newly arrived Protestants were not in favour of the breach. The Independent congregation at New Ross stated that Henry was 'a repairer of our breaches & equally respecting of all the S[ain]ts according to ye seaverall appearances of the L[or]d Jesus in them'. They also chided Henry's antagonists as 'distempered Saints who in a paroxisme of passion Speak unadvisedly w[i]th their tongues.'<sup>125</sup> John Vernon even



wavered for a time. In August 1656 Vernon supposedly reported to a contact of Henry's that the faction leader Hewson was 'next dore to a mad man', and that 'he never heard any man so falsly bespattered' as Henry. He admired Henry's patience and called 'Sankey, Hewson and some others of the forward ones little better than k[naves]'.<sup>126</sup> But by December 1656 Vernon's disposition toward Henry had changed again, and on 22 June 1657 Vernon left Ireland for England never to return.<sup>127</sup>

By December 1656 Henry had radical army opposition under control. He stated that his 'inclination now is, having brought them to good terms, not to crush them quite, lest through despair they attempt things dangerous'.<sup>128</sup> Allen, Barrow, Vernon and Axtell resigned their commissions in Ireland. They stayed in Ireland for a brief period, but by the summer of 1657 all had returned to England. Allen and Vernon became itinerant preachers in the West country around Devon and later became involved in attempts to set up a parliamentary republic after the fall of Richard Cromwell.<sup>129</sup> Axtell sold his stock and let out his land in Kilkenny at long leases. But interestingly Henry provided Axtell with a good report, stating that his conduct had been favourable in Ireland.<sup>130</sup> Many important Baptist personalities remained and were beginning to become resigned to co-operate and maintain peace with the government. But the death of Oliver in September 1658 and Richard's assumption of the title of

Lord Protector led to a resurgence of radical political power in England and in Ireland. As a result Baptists in Ireland were faced with a new political challenge that would strain what little homogeneity there was among them.

In June 1659 the parliament replaced Henry Cromwell in Ireland and appointed Edmund Ludlow his old foe as commander of the Irish army. At this time the Rump Parliament was restored in England and was briefly dominated by political and religious radicals, with Fleetwood and Lambert as the leaders of the army that was restraining a full English Parliament from sitting. At the same time in Ireland religious Independents had a brief period of dominance, and Baptists shared in their success. In 1659 when the ministers of Dublin and Leinster drew up an agreement as a basis for working together they condemned an assortment of heresies, but curiously they left out 'Anabaptism' even though the agreement affirmed the validity of infant baptism.<sup>131</sup> But two events brought about the final demise of radical political power in Ireland; the seizing of Dublin Castle in December 1659 and the meeting of the Dublin Convention in March 1660.

### **The Baptist Recession**

William Allen stated 'that when the people of God are in prosperity knights would frequent the saints meetings'.<sup>132</sup> He was correct. A number had joined the sect because they saw through it an opportunity for personal advancement through



patronage from individuals of high rank who were members or allies of the sect. Membership declined after Henry Cromwell defined their place in the Cromwellian settlement. But there were other problems. As we have seen some important Baptist leaders left Ireland as a result of opposition to Henry's rule. Their absence increased the political power of the old protestants and their moderate Cromwellian allies, the coalition which eventually took control of the country.<sup>133</sup> But this was accomplished with help from some erstwhile religious and political radicals some of whom were Baptists.

Sir Theophilus Jones, who was one of Henry's allies, and an old protestant initiated the take-over by seizing Dublin Castle on December 13, 1659. As the seizure took place other prominent old protestants took control of other areas of Ireland. Sir Charles Coote, the former president of Connacht, secured Galway from Col. Thomas Sadler and arrested the radical Lt. Col Brayfield at Athlone. Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, secured Youghall, Bandon, Kinsale and Cork city and declared in favour of the emerging power. The Baptist Col. William Leigh supported the coup in Waterford and another Baptist, Capt. William Bolton, was in command of the fort at Duncannon and sided with the Dublin plotters against Ludlow. In Ulster Col. William Cooper was near death and his successor Col. Gorges volunteered his support for the new regime that was forming. Dublin was under the control of five companies of foot and three companies of horse with one of them under the command

of Col. Richard Lawrence. One other company was responsible for the seizure of the castle. It is not clear what role Lawrence played in this affair, except that he was arrested by the emerging authority. In June 1660 Lawrence and some other 'dangerous Anabaptists' were reported to be travelling to London.<sup>134</sup> Lawrence probably did not offer stout resistance to the take-over, which proved to be prudent because after the Restoration he managed to retain many powerful friends in the government that ruled Ireland. The final result was that radicals were effectively neutralized as a political force, this can best be seen by the membership list of the Dublin Convention in March 1660. The members of the Convention consisted of old protestant gentry and moderate Cromwellian newcomers, with not a single religious or political radical.

With the Restoration of King Charles II, Baptist fortunes in Ireland sharply declined. Daniel Axtell lost his estates in County Kilkenny and was executed as a regicide. At his trial another Baptist officer testified against him. This was Lt. Col. John Nelson, commander in chief in Kerry; in 1651 he had been campaigning with Broghill and in 1661 he married one of his daughters and presumably left the Baptist cause.<sup>135</sup> The sea-captain Thomas Sparling supported the Restoration and was involved in the naval operation that brought Charles back to the English throne from Breda. Subsequently he was dismissed from the navy and returned to Waterford where he became a



merchant.<sup>136</sup> Richard Lawrence lost an estate worth £1,500 per annum, but was able to rebound from the loss.

By and large the majority of the Baptists that remained in Ireland decided to live there quietly. The economic interest of individual Irish Baptists in trying to retain the land they had acquired during the Cromwellian rule made them natural allies with other Protestants who had also received new land. As a result of the Act of Settlement and the economic consequence of this land settlement the identity of the Baptists began imperceptibly to become linked to the identity of Protestantism in general.

### **Chapter III**

#### **Irish Baptists and the Wider Community**

Thus far we have seen how the Baptists evolved from that amorphous segment of Puritanism which had been particularly concerned about the theological legitimacy of baptizing infants. We have also charted the relationship between early Irish Baptists and the Cromwellian regime. This relationship showed that problems inherent in early Baptist beliefs in England, coupled with their military situation, produced a severe lack of political and theological unity among the Cromwellian Irish Baptists. During the Interregnum they had reached the zenith of their strength both numerically and politically, after which a severe recession took place. In the new world of the Restoration Baptists in Ireland as in England no longer had any access to political power, and they were left a vulnerable minority open to censure by the government.



In England a series of coercive measures were taken by the king and the English parliament to restrict religious dissent ostensibly because of its relationship with revolutionary activities, and especially after the abortive Venner uprising in London. One of the earliest measures was a proclamation issued on 10 January 1661 which prohibited dissenters from holding meetings. After the failure of the Presbyterians and Anglicans to reach compromise on an ecclesiastical settlement the Act of Uniformity was enacted in 1662 (13 & 14 Car. II, c. 4), which confirmed the exclusion of a Puritan dimension from the new orthodoxy. The act required all ministers to accept the Book of Common Prayer and to denounce armed rebellion against the king. The legislation also succeeded in bringing the Presbyterians into the dissenter fold. This was followed by the First Conventicle Act of 1664 (22 Car. II, c. 1) which outlawed any religious meetings that did not follow the prescribed Anglican liturgy. The next punitive action by the English government was the Corporation Act of 1665 (17 Car. II, c. 2), better known as the Five Mile Act. This enabled local justices to levy a £40 fine on anyone not a cleric in the Anglican church or a subscriber to the Act of Uniformity who dared to preach within five miles of any town. After the expiration of the Conventicle Act in 1669 the English Parliament quickly renewed it.

These coercive measures by the English government must not be taken at face value because enforcement depended on

local personalities and was very uneven. Christopher Hill has demonstrated that the particular animosity of the Bedfordshire gentry toward dissenters led to much of the suffering of John Bunyan.<sup>137</sup> But sometimes local officials were reluctant to act. For instance the bishop of Salisbury complained to the earl of Clarendon about a vicar who employed an 'anabaptist' as a curate in his diocese. It seems that the Lord Lieutenant and justices of the peace of the county would not act unless they received a direct command from London.<sup>138</sup> Also, William Kiffin, the leading Particular Baptist leader in the capital, seems to have had a good relationship with Clarendon and the king.<sup>139</sup> Although Kiffin's relationship with Clarendon and the king was good, public opinion restrained them from granting the Baptists official toleration. An incident just before the Restoration demonstrates how sensitive public opinion could be. In February 1660 certain royalists were negotiating with the English Baptists through William Howard. However there was an uproar in London, especially among the conservative and moderate Presbyterians when Howard produced a letter intended for the Baptist leadership in London from the king. Fortunately for the king many wrongly supposed that the letter was a forgery.<sup>140</sup> Much later when Charles II presented the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, which was designed to provide relief for religious dissenters, there was a backlash of public opinion. But despite the obstacle of a lack of toleration Kiffin was always to have access to Clarendon, and in May 1663 he was able to persuade Clarendon to intervene on behalf of six



condemned Baptists. In 1662 he was again interceding for his co-religionists through Katherine Boyle Lady Ranelagh (1614-1691), the prominent Irish patroness of learning, who provided Clarendon with a list of names for pardon which she had obtained from Kiffin.<sup>141</sup>

In Ireland the Restoration situation was fairly similar. Dissenter activity was formally curtailed by episcopal action, and by the Irish Act of Uniformity which was only enacted later in 1666 by the Dublin parliament. Enforcement in Ireland also depended on local personalities. Therefore the challenge that this penal legislation presented to Baptists varied greatly from area to area depending on the attitudes of local magnates and magistrates. For instance Quakers were under severe pressure in Cork city in the later 1660s because of the antagonism of the mayor, Christopher Rye, but Baptists there were relatively unmolested until the 1680s when problems arose resulting from the rise of Catholic political power.<sup>142</sup> At the same time in nearby Youghal the mayor there actually wanted to attend Quaker services in March 1670, but his position in the corporation prevented his doing so.<sup>143</sup>

In this chapter the relations of Baptists with those outside their community will be examined: with political authority during the Restoration and after the Glorious Revolution, and with those of differing religious opinions. One of the central issues here is the extent to which outside forces

played a part in the evolution of Baptist theology in general, and in particular their ideas concerning the nature of the church.

### Baptist Relations with the Irish Government 1662-1689

The Restoration immediately re-opened the Cromwellian land settlement, uncertainties as to land title were behind much of the political tension of the early 1660s. The complex Act of Settlement in 1662, and the subsequent Act of Explanation in 1665, stabilised the position, at least in the short term. Such confusion and uncertainty forced Irish Baptists to form political lobbies and alliances with other Protestants who had a similar interest in preserving the land grants they had received during the Interregnum.

Although the Baptists lost political power in Ireland after the Restoration they did retain some informal influence with central government. In particular Richard Lawrence's ability to maintain a close relationship with several persons who held political power in Ireland meant that the Baptists were able to survive. Lawrence had foreseen the changing direction of the political winds in the late 1650s and had made accommodation with the political forces that were to emerge during the Restoration. Lord Broghill, later to become the earl of Orrery, was the strongest leader of the 'antient protestants' who had chosen to work for the king's restoration. He was supported in



this by Sir Charles Coote who became the earl of Mountrath. In the aftermath of the Restoration they both became Lords Justice of Ireland. Lawrence seems to have been rethinking his ideas about the relationship of Protestants of different theological and ecclesiastical persuasions as early as 1657 as we have noted earlier.<sup>144</sup> Toby Barnard's work has shown that Lawrence's ideas were in accordance with other militant Protestants such as Sir John Temple (1632-1704), who were severely antagonistic to the old protestant adversary: Rome.<sup>145</sup> Lawrence apparently assisted, or at least did not resist, these men in 1660 and was rewarded by their support in subsequent years. In 1662 the earls of Orrery, Mountrath, and Anglesey testified that he had been 'very Civile to ye King's friends' and had helped them preserve their estates that would have 'otherwise been destroyed' during Cromwell's rule. There were two other important personalities who intervened on behalf of Lawrence. There was James Butler, now Duke of Ormond and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1662 to 1669 and again from 1677 to 1684, and George Carteret (d.1680), a royalist during the Interregnum and powerful friend and ally of Ormond, who were by far Lawrence's most important contacts in successive Irish governments. Carteret and Ormond were both directly interested in improving the economic condition of Ireland. Lawrence was brought into their circle when the Duke solicited him to begin a woollen works at Chapelizod. It seems that due to difficulties at Chapelizod, Lawrence neglected his own trade as a Dublin wholesale

merchant and as a result lost £2,000 during the 1660s. When in 1669 he tried to gain compensation, Sir William Domville, the Irish attorney general, and Sir William Temple testified on his behalf.<sup>146</sup> Overall, as Barnard has recently pointed out, the Protestant identity in Ireland was at best fragmented. Lawrence, because of his willingness to be moderate in religion as well as politics, was able to move within the sphere of influence of the diverse personalities who held political power in Ireland.<sup>147</sup>

Other persons who are identifiable as Baptists during the Interregnum shewed a subsequent willingness to affiliate with Protestant militants. Recent research on Tipperary has shown that Protestants there formed defensive communities in the early 1660s out of a perceived need to have a united front against Catholics. Richard Le Hunte, the former Baptist governor of Waterford, became one of the principal spokesmen for the 'Protestant Interest' in Tipperary.<sup>148</sup>

There were other factors which mitigated the legally weak position of the Irish Baptists during the Restoration. We have seen there are evidential problems in determining how many retained their Baptist convictions after the Restoration, but it is possible to trace the continued commitment of certain individuals to Baptist religious tenets. Given the pattern of residual loyalty to Baptist beliefs in the Restoration period, there seems to have been an economic difference between



Ireland and Britain; Baptists were in a relatively stronger position in Irish society than their counterparts in rural England and Wales. For instance Lawrence, after losing an estate worth £2,000 per annum began engaging in mercantile enterprises that to increase his capital of £1,500 in 1662 to £5,500 in 1669.<sup>149</sup> Capt. Stephen Allen, another Baptist who can be identified with certainty, was well established economically in 1665 in north Tipperary when he was registered as having four hearths for tax purposes. When his son died in 1690 the family was still evidently well off, as he bequeathed £100 to the Baptist congregation in Lower Ormond in Tipperary.<sup>150</sup> In Waterford, where particular care must be taken in identifying Baptists, the subsidy rolls show that many of those who were Baptists during the Interregnum were still there in the 1660s, and in most cases paying the highest individual subsidies of households those in their respective districts. For instance William and Thomas Bolton, two brothers who were army captains and Baptists during the Interregnum, held important positions in local government in Waterford city. William was a collector of subsidies in the 1660s and was also mayor. His brother likewise was mayor. Although there is no definitive evidence that he remained a Baptist it seems likely that he did continue in the sect because he ran into problems in the late 1660s with the corporation of Waterford as a result of the Act of Uniformity.<sup>151</sup> Other Baptists who can be definitively identified there were John Lapp and Thomas Sparling. Both of these men were listed as

merchants in the subsidy rolls with property valued at £9 and £8 respectively.<sup>152</sup> We have some other economic indicators of the social position of individual Baptists. According to the list of wealthy Protestant refugees in England in 1688, Major Edward Riggs (1617-1707) had an estate in County Cork valued at £800. The Restoration Baptist pastor Edward Hutchinson's estate in County Tipperary was valued at £500. And Mordecai Abbott's estate in Dublin was listed at £140.<sup>153</sup> In addition to real estate and personal capital many Baptists seem to have possessed specialized skills that were needed for economic enterprises. Lawrence was a member of Ormond's Council of Trade that in 1664 began in order to establish a mechanism for encouraging trade and solving 'Merchanture maladies and other Wealth- wasting Enormities'. He also gave suggestions privately to the Duke of Ormond for improving Ireland's trade by planting hemp and flax for the linen industry.<sup>154</sup> And during the 1660s some of those involved in the Enniscorthy ironworks in Wexford were connected with radical religious sects. Barthol<sup>o</sup>me<sup>w</sup> Hussey, who was the manager of the ironworks until his death in 1666, was a Baptist during the 1650s.<sup>155</sup> In Kerry, where Heirom Sankey's regiment received its arrears, Mordecai Abbott was a Dublin agent in the 1680s for a large ironworks owned by Sir Francis Brewster.<sup>156</sup> The Restoration was a period in which many Baptists settled and adjusted to the new political situation. These Baptists were successful for the most part in creating mercantile dynasties or



consolidating their estates, yet instability in politics and trade made it a time of failure in developing a distinct organization.

The early period of the Restoration saw many of the Baptists settle and adapt to the new social, economic and political situation. Their real difficulties came in the 1680s with the growing polarization of politics towards the end of Charles II's reign and in the first years of his brother James II's reign. There is little direct evidence concerning Irish Baptist problems with governmental authority. We can see only the consequences of these problems that involve isolated groups and individuals. Due to the increase of Catholic political power in Ireland those perceived as religious extremists became hard pressed. Richard Lawrence was questioned by the government in 1683 after the failed Rye House plot in England.<sup>157</sup> Major Edward Riggs the leading member of the Cork church was arrested for treason in 1684. Another Baptist from the Cork area removed to Pennsylvania in 1684 possibly due to the local political difficulties. This was James Watt who became the pastor of the Lower Dublin Baptist church in Pennsylvania. The Lower Dublin church had another Irish Baptist as a member who also left in the 1680s. This was Capt. John Baker a Cromwellian soldier who had been settled in County Kilkenny.<sup>158</sup> In north Tipperary, where there were a number of politically allied Baptists and Independents or Presbyterians, there were extensive arrests in 1683 because of allegations that they were spreading rumours of a popish plot. This

incident led to some Baptists migrating to Cohansy, New Jersey where they formed a meeting that eventually joined the Philadelphia Association. Lawrence's relationship with Sir George Carteret probably facilitated the migration of these Tipperary Baptists because the land they purchased there was owned by Carteret's heirs.<sup>159</sup>

It is possible to see, although not as clearly as we might like, where the Baptists fit into the political and social spectrum in Ireland during the later half of the seventeenth century. They were not developing a separate identity. The necessity to be allied with other Protestants due to their numerical inferiority and political marginalization<sup>al</sup> was retarding their ability to develop a defined and separate group identity. The rest of this chapter will examine further at the causes of this retardation and some of the effects that resulted from their position. The following chapter will look more closely at how this problem could have been remedied and why it was not.

### **Baptists and the Irish Government 1690-1770**

During the Williamite war Baptists seem to have been unwavering in their support for the new king. As a result of Baptist support for William III, both in Britain and Ireland, there was a movement toward fully fledged toleration. Christopher Hill has pointed out that financial loans by religious dissenters to the government in London was part of the reason for the easing of pressure.<sup>160</sup> English Baptists continued to



enjoy strong political patronage. Mordicai Abbott (d.1702), who began as a revenue clerk in Ireland through Richard Lawrence's influence, rose to the rank of Receiver General of Revenue in London in the 1690s.<sup>161</sup> In Ireland John Knapp, a Cork Baptist, was appointed an investigator of fraud against the government in cases of land forfeiture as a result of the war.<sup>162</sup> Shortly after the Glorious Revolution doors were particularly open for Baptists to gain social and economic mobility, but with the changed political climate during much of Queen Anne's reign the door closed partially due to the Test Act and subsequent Penal Laws. As a result many Baptist progeny would be faced with the temptation of conforming to the Established Church in order <sup>to</sup> rise socially.

But despite the artificial limitations imposed on Irish Baptists they remained for the most part steadfast and loyal to the government during the eighteenth century, especially during the reign of George II. The Jacobite scare of 1745 demonstrated Baptist support; in that year Joseph Fowkes (1713-1780), a great-grandson of Richard Lawrence, expounded the Irish Baptist position of the relationship of subjects to the monarch. Most Baptists were in support of George II, and Fowkes was following what may be considered mainstream Baptist thought.<sup>163</sup> According to Fowkes there were two extremes in approaching the question of a subject's duty to the king. First, there were those with 'a superstitious notion of hereditary (sic)'. He was referring to the doctrine of

Divine Right that taught that subjects should have 'intire (sic) submission' to a monarch. Subjects should make no attempts to secure their liberty even when faced with oppressive power and tyranny. Second, there were those who were 'so unsteady in their temper and so wholly destitute of all true regard to the person of the prince, or the peace of the community, that they are never easy or satisfied'. Fowkes was espousing a view similar to his ancestor, namely that of moderation. We have seen that Lawrence was coming to this conclusion in 1657. When considering the relation between monarch and subject the answer will be found between the two extremes.<sup>164</sup>

When George II expired in 1760 Baptists all over the British dominions were as vocal as any group in publicly lamenting the loss. Morgan Edwards, who had just finished serving in Ireland and was by then in Rye, Sussex, published a sermon in Dublin entitled *A Tear for King George II*. In the work he portrayed the deceased king in mythical terms. In Ireland itself there were several sermons published that showed the same pathos. The Irish Baptists, like their counterparts elsewhere, had travelled a great distance from the political as well as religious radicalism of a century previously.<sup>165</sup>

### Baptists and Catholics

We have already noted above some aspects of the relationship between Baptists and Catholics in Ireland. Baptists,



given their radical religious origins, had a predictably militant antagonism towards Catholicism, and indeed were considered by many non-Baptists as the most extreme Protestants. Their view of a lack of toleration toward Catholics remained a most consistent theme in Baptist thought from their earliest debates on toleration until the end of our period.

In 1644 the first sustained Baptist discussion on toleration was in Christopher Blackwood's work. His ideas concerning Catholics were consistent with the subsequent policy of the Cromwellian regime: he believed that they should be tolerated 'substantially' as long as they were a minority. But when they held a majority as in Ireland's case, he argued that they should be given the option to sell their land and leave, or be subject to close control. His beliefs were grounded on an argument concerning oaths. Because, it was argued, Catholics were under no obligation to keep oaths to heretics, they could not be trusted; they were inherently disloyal elements in a godly commonwealth. The 1641 rebellion had reinforced this line of argument, as had military developments on the continent during the Thirty Years War.<sup>166</sup>

In 1655 and again in 1656 Lawrence, now in Ireland, expounded the same views in two tracts, *The Interest of England in the Irish Transplantation, stated*, and *England's Great Interest in the Well Planting of Ireland with English People, Discussed* which argued for the transplantation of the

native Irish into the west of Ireland. Lawrence now saw new dimensions to the Catholic question. He believed that Irish culture was so strong and the hold of Catholicism so powerful that the survival of the Protestant religion was under threat: previous attempts by English settlers had always ended with them being absorbed into the indigenous culture and religion. He believed that Ireland should be divided 'into three sorts of people'. The native Irish and their religion were to <sup>be</sup> tolerated in the west of Ireland in Connacht and Clare, separated by the River Shannon. Another 'plantation' would be inhabited by Englishmen and 'Forreiners of the [Protestant] Religion', and would be settled between the Boyne and Barrow rivers. In between these two plantations another settlement of 'mixed' settlers would act a buffer for the English. The motivation for Lawrence's argument was from fear that the Irish could not be trusted when 'peace hath been concluded'.<sup>167</sup>

Lawrence took this theme up again in 1682 when he published *The Interest of Ireland*. In this he relied heavily on the work of Sir John Temple in interpreting the 1641 rebellion. He believed that Temple's work was a 'Book worth chaining to every Church desk'. Lawrence was careful to separate the religion of the Church of Rome from the 'Policies of the State of Rome'. Lawrence was still retaining his distrust of institutional establishments as he had done earlier in his career. In order to counter the Catholic argument that Protestantism was a deviation of the Christian religion and that Rome was the true



heir of the ancient religion, he claimed that the Council of Trent was a deviation that had changed the Roman church and separated it from the Church before by the introduction of 'Jesuitical Tridentine Tenents'(sic). He considered Catholicism to be in effect an encroachment by a foreign power. The clerical apparatus of the Church of Rome implemented the policy, with Jesuits and priests leading a covert bloody onslaught against Protestant and non-Catholic rulers. Probably due to his ongoing links with Holland (in his trade at Chapelizod) Lawrence borrowed an old Dutch argument when he cited Catholic European powers' activities in America and the Orient as proof that their principles were anti-christian.<sup>168</sup> The heart of the problem, according to Lawrence, was the papacy's refusal to obey temporal authority and its assertion of supremacy. The Irish would not have rebelled had it not been for the intervention of 'Jesuitical' priests: for left alone, they are 'sociable, kind, friendly temper[ed], and capable of the highest improvements in the liberal Sciences and ingenious Arts'.<sup>169</sup> Overall, Lawrence was very conventional in expressing general Protestant ideas concerning Catholicism. But there was a progression in his ideas in that he was looking at the situation in terms of the interest of Ireland rather than as previously at the interest of England.

In spite of their view concerning Catholics Irish Baptists were able to make some converts. Lawrence's gardener in Waterford, Anthony Nugent, seems to have been a Catholic

clergyman who came to Dublin as a Baptist preacher in the 1650s. In 1683 when Robert Ware wrote a book dedicated to the Duke of Ormond, decrying Catholics and 'sectarian firebrands', he strongly suggested that Nugent was a spy, and that Baptists and Catholics had been in collusion with one another during the 1650s. This seems to have been a fairly common belief, put out by conservative Protestants against religious dissenters. During the 1650s a royalist spy believed that the Catholic archbishop of Dublin and spy Peter Talbot was involved in Baptist plotting against the Cromwellian regime. This mistaken belief was probably carried on after the Restoration. In February 1662, Lady Ranelagh assured Clarendon that the London Baptist leader William Kiffen had told her that 'he nor his friends have had any trinketing with the Papists'.<sup>170</sup> During the 1660s Lawrence made a distinction between Protestant dissent and Catholics when he emphasized the loyalty of Protestant dissenters, stating that 'for the popish Nonconformists my commerce gives mee noe occasion to know theire minds, but for the generality of the protestant Nonconformists of all opinions whoe makes Gods word theire ground of faith & Rule of Life, I knowingly affirme it [loyalty]'.<sup>171</sup> Ware was taking advantage of popular Protestant myths to attack the Baptists. In the same work he accused the Quakers of being covert Jesuits.<sup>172</sup> The Baptists during the Interregnum seem to have made converts among the Irish, but it seems this was primarily due to the political



influence that Baptists had or were perceived to have had with the then government.

Some converts from Catholicism seemed to have been genuine. James Carroll (d.1712) who became a very prominent Baptist in Dublin seems to have been a native Irish convert. In 1681 he claimed that in 1672 while he and his father were in county Galway as skin traders they were mistaken for being Catholic because Carroll and his father were in a public house in Portumna conversing in Irish. He further claimed that he had uncovered a popish plot instigated by the Marquis of Clanricard who at this time was an extremely powerful local magnate in County Galway, and who had fought against Cromwellian Baptist commanders in the war. As a result of Carroll's accusation he was pressed financially with legal costs of civil and criminal suits filed by the Marquis.<sup>173</sup>

Another native Irish Catholic convert in the seventeenth century was Thomas Delaune. He came from county Tipperary and was brought into the Baptist fold through Edward Hutchinson, a Cromwellian. Delaune continued in Ireland for some time working for Francis Bampfield and Edward Riggs, two Baptists who operated a fishery in County Cork. But unfortunately for the Irish Baptists Delaune eventually departed to London where he was a printer and schoolmaster. He wrote several tracts concerning religion and toleration for dissenters. In 1683 he was arrested for libel on account of his

publishing *A Plea for Non-Conformists*, and died in prison at London the same year.<sup>174</sup>

Not all conversions were as successful as Delaune's. Much later, in 1761, the Cork Church gained a Catholic convert named Miles Crowley. Crowley was an unsettled individual. In 1730 Jacob Crowley, a Cork Catholic merchant, had left an endowment of thirty thousand livres to the Irish Jesuit College of Poitier with a stipulation that anyone with the surname Crowley be entitled to attend the college free of charge.<sup>175</sup> Miles at the insistence of his uncle, a local priest in county Cork, attended the college. He later claimed that due to an illness he went on to Paris and was influenced by Huguenots. After returning to Cork Crowley became acquainted with the Baptist pastor at Cork, John Knight. His baptism in 1760 was eventful. The crowd attending it was so large that 'many even of the genteel sort were obliged to go off for want of room'.<sup>176</sup>

Another interesting feature of Crowley's conversion was the publication of a tract wherein he denounced Catholic religious beliefs and practices. The tract was published in Dublin by the Baptist printer Samuel Powell in 1761. The essay was unusual in Baptist terms because there was absolutely no mention of Irish Baptists in it. The tract concentrated on Crowley's conversion not to Baptist principles, but rather to Protestantism. Reading the tract would lead one to believe that Crowley had converted to the Church of Ireland,



but his name did not appear in the convert rolls. The episode is a subtle revelation of how far Irish Baptist identity was absorbed into a broad Protestantism.<sup>177</sup>

Crowley's conversion also demonstrates the suspicion that most Protestants shared concerning the conversion of Catholics. Baptists were warned by other Protestants that 'they apprehended he [Crowley] had sinister intentions'. The prudential warning went unheeded by the Cork Baptists, but later proved to be accurate advice. Crowley was given a subsidy by an education fund which the Baptists had formed much earlier in 1698 which amounted to £5 quarterly.<sup>178</sup> He had also gained an income by tutoring students in French at nearby Bandon. He became financially troubled in 1761 possibly due to gambling, which led to his arrest for debt. He avoided prosecution by enlisting in the army. Crowley's profligacy led to the dismissal of the Cork pastor John Knight. Shortly after this incident Crowley was said to be attending a surgeon in Kilkenny; he died some time in 1763.

The examples show the divide between Protestants and Catholics. The Baptists were on the farthest side of that divide and therefore the most vulnerable. This was one of the most important reasons why the development of a separate and distinct identity was not really occurring as in other societies where Baptists were present in the eighteenth century. It is difficult to find how many Catholic converts they were able to

gain. Lists of memberships from the eighteenth century reveal that there were a number of Irish Baptists with native Irish surnames, but most of their forenames are taken from the Bible, which may indicate that they were already from Protestant families.<sup>179</sup> Nevertheless it is fairly certain that Baptist performance was as dismal as Protestantism in general in gaining converts among the native Irish Catholic population.

### Baptists and Churchmen

The Restoration had initially brought forward an aggressive Anglican church that wanted to suppress religious dissent altogether, with Archbishop Bramhall (1594-1663) as the clerical figure leading the assault on dissent. After Bramhall died in 1663 the government in Dublin did not subscribe to this policy: under Ormonde's vice-royalty and those of his antagonistic successors, de facto toleration towards Baptists operated. Partial reconciliation between Anglicans and Baptists took place at the local level, due for the most part to the common fear of resurgent Catholicism. Barnard has pointed out the esteem Protestants of all varieties had for Archbishop James Ussher (1581-1656) during the Interregnum.<sup>180</sup> After the Restoration Lawrence displayed a similar respect for other Anglican dignitaries. In 1682 he cited works by the Archbishop of Armagh, Bramhall, and of all people the Bishop of Down and Connor, Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667), in his assaults on Catholicism. He supported Bramhall's argument for the legitimacy of the Church of England's separation from



Rome; he also used the argument as an apology for dissenter, but not Baptist separation.<sup>181</sup> Bishop Taylor in 1647 had written a complimentary book which had advocated toleration for those with Baptist principles, but during the Restoration was trying to hide this fact.<sup>182</sup> Lawrence's residence in Dublin on Kevin Street in the 1670s was very close to that of the archbishop of Dublin, Michael Boyle (1609?-1702). According to his grand-daughter Ann Fowkes (1692-1762), Lawrence actually entertained the archbishop on occasion and the archbishop was fully aware that Baptist religious services were being conducted there.<sup>183</sup> Her testimony is consistent because Lawrence's involvement with the Church of Ireland went further than Baptists would have dared in the eighteenth century. In 1682, after he had married 'a young widow', he had his infant son Henry baptized at St. Kevins.<sup>184</sup> The doctrine of believer's baptism was a narrow theological point, and many held the doctrine in an idiosyncratic style. Subscribing to the doctrine seems not to have caused a total demarcation from the rest of Protestantism in Ireland.

The antagonism between Ulster Presbyterians and Anglicans had it seems no parallel in Baptist relations with the hierarchy in the Established Church in Ireland. Baptists were of course not posing a threat due to their inferior numbers. Lawrence's vehement advocacy of the 'Protestant interest' and his political influence gained for Irish Baptists an informal toleration by the Anglican establishment in the late

seventeenth century not enjoyed by any other dissenting group.

In spite of this partial reconciliation there continued to be some Baptist theological criticism of Anglicanism. Irish Baptists instinctively felt that elaborate forms or outward expressions of religion were not genuine. Baptist theology and ideology, like other religiously radical sets of ideas, put a great deal of emphasis on the inward working of religion, both spiritual and psychological. They had in their early days been slightly left of centre between Quakers who rejected all forms, and the conservative stance of mainstream Anglicanism which placed much more emphasis on outward forms.

In the eighteenth century another major Irish Baptist criticism of the Church of Ireland was that it was too worldly. This line of argument was derived from their radical beginnings, but in the eighteenth century it was linked to the Test Act in 1704 which made it necessary to be within the Established Church in order to advance politically. Many of the progeny of Irish Baptists gave in to the temptation of conform to the Church of Ireland after their families had gained economic success in order to graduate with their economic peers to professional and political positions reflecting their wealth.<sup>185</sup>



As a result of this trend among economically successful families, a resentment among the faithful developed. Ann Fowkes was given to this sentiment because she thought that much needed economic resources that were lost to the Irish Baptists was the main cause for their weak state in the kingdom of Ireland in the 1750s.<sup>186</sup> She was correct in some of her observations as we will see below. The Cork church was also repelled to some extent by the fact of establishment. They thought that its position caused people to join it for the wrong reasons. The Anglican church was the vehicle whereby the upwardly mobile could attain 'the honors and titles of the world'.<sup>187</sup>

On the other hand, some Anglicans thought that the Baptists and other dissenters were being unreasonable. In 1746 Sir John Percival, Lord Egmont (1683-1748), shortly after a disturbance concerning the conversion of an Anglican woman in Cork to Baptist principles, spoke to the bishops of Cloyne and Oxford about the Baptists' unreasonable behaviour in not joining the Established Church. He claimed that the established church did not make it compulsory for parents to baptize infants and therefore it adequately accommodated their consciences. This line of argument shows that there were attempts to heal divisions within Protestantism, both in Ireland and England.<sup>188</sup>

But despite these problems Baptists in Ireland generally relied on many of those Anglicans they deemed orthodox. In Dublin numerous books, purchased for the use of training ministerial candidates, were in fact composed by Anglican authors. The authors they seemed most interested in were written by men such as Dr. John Leland (1691-1766) who was one of the many attackers of John Toland (?1670-1722) the author of the controversial tract *Christianity not Mysterious*. Patrick Delany (?1685-1768), the dean of Down who was another defender of orthodox Christianity against Deism, was another author in the Dublin meeting's library.<sup>189</sup> In Cork in 1757 the meeting 'approved authors as had vindicated the Protestant cause' such as the royalist and anti-Catholic writer William Chillingworth (1602-1644), who wrote *The Religion of the Protestants*. Another 'approved' author was John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury (1630-1694), who wrote *The Rule of Faith*.<sup>190</sup> Ann Fowkes in her memoirs stated that she consulted a number of Anglican authors for devotional exercises. Tillotson and the Anglican divine and poet Samuel Wesley (1662-1735) seem to have been her favourite authors.<sup>191</sup>

### **Baptists and Presbyterians**

As we have seen there was animosity between Baptists and Presbyterians in the 1640s and 1650s as a result of the attempt of the Presbyterians to establish their church. Soon after the Restoration this rift was beginning to heal in England



when the hopes of Presbyterians were dashed in 1663 by the Clarendon Codes, a set of penal legislation that Established the Church of England and proscribed the Presbyterians. We have seen that it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between conservative Independents and Presbyterians in England and Wales. This also was true in Ireland to some extent. In Ireland the Presbyterian church had two distinct branches that were formed by ethnic distinctions. The Ulster Synod was composed of primarily of persons of Scottish extraction and the Munster Synod was made up of English Presbyterians and Independents after the Restoration. As a result, Baptists who had developed close ties with Independents during the Interregnum continued to do so well into the eighteenth century. Irish Baptists, as they became more conservative theologically, began to develop closer ties with the Munster Synod Presbyterians. They were also close to the English Presbyterians theologically and ecclesiastically. They both were Calvinist and the local Presbyterian church order was similar to that of Baptists. The presbytery or synod mode of church government was the only major difference between them. Even this distinction was gradually disappearing during the eighteenth century as Presbyterian controversies over church authority weakened the subscription to particular creeds.<sup>192</sup>

By the dawning of the eighteenth century there was a great deal of co-operation between the Irish Baptists and English Presbyterians. A negative example of this co-operation

was the arrest and trial of Thomas Emlyn (1663-1741), the last person tried by the state for heresy in Ireland for Unitarian beliefs. Caleb Thomas, a prominent Dublin Baptist, was responsible for bringing the charges against him.<sup>193</sup> The Emlyn affair showed a crack in Presbyterian solidarity, but the lack of support for Emlyn demonstrates that there was an approbation among some Presbyterians for his prosecution.

But there was positive co-operation. Joseph Cook, a Presbyterian minister from Dublin, served congregations in two areas of Munster where Baptists were relatively strong. His first charge was in north Tipperary and later he served in Waterford city until his death in 1733. His ministry was particularly linked with the Baptists in Waterford city. Ann Fowkes had a high regard for him and attended his services of worship often.<sup>194</sup> In Cork the Presbyterian minister in the 1720s assisted the Baptist minister by assuming preaching responsibilities when he was away attending another congregation in Clonmel as he did once a month.<sup>195</sup> Another documented example of co-operation occurred in 1748 when Presbyterians assisted in the Irish Baptist attempt to gain the Regium Donum. That they never did receive it - even after fourteen years of soliciting - was partly due to the objections of one Presbyterian congregation. But this discord with one congregation must be seen in the light of the controversy over subscription to the Westminster Confession. After 1720 the Presbyterians no longer had the will or the organization to



police individual congregations so congregations became increasingly independent.

Furthermore just as the Irish Baptists adopted theological authors that were part of the Established Church tradition, so they also looked to Presbyterian authors. The most prominent Presbyterian author in the Dublin meeting's library was John Abernethy (1680-1740) who wrote a treatise on the attributes of God which defended orthodox theology from Deism.<sup>196</sup>

Another reason for the relatively good relations between the ethnically English Presbyterians and Baptists in Ireland was the extent of intermarriage between the two groups. Travers Hartley, a wealthy Presbyterian merchant and a grandson of Elias Travers the prominent Presbyterian divine who was Lord Masserene's chaplain, married Ann Gibton the grand-daughter of John Falkiner the prominent Dublin Baptist.<sup>197</sup> Daniel Falkiner, who was John's brother and heir to the family fortune, married Sarah Spence a Dublin Presbyterian.<sup>198</sup> These two cases are among the more prominent examples of intermarriage, but there were others. A comparison of the financial subscription list of the Dublin Baptist congregation in Swift's Alley which begins in 1742, and the Presbyterian meeting at Eustace Street which begins in 1749 reveals that there were at least three families that were subscribing members in both congregations at the same time.<sup>199</sup> Sometimes one of the partners in a dissenting

meeting became convinced of Baptist principles after the marriage took place. In Cork Thomas Mills, a Presbyterian from Wiltshire, England who came to Ireland in the 1690s, after 'many years in communion' with the Cork Presbyterian church, 'fell into some doubts concerning the validity of infant baptism'. He became convinced of Baptist principles and joined the Cork Baptist church in May 1736, but there is no record of his wife doing likewise.<sup>200</sup>

### **Baptist and Quakers**

While relations with the Presbyterians was friendly, Irish Baptist antagonism with the Quakers was quite another matter. A history of antagonism began in the 1650s, and did not subside until the middle of the eighteenth century. The reason for such bitter feelings seems to have been their competition for converts. Baptists and Quakers were very similar in their appeal and attracted members from the same socio-economic classes. The similarity between these two groups lay in their moral values and modes of piety. Both movements were convinced of the need for believers to be separated from the world in order to become a 'peculiar people'. They both intensely distrusted all forms or outward expression of religion. But their theological beliefs were quite distinct. Baptist theology was moving towards a broadly Protestant orthodox position, while Quaker doctrine remained fairly idiosyncratic on the doctrine of the Word, i.e. on the supremacy of the Bible in determining doctrine.



The theological controversies between Baptists and Quakers reveal the problems of the lack of focus in Irish Baptist identity, and highlight the movement of Baptists toward a conservative theology. Their doctrinal arguments with Quakers went through three stages.

The first occurred during the late 1650s. The main cause was Quaker disruption of Baptist and other Protestant meetings which culminated in the arrest of the offending parties. John Perrott, who was described by a later Quaker as 'a man supposed to be insane', seems to have been the main protagonist. His principal objection to the Baptists was that their ministers were receiving state subsidies, their use of 'mass-houses' which had crosses on the front and back for meetings, and an assortment of theological dogmas that Perrott found untenable. His attack was directed at Independents as well. Perrott saw the Baptists and Independents as linked together, which of course they largely were politically in the late 1650s. What is important in this controversy was that Baptists were seen by the Quakers as supporters of conservative theological doctrines.<sup>201</sup>

A second stage of Quaker and Baptist animosity was during the Restoration. In 1672 a controversy began in London between William Penn (1644-1718) and two adversaries. Penn's antagonists were John Faldo (1633-1690), an

Independent minister who had served in the Cromwellian army and Thomas Hicks, a Baptist minister in London. The titles of the tracts issued by these men are very revealing. Faldo issued the confrontational *Quakerism no Christianity*, and Hicks a more conciliatory work, *A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker*.<sup>202</sup> Although dissenting Protestants differed on theological doctrines, most were able to concede that the brethren who disagreed were in fact Christians, but the radical departures of Quakers from orthodox Protestant belief, which was considered to be synonymous with traditional Christian belief, made them to a large extent total outsiders from the wider Protestant community.

Controversy between Quakers and Baptists in Ireland did not reach the scale that it did in London. Baptists in Ireland, not being well organized and small in numbers, did not present a formal opposition to Quakers. Irish Quakers were confronted by other Protestants who questioned whether Quakers should be considered Christians.

The only indication about Irish Baptist ideas concerning Quakers comes from William Penn and Richard Lawrence. On 10 October 1669 Penn recorded in his journal that he had met Lawrence at the woollen works at Chapelizod where Penn claimed Lawrence made 'Imagery'. Penn further described Lawrence as 'Passionate & Confounded about the morall religion & water baptisme'.<sup>203</sup> In 1657 Lawrence saw Quakers



and other extreme sectarians as being outside the pale of Christianity. He continued this idea in 1682 when he pleaded 'for a charitable Union betwixt the sober and pious of both parties [dissenters and churchmen]', But stated that Quakers and 'Muckletonians' were guilty of 'criminal Schism'.<sup>204</sup>

The third stage of Baptist and Quaker antagonism centred on the independent Baptist minister Oswald Edwards,<sup>which</sup> was a protracted controversy that lasted from 1722 to 1740. Again it was a case of a Baptist defending accepted Christian doctrines rather than anything specifically Baptist. Edwards concentrated one of his attacks on the Quaker anti-clerical belief that sacraments belonged to a past age. His arguments continually upbraided Quakers for not observing or recognizing the ordinance of baptism without even touching on the critical issue of infant baptism. Throughout Edwards' 'strokes' against Quakers there is no indication that he himself held Baptist views. The controversy eventually faded after the Quakers refused to reply to his attacks.<sup>205</sup> The main body of Baptists may have wished to stand back from such controversy because there were trading links between some Baptists and Quakers. For example, Baptists had been lending money to the Ulster Quaker brothers Amos and Abel Strettle in 1702.<sup>206</sup> Another reason for their distance was the attention the affair was receiving in public. After Edwards engaged in public debate in 1722 at Skinner's Alley a satirical ballad was composed that mocked both Quakers and Baptists.<sup>207</sup>

## Baptists, Methodists and Moravians

The controversy with Methodism revealed the weakness of Irish Baptist solidarity and organizational structure. Methodism emerged in Ireland in the middle of the 1740s. Early on many Baptist personalities greeted the Methodist leadership with open arms because they expected to benefit from their evangelization efforts. But when their expectations were not met disenchantment and bitterness set in among a number of Baptist personalities.<sup>208</sup>

The key to Methodism's success lay in the fact that it was highly organized along a methodical line of personal and group discipline. Converts to Wesley's cause formed into groups which formed close social bonds. John Wesley (1703-1791), his brother Charles Wesley (1707-1788), along with George Whitefield (1714-1770) began the movement that remained technically a part of the Anglican communion. After their successful evangelization efforts the fact that they were able to build an organizational structure that established a firm identity brought further success and growth to the movement through the efforts of individuals that became part of the society.<sup>209</sup>

Baptist conflict with Methodism was linked to the spread of the pietistic movement in Germany founded by Count Zinzendorf, the Moravian Brethren. Wesley and the Moravians



reached Ireland in the late 1740s and were connected with one another through the person of John Cennick (1718-1755), who had begun his religious career as a Methodist but had joined the Brethren around the time of his coming to Ireland. Some Dublin Baptists had heard him preach in London while they were there on business, and were sufficiently impressed that they invited him to come over and preach in Dublin.<sup>210</sup>

In Dublin Cennick's arrival accentuated an earlier division that had already been developing in the local Baptist church. The Dublin Baptists were suffering from the same affliction experienced by the Presbyterians, a division over orthodoxy, in the eighteenth century. Shortly after reaching the city Cennick put off a request to preach in the main meeting-house at Swift's Alley, because, he said, he 'knew there were parties there already who adher'd to Arianism or New-light, and others to the Orthodox schemes'. Abdiel Edwards, the pastor of the Dublin meeting, was an enthusiast for Cennick, but the assistant pastor Joseph Fowkes opposed him. Cennick claimed that 'Mr Fox' assisted 'some of the chief of the Dissenters' to compose or distribute 'a Poem in a pretty good stile ridiculing' him and his doctrine.<sup>211</sup>

The Methodists became entangled in the controversy between the Moravians and Dublin Baptists in December 1747 when John Wesley's agent took a lease of Skinner's Alley meetinghouse, which at that point was used by the Moravians

as a centre for worship. Samuel Edwards, the son of the deceased minister Oswald Edwards, claimed ownership. John Mears, another Baptist, also staked a claim. On Christmas Eve 1747 Edwards and some of the Baptist lay leadership 'hired vile men to assist them and burst open the doors' of the meetinghouse, evicting Cennick and the Moravians. Subsequently John Wesley's newly formed meeting occupied the building. John Mears was sent to prison over the affair and posted a hand-bill in order to protest of his treatment to the wider community. Wesley tried to resolve the issue with Cennick until Cennick left Dublin, after which the negotiations continued with two Baptists who had joined with the Moravians, William Mondet and Jonathan Binns.<sup>212</sup>

The intrusion of the Moravians cost the Dublin Baptists dearly. The Cork Church Book recorded the devastating effect on the Dublin meeting which went 'from a flourishing congregation' <sup>to one</sup> that had 'dwindled to a very inconsiderable number'. The record of subscribers to the Swift's Alley meeting seems to support the Cork Church's observation. In 1742 and 1743 the Swift's Alley congregation had over fifty subscribers, but in 1750 and 1752 (no record for 1751) there were less than thirty.<sup>213</sup>

The Dublin Baptists were not the only religious group adversely effected by the arrival of Cennick. The dissenting community in Dublin was fractured and fragmented without a



strong identity. Dublin was filled with small networks involved in religious speculation which led to eccentricities. One of Cennick's first encounters was with a Presbyterian 'silk throwster' named James MacConnell. He was 'the Head of a Society of comical people' which met together to discuss biblical texts and visited various dissenting congregations in order to criticize publicly the doctrine they preached. MacConnell had brought Cennick some writings defending Calvinistic doctrine which Cennick rejected. According to Cennick, this led MacConnell to write a book attacking Cennick with the aid of a 'Church-Minister'. Shortly thereafter Cennick's evangelization effort 'broke up their Society'.<sup>214</sup>

The Moravian assault caused other casualties. Another religious group that succumbed had been meeting in Dublin under the name of the 'Bradilonians'. It had been founded by one Bradly, but in 1747 it was headed by 'a rigid and legal Presbyterian' schoolmaster named Burges. Many in this group defected to the Moravians. The final straw came when Burges 'fell into unclean living and leaving his wife took up with a bad Woman with whom he ran away'.<sup>215</sup>

Not all religious societies were adversely affected by the introduction of the Moravians. One society that was meeting in Bride's Alley under the care of the Archbishop of Dublin was made up of 'serious young Men about 200 in number'. Although some of this group joined with the Moravians it did

not cease to exist. John Cennick in his account of his missionary work in Dublin shows how he was able to cull members from other religious groups which suggests that there was not a strong sectarian identity in the larger dissenting Dublin community. The list of Moravian church leaders in September 1747 gives the member's previous religious affiliation, and indicates the vulnerability. There was a separatist, a Quaker and a Catholic, but there were six or seven Baptists, eight Presbyterians, thirteen Churchmen and surprisingly one Muggletonian.<sup>216</sup>

The Baptists in Cork also greeted the arrival of Methodism in Ireland positively, but became disenchanted with it within a few years. Methodists, according to the Cork Baptists, had stated that they came because of a desire 'to win souls to Christ'. The novelty of preaching in fields caused many to take notice of their presence. The Baptists expected that they would be able to benefit from their popularity and add to their own membership. Although this expectation was fulfilled initially, personality conflicts caused a breach. The record of members added to the Cork church between 1729 and 1757 shows that baptisms were sporadic at best prior to the appearance of Methodism. In 1748 there was a dramatic increase to sixteen baptisms. But as the popularity of the Methodists increased the potential for conflict increased.<sup>217</sup>



Table 3:1

Cork Church Baptisms: 1744 - 1754

1744.....	2
1745.....	0
1746 .....	0
1747 .....	0
1748 .....	16
1749 .....	3
1750 .....	0
1751 .....	3
1752 .....	1
1753 .....	0
1754.....	0

Source: Cork Church Book, pp. 47-50.

The nature of the conflict is not really clear. Cork Baptists came to believe that the Methodists were 'professed enemies to the Baptist cause'.<sup>(2, 72)</sup> One of the reasons for the success of Methodism was that their leaders encouraged the laity to be religiously zealous. This zealousness sometimes led to disturbances of a personal nature. In July 1749 'Mrs. Wilson' was baptized. On her return home her husband 'a zealous Methodist' was angered and turned her out of 'his house' and would not receive her again unless she promised never to join the Baptist church. The event led her daughter to report to the Methodists what had happened and to 'villify her as an Anabaptist, a turncoat'. In October of the same year the Cork Baptist Mary Francis died and her family was not able to afford the funeral expenses. Although she and members of her

family had joined the Methodists, the Baptists paid the charges 'for a decent funeral' at their graveyard. Earlier the Baptist graveyard was walled by their patroness Ann Riggs because they were sometimes molested at funerals. At the funeral 'a mob' came and threw stones injuring two women. This event led to recriminations that the Baptists had put the mob up to the stone throwing. The event that caused the most trouble was when 'Mrs. Bentley' wanted Charles Wesley to baptize her. According to the Baptists he promised to perform the rite, but put off the event. He left Cork without fulfilling the promise leaving his brother John, who dismissed her conviction as a 'delusion of the Devil', to deal with the problem.<sup>218</sup>

From the perspective of the Cork Baptists all these conflicts added up to a deception perpetrated by the Methodists. But from the Methodist perspective the events are understandable. Because the leaders of the Methodists were interested in appealing to a wide variety of people they could not afford to show a partial attitude toward the Baptists. Many people held strong prejudices against the Baptists and as these people became affiliated with the Methodists it was natural for them to retain these prejudices which led to personal animosities. The same problem was experienced in Dublin. When John Cennick left the Baptist ministerial candidate Benjamin La Trobe in charge of the Moravian meeting in Dublin while he was in London, the subject of believer's baptism threatened to divide the meeting. Some of



the Baptists who had joined the Moravian meeting began to spread literature concerning the necessity of 'Adult Baptism' to the 'manifest hurt to the souls and made many, especially such as were come to us from the Popish, and Church of England Religions'. The event led to many leaving the Moravian meeting.<sup>219</sup>

Due to the confusion of identity Baptists were caught between conflicting impulses. They seem to have had a general desire to advance the Protestant gospel, but at the same time wanted to preserve the distinctive theological dogma that set them apart. Infant baptism was a narrow theological point that at times must have been hard to justify in terms of being totally separated from the larger Protestant community. When the Cork Baptists reflected on why the Methodists were so successful they came to the conclusion that the organizational structure of the Methodist was the most important factor. But building an efficient organizational structure would necessarily thicken the lines of separation between themselves and the wider Protestant community.

## **Chapter IV**

### **The Development of Organization and Ministry**

We have already seen above that the Baptist leadership in England, and especially in London, had begun in the 1650s to introduce an organizational structure into the Particular Baptist movement. This commenced with the leadership taking steps towards establishing an agreed orthodox theology, and this necessarily implied a tighter degree of organization. But these tendencies were interrupted by the coercive decrees and laws of the Restoration period. After the Glorious Revolution the Baptist leadership in England and Wales immediately took up the task of building a church order and discipline for the Baptist movement. We will now look at the development of Baptist organization as a whole including the Irish Baptist church polity in order to see how the Irish Baptist developments fit into the pattern of organizational coherence that was beginning to be a feature of Baptist churches in the eighteenth-century English speaking world. A by-product of



this development was that as organizational concepts changed so also did their view of the ministry. As a result of this overall change the ambiguous view of the early Baptists concerning the ministry began to be sorted out.

### Establishing a Creed

In a study of Presbyterians <sup>in the English speaking world</sup> Marilyn Westerkamp has demonstrated that in the early eighteenth century the enforcement of <sup>specific</sup> creeds in the Presbyterian church brought about ministerial conflicts, <sup>in turn</sup> which led to greater involvement of the laity. Although her focus is on the internal working of the Presbyterian church, there seems to <sup>have</sup> been other factors outside the Presbyterian community which brought about this profound change. We have seen how the Act of Uniformity in England unwillingly cast the Presbyterians into the dissenter community. The Presbyterians there did not have as strong an organizational base as their co-religionists in Restoration Scotland or Ireland. The English Presbyterians became more involved with the other dissenting groups and, as Westerkamp points out, they became subject to the same kind of congregational problems that Baptists, Independents and Quakers faced. Dissenting groups suffered a great deal from factionalism and divisions within local meetings which sometimes spilled over into other communions which were solicited for support in these local confrontations.<sup>220</sup> Nonetheless ethnically English Presbyterians in Ireland did have a strong ideological base that rested on a well-defined

theology, along with a strong sense of church order. This was substantially weakened after 1660, and the process might not have occurred at all if the Presbyterian bid to become the state church had been successful. A new order was emerging as a result of this breakdown that brought about greater lay participation.

Meanwhile the reverse process was taking place among the Baptists. They had started out as primarily a lay movement with a severe distrust of a hierarchical church polity and <sup>of</sup> clerical authority. In July of 1689, after the passage of the English Toleration Act, the Baptist leadership in London wasted very little time in taking advantage of their new liberty to send a circular letter through the countryside of England and Wales. This letter invited Baptist congregations to send messengers to a general meeting in London on 3 September. The fruit of this general meeting was the adoption of a confession of faith. The London Baptists had drafted confessions in 1677 and 1679 very similar to the one adopted by this general meeting. This creed became the official standard of Baptist belief, but enforcement was not very stringent due to the organizational weakness of the church and the discretionary powers of prominent personalities within it.<sup>221</sup>

The most significant feature of this 1689 confession was that it placed Baptist belief in the mainstream of the Reformed



Protestant tradition. The confession had a remarkable similarity to the Presbyterians' Westminster Confession of the late 1640s. The Baptist confession deviated from the Westminster one in certain respects, turning to the Savoy Declaration, the Reformed continental confession of 1610. The new creed demonstrated how far the London Particular Baptist leadership had travelled towards a religious conservatism. But the most important feature of the new confession was the very fact that the Baptist leadership had at last stated positively what Baptists believed and what they stood for. The creed was later assigned official status by the Philadelphia Baptist Association in 1744.<sup>222</sup>

Another significant aspect of the new confession was the speed at which it was ratified by the general meeting in London, despite the lack of a majority. One hundred and fifty messengers from about a hundred churches attended the general meeting in September 1689. Only thirty-eight representatives representing less than twenty local congregations in Wales and England actually ratified the new confession. It was ratified in only three days which suggests that the London leadership was imposing this distinct theological position without serious debate or compromise with Baptists of differing theological beliefs. This event was a watershed in Baptist history because it marked out the Particular Baptists as a distinct body with a specific set of rules for belief, from those Baptists who did not subscribe. Also,

from this general meeting Particular Baptist church government re-emerged. The general meeting or Association formed out of the subscribers to the new confession continued to meet in London until 1692. At that time the West Country and Welsh churches separated, it seems for convenience, into a different Association that met annually together in Bristol. This Association itself divided into two Associations in 1700, the Welsh and Bristol Associations.<sup>223</sup>

In contrast, the Irish Baptist movement never adopted a denominational confession. The only record of even an attempt to standardize belief was in 1758 when the Waterford church asked their ministerial candidate Henry Phillips to draft a statement of faith.<sup>224</sup> There was then a concern to establish an agreed orthodoxy, which was consensual rather than according to a cre dal formula. But Irish Baptists of the 1690s shared with their counterparts in England and Wales a new energy, and a desire to reform and revitalize themselves organizationally in the wake of the Glorious Revolution.

### **Development of Church Government**

The idea of an English Association had begun during the Interregnum. Such a body was designed to be non-hierarchical and decentralized. The Baptists thought that hierarchical and centralized power, for example in the Established Church, had led to tyrannical government. They cited particularly the Church of England under Laud as an example of such tyranny.



The Association as it emerged after 1689 was a general meeting of local churches which allowed the delegates to constitute themselves into a confederate advisory body. Each year individual churches (i.e. meetings) sent messengers, usually a minister and/or a layman, to a designated church with a salutary letter, which conferred no official power, from the congregation they represented. The meeting there would last two or three days, and the place of meeting varied with different Associations. At the end of the session the delegates drafted a letter to the local churches that addressed particular issues the churches were faced with at the time. In Wales the Association's meetings rotated from church to church. In America the Philadelphia Association, which was formed in 1707 by six churches, met only in Philadelphia. It is not clear when the Irish Baptists formed an Association, but by 1724 at the latest they were meeting bi-annually. At that time the site of the Association meeting was rotating from congregation to congregation, but by 1757 the meeting place was in Dublin every second year, and still meeting at the other provincial churches in the alternate years.<sup>225</sup> The Dublin church had established itself as predominant.

There was throughout the eighteenth century a high incidence of bitterly conducted debates in the dissenting movement which often rent apart meetings into warring factions. Samuel Fowkes (d.1745), the pastor of Waterford church, complained in 1739 to Elisha Callendar of Boston,

Massachusetts that 'we have had some unhappy divisions among us, that has much obstructed the prosperity of this church'.<sup>226</sup> The Philadelphia Association mentions the problem of factionalism in virtually all its circular letters to the member churches, and the same is true of their Welsh counterpart. On a few occasions, in both Wales and America, the Associations sent representatives to the disrupted churches to heal divisions. On a number of occasions the Association would also act as arbitrator by considering the arguments of the factions and deciding in favour of one side, leaving the other no choice but to conform to the opinion of the church as a whole or depart. The radical impulse that was still latent in Baptist thought prevented the Associations from becoming official courts of appeal or adjudication, but in actual fact, they served such a function outside of Ireland.<sup>227</sup>

The Associations could also stop trouble before it started by acting as a clearing house for information to local church leaders. This was accomplished by allowing local churches and their representatives to present queries at the annual meeting. This system also limited the spread of contentious issues because potentially divisive topics could be discussed confidentially at the Association. Private discussion also allowed informal networks within the church to consider issues at length and thereby calmed the factions in the interim period. Many of the early problems between Baptists and their neighbours were, as we have seen, misunderstandings about



what Baptists really believed. Sometimes ideas were published before they had been properly thought out. Singular beliefs by unaffiliated persons who were anti-paedobaptist in sentiment were on occasion announced and became rallying points for opposition elements in a church. The Association structure provided protection and insulation for the church from the outside world by at least laying the basis for the development of a uniform belief based on consensus. Another by-product of this organizational strategy was the reduction of tension between themselves and other dissenting churches.

The Associations in Wales and Philadelphia utilized this querying process particularly in the early part of the eighteenth-century when numbers were small and there was a stronger need for defining precisely what Baptists believed and what they stood for. After 1750 the church as a whole had grown too large to accommodate queries, and the Associations began to assume predominately administrative functions. In 1749 when the Bethlehem church in Pennsylvania asked, 'Whether a man who hath two wives living may be received into communion on his profession of faith', the Philadelphia Association responded, 'by no means', and further stated that 'in the future churches should not send any queries that had not been debated at home among themselves'.<sup>228</sup> Both in Wales and America the Association supervised the process of drawing apart factions in local churches and setting them up as separate congregations. In these cases the split was not

allowed to occur along factional lines, but strictly on territorial ones. This usually led to each faction having a majority in one area. Such a policy served to keep peace insofar as it stifled competition between factions in a particular locality and enabled the Association to manage splits and expand its constituent parts.<sup>229</sup>

Another important function of, at least, the Welsh Association was the positive publicity which it attracted when it met. Joshua Thomas claimed in 1795 that nine or ten thousand people would usually turn out for the occasion in Wales. The local community joined in certain activities, even though many of them might not <sup>have</sup> been Baptist, at least by lodging messengers in their homes. Gaining sudden popular attention was an important element for a religious movement building up successful momentum in the eighteenth century. The Welsh Association fulfilled this very well.<sup>230</sup> Their American brethren in the Pennsylvania area did not use the general meeting as a medium for popular attention; its main function was to maintain discipline over a church that was spread out over vast distances.

The Irish Baptist Association was a feeble institution by comparison, unable to fulfil effectively either the functions of the Associations in Wales or Philadelphia. Part of the problem was that the denomination in Ireland was in a state of continual decline throughout the eighteenth century, whereas



much of the success of their sister churches in America and Wales can be attributed to the high morale that went with their rapid rates of growth. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Irish Baptist movement can be compared favourably with its counterparts elsewhere. In 1707, the year the Philadelphia society was established by six churches, the Welsh church was comprised of ten churches or meetings.<sup>231</sup> Ireland at this time had at least nine Particular Baptist meetings, plus two unaffiliated meetings in Dublin.<sup>232</sup> In terms of size the Irish church was practically on even terms with their brethren in Wales and Philadelphia. But as the century progressed the other two churches grew steadily (and sometimes very rapidly), while the Irish church languished and declined.

There are many reasons for the failure of <sup>the</sup> Irish Baptist church. Incompatibility with the indigenous culture due to the overlap of ethnic and religious loyalties along with the presence of a strong Anglican gentry and aristocracy limited the scope of potential Baptist converts. Peculiar views concerning toleration also limited them. The lack of cohesion among the churches in forming an organizational structure to handle the transformation of the church during the century was another critical reason for failure. The Irish Baptists were probably not less organizationally developed than the other <sup>Baptist</sup> churches in the early eighteenth century, and were perhaps more so than some in the movement at that time. But their

organizational maturity did not progress to the extent of the Welsh and American churches. Thus there was a reciprocal relationship between good organization and church growth. Without an effective organization the other impediments to church growth became impossible to overcome.

The Irish Baptists were slow to change the old concept of Baptist church polity that had developed during the Restoration. Their churches were very independent and largely autonomous. In Ireland the Association was even generally ignored in the late 1750s and 1760s. Many of the general meetings were not even attended by the several of the churches. The Cork church usually failed to attend the meetings, especially when they were in Dublin. In 1762 when it was their turn to host the Association, the other churches sent only letters without messengers.<sup>233</sup> Occasionally the Irish Baptists did use the popular function of the Association to help the low morale of a church. In 1774, after the death of James North the pastor of the north Tipperary church, the venue of the Association was changed from Waterford to Lower Ormond in order to offer encouragement.<sup>234</sup> But when the Association recommended in 1775 that the whole church have a fast day for the 'revival of religion and with view to the distressed state of our brethren in America', the Cork church sent a letter back telling them that they were not going to comply. They stated that the government considered the Americans traitors, and that 'the Papists' who were taking the



oath of allegiance 'would be glad of an opportunity to demonstrate their zeal by disturbing our meeting the same week'.<sup>235</sup>

The Welsh Baptists never experienced the problem of a shortage of men for the ministry to the extent that Ireland and the Philadelphia Association did; in fact many Welsh pastors were exported to Ireland and America. But the ministerial shortage actually helped to enhance the power of the Philadelphia Association. When a particular church was in a 'widowed state' it looked to the Association to procure a minister for them. Morgan Edwards, for example, became pastor of the Philadelphia church through the joint efforts of the Association leadership and local church leaders in Philadelphia. In their correspondence with London, Edwards was recommended to them.<sup>236</sup>

The Philadelphia Association, when it was formed in 1707, established principles for recognizing the authority of Baptist ministers. An itinerant pastor from another area would have to produce credentials from the church where he originated. This was done because of 'vain and insufficient men, who had set themselves up to be preachers, would stroll about the country under the name of Baptist ministers'.<sup>237</sup> The Philadelphia Association also gave licenses to their ministers. And they would not allow unapproved ministers to preach in their churches. In 1734 the Middletown church in

New Jersey asked the Association whether it was permissible to allow a minister from another persuasion to preach in their church. The response was in the negative, except in special cases.<sup>238</sup> And the Association would not allow congregations without pastors to go to other meetings in the interim. Churches were instructed to have a Bible reading, the recitation of prayers and hymns at their own meetinghouse until a minister was found.<sup>239</sup> This kept the congregation intact along with financial support for the new minister.

In Ireland the Dublin church did try to establish itself as a central authority; this can be seen in the general meeting's <sup>change of</sup> <sup>in</sup> location every other year. Its laymen were the administrative trustees of an education fund which provided vital financial support for the candidates to the ministry. And early in the eighteenth century the churches received their pastors through the Dublin church.<sup>240</sup> But by the middle of the century individual congregations were contracting agreements with pastors through direct correspondence with English Baptists. Also there were no regulations concerning the behaviour of the congregation toward the minister once he was placed.<sup>241</sup>

Due to the shortage of ministers the churches were not adverse to stealing ministers from one another. In 1763, after the Cork church dismissed John Knight (whom they had obtained independently) their lay leadership was for a time considering asking the Lower Ormond minister James North to



become their pastor. At the same time the Waterford church lost their pastor, Henry Phillips, to the Dublin church which had made him pastor of the Back Lane Chapel. The Cork church recorded that Phillips had 'forsaken them'. In 1790 the Dublin church courted Walter Richards, pastor of Cork to be their minister. But the Cork church retained his services by raising his stipend.<sup>242</sup> Both Morgan Edwards and James Knight, when they were dismissed as ministers by the Cork church, went to Dublin to complain of their treatment. Knight's complaint resulted in the Dublin church investigating his claim by sending representatives to Kilkenny to take a deposition from Miles Crowley who was <sup>at</sup> the centre of the controversy that had led to his dismissal.<sup>243</sup> But the Dublin church's central authority was moral, its sanctions self-evidently weak. Its relationship with the other meetings in Ireland was similar to the London churches' relationship with the other Associations in England and Wales.

The key to the success of the Associations outside Ireland was the ability to centralize their church government sufficiently to give cohesion without creating a clumsy and encumbering central authority that would be unable to deal with local issues. The Associations also provided the Baptist community with the means of presenting a united front to confront outside threats from the government or other dissenting churches with which they were in competition.

## Establishing Pastoral Leadership

At the dawning of the eighteenth century the Baptists were becoming less radical in their outlook on politics and the nature of the Church, which is one reason why they survived as a distinct entity internationally. In London their political activities were chiefly concerned with maintaining their new-won freedom, rather than fostering any radical ideas associated with the English Revolution.<sup>244</sup> Their anti-clerical attitudes had become more moderate. They were no longer calling people in other churches 'unbaptized'. The Confession drafted by the English Baptist in 1689 reflected the change in attitude when it defined the Church as simply the elect. When a Baptist minister in London, John Piggot, preached a memorial sermon for Mordicai Abbot in 1702, his recollection concerning him demonstrated the shift of Baptist opinion to a more moderate attitude.<sup>245</sup>

And I think it no contemptible part of his character, that he paid deference and respect to all that were of the Sacred Order of the Ministry, under what denomination soever they passed. Tho' his ears were not servilely board'd to any; for he did not look on them as lords of the faith, but helpers of his joy, yet I say, he was not wanting to afford them the testimonies of his respect.

The Baptists had moved somewhat closer to the view of Colonel Jones, who in 1655 advocated co-operation between dissenting bodies, but kept their separatist position. They no longer



expressed the sentiment that other churches were not part of the elect. Instead they saw themselves as a more perfect church than the others, and for the sake of peace, <sup>they</sup> would tolerate their differing theological opinions. This was a necessary change if they were to co-exist with their dissenting brethren. Their viewpoint was becoming decidedly less sectarian.

The Baptist vision of the Church, the gathering of the elect in voluntary association, created new problems in regard to their ministry. Many of the early <sup>Baptist</sup> ministers were academically trained, but there were many who were not. Contemporaries referred to these <sup>early Lay Pastors</sup> derisively as 'mechanic preachers'. In 1738 John Lewis, an Anglican in Kent, renewed the attack of the Presbyterian divine Thomas Edwards on the quality and character of most of the early Baptist ministers asserting that they were 'soap boilers, watermen, and bakers'.<sup>246</sup> These preachers in many cases were self-employed in the various trades mentioned but some, like William Kiffin and Hanserd Knollys, were pastors of churches in London who had become very prosperous through overseas trading ventures during and after the Interregnum.<sup>247</sup> There is evidence that many of the early ministers were chosen by the local church after they had served as laymen for a number of years. Virtually all the ministers who were early settlers in Pennsylvania were over forty years old when they had been ordained in Europe, and many were over fifty. This suggests

that the Baptist churches usually chose pastoral leaders from an economically secure background who had well settled religious opinions.<sup>248</sup> In the eighteenth century, ministers began to be chosen at younger ages. But those chosen in the Philadelphia Association's area were, throughout the century, comparatively older than those chosen in Wales and Ireland. The average age at ordination was twenty-seven in Philadelphia. In Ireland those beginning ministerial training were usually in the early twenties or younger. Even allowing for a period of training, Irish Baptist ministers began at younger ages than, at least, <sup>those in</sup> Philadelphia. When a member expressed a desire to be a minister he would inform the church of his intentions and begin an apprenticeship under the local pastor. In Philadelphia the ministerial candidate would be sponsored by his local church to the Association and given a license to preach. This apprenticeship lasted on average six years, after which he was ordained by ministers of other congregations in the Association.<sup>249</sup> In Ireland the process was similar. Ebenezer Gibbons (1701-1764) began serving as an assistant in Dublin in 1718, but removed to Cork in 1725 and served there as assistant until he was ordained at the Association meeting in 1729.<sup>250</sup>

Part of the motivation for the transition toward a professional pastorate was a defensive reaction to outside criticism. The Anglican, Presbyterian and Congregational ministers usually dismissed Baptist theological opinions



because, they claimed, their leaders were not learned. The Quakers, on the other side, maintained that sacraments were no longer part of the function of the Church. This view was based on the assumption <sup>that</sup> sacraments, <sup>and that</sup> belonged to another age, the present one no longer required <sup>them</sup>; therefore there was no need for ministers, priests or 'hirelings' as Quakers termed them. When Baptists in Bristol subscribed £83 for the support of the ministry in 1679, scriptural arguments at the top of the subscription list were set out which responded to Quaker objections of a paid ministry.<sup>251</sup> In addition many English and Welsh Baptists in the early eighteenth century wanted to provide academic training <sup>for their ministers</sup> in order to establish a uniformity of belief in their church.<sup>252</sup>

The Irish Baptists were the first to establish an educational fund for ministerial candidates. In 1698 the fund was endowed with £330 by several prosperous Baptists. The original capital sum was loaned out at interest. Soon after in 1700 the fund received several more contributions which amounted to over £230. The fund then began to finance 'the training of men for the ministry'. The fund helped to train nineteen ministerial candidates between 1700 and 1781. It had remarkable success at the beginning of the endeavour. The first three candidates were trained at a cost of just over £230. The time spent in training varied with the three. Joseph Pettit remained on the fund two years, Abdiel Edwards and

Daniel Green spent three and four years respectively. All three went on to serve long pastorates in Ireland. But after this initial success only four of the remaining sixteen men are known for certain to have become pastors in Ireland. But this pessimistic accounting must be tempered by the fact that the fund was used by the Dublin church as an alternate source of financial maintenance for ministerial apprentices. Ebenezer Gibbon remained on the fund for ten years while serving as an assistant to the Dublin pastor Abdiel Edwards. A Mr. Longbottom was supported by the fund for six years and probably served as an itinerant to churches without pastors. Joseph Fowkes began benefiting from the fund at age sixteen and remained a recipient for seventeen years while he was an assistant pastor at Dublin. He eventually left the ministry and went to Lisbon to become a partner in his brother's business; John Cennick, the Moravian preacher, claimed that 'he [had] lost ground in the hearts of his hearers'. Fowkes did return to Ireland around 1756 and became a lay leader in the Cork city church until his death in 1780.<sup>253</sup>

It is not clear when the London churches actually established an educational fund. In 1700 John Piggot stated that Mordicai Abbot, 'gave liberally, tho' very privately, to encourage the bringing up of a Pious and Learned ministry in Ireland, and understanding that a such a design was forming in London, he gave encouragement there also'.<sup>254</sup> The fund was officially begun in 1717 by the London churches.<sup>255</sup>



It seems that the London churches used the fund for maintaining their pre-eminence above the other Associations. In 1714 the London Baptist ministers had formed a committee of correspondence (see [redacted]) with other dissenting ministers. This committee was restricted to churches in the London vicinity. The same strategy was employed in the design of the education fund. The managers of the fund were the elders (ministers) and messengers (laymen) of the nine churches in or near London. Church representation in the management of the fund was dependent on the amount the individual churches contributed. A church contributing fifty pounds could send one elder and one messenger, one hundred pounds entitled one elder and two messengers, and one hundred and fifty pounds allowed three messengers along with the elder. It is clear that lay participation, as well as church participation, was dependent on the amount contributed.<sup>256</sup>

The London churches used the fund as a tool of influence within the denomination. Locality did not obstruct ministers from availing themselves of the benefit of the fund. But there were preconditions placed upon churches that were not London-based. If a congregation had a ministerial candidate or minister that was benefiting from the fund, they had to have an annual collection that would be donated to the fund. Ministers already installed and serving congregations evidently availed themselves of the fund because one regulation was that

if they had an annual salary of £40 they were restricted from any subsidy provided from it.

Students before they were accepted had to be examined by the managers of the fund. After acceptance the student had to be willing to be directed by the managers while they received their stipend. Some of these restrictions were obviously placed on every 'apprentice' benefiting from the fund, whether they were London-based or not. The design seems to indicate that the fund was used as a policing mechanism to restrain unorthodox opinion in the English Baptist ministerial community. But the design lacked the coercive character of Presbyterianism. Even as late as the 1790s Baptist arrangements for their ministry remained similar: the attempt to achieve uniformity without explicit coercions, was an attempt to achieve Presbyterian goals, using a different nomenclature and approach.

The transition in the character of the pastoral leadership was gradual and uneven. In Ireland the pastoral leadership of the church slowly evolved from the lay leadership of the Restoration period, but ministers were still involved in secular, commercial activities in order to generate personal income long after 1700. John Edwards, an early pastor in Dublin, obtained two loans from the educational fund amounting to one hundred and ten pounds between 1700 and 1707, which indicates that he was probably engaged in mercantile activities.<sup>257</sup> Joseph



Pettit, the Cork pastor, schooled and boarded children to supplement his income.<sup>258</sup> Oswald Edwards, the pastor of the independent Baptist church in Dublin, was practising accounting for Burton's Bank during the 1730s.<sup>259</sup> In Waterford Samuel Fowkes' wife operated a business that seems to have involved her in sailing to Bristol and in frequent trips to Dublin. She claimed that her business activities were the sole means of financial support for the family in the 1720s.<sup>260</sup> But as the eighteenth century moved on, the ministry started gradually <sup>to</sup> assume a more professional appearance.

Part of the reason for change resulted from competition for converts with the other dissenters. In their early development the main competitors for the Baptists were the Quakers. Baptist ranks were greatly trimmed by Quaker expansion, and there was an influence through this competitiveness which made Baptist and Quaker piety similar in many respects. On the other hand Presbyterians and Congregationalists never really questioned the role of the ministry to the extent that Baptists did. As the Baptists started to develop organizational structures that were similar to other dissenters it was only natural that the ministry would change in a like manner. Also, these dissenters were their main competitors after the Glorious Revolution and the recruiting of persons who were predisposed to the ministerial forms of Presbyterians and the Congregationalists naturally influenced Baptist thought on the subject of the role of the ministry.

The Baptists, in order to compete, had to present an appearance of social respectability wherever they were located. They were often, it seems, looked down upon socially because they failed to attract the gentry as some other dissenting societies, such as the Presbyterians, had managed to do. Morgan Edwards (1722-1795) claimed in 1770 that 'there was a crossgrained fatality attending the laudable deeds of baptists to prevent their not having (in this world) the praise they deserve'.<sup>261</sup> This mentality made them conscious to present a good appearance to those outside their community, especially in Ireland. One of the attributes of Joseph Pettit was that 'his conversation was lively and improving which easily introduced him to general acquaintance and a general approbation', and 'even those that did not attend his ministry were fond of his company'. One of the reasons for Morgan Edwards' dismissal from the Cork pastorate, beside his having a 'heavy manner', was the 'necessity to look out for a popular man who might be agreeable to other denominations'. This competitiveness also led to placing a great deal of emphasis on outward appearances. Pettit was 'comely and of a good size', but 'from the middle age of life he was inclined to fat which he often complained of and lamented as burthensome to him'. Ebenezer Gibbons was remembered when he died in 1764 for the fact that he preached without notes and that 'his delivery when a young man was accounted clear, distinct and graceful, tho' in



his latter days, having the misfortune of the loss of teeth, he did not pronounce with that propriety that is pleasing'.<sup>262</sup>

It is very understandable why there was an emphasis placed on the human quality of ministers. An agreeable minister would attract new members and provide a focal point of identity for the congregation he served, being their public representative in matters of religion. Members did not want to be embarrassed by their minister. We have already seen how Oswald Edwards, the independent Dublin Baptist pastor, engaged in controversies with other Quakers and Catholics which led to a derisive and humorous ballad. In 1740 when Edwards thought he had been cheated by the Dublin banker Samuel Burton his use of swear words in Dublin must have been regarded as quite gratuitous and shocking. Shortly after his death the Moravian preacher John Cennick commented on his ill-fame and further stated generally 'one Pew would hold all his congregation'.<sup>263</sup> Therefore ministerial organization and <sup>the quality of</sup> recruitment were the most important ingredients for denominational success in eighteenth-century dissenting churches in order to present a positive appearance to the wider community.

The Baptist repudiation of an exclusive state-supported church led to the ministry being very dependent on the congregations they served. As a result ministerial success was often dependent on personal attributes like the ones discussed.

But this could present difficulties as well. The churches in the early part of the eighteenth century in Wales and Ireland began to recruit young men with popular talents. In 1728 the Welsh Baptist Association warned the churches about young men who were beginning to preach, 'particularly not to encourage the bold and forward; nor to discourage the low and diffident in their eyes'. Joshua Thomas (1719-1797), the eighteenth-century Welsh Baptist historian, thought that this directive was given on account of three young men, 'one of whom could not be kept out of the pulpit' who was the leader of 'three young ministers about that time who joined in some singularities'.<sup>264</sup> Only eight ages of the nineteen ministerial candidates on the Irish Baptist educational fund can be determined. All but one, Joseph Pettit, were under twenty-two when they began. Only one of these remaining seven had a successful ministry. This was Ebenezer Gibbons who began when he was seventeen. The Cork church recorded 'he was very early engaged (perhaps too early) in public preaching'.<sup>265</sup>

In 1807 the Philadelphia Association sent out a circular letter that was intent on discouraging the practice of choosing ministers for popular talents and youth. They claimed that, 'there are some things which are regarded as qualifications, which in reality are not'. The letter was an attack on the Baptist tradition of pastoral leadership. It rejected 'confident decisions of friends and relatives', and <sup>the view</sup> that 'success is no satisfactory proof that a preacher is qualified'. They also



rejected personal qualities that tended to create a positive appearance to those outside the church. They claimed that 'not all the eloquence and zeal, and purity and usefulness, of an apostle were sufficient to restrain his adversaries from saying, "his bodily presence is weak and his speech contemptible"'. Besides good moral conduct the Association stated that 'knowledge is requisite', and 'an aptness to teach'. This change reflects the passing of a pastoral tradition that formed <sup>in the SEVENTEENTH CENTURY</sup> as a result of the <sup>early</sup> transition of the church from a loosely bound group with vague similarity to a permanent denomination with a stable organizational base. By 1807 the church <sup>had</sup> developed institutions that enabled the ministry to have some independence from the congregation the pastoral office became more professional.<sup>266</sup>

There were attempts early on among the Irish Baptists to alleviate ministerial dependence on congregations. In 1707 Robert Allen, brother-in-law to Major Edward Riggs, bequeathed £100 to be loaned out at interest for the financial maintenance of the ministry in Lower Ormond.<sup>267</sup> The Dublin church had at least three endowments specifically for the use of the ministry there, with a capital value of £300.<sup>268</sup> In Waterford city Samuel Fowkes constructed four houses during the 1720s and 1730s and the rent from them went toward financing the minister's salary.<sup>269</sup> Much of the original motivation for the endowments in Ireland, and to some extent elsewhere, was not so much the establishing of ministerial

independence, but rather the desire to avert the collapse of local congregations.

Financing schemes such as these enabled the Baptist churches to survive in the interim between pastoral ministries. Churches without ministers faced the danger of a dissolving congregation, and if the interval was too long it could mean the extinction of a meeting. Irish Baptists suffered a great deal as a result of ministerial shortages. Their decline from nine congregations in the early part of the eighteenth century to five by 1750 can be attributed to this shortage of ministers, coupled with a lack of lay patronage. Thus the Legacurry church in north Armagh became extinct as a result of the death of their pastor Giles Mason in the early 1740s. The Kilkenny church struggled along after the death of their minister in 1712; it was serviced occasionally by ministers from the other Baptist congregations, but after the meeting lost the support of the Geale family, who were the principal means of support for the church, it became extinct. The Wexford church was another casualty of the ministerial shortage. Samuel Fowkes tried to help it to survive during the early part of his Waterford ministry, but due to the attention the Waterford church demanded and the dropping off of Baptists in the area, the Wexford church succumbed by 1740.<sup>270</sup>

The Irish Baptists were not very successful in producing home-grown ministers and as a result were very much in need



of attracting young ministers from England and Wales. We have already seen a few examples of men who were obtained from abroad, but generally even in this regard the Irish Baptists fared poorly. Toby Barnard has pointed out some of the problems that the Church of Ireland in the late seventeenth century had in establishing a competent ministry, with poorly endowed livings being one of the main problems.<sup>271</sup> Irish Baptists did try to provide an adequate income for their local pastors, but suffered from the same problems that other dissenting congregations had to contend with. John Cennick, the Moravain evangelist who had been invited to Ireland by the Dublin Baptists, confessed in retrospect why he had been reluctant to come over to Ireland: he 'entertain'd a strong prejudice against the whole Irish-Nation and People', which seemed to be a prevalent attitude among many potential ministers from England and Wales.<sup>272</sup>

The majority of the ministers which the Irish Baptists were able to recruit from abroad were either from Wales or the English West Country, but by and large they were not successful implants. In 1747 the Cork church was able to solicit the ministerial services of David Evans of Moleston, Pembrokeshire. Evans was persuaded to go to Cork by Dr. Bernard Foskett, his instructor at Bristol Baptist College. Unfortunately for the Cork church Evans only stayed there 'a little while' before he returned to England, 'heartily weary of his fatigue'.<sup>273</sup> Presumably Morgan Edwards came over from

Boston, Lincolnshire in Evan's stead shortly thereafter. The Cork church changed their practice of using Welsh ministers after their dismissal of Edwards in 1758. One not insignificant factor may have been their Welsh accent. In 1769 Richard Ware, an elder of the Presbyterian church in Cork, wrote to John Siddon, a Presbyterian minister in Liverpool, in order to obtain a minister for the Cork Presbyterian congregation. The closeness of the Presbyterians and Baptists in the city at that stage was demonstrated by the decision of the local Baptist church in 1760 to hire John Knight as pastor, who at that stage was a candidate-minister at the Cork Presbyterian church.<sup>274</sup> Ware was very specific about the personal qualifications of any prospective ministerial candidate. First of all he had to be popular because he would be rejected if 'he is wanting in that free affable manner of conversation which is indeed very necessary in our congregation'. Secondly, he would be rejected if 'he has the Welsh dialect (from which[ever] part he comes), it will not be very agreeable to us'.<sup>275</sup>

In 1764 the Cork Baptist church pleaded with a Mr. Needham of Bristol to lead them, enticing the Englishman with a salary of eighty pounds per annum and fifty pounds disturbance money to be their pastor. It is not surprising that Needham refused in light of the experience of Evans and Edwards.<sup>276</sup> Then there was the case of the Welshman Henry Phillips, who left the Waterford meeting in 1763 to serve as minister in Dublin, but who returned in 1765 to Penygarn in



Wales, his place of origin. He eventually settled in Sarum where he became a school-master with as many as two hundred scholars. According to Joshua Thomas, Phillips claimed that his reason for leaving Ireland was that 'he and his wife had not their health there'.<sup>277</sup> Another Welshman was recruited to Dublin three years later. He was Joshua Llewelyn who came to serve as an assistant to William Boulton. When Boulton removed to London in 1770, Llewelyn became the head pastor in Dublin until his death ten years later.<sup>278</sup> Another Welsh ministerial prospect was Rees David. He had intended to replace James North in the Lower Ormond ministry in 1775, but David 'did not approve of that place', and returned to Bristol the following year. The Lower Ormond church finally secured a minister via Bristol in 1780. This was Thomas Lewis, who came from Ebenezer in Pembrokeshire.<sup>279</sup> The Bristol connection seems to have provided the Irish Baptists with much needed ministerial recruits, but the candidates themselves were for the most part unsatisfied with service in Ireland.

Ministerial longevity seems to have been the main determinant of survival of some of the Irish Baptist churches in the eighteenth century. The Cork church was extremely fortunate in this regard. Their first pastor, Joseph Pettit, served at least twenty-five years from c.1704 to 1729.<sup>280</sup> He was followed by Ebenezer Gibbons who served thirty-five years from his ordination in 1729 until his death in 1764.<sup>281</sup>

It is not clear when his successor Walter Richards finished his ministry at Cork, but he served the Cork Baptists for even longer - at least fifty-seven years. He was called from London in 1764 and seems to have still been ministering to a very attenuated congregation c.1821; there is no archival evidence on his ministry at that stage, but there is a <sup>lone</sup> reference <sup>that year</sup> in the *Cork Examiner* that he <sup>had</sup> performed a marriage at the Cork Baptist church.<sup>282</sup> In Waterford the case was similar: Samuel Fowkes served there from 1716 to 1746, but after his death in the later year the church experienced pastoral instability, when they had three relatively short-stay pastors, none of whom ended their pastorates as a result of death. But James Edwards who became their pastor in 1763 served there until his death in 1789.<sup>283</sup> The Tipperary church had two pastors who served long ministries: Daniel Green, (who had been trained by the educational fund), came there in 1705. Green was succeeded by James North sometime after 1744, and he had a successful ministry there until his death in 1774.<sup>284</sup> The church at Rahugh in county Westmeath survived because of its proximity to Dublin and the continuance of lay patronage there. The Dublin church was able to keep the congregation supplied with regular ministerial visits throughout the eighteenth century. Earlier in the century the Lower Ormond pastor Daniel Green, and the north Armagh pastor Giles Mason filled in <sup>each</sup> by <sup>Sunday</sup> conducting <sup>^</sup>worship services once a month.<sup>285</sup>



## The Fundamental Problem

The Irish Baptists had an energetic beginning in innovating an organizational structure, but subsequent development was slow and deficient when compared with contemporary counterparts. By the end of the eighteenth century Irish Baptists were near extinction as a denomination. The reason for their survival in Ireland was due to the organizational developments outside, particularly in England. A recent work on dissent in England demonstrates how old styles of non-conformity were being replaced by organizational schemes that could cope with and capitalize on the new demands that were being made of the dissenting communities. Lay patronage was no longer capable of providing the necessary resources to underwrite a national ministry. John Wesley and the Methodist movement had shown how effective itinerant preaching could be in evangelization, and religious societies were emerging to support such activities.<sup>286</sup>

Part of the reason for these developments was a change in outlook among religious non-conformists. Religious dissenters had an introspective religiosity in the earlier eighteenth century, and as the evangelical imperative was re-interpreted, they became more outward looking and missionary societies began to emerge in earnest. The Irish Baptists certainly shared the introspective religiosity, almost to a dangerous degree, and were particularly vulnerable. When they did reach out they had to look outside their community,





## **Chapter V**

### **The Eighteenth-Century Irish Baptist Community**

Thus far we have seen that the Baptist movement in England, Wales and most acutely, in Ireland, had problems related to its theological beginnings in developing a distinct identity. This lack of a doctrinal identity, coupled with radical conceptions about the nature of organization, were factors that delayed the Irish Baptists in their evolution from a loosely bound group to an efficiently organized denomination. This chapter will look more closely at the communities that made up Irish Baptists in order to examine who were the active constituents of the church, and to explore more fully how local congregations went about the business of survival. The previous chapter has shown the dual importance of ministers and of a critical mass of membership in the survival of individual congregations in Ireland as elsewhere. Ministers were needed to attract members, and a critical minimum of members with the financial commitment they represented

were needed to attract ministers. This delicate relationship between minister and congregation had to be maintained if a congregation was going to survive. We have discussed the ministerial role in this equation. Now we will look more closely at lay membership.

One of the most important factors in the short-term retreat of the Irish Baptists after the Restoration, besides their loss of political power, was their loss of economic strength. As we have seen, many Cromwellian Irish Baptists left Ireland and many others lost large portions of the landed estates they had obtained in the 1650s, such as Col. Daniel Axtell, who lost his life as well as his land in Kilkenny. Also, Col. Lawrence lost a significant part of his large estates. But many were able to rebound, or at least to hold onto personal wealth that had been accumulated during the Interregnum, and such survivors were able to provide the financial patronage that enabled the movement to survive the Restoration adjustment.

Although extant records cannot provide an exact or exhaustive account of specific instances of patronage, the key individuals of substance who supported local congregations and enabled them to survive can be identified. Therefore we will look first at these local churches which continued to exist after the Restoration and give a general appraisal of them and of some <sup>of</sup> the individuals who were responsible for their continued functioning.



## Baptist Meetings in the early Eighteenth Century

The chronology of the Irish Baptist movement can be divided into four phases. Initial growth in the Cromwellian period, short-term decline during the Restoration, a resurgence in the early eighteenth century, and a long-term decline from the mid-eighteenth century. After the Restoration the number of meetings which were formed during the Interregnum were reduced greatly. It is impossible to ascertain definitely what happened to each of the congregations due to the very patchy survival of early Irish Baptist records. The first comprehensive record of the state of individual meetings in Ireland after 1660 is a listing of meetings which were extant in 1725. At that time Joseph Pettit appraised Elisha Callendar, a prominent Baptist minister in Boston, Massachusetts, of the state of the meetings and the ministers who served them in Ireland. There were five places with settled ministers; Dublin, Waterford city, Cork city, Lower Ormond in northern County Tipperary, and Legacorry in northern County Armagh. Pettit claimed that Dublin was the largest and supposed 'it may contain between 150 & 200 members'. The other meetings, according to Pettit, were 'small, none of them exceed 60, & some not thirty'. Besides the meetings with settled pastors, there were the 'remains of some other congregations'. Due to Pettit's record it is therefore possible to construct a general outline of developments before 1725.<sup>287</sup>

In Connaught the Baptists were in a very weak state after the Restoration, as a result of pressure from Sir Charles Coote (who had become Earl of Mountrath) and Ulick Burke, the earl of Clanricard: the Galway city meeting was 'harried' out by Coote in 1661.<sup>288</sup> There is evidence however that the former Cromwellian governor Lt. Paul Dod, a Baptist, continued to live in the city until his death in 1712.<sup>289</sup> For want of evidence to the contrary, Coote's assault seems to have been effective. James Carroll's altercation with the second earl of Clanricard in the 1670s shows that 'Anabaptist' influence was not welcome in County Galway after the Restoration. In 1725 there was no mention of a Baptist meeting in or near Galway. And in 1756, when Morgan Edwards transcribed part of the 1653 Cromwellian Irish Baptist correspondence from a Welsh Baptist church book and sent the transcription to the Cork city congregation, the recorder of the church book saw fit to comment that there was no congregation in Limerick or Galway 'in our memory'.<sup>290</sup>

In Ulster it seems possible that some of the Baptists originally meeting in Carrickfergus (which would possibly have included the small port of Belfast) during the Cromwellian occupation remained in Ulster and reformed in north County Armagh, centred on the townland of Legacorry. In 1725 that church was still in existence, but by 1742 the meeting was no longer extant due to the death of Giles Mason, the pastor.<sup>291</sup>



The initially more numerous Baptists of Munster were hard pressed after 1660, but survived the Restoration setbacks. The Cromwellian meetings in County Kerry and Limerick were casualties of the Restoration and seem to have disappeared shortly afterwards. As we have seen the north Tipperary congregation remained after the Restoration but experienced at least temporary trouble when the members of the congregation were arrested along with other Protestant militants in 1685 on charges of spreading rumours of a popish plot.<sup>292</sup> In County Cork there were two meetings of importance. According to the recorder of the Cork Church Book in 1756, on the death in the early 1680s of their minister John Coleman, the Cork city congregation had dwindled down to 'five women'. But if indeed this is true, it rebounded remarkably, apparently as a result of obtaining full ministerial services in 1704 which was made possible thanks to lay patronage of the elderly Cromwellian Major, Edward Riggs, who had kept a meeting on his estate at Riggsdale during the Restoration.<sup>293</sup> As a result of the Cork city church's survival, another Munster meeting, that of Clonmel in south Tipperary, was able to hang on into the eighteenth century, drawing on the occasional services of the Cork minister, but it expired in 1729 with the sale of the meetinghouse. But a remnant of this meeting reformed and began to worship together near Killenaule in central Tipperary in the townland of Lismortagh.<sup>294</sup> Another strong Cromwellian meeting in Munster, that of Waterford city,

continued thanks to the lay leadership of the Cromwellian sea captain Thomas Sparling, but very little is known of its Restoration history. In 1717 Samuel Fowkes, who was originally from Bromesgrove in the English West Country, became the settled minister there.<sup>295</sup>

The strongest province for Baptist activity was Leinster. There were at least six congregations in the province at one time or another after the Restoration. Dublin was by far the most important, where there were three baptistic meetings. Only one belonged to the Irish Baptist Association in 1725. The other two at that stage were independent from the Association and from one another.<sup>296</sup> One was led by Oswald Edwards, the vociferous and extremely adversarial pastor, and the other by Daniel Mun. Edwards presided over a dwindling congregation that one critic, as we have seen, said 'could be held in one pew'. He died some time in the early 1740s and his son Samuel Edwards assumed control over the meetinghouse property. By 1747 Samuel seems to have affiliated with the main body of Dublin Baptists, but the meeting house was no longer being used for religious services.<sup>297</sup> Also, by 1747 Daniel Mun had become affiliated with the Association.<sup>298</sup>

The Dublin congregation was always looked to for support by the other meetings in Leinster. The congregation in County Westmeath at Rahugh was the most directly dependent on the Dublin Baptists because their (occasional) minister was



supplied from Dublin throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>299</sup> The meeting in Kilkenny continued on after the Restoration, but began to decline in the early eighteenth century. This congregation was supplied with the services of a minister from Dublin once every other month. At Enniscorthy in County Wexford an attempt was made by Samuel Fowkes, the future Waterford pastor, to revitalize and reform a congregation around the time of Queen Anne, but without success. Dublin provided ministerial assistance once every other month here also.<sup>300</sup>

The last decade of the seventeenth century and the first two of the eighteenth century were, as we have seen, a time of successful re-emergence of the Baptists in Ireland. Although this revitalization centred on reinforcing the Cromwellian and Restoration inheritance of worshipping communities it did this by providing an organizational framework for the first time which enabled Irish Baptists to attract new members in earnest. This was very important because for Irish Baptist churches to survive they had to be able to draw new adherents to baptistic beliefs from other Protestant groups as well as to maintain continuity <sup>of membership</sup> within families which had subscribed to Baptist beliefs in Ireland before the social upheaval of the Jacobite period.

## Lay Patronage: A Means of Survival

We have already seen that the introduction of Baptism into Ireland was the result of military patronage. Virtually every meeting in Cromwellian Ireland had been dependent on at least the good will of the local military authority during the Interregnum. After the Restoration this formula perforce changed to lay civilian patronage and leadership, and this remained the single most important factor in the survival of the Irish Baptists in the late seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century lay patronage continued to play a major role in the survival of local congregations, but the Irish Baptist church, as with Baptists elsewhere, was trying to develop organizational structures that could transcend lay dependence;

it was not successful to the extent that Baptist communities elsewhere in the British dominions achieved emancipation from a few wealthy patrons.

Reliance on lay patronage was certainly not a peculiar aspect of Irish Baptist survival. Patronage was <sup>at some stage</sup> a prevalent feature of Baptist communities throughout the British dominions. In London, early congregations had been dependent on affluent and influential leaders like William Kiffin and Hanserd Knollys. The Baptist church at Leominster in Herefordshire was dependent on a prosperous weaver during the Restoration.<sup>301</sup> In Wales a number of pastors were dependent on a physician named Dr. Christopher Price. The eighteenth-century Welsh Baptist historian reported that Dr.



Price had been in the ministry forty years and had received no payment for his work but had, on the contrary, assisted other pastors financially.<sup>302</sup> In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century the Broadmead church in Bristol benefited from the benevolence of Robert Bodenham, a wealthy merchant and sail maker, who had mercantile ties with the Waterford Baptist leader Thomas Sparling.<sup>303</sup> In America the situation was similar. The Lower Dublin or Pennypek church was supported in its early development by Peter Duffield, a wealthy landowner who donated a £100 endowment for the ministers' support.<sup>304</sup> The majority of Baptists' churches wherever they were situated (Ireland, England, Wales or America) owed their foundation and early survival to the beneficence of a family or group of families that formed the original core of the local congregation. For those churches with single family patronage at their foundation, it was imperative for their continued existence to develop a broader base of lay support.

Lay patronage in Ireland was not replaced as a result of the organizational reforms of the early eighteenth century, in fact lay patronage was the most necessary ingredient in the new foundation of the Irish Baptists. In Dublin, as we have seen, Richard Lawrence had been the principal means of support and leadership for the church both locally and nationally. After his death in the middle of the 1680s the Dublin church had the broadest base of lay support of any

individual meeting in Ireland. This can be seen by looking at those who were the main contributors to the original Education Fund. There were eleven major contributors between October 1698 when the fund was instituted and July 1700. Only one of this original group was not from Dublin, Edward Riggs of Cork.<sup>305</sup>

Table 5: I

Contributors to the Education Fund

October 1698

Edward Riggs.....	£100
Richard Falkiner.....	£100
Daniel Falkiner (I).....	£50
Samuel Travers.....	£30
Trial Travers.....	£30
James Webb.....	£10
Jonathan Sisson.....	£10

July 1700

James Carroll.....	£50
[ ] Evans.....	£50
Daniel Falkiner's Executors.....	£50
Joseph Budden.....	£50
Mordecai Abbott.....	£30

Source: The Trustees Book, fol. 2.

Patronage was not confined to the province of male benefactors. The Cork city congregation avoided extinction after a pastorally dormant period of at least twenty years because of female support. As we have seen there had been



two meetings in County Cork during the Restoration, one in Cork city at the home of their Cromwellian pastor John Coleman, and the other conventicle at Riggsdale, the rural home of Major Edward Riggs. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Cork city church was still suffering from problems that had originated during the 1680s and 1690s - the loss of their minister, who was not replaced when he died in the early 1680s, and also persecution by the Jacobite corporation between 1685 and 1688. According to later tradition 'five women' were the only constituents of the Cork Baptist church at the turn of the century. The meeting was resuscitated through the efforts of Coleman's daughter Sarah Smart. She was able to solicit successfully Major Rigg's wife Ann to provide the necessary financial support for the salary of the new minister Joseph Pettit in 1704. The Major died in 1707 leaving Ann as the principal benefactor of the Cork city church. As a result of her benevolence toward the meeting, the church was able to thrive and by 1729 a broad base of lay support had been established, with women holding a nearly two to one majority among the meeting's constituents, a characteristic peculiar to the Cork church.<sup>306</sup> The Cork church also illustrates a successful transition in Ireland from narrow financial base dependent on one family to a broader and sounder lay base.

Although it is not possible to trace the religious fortunes of many of the families who provided the necessary patronage

for Irish Baptists to survive we can see that a pattern emerges from around Ireland. The lack of continuity between Cromwellian Irish Baptists and eighteenth-century adherents to the Baptist movement is remarkably stark. When comparing the surnames of those Cromwellian Baptists who stayed in Ireland after the Restoration with the membership lists that survive from eighteenth-century Irish congregations we find that the original Cromwellian surnames had virtually disappeared from the records. The Cork and Dublin churches have left the best nominal records to trace family survival in the Irish Baptist fold. The records for the Waterford church are not as good as those of Dublin and Cork, but there is some indication as to which families made up the core of the church over time through the deeds that have survived (linked to their attempt to establish a stable financial base).<sup>307</sup> The other Irish congregations have left very little evidence to determine who were their members, but there is an indication as to individual members in 1767 thanks to the survival of a lengthy subscription list of those who contributed to the Baptist college in Rhode Island.<sup>308</sup>

The families that formed the financial backbone for the re-emergence of the Baptists in Ireland shared an important feature; they were by and large upwardly <sup>socially</sup> mobile. Many of these families were specialist traders or general merchants and a number were involved in the early formation of the private Irish banking system.<sup>309</sup> Their migration to Ireland



seems not to have been a communal enterprise but an individual search for economic betterment. The formation of religious communities seeking freedom to practice without interference of the government which was the case so often in migrations to America did not have an Irish Baptist parallel. Richard Lawrence exemplifies this situation. He is primarily remembered for his economic writings and industrial enterprises. His adherence to the Baptists has often escaped historians' notice.<sup>310</sup> Other major families with Cromwellian roots certainly fit into this mould. Major Riggs and another Baptist Francis Bampfield were engaged in a fishing business in the west of county Cork.<sup>311</sup> Thomas Sparling, after losing his commission in the navy at the Restoration, returned to Waterford in order to begin trade as a merchant.<sup>312</sup> John Geale, patriarch of the family that was to be the principal means of financial support for Kilkenny Baptists in the late seventeenth century, came to Ireland in the 1660s due to economic migration and was quite successful in his endeavours.<sup>313</sup> Michael Falkiner, the patriarch of one of the most important early eighteenth-century families in ensuring Irish Baptist survival, came to Ireland in the 1640s from Leeds, and was subsequently involved in the wool trade in Dublin, which probably brought him into contact with Richard Lawrence and with Irish Baptists.<sup>314</sup> It is not recorded what the motivation was which brought to Ireland other families that were later to be involved in the financing of the Irish Baptist re-emergence. It is clear, however, that there was no

Irish Baptist family networks, that had come to the country en masse with a specific religious motivation. Like most Protestants with an English background, these early families had arrived in Ireland, in the hope of bettering themselves, either by land and trade, or war, service and land.

By the second half of the eighteenth century the descendants of those who had played an important role in Irish Baptist survival gradually faded away from the Baptist movement. But care must be taken in this appraisal because the families sometimes did continue to have some members through the female line that were adherents to the church. For instance, some of Richard Lawrence's progeny continued among the Irish Baptists through his daughter Mary and other offspring. No account can be given concerning the descendants of his other children; no male continued the Lawrence surname so in 1717 his granddaughter, Ann Fowkes, named her son Lawrence as a way to keep the family name vicariously alive. Lawrence's daughter, by marrying into the Geale family, kept some continuity with the original Cromwellian link. But this link was further hidden as Ann Fowkes' parents had only one son out of nine children, and he conformed to the Established Church. So the link continued through another maternal line via Lawrence's granddaughter Ann Fowkes. She in turn had twelve children, of whom only two sons survived and married, Joseph and Lawrence Fowkes. Of these two sons only one, Joseph, provided descendants who became members of a



Baptist church in Ireland.<sup>315</sup> The link between Richard Lawrence and his descendants is at best very tenuous and shows that the attrition rate of this particular Cromwellian family was <sup>impeded</sup> very high. The fact that more descendants left the Baptist movement than remained, and the compensating need to recruit new adherents seems to have been the main reasons for the lack of strong organic continuity between the original Cromwellian Baptists and their eighteenth-century adherents.

There were a number of reasons for descendants of Cromwellian Baptists to leave the Irish Baptist community: the strict legalistic piety in many of these families was not conducive to the convivial lifestyle that was prevalent in later seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century upper class Ireland. But the main reason, which is also related to the strict piety of the families and the problems it gave rise to, seems to have been the affluence that was gained as a result of the commercial activities of the original Cromwellian settlers and of the many subsequent recruits from other Protestant groups. The role that affluence played in Irish Baptist attrition can be demonstrated by looking at another family that played an important role in Irish Baptist re-emergence and survival. The Falkiner family came to Ireland in the late 1640s and was engaged in the wool trade at an early stage. The family seems to have joined the Baptist fold sometime during the Restoration. Michael Falkiner had three sons and three

daughters; his eldest son died without issue, another named Sylvester was captured and sold into slavery on the Barbary coast. His third son Daniel (d.c.1699) - the distinguishing Christian name of the Baptist Falkiners - had three sons, Daniel II, John and Caleb (c.1686-1747).<sup>316</sup> Daniel II, the eldest, inherited the family fortune and conformed to the Established Church which allowed him *inter alia* to become High Sheriff of Dublin in 1721 and later Lord Mayor. From that time Daniel II and his descendants remained part of the Established Church.<sup>317</sup> Daniel I's second son John continued his allegiance to the Irish Baptists in Dublin, and had three daughters, all of whom married Dublin Baptists and were subscribing members to the congregation meeting in Swift's Alley.<sup>318</sup> Daniel I's youngest son Caleb moved to Cork city, probably in the first decade of the eighteenth century, where he continued in the woollen trade and later established a bank. He married Edward and Ann Riggs' daughter Ruth, 'about the year 1711', and had a son and a daughter with her. He later married Mary Newport, also a Baptist, from Waterford, but had no issue.<sup>319</sup> Caleb's son Riggs Falkiner inherited his father's fortune, married a Baptist, and became a deacon in the Cork city congregation. By the time of his first wife's death in 1762 he had become, like his father, a successful banker in Cork city.<sup>320</sup> Soon after his first wife's death he remarried Anne Maturin in October 1764 who was the daughter of the dean of St. Patrick's, Gabriel Maturin. Presumably he conformed to the Established Church prior to the marriage. A wealthy man, he



entered politics and became a member of the Irish Parliament till 1783 and died in April 1797. His descendants, like his uncle Daniel II, continued to be members of the Established Church.<sup>321</sup>

In looking at the sponsors of local Irish Baptist congregations the pattern seems clear: as the financial and social fortunes of such leading families increased their commitment to the Baptist community was marginalized. The Riggs family in county Cork followed the same pattern. Ann and Edward Riggs' marital union produced three children. Only one of the children, Ruth, continued in the Baptist faith. The other two were sons, Edward II and Thomas. Edward II conformed and became a lawyer.<sup>322</sup> Thomas went to London around 1700 and became involved with a newly formed Protestant sect from France known as the 'New Prophets' or 'French Prophets'.<sup>323</sup> By the middle of the eighteenth century the name of Riggs was no longer associated with the Baptists in Cork city. This pattern of male heirs defecting to the Established Church in the second or third generation, after they had inherited the bulk of the family fortune

was repeated elsewhere. Benjamin Geale, Ann Fowkes' brother, inherited the family fortune and conformed.<sup>324</sup> There seems to have been a similar story with the Newports in Waterford. This family had definite connections with the Irish Baptists in the early eighteenth

century, but by the middle of the century the heir conformed and was a member of the Irish Parliament.<sup>325</sup>

Economic success, the main motivation for these families coming to Ireland, was also the main factor driving them from the Baptist fold. The problems caused by affluence, the temptation of landed respectability, political opportunity and public office, was not peculiar to the Irish Baptists. The problem was widespread but may not have been totally the result of affluence. In New England the Cambridge Platform and Half-Way Covenant are examples of contingency arrangements being put in place by the religious leaders of the colony due to the second and third generation Puritans not showing signs of spiritual regeneration or conversion. In Ireland the Quakers sometimes left bitter complaints concerning the offspring that were leaving the community. In the records of the Cork Quakers the recorder, who was disappointed that a large estate 'went quite out of our Society', lamented the disposition of John Harmon, the only surviving son of a Quaker, by tersely stating that 'coming into his Fathers Inheritance Young & Foolish became a Prodigal, purchas' at the Heraldry Office the Title of Knight & Baronet, marry'd & soon after died'.<sup>326</sup> Irish Baptists many times expressed the same type of sentiment. When Caleb Falkiner died in 1746 he was well thought of because he remained steadfast in the Baptist faith 'notwithstanding the increase of his fortune and the inducements he had to seek after the honours and titles of the



world'.<sup>327</sup> Stephen Mills, another prominent Baptist from Cork and a banker, received a similar adulation when he died in 1770: 'amidst the temptation of a gay and flattering world to which his fortune and rank in life exposed him he continued steadfast in his holy profession'.<sup>328</sup>

### Irish Baptist Piety

The Irish Baptists, like many religious groups in the eighteenth century, were the children of the Puritan movement of the seventeenth century. Their piety in the eighteenth century reflected this inheritance. They shared features of piety with the wider Protestant community wherever they lived. Their religious ideas often expressed their common bonds with many of their Protestant neighbours. But before their eighteenth-century piety is discussed it is necessary to look at what might be considered the bedrock of Irish Baptist piety.

As we have seen early Baptist ideology and theology was considered by many contemporaries as subversive of family values in that they had questioned the role of the magistrate and the rite of baptism itself. We have also seen that early sectarians introduced ambiguity into the moral formulae of society in questioning and sometimes rejecting the fundamental precepts upon which many of these moral formulae were based. Before and after the Restoration, as the conservative trend of moral thought began to permeate the

ideas of sectarians, Baptist communities began to adopt more conventional Puritan (or Protestant) ideals concerning social relationships.

In November 1669 William Penn suggested that Richard Lawrence was 'Passionate & Confounded about morall religion'.<sup>329</sup> Penn's statement seems to have been confirmed by Lawrence when in 1682 he wrote the treatise *The Interest of Ireland*.<sup>330</sup> In this book Lawrence indeed seemed to have a preoccupation with the economic effects of immorality. His moral condemnation was directed at all social ranks. He chided the nobility and gentry for their not living up to the titles of honour bestowed upon them. Their 'wealth-consuming, and trade-obstructing debaucheries' in buying 'gay clothes', 'gaming', 'whoring' and 'drunkenness' were setting a bad example for those of lower social rank because subjects 'are more apt to imitate their Prince's vices than their virtues'. Lawrence believed there were two types of 'excessive consumption'. The first kind of consumption involved 'the Belly' such as the importation of wine, fruit, spice and tobacco. The second concerned 'the Back' with the importation of 'Silks, fine Linnens, Silver and Gold-laces'. Lawrence believed that the 'excessive consumption' by the nobility and those of inferior rank was draining the wealth of Ireland to foreign countries, especially France. He quoted Martin Luther in order to show that the importation of commodities associated with 'the Back' served 'only for Pride, and no Profit'. Commodities



servicing 'the Belly' such as wine led to other vices such as 'Whoring' which caused the parishes to be overburdened with 'bastards'. It is not necessary to go through a catalogue of Lawrence's postulations on the cost of vice. At the heart of his criticism was a belief that proliferation of vice was causing the people of the Irish nation to have 'effeminate spirits'.<sup>330A</sup>

Morality for Lawrence was an austere discipline similar to the regimentation of the military states of ancient Rome and Sparta who were 'no Fashion-mongers'. He commended the 'gravity of the Germans'. Effeminacy, for Lawrence, was not so much associated with sex as with simply becoming 'soft'. His conservative piety had taken him far from the views he held in the 1640s when he severely distrusted ecclesiastical and civil power. He now wanted the civil and ecclesiastical powers to enact strict sumptuary regulations to control vice. His views on vice seems to have shared many features of those who were behind the push to reform Irish manners in the 1690s.<sup>331</sup>

This particular pietal aspect concerning the family is patently obvious in the eighteenth-century Irish Baptist conceptualization of the ideal family model.

In their religious thought most Irish Baptists shared a common view of family structure with Protestants of all varieties in the English-speaking world. When Ann Fowkes recalled the outstanding characteristics of her grandfather Col.

Richard Lawrence's character, she commented on the family order that he had maintained.<sup>332</sup> Following the Puritan example, patriarchal authority extended to servants. In 1770, when the deacon of the Cork Baptist church Stephen Mills, died, he was praised for being the 'regular and prudent manager of a family'. On Sundays Mills provided time off for his domestic staff to attend divine service and had high expectations of their attendance.<sup>333</sup> Irish Baptist piety concerning the role of the male in the family shows their acceptance and general approbation of a wider Protestant moral structure that was well rooted in Puritanism. This conservative shift also shows that authority in the domestic sphere among many Irish Baptists was coming to be associated with the male gender.

Generally the dominant role of the male in both domestic and church spheres was becoming more accentuated during the eighteenth century in all Baptist communities throughout the British dominions. The reference point for this view was derived from scriptural writings and, as Keith Thomas has observed, especially from the Pauline epistles.<sup>334</sup> This emerging view was carried forward from the Puritan movement by the Baptists. But by and large during the period under discussion the male-dominant view of church order did not completely triumph, and this was notably the case in Ireland. For Scripture provided other examples, such as Deborah, the Old Testament judge and warrior (Judges 4:4 - 5:31), and the good wife in the Book of Proverbs (Proverbs 31:



10-31) of more active roles for women, to which many sectarians as well as the Baptists were responsive.

Keith Thomas in his pioneering study on women in the civil war sects demonstrated why women were so attracted to the English sects in their early days in the 1640s and 1650s. The primary reason was that the radical sects generally afforded women more outlets for personal religious expression.<sup>335</sup> Most early Baptist meetings were thoroughly democratic, with women holding an equal right with men to vote in church affairs. In a more recent study Drs. Hill and Hempton have shown other motivations for women to become active in Protestant minority denominations in eighteenth-century Ireland. They have concluded that the social discipline advocated by these minority groups coincided with women's personal interest in maintaining a stable family order.<sup>336</sup> Certainly this conclusion is consistent with the evidence available concerning Irish Baptist women in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Although men were always expected to maintain religious observance and instruction in the home, this was not always the case. Ann Fowkes remembered her grandmother and mother as the primary influences in developing religious sensibilities among their children. Her grandmother Mary Earwalker, who married John Geale in England in the late 1650s, had it seems tried to cultivate religion in her husband

and end his habits of frequenting the taverns on their coming to Ireland in the 1660s. Her persistence was rewarded when John took up religion in earnest and stopped visiting the pub.<sup>337</sup> Later, she induced her husband to rent two houses in Kilkenny city, one for a Baptist meetinghouse and another for them to live in so that they could live closer 'to the means of grace'.<sup>338</sup> Mary was also the one it seems who insisted on the family keeping religious observances especially on the Sabbath. She was also able to maintain a certain amount of control over her son Joseph Geale when he was an adult, as she chose to pass on her dowry to him to help him set up a shop in Kilkenny city. When he went to fight as a soldier in the Williamite war she gave him a (non- Baptist) Puritan devotional book and a Bible. Considering the bad reputation of soldiers' religious standards, it was very understandable that on his returning from the war she checked to see if he had put these gifts to good use.<sup>339</sup> On the pretence of cleaning his linen she gained the key to his 'portmanteau' where 'she found what she desir'd wrapt up more carefully than anything there, yet not so nicely clean as not to discover that they had been made propper use of'. On finding that he had kept up his pietal responsibilities she provided him with the finance needed to become financially independent.<sup>340</sup>

As it turned out Joseph Geale was the only child of nine children who 'married with his parents approbation', which presumably means that he was the only child to marry a



Baptist, or at least a pious spouse. His wife, Mary Lawrence, was the daughter of the wealthy Richard Lawrence, but she married him after her fortunes were adversely affected by her father's death. Supposedly, she had been given to pride and vanity 'till God was pleas'd to exercise her with affliction'. After her father's death she was forced out of her house by her 'bad step-mother'. She went to live at the house of the Dublin Baptist lay leader Caleb Thomas before her marriage with Joseph Geale. The struggle to survive during the Williamite war, the death of her sister and the sudden death of her first daughter were continuations of the 'affliction'. Ann Fowkes later claimed that 'she div'd for precious pearls in sorrow's stream'. According to her daughter she was also the primary agent for providing her children with religious education and discipline. After Ann and her husband Samuel Fowkes removed to Waterford to take up his pastorate, her parents came to reside there. Presumably the eldest son took over the family home in 'Goldenfields', county Kilkenny after their removal. Just as the efforts of Mary Earwalker to instil piety had been less than successful, the same was true for her daughter-in-law. After the death of his wife in Waterford, Joseph Geale returned and found that the atmosphere at the family home had changed remarkably. Ann Fowkes recorded that the prayer table had been changed into a card table and the Bible that used to be in the window had been removed to make room for a dice table.<sup>341</sup>

As the development of an organizational structure increased men played the most prominent part in the Baptist movement, but women remained the more stable part of the Irish Baptist membership, just as they had been in the English Civil War sects and in other Protestant minorities in Ireland. We have already seen their importance in the survival of the Cork city church. In Dublin the financial records of the Swift's Alley congregation support the conclusion that women were invaluable there too. The number of annual subscribers of the congregation in 1742, the year the records begin, were 23 women and 32 men. Out of these listed contributors 19 men are recorded as actually paying their obligations and only 9 women. But in 1750, after the disruption of the church by Moravians and the Methodists, male contributors listed were numbered at 18 and women listed at 15. At this time they were all recorded as making payments. The disparity seems to indicate the poorer or more dependent economic position of women and the stability of their commitment as well.<sup>342</sup>

Besides the stability that women provided in a religious movement, there was another basic reason for their importance which lies outside the province of religion. Women, Irish Baptist women at least, were very important in the most basic economic unit, the family. Irish Baptists' idealization of women reflects this status. The good wife in Proverbs is presented as being economically productive, and she was a widely used model of the virtuous woman in at least the Cork city church.



Major Riggs 'left a great part of his fortune in the power of his widow' because he had 'a high opinion of her prudence'. Ann was also remembered as being a woman who had a 'capacity to manage so large a fortune'. She had 'a true taste in the ceremony of life' looking 'with a just contempt on those trifling things which can only procure a show of respect and the adulation of sordid minds'. One of Ann's partners in reviving the Cork church, Sarah Smart, was 'a woman of decent appearance and good sense'. The recorder of the Cork Church Book maintained that Mrs. Lucy Rose, who was one of the 'five women' and from a 'low condition', was able 'to provide for herself and her family by an honest industry'. And the wife of a clothier Mrs. Elinor Rogers was 'neat and decent in her house and appearance, managing with such economy as to make a small income support her family with credit'. Also, Frances Francis was the daughter of an Established Church clergyman who became a Baptist around 1730 and died at the age of seventy-four in 1762. She had been left a young widow with several children. Ann Riggs gave her the capital that was needed to start 'her business and pay her debts' which enabled her to pay for her children's 'education through her own industry'. Susanna Pilsen, another woman in the Cork Church, was tempted by 'unbelief and despondency', <sup>and</sup> did not have to work, but she 'thought it her duty' to be 'always employed' because 'the Bread of Idleness she never ate'. Just as the woman in Proverbs 31 was no 'effeminate', neither were many of the women among the Irish Baptists.<sup>343</sup>

The conversion pattern of children to the Baptist faith, as the examples thus far demonstrate, shows that Irish Baptists were less than successful in keeping their progeny in the Baptist fold. What may have been a key source for understanding how children became convinced of Baptist principles seems to be no longer extant: this work, entitled *Examples of Early Piety*, was published sometime between 1698 and 1702 by Abdiel Edwards, the brother of John Edwards the Dublin pastor, who himself succeeded his brother as pastor there.<sup>344</sup> The only major source to comment on how a child among the Irish Baptists entered into the salvation process is Ann Fowkes' personal memoir.

Irish Baptists liked to extol the virtue of their members for not engaging in the 'impropriety of imposing the name of Christian on those whose age rendered them incapable of choice', but yet they were careful to inculcate the minds of their young with the principles of religion and salvation.<sup>345</sup> In a recent study of popular religion in New England, David D. Hall has shown that being taught to read and being grounded in religion were one and the same process for the children of the godly.<sup>346</sup> This was probably also true of the Irish Baptists. In 1725 Joseph Pettit complained that Baptists in Ireland were allowing their children to intermarry with 'the children of men' who had a 'differing education'.<sup>347</sup> Ann Riggs was remembered for her practising a piety that 'was directed from



knowledge and her actions in religion proceeded from the information of a well instructed mind'.<sup>348</sup>

Ann Fowkes in telling how she came to a 'publick profession of faith' indicates that learning to read was an important prerequisite for coming into faith. Unlike her mother who was 'driven' to faith, Ann 'was drawn by that silken cord', indicating that her reading of Biblical texts and her listening to the instructions set out in preached sermons had brought her to a voluntary submission to faith; it was not a case of 'severe providences'. She claimed that she was 'about ten' when she first had convictions that led her to seek baptism. Reading *Examples of Early Piety* had started her on the path towards the personal discipline necessary for baptism and membership of the church. Ann had to learn to pray so that 'prayer soon became not only familiar, but sometimes delightfull'. Her discipline lasted two years before she approached her grandmother concerning her desire to be baptized. Her grandmother cautioned her to 'count the cost of religion' so that she might not later 'fall off in a day of trial and become a scandal to it'. Ann was then examined by the minister. Next, she had to appear before the members of the meetings and was questioned by them about her faith. The interrogation before the meeting seems to have been, for her at least, a traumatic event. Ann answered their questions with 'trembling lips' that made her hesitate in answering. After the interview she was asked to leave while members discussed

whether she should be admitted to the congregation. Some of the members believed that Ann's 'knowledge<sup>[e]</sup> was not sufficient to be admitted as a member' because of her awkward performance before the church, but after a 'debate' all agreed to approve her membership and she was baptized shortly thereafter at about twelve years of age.<sup>349</sup>

This is the only specifically documented case of an adolescent child's admittance to baptism, but it probably conforms closely with the general pattern in Ireland. There are also instances of adults joining, and the admission process in Cork city bore some similarity with Ann Fowkes' experience. All members had to approve the baptism, presumably after an interrogation. Ann's account is also in keeping with the situation elsewhere. The basis for her approval was the evidence of her educational attainment, coupled with her own testimony of conversion to faith.

### **Local Church Government in the Irish Baptist Community**

Above we have already taken a partial view of Irish Baptist disciplinary structures in our discussion of the Irish Baptist Association. Many of the congregations in England, Wales and America formed a local church or meeting on the basis of the constituents signing a covenant which stipulated what they believed in and what they stood for. There is no evidence that this was the practice in Ireland among Baptists.



Most local Baptist churches, wherever they were located, were in their early development democratic bodies. Gradually, as local churches grew and a conservative trend emerged, Baptist churches moved away from arrangements whereby members voted democratically on all issues in the church, to the practice of electing representatives to whom were delegated discretionary power. This change from a consensual to a representative body entailed modifying local church government.

By the middle of the eighteenth century most Baptist churches wherever they were located in the British dominions had placed authority in the hands of the minister and a group of laymen who were designated elders or deacons. This adaptation was a gradual and uneven process. The local structure as it developed shared similarities with Presbyterian and conservative Independent forms of local church government, but it was not identical, in Ireland or elsewhere. Thus the terms elder and deacon were precise ones for Presbyterians, with elders invested with full governing authority in the local church, and deacons holding a subordinate role in the provision of services of a more mundane kind. But among the Irish Baptists the terms elder and deacon were used interchangeably or were synonymous. The Cork church, for instance, referred to the lay leadership primarily as deacons, but occasionally designated lay leaders as elders.<sup>350</sup>

The titles elder and deacon were obviously derived from New Testament prototypes of church government. But as a result of day-to-day responsibilities that arose from the need for more elaborate local church organization the Irish Baptists, like their counterparts elsewhere, invented new local church offices. The titles of these new offices were drawn from the wider world in which they lived. In Dublin and Waterford, due to the development of special financial arrangements that came about from reform, the lay office of trustee emerged. Trustees were responsible for overseeing the finances of the education fund in Ireland. As we have seen, those appointed to this office were exclusively from Dublin and were responsible for selecting the beneficiaries of the educational fund. At the local level Dublin also had trustees overseeing the financial arrangements of smaller endowments.<sup>351</sup> As the trustees moved away from the practice of lending out trust funds to private individuals to one of investing in property, it became necessary to establish more specific regulatory arrangements. As a result the office of 'register'(registrar) was created. Abraham Wilkinson, a Dublin woollen merchant, replaced John Falkiner in this office sometime around 1740. After his death in 1764 his nephew of the same name became the registrar. The registrar's responsibility was to maintain records of the disbursement and income of church endowments and give quarterly reports to the trustees.<sup>352</sup> It is not clear how the trustees were chosen, but it was probably in one of two ways.



Either the subscribing members of the congregation appointed them directly by voting or they were appointed by the elders and/or deacons, who themselves were elected by the subscribers.

Waterford also created the lay position of trustee. The trustees there worked closely with the minister in securing and renting property that became the bulwark for maintaining the income for the minister's salary. Again there is no clear evidence concerning how these trustees were chosen but it is very probable that because of the small size of the congregation they were chosen by democratic means. In contradistinction to the pastor's role in Waterford the Dublin church seems to have kept the minister's responsibilities limited and separated from the financial aspect of church work.<sup>353</sup> There is no indication of the Cork city meeting establishing such a scheme, and there is no evidence available to determine what kind of internal organizational framework the other extant congregations evolved.

The local regime of the Irish Baptist congregations was the result of adjustment to new social environments. The individual Baptist churches, wherever they were located, were moving away from their egalitarian origins. Democratic choices were <sup>often</sup> being limited to those who subscribed financial support for the local church and in some cases women were excluded from whatever residual voting power they possessed.

In 1764 shortly after Morgan Edwards was chosen as pastor of the Philadelphia Baptist church he called for a congregational meeting to inaugurate some reforms in the local church order. At the end of the meeting, after a vote had been taken to approve the new reforms, some women in the congregation asked him why the women had been left out of the voting process. Edwards put them off by claiming that he was not aware the Philadelphia church was one of those Baptist churches that took women's vote into account. He assured the women that he would correct the oversight. The women patiently waited two years before they registered a protest to the congregation at large in which they recounted the details of the event.<sup>354</sup> The incident provides valuable insight into how Baptists were developing as a whole. In Ireland it is fairly certain that women, due to their financial importance, continued to be voting members as long as they were subscribers in the local church, at least in Cork and Dublin. But as organizational structures formalized, men filled the places of authority and delegated responsibility that were created.

### Church Discipline in the Irish Baptist Community

The strength of congregational discipline of individual members in many religious groups varied from locality to locality. Individual congregations gathered together to form what was in many places a fairly cohesive group with strong peer pressure on individuals to conform to high moral standards. Among the Irish Baptists there were some cases of



their taking disciplinary measures against individuals in the Cromwellian period, but the reasons recorded are very vague revealing only that there was some kind of 'sin' had been committed by the offender.<sup>355</sup> The only well-documented case of disciplinary action taken in the 1650s comes from the County Wexford congregation that remained attached to Dr. Peter Chamberlen's London church. The action arose from a complaint that had been registered by an angry wife who had reported that her husband was living alone with a servant girl who was posing as his wife. The London congregation took action by excluding the offender from the sect.<sup>356</sup> Taking action on behalf of a wife seems to have been a benefit that women had in some religious conventicles. In 1663 another Baptist congregation in England took action against John Christmas by 'withdrawing from him' for 'not loving his wife as he ought and for speaking hateful and dispising words against her'. The congregation with the use of the high moral standard sometimes sought to intervene beforehand. Another Restoration example in England was John Brighton. He had been 'judged' by the congregation because he 'did mightily frequent the Ale-house', and was excommunicated again because 'he was intended to take an idle and lascivious person to his wife'.<sup>357</sup> It was understandable why Baptist and other dissenting congregations would have been sensitive about moral breaches because of the need to protect themselves from the taunts of the wider community who suspected them of libertine practices.<sup>358</sup>

Enforcing moral discipline remained an important feature of most religious groups well after the Restoration and continued throughout the eighteenth century. But as these religious groups became more complex as a result of internal growth the need for discipline broadened to other areas of the life of the constituents. The Quakers, for instance, tried to regulate the financial affairs of members in part at least to avoid scandal and enhance general confidence in their business enterprises. As the beliefs of religious groups became more defined and refined there was a need for a mechanism to ensure conformity in their ideas. Dissenting religious groups of a conservative tendency opted for establishing creeds that set out precise beliefs which would thereby control singular beliefs and individual enthusiasm. The Quakers developed a very different approach. Their anti-clerical beliefs circumscribed the amount of authority that could be invested in an individual. The meeting system addressed this problem. Singular beliefs and enthusiasms were controlled by making individuals conform to the consensus of the local or weekly meeting in the first instance. If individual indiscipline was not resolved there the monthly meeting - which was made up of those who were deemed the more mature local believers - would try to bring about a resolution. In the event of there still being no resolution the process would continue at the higher quarterly and yearly meetings.



Conservative dissenters and Quakers were able, for the most part, to use various means to bring about their desired visions of conformity to their particular group identity. As we have seen Baptists in places beyond Ireland adopted written creeds to establish some uniformity of belief. But the problem was more difficult for Baptists in Ireland. The parochial and individual spirit of Irish Baptist congregations retarded the formation of any kind of national identity or credo. At the local level the problem of discipline was just as acute.

The ideals of religious discipline were not always achieved. If the aberration was too severe, the local meeting would take action against an offender. The procedure for such action varied slightly from locality to locality, but in general followed a similar outline. An offence was brought to the meeting's attention by two witnesses informing the pastor and/or lay leaders in the congregation. The process continued with the accused individual being confronted which was accomplished by appointing someone, usually a friend or close acquaintance, to speak to the accused about the offence. Sometimes the initial confrontation resolved the issue by either clearing up a misunderstanding or the accused admitting their offence. If not, there would be a hearing with the accused, accusers and church leaders meeting to evaluate the situation. If those conducting the hearing thought that the offender was indeed guilty the case was brought before the entire meeting; after being informed of the reasons for the charges <sup>it</sup> voted

on whether discipline should be taken. If the meeting agreed with the findings of the church leadership the minister announced the decision and the type of discipline to be imposed. There were degrees of discipline on an offender found guilty. The mildest form was a 'suspension', whereby the person was excluded from participating in the Lord's Supper until repentance was demonstrated. The severest was 'exclusion', whereby the person was 'cast out' of the meeting. Sometimes the offender did not appear, and the church leadership would recommend to the meeting that the individual be excluded.<sup>359</sup>

Because most Baptists, like other dissenters, believed the Pauline injunction of believers not taking other believers to civil courts (I Corinthians 5:12 - 6:11), they tried to resolve personal disputes with one another within the confines of the meeting. In 1762 Samuel Burkiloe of Philadelphia was restored after having previously been excluded for going to the 'secular powers'.<sup>360</sup> In July 1765 at Philadelphia, a Mr. Francis brought forth a charge against David Parry for 'ill usage in turning him out of his house in a violent manner', and offering a potential customer of his son Thomas Francis, 'skins at half-price'. Parry issued counter-charges claiming that Francis had charged him a full year's rent for a short period. Resolution came when 'the church' (the committee) recommended 'forgiveness'.<sup>361</sup> The two men involved in this dispute seemed to have had problems maintaining their



personal discipline. Earlier, in 1761, Thomas Francis had charges brought against him for 'beating an apprentice',<sup>362</sup> and Parry was later, in December 1767, 'excommunicated' for defrauding creditors, non-attendance, disturbing the neighbourhood, and 'abusing a Negro on the Lord's Day'. Parry eventually had to 'flee town'.<sup>363</sup> In June 1768 another member of the Philadelphia meeting, Mary Fox, had her 'goods sold' by the congregational leadership in order to pay creditors.<sup>364</sup> The Philadelphia church was clearly an example of a well disciplined congregation, especially after the arrival of Morgan Edwards in 1761.

In Ireland, the Cork city Baptist meeting provides a comparable record concerning instances of church discipline. The Cork meeting moved against anyone who was openly 'profane' or 'scandalous'. When the Church book was begun in 1756 it recorded three instances of recent 'excisions' of members. In 1750 Francis Mayberry had made 'a fair profession' of faith, but 'fell into a disorderly course'. Mayberry was an apprentice and the breaking point with the meeting came when he broke 'his trust with his master'. About the same time George Lavatch defected to the Methodists and claimed that he had been 'under a delusion of the Devil' when he had joined the Baptists. Samuel Foot, a 'ship carpenter' and 'young man' suffered from the same disorders of Mayberry, and was 'suspended' for habitually swearing and drinking. The cases cited in the church book show people who had already

severed their attachment to the meeting and the Baptists were simply recognizing what had taken place.<sup>365</sup>

In looking further at the disciplinary procedure of the Cork Baptists we see a general laxity. They either acted against an individual when the sin became too obvious to ignore, or did not act at all, simply noting impropriety in the life of a member after their death in a recorded obituary. John Knight was dismissed as pastor after he became involved in the Miles Crowley affair because he 'concealed the follies and vices of a wicked man, an impostor'. The public scandal led to Knight's dismissal because he had brought 'ruin on the church'.<sup>366</sup> Sometimes it was probably better to ignore some misdemeanours. Sarah Reins, after her death in June 1762 was remembered for being 'a woman of considerable piety and honest in her dealings, punctual to her word and zealous in her profession', but was 'sometimes so overcome by passion as to exceed the rules of Christian piety and even decency'.<sup>367</sup> Occasionally breaches of conduct were difficult to pinpoint. When Noah Francis died in April 1777 the recorder of the church book noted that although Francis had been 'bred up in a strict religious way', his piety 'bordered on enthusiasm' and 'his goodness seemed to consist rather in an absence of vice than an exercise of virtue'. The problem stemmed from Noah's refusal in August 1775 to subscribe 'a shilling' to repair the floor of the meetinghouse. The recorder noted with satisfaction that he had died 'Non Compos Mentis'.<sup>368</sup> Two



years later Noah's father Joseph Francis died. He was remembered for being a member for fifty years, being 'remarkably zealous' in the early part of his life, knowing 'the Scriptures well' and <sup>having</sup> 'copious gifts both in expounding and in prayer'. But in the latter part of his life he was 'said to lean to Antinomianism', and also 'being addicted to some things which cannot be excused on any other scheme, namely an inordinate attachment to spiritous liquors'.<sup>369</sup>

Besides the problem of maintaining the high moral standard among the members of the individual meetings, there was the problem of maintaining conformity to the ideology of the Irish Baptist church as a whole. Although the evidence for discovering how ideological discipline was maintained is at best sporadic, the pattern seems clear. Joseph Pettit claimed that there was not doctrinal uniformity in 1725; for even though all the ministers were Calvinists 'in near two of the congregations some of the members are inclined to Arminianism'.<sup>370</sup> Flexibility on doctrine seems to have been necessary for the maintenance of congregational integrity. Ebenezer Gibbon's 'sentiments for the greatest part of his life' were reported to have been 'in the Calvinist strain, tho' not without some variation, yet he was so moderate that the different parties had seldom any reason to object'.<sup>371</sup> In the early part of the eighteenth century doctrinal flexibility seems to have been more common to most Baptist meetings than in the late eighteenth century, <sup>reflecting</sup> their radical roots. But as more

sophisticated organizational structures were introduced, Baptists in England, Wales and America became able to control individuals in both ideology and behaviour much more effectively than in contemporary Ireland.

Flexibility in Ireland extended into other areas at a time when more strict guidelines were being accepted in most Baptist communities. Around 1750 Mrs. Jane Trayer, who was raised in the Established Church but had married an unbaptized Cork Baptist, came to convictions concerning baptism through a casual acquaintance with other Baptists. Her convictions led to severe emotional turmoil, brought on by her parents' reaction. On hearing about her daughter's new convictions her mother became so enraged that she 'struck' her. Her father joined in by using 'threatening and terrifying language', which may have occasioned Jane to miscarry. Considering these conditions it is easy to understand why the Cork Baptists allowed Jane to be baptized without becoming a member. The recorder of the incident apologized for the practice by saying that it was not done 'without mature consideration', and that the pastor had 'no reason to blame himself for doing so' because after making enquiries he found that baptisms of this kind were done 'by other churches, particularly at Dublin'.<sup>372</sup>

Irish Baptists seem to have had problems maintaining the Pauline injunction of not taking believers to the 'civil powers'.



After the death of James Carroll in 1712 there was a protracted court battle between the Dublin pastor Abdiel Edwards and the congregation on the one hand, and Carroll's grandson and heir, James Griffith Carroll on the other, over a bequest to the Dublin meeting. The suit was argued before the House of Lords at London in 1748.<sup>373</sup> The Dublin meeting also had another legal problem with Freeman Rogers and his son Daniel over a bond. Freeman was married to the daughter of Daniel Falkiner II and was an important lay leader at Lower Ormond. In 1749 the trustees of the education fund initiated legal proceedings, and when Freeman died in 1762 and the case was still being heard.<sup>374</sup>

Irish Baptist development was distinct from their co-religionist elsewhere in the British dominions. Although their piety was ideally strict, they were not able to bring about a 'knitting together' that Quakers in Ireland were able to accomplish. Baptists in locations outside of Ireland did not develop the regimentation of the Quakers, but they were able to surpass Irish Baptist organizational development on many levels.

## **Chapter VI**

### **Ecclesiastical Visions in the Wider Baptist Community**

It is fairly clear that at a national level the early Irish Baptists were neither a coherent nor a well organized religious group, and that they were never really able to overcome problems that were inherent in their early beliefs. Their attempt at reform was not effective because, as the eighteenth century progressed, the congregations became increasingly individualistic and as a result co-operated very little with one another. In addition the congregations remained dependent, sometimes becoming dominated afresh, on strong local personalities, and were very ineffective in establishing disciplinary procedures at either the local or the national levels. In this chapter we will look at some of the ecclesiastical visions that were emerging in the Baptist community as a whole in order to place the Irish Baptist community into a broader context.



The focal point of this chapter will be on Morgan Edwards' attempt to bring about reforms in church government in Philadelphia in order to discover how his goal and vision fit into the Irish Baptist experience. Morgan Edwards, is important for a number of reasons, most notably because he personified a totally new Baptist identity committed to ecclesiastical reform at the local, national and international levels. This commitment seems to have been a reaction to his particular experience in the Irish Baptist community. Although Edwards was not really a significant personality among the Irish Baptists, he was important for the evolution of Baptism as a whole, and <sup>is important</sup> insofar as he spent some very important formative years in Ireland which seem to have had a profound impact on his vision of what the Baptists should and could become. Edwards' ideas offer a contrast to what we have seen of the ideology of Irish Baptism, and they provide a reference point which will enable us to plot the changes that were taking place in the wider Baptist world concerning ideas about the nature of their church. There was a reluctance among Baptists, even in America, to change practices in areas that were well rooted in the English Baptist anti-authoritarian tradition. By looking at Edwards' ideas and his efforts to bring about new structures for the Baptists in America, we can understand how the move towards orthodoxy and religious conservatism which had begun in the early 1650s and re-emerged in the late seventeenth century had provided the impetus towards a more cohesive ecclesiastical body. Edwards was important in the

process that was leading to a more settled Baptist identity. This triggered a reaction and consternation between Baptist reformers and those who wanted to nurture what they considered the traditional ideas at the heart of early Baptist ideology. Although Edwards' vision was rejected, he was nonetheless very influential in moulding the structure of the new Baptist church that emerged in the Philadelphia Association region in the early nineteenth century.

### Morgan Edwards; life and career

Edwards was born in the town of Penygarn in Monmouthshire (present-day Gwent) in south Wales in 1722. According to himself, he was brought up in the Anglican communion, but the Welsh Baptist historian Joshua Thomas claimed he was the brother of James Edwards, the Waterford pastor, who himself was the son of a Welsh Baptist pastor.<sup>375</sup> He became 'convinced' of Baptist teaching early in life, probably at age twelve. His earliest ministerial training was begun in 1737 at the Trosnant Academy in Pontypool near Penygarn; after two years there he moved to nearby Bristol Baptist College. At Trosnant, ministerial students worked half of each day in a nearby iron foundry, and half the day was devoted to ministerial studies. Bristol College had at an early stage adopted a more formal approach to ministerial education, under the guiding hand of the important eighteenth-century English Baptist educator Dr. Bernard Foskett. Edwards' education at Bristol, spanning three years, consisted of learning



the ancient theological languages (Latin, Hebrew and Greek), rhetoric and homiletics. Bristol was an institution that reflected the orthodoxy and conservatism of the Particular Baptists in England.<sup>376</sup>

After completing his academic training he went to his first post at the age of twenty-three, being called by a General Baptist congregation at Boston, Lincolnshire, which was nonetheless benefiting from the *Particular* Baptist Educational Fund in London.<sup>377</sup> Very little is known about the time he spent there. He left still unordained in 1749 or 1750.<sup>378</sup> Through connections in Bristol he secured a call from the Cork church as an assistant pastor to Ebenezer Gibbons. Initially his time at Cork seems to have gone fairly well. His early sermons there reflect a man content and satisfied. He met his first wife Mary Nunn, who was a granddaughter of Joseph Pettit of the city. Later, in 1757, he was ordained by the Irish Baptist Association. But in the years shortly before his ordination personal problems that would cause repercussions for him until old age began to emerge. Edwards claimed later in life to have had a revelation in March 1755 that he would die in 1770.<sup>379</sup> From this point his sermons showed a gradual but marked shift. His earliest sermons had the apparent design of bringing ease to the anxieties of the congregation, a congregation of believers, but after 1755 the focus gradually changed to heightening anxiety by using terrifying images in his sermons. Another indication that Edwards' ideas were moving toward a

church with tighter organization and an enhanced ministerial authority can be seen in his sermon at the ordination service in Waterford of his fellow countryman and Bristol schoolmate Henry Phillips. The ordination took place during the meeting of the Irish Baptist Association there in June 1758. His sermon advocated a Presbyterian style of ordination. He emphasized the role of the ministry in bringing Phillips into the office of pastor after they had accepted and approved the Waterford meeting's choice.<sup>380</sup>

This change in attitude, coupled with evidence of his subsequent career, seems likely to have led to his being dismissed by the Cork church in 1759 which, as we have seen, was primarily or at least ostensibly because of his 'heavy manner'.

Edwards left Cork in June 1759. He travelled to Dublin where he registered <sup>his unhappiness</sup> in an indirect way, by speaking to members of the Association that were meeting there at the time.<sup>381</sup> By August he was in London and was involved in a special evangelistic effort conducted by John Gill, the strongly Calvinistic pastor of the London Baptist congregation which met at Little Wild Street.<sup>382</sup> Gill was a man of considerable influence and Edwards preached at his church during his sojourn in the city. The sermon he preached there was a highly Calvinistic message, never to be repeated in any of his other



sermons. Presumably through Gill's influence Edwards gained a place at the Particular Baptist church at Rye, Sussex. His stay there was short, lasting little over a year. He did manage to publish two sermons while there, both of which were printed in Dublin.<sup>383</sup> In 1761 the London connection brought about his call to the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia. This was the most important Baptist church in the American colonies because, as we have seen, it was the hub of the most highly organized and powerful Association overseas.<sup>384</sup>

Edwards' reception in Philadelphia was most cordial. His salary in Cork had been £50 per annum, in Philadelphia it jumped to £150 Pennsylvania currency, which was taken to be equivalent to £100 sterling per annum. But the congregation he had come to serve was bitterly divided. The Philadelphia church's minute-book records that on 9 June 1758, three years before his arrival, an incident occurred which demonstrated the extent of the internal divisions. While preparations were being made for celebrating the Lord's Supper John Perkins, a disgruntled member of the congregation, locked the meetinghouse door in order to confront the temporary lay pastor Samuel Morgan concerning his 'arbitrary proceedings'. Morgan tried to make an escape through a window and was restrained by a J. Powell and Henry Woodrow. The following day, Sunday, Morgan refused to give the bread and wine to Woodrow, his wife and Lewis Rees, which prompted Woodrow to 'snatch the bread'. The revolt seems to have been brought

under control the following month when Lewis Rees was suspended by the church for 'being contentious' and 'building a playhouse'. On 8 September the Philadelphia church asked the Association to persuade one of two other men to become pastor, which was unsuccessful. Finally after no apparent results the church wrote to a 'Board of Ministers' in London, which in turn led to Edwards being nominated for the pastoral post. Although the Philadelphia church was eager to receive Edwards after being so long without a pastor, there was certainly a faction in it which was resistant to the enhancement of ministerial authority.<sup>385</sup>

Despite this background Edwards experienced immediate pastoral success. The Philadelphia congregation increased immediately after his arrival. In 1762 there were eighty-two members. The following two years saw an increase of thirty-four and sixteen respectively. After this initial success, membership levelled off at about one hundred and forty members and six-hundred hearers for the rest of his tenure as pastor.<sup>386</sup>

As a result of this sudden growth Edwards felt safe to make <sup>innovations</sup> innovations that would surely upset those who were against institutional changes. The first alteration he introduced was the Presbyterian practice of issuing communion tickets. Each member of the church was to be given twelve tickets for the forthcoming year that were to be deposited each time they



received communion. Edwards then requested that he be allowed to wear his academic master's gown at services, which was granted. As a result of his initial pastoral success, in June 1763 Edwards was given a young assistant to help in his duties, and he also secured a raise in his annual salary to £200 (Pennsylvania). His next task involved the securing of a lawyer to re-organize the financial business of the church allowing the offices of deacon and trustee to become one and the same. Eventually his work of reforming local church organization led to an attempt to get the women of the church excluded from voting. In June 1765 he established a committee 'to read the New Testament with a particular view to Church Discipline and Government and reduce the Texts into proper Classes for Rules and Examples for proceedings'. In September 1765 the new office of 'ruling elder' was created as a result of this committee's work. From now on, ruling elders would officiate along with the pastor over church business. These reforms in the local church government relieved the congregation from the responsibility of having to vote on every issue which might arise and had the effect of concentrating local church power in the hands of the minister and a small group of laymen.<sup>387</sup>

Concurrently Edwards began to take steps that he conceived would enhance the status of the already powerful Philadelphia Association by himself becoming involved in its administrative duties. He was appointed secretary to the Association in 1762 and was able to revive the Association's

correspondence with London which had recently been neglected. For Edwards it was important in his vision of the Baptist church to strengthen and nurture the relationship between London and Philadelphia. He set himself the task of gathering whatever documentation he could find for recording the development of the Association. But his main and initial concern was building up its institutional power which would thereby enhance ministerial power. In 1762 he became interested and involved in the foundation of the College of Rhode Island, the first Baptist seminary in America. By his association with the project he became allied with important American Baptist personalities who shared his goal of an institutionally stable church; the most important of these was James Manning, the first president of the College of Rhode Island.<sup>388</sup>

In the later 1760s Edwards' plans came under attack. Rivals both in the Philadelphia congregation and the American Baptist network as a whole began to make headway in assaulting the plans he was developing for American Baptism. His journey to Europe in 1767 was the primary catalyst for a breach between him and the local church. But there were other factors. There was a good deal of unease among many Baptists about his ideas for changing Baptist church polity. On the Associational front, Edwards' plans for a restructuring of the American church were anathema in certain quarters. He approached this tender and problematic issue by the use of



historical polemic that will be discussed below. Suffice it to say that Edwards' vision retained many of the early Baptist ideas concerning toleration, and that his institutional conceptualization was a not a severe departure from seventeenth, or even eighteenth century, Baptist thought. There were many Baptist leaders who sympathized with his call for reorganization, but he was not to be fully successful in this endeavour. Edwards suffered from problems that were unrelated to his campaign for institutional church reform. His problem, as far as the Philadelphia Association was concerned, was linked to the political tensions prior to the American Revolution. A gulf between Edwards and many in the Association developed as the differences between the American colonies and Britain escalated in the 1770s: Edwards was the only Baptist minister in the Philadelphia Association to demonstrate support for the crown and ministerial policy, and his support was fairly vocal. He had grown up under the religiously benign Hanoverian dynasty and displayed a sincere attachment to it. Also, the possibility of political separation of Britain and America would dash his vision of a transatlantic Baptist church.<sup>389</sup>

Edwards lost his ministry in 1771, but he remained a member of the Philadelphia church even though he settled in northern Delaware. He attended the Welsh Tract church which was located about forty miles from Philadelphia. His allies in the Association managed to create a post for him as an

itinerant paid by the Association, and this started him in a new tack. But with the coming of the Revolutionary War Edwards became increasingly alienated and was forced into isolation. The lowest ebb in his career was when he was charged with 'non-attendance' by the Philadelphia church, and was forced to undergo disciplinary action which led to his being 'excluded' from the meeting.<sup>390</sup>

After the cessation of hostilities he became reconciled with the church and returned to be an active member of the Philadelphia Association in 1788. During the last years of his life he continued in a less controversial way to bring about Baptist growth and solidarity. He died in 1795 in Delaware and was buried under the pews of the Philadelphia meetinghouse.<sup>391</sup> Whether he realized it or not, he had made a significant contribution to forging a new strategy for American Baptists. It was his ideas that did eventually predominate in the Philadelphia Association in early nineteenth-century America.

Before looking further at Edwards and the part he played in the development of the Baptists we will discuss some other changes that had taken place in the eighteenth century. This is necessary in order to understand a tradition that Edwards was utilizing in his efforts to restructure the Baptist ecclesiastical body.



## The Use of History in the Development of an Identity

The impetus toward the enhancement of ministerial and institutional authority was an ongoing feature of the Baptist community at large. In Ireland we have seen the beginning of this development with the establishing of an Educational Fund in 1698. In Wales and England the adoption of a creed and an education fund led down the road to greater social cohesion in the religious sphere and in turn to greater organizational arrangements that would reinforce the distinct identity of the church. It remains to be seen how leading Baptists developed and promoted the new ecclesiastical vision in the later half of the eighteenth century.

The Baptists were faced with a problem that was inherent within Protestantism from its beginning; justification for its existence. Jacqueline Hill has recently described how religio-historic polemic was being used in Ireland in the eighteenth century. Polemic remained strongly bedded in historical precedent in many spheres of discourse.<sup>392</sup> We have already seen how Richard Lawrence engaged in this type of polemic by enlisting Archbishop Bramhall's defence of the Church of England's separation from Rome. It is notable and significant that Lawrence's historical polemic was aimed primarily at a general Protestant justification, with only a cursory defence of toleration within Protestantism for religious dissenters. This reflects Lawrence's uneasiness about the separation of the sects. His vision of Protestantism was

diversity within unity without a coercive authority on the one hand, and charity from those of dissenting opinions on the other. Lawrence's vision necessarily retarded the development of a distinct Irish Baptist identity. Irish Baptist identity<sup>for him</sup> was powerfully linked to a wider Protestant identity. But outside Ireland, Baptist historical polemic became increasingly geared toward reinforcing a discrete Baptist identity which was necessarily coupled with justification of the church's own existence.<sup>393</sup>

The most important early Baptist work in this area came from England in the late 1730s in Thomas Crosby's writings. The motivation behind the production of his *History of the English Baptists* was to refute an apparent slight made in a recent history of Puritans by Daniel Neale. Early in the eighteenth century, reconciliation between conservative Protestant elements was beginning to occur. Edmund Calamy, a Congregational London divine, had written a work questioning the wisdom of the ejection of certain ministers after the Restoration. Neal's work was following this genre. But his work failed to include Baptists, many of whom were trying to become part of a conservative religious orthodoxy. Therefore Crosby thought it incumbent on him to rectify this omission.<sup>394</sup>

Crosby's intention was to write a work showing that Baptist ideas were not new and were in fact part of the early



Christian Church's orthodoxy: the early Church had practised believer's baptism, but corruption meant it fell into disuse. The work also had another important function: it showed adherents to Baptist principles that they were not alone, and that their belief was not singular. History justified their existence. The faithful were allowed to see themselves as part of a larger movement and that their place <sup>in Christian tradition</sup> was a *bona fide* one. There were other elements mentioned that would be developed more effectively by other eighteenth-century Baptist historians, such as justification for the existing mode of the Baptist practice of total immersion in water in the rite of baptism. Later eighteenth-century histories would continue to justify Baptist existence, but the focus became increasingly concerned with instructing the faithful; showing the course and design of God's plan in time, and how the faithful remnant, the Baptists, fitted into this design. This could best be accomplished by demonstrating how those affirmed to be godly actually dealt with the issues they faced.<sup>395</sup>

Joshua Thomas, the eighteenth-century Welsh Baptist historian, took advantage of the instructional value of history in several ways. His first attempt at using history for the edification of the faithful was begun in 1768 by his construction of biographical sketches of individuals who had been, and during his tenure as pastor, were members of the local Baptist church he served in Leominster, Herefordshire. Here he follows the example of Martin Luther who had sought

answers to contemporary problems by a study of the practices and resolutions of godly individuals in the early church. This practice of using history had continued among religious radicals up to the 1640s and 50s. The Quakers ~~at an~~ <sup>stage</sup> early ~~N~~ had departed from this historical method because <sup>they claimed that</sup> the early church's records were 'very short' and 'imperfect' which, according to them, had led to error, corruption and apostasy. In 1676 the pre-eminent Quaker London meeting sent instructions to the various other meetings in the British Isles to keep specific records on sufferings, defectors, deaths, controversies and any other 'memorable instances'. The meetings were also instructed to have the 'utmost Care of the Truth' and 'Exactness'. The Quakers were beginning to create their own exclusive standard which was a very important step in welding the Quaker community together.<sup>396</sup>

Much later, near the end of the eighteenth century, Thomas and other Baptist historians revived this practice, and were themselves now looking at early *Baptist* history in order to address problems and find solutions for their own contemporary dilemmas. For instance, Thomas was very concerned with disciplinary procedures at different stages in the development of his local church and pointed out how this particular church had dealt with ethical problems in order to set a precedent for his own congregation. He was also interested in demonstrating the positive examples of past



membership, believing that the 'saints' during the Restoration years of persecution were indeed a purer group.<sup>397</sup>

In 1778 Thomas' second attempt to use history was directed at his native country of Wales, in a work entitled *Hanes Bedyddwyr Cymry*. Later, in the early 1790s, this history was re-written and published in English <sup>first</sup> in short segments in an English Baptist magazine and <sup>then</sup> published as a whole in 1795. Here the mission of history was to legitimize the organizational structure of the Baptist church polity characterized in the Association structure. He researched and chronicled the inception and development of the Welsh Baptist Association, showing how it had become an effective means to allow Baptists to work together. A by-product of Thomas' research was that he was brought into contact with many ministerial counterparts as they supplied him with the necessary materials for writing his history - one of whom was Morgan Edwards.<sup>398</sup>

In the years before his death in 1797 Thomas was attempting his *magnum opus* on the Welsh Baptists. In this he was attempting to provide a detailed account of each congregation and of the Welsh Baptist Association ministers who had served them. The work was intended to give each meeting a sense of meaning and place within the evolution of the Welsh Baptist Association, thereby giving cohesiveness and solidarity to the Welsh church as a whole.<sup>399</sup>

In Ireland there was also an interest in the history of the Baptists, nationally and beyond, but the interest never grew to the sophistication that was exhibited in England, Wales or America. Historical knowledge of earlier Irish Baptists was based on the oral traditions of long-established families <sup>concerning</sup> their local churches. The only known attempt at providing any Baptist historical identity in Ireland was the compilation in Cork city of a church book which was begun in 1756. The Cork Church book was brought into being by Col. Richard Lawrence's great-grandson, Joseph Fowkes. The book was compiled for the internal corporate consumption of the Cork Baptist membership. It was clearly intended as a morale booster for the congregation, and to provide some written guide-lines or standards with which the membership could identify themselves.<sup>400</sup>

The only other historical account of Baptism in Ireland was not in fact compiled for general corporate consumption of the Irish Baptist community, but <sup>was</sup> a private work for the posterity of the authoress. Ann Fowkes, the grand-daughter of Lawrence and mother of Joseph Fowkes, had the design of providing a family history and an account of her spiritual pilgrimage that could serve as an example to her children and grandchildren.<sup>401</sup>



It is understandable why the Irish Baptists never attempted to give a national historical account of themselves. Due to their explicit connection with radicalism during the Cromwellian period it was probably best not to remind the public. And although the religiously radical antecedents of the Society of Friends certainly also placed them within Cromwellian religious radicalism, they were never seen as agents of the state in the way that Baptists had been; and there was the embarrassment of the supposed continental connection with <sup>the 'Anabaptists' of</sup> Munster, which their enemies certainly never let them forget. Irish Quaker historical recollection concentrated on the 'sufferings' of their early members, which served two functions. First by letting the Irish Quaker membership become partakers of suffering, albeit in a vicarious manner, it served to weld and galvanize the membership. Secondly, the broadcasting of Quaker sufferings contributed to their becoming more acceptable to the wider Irish community because such recollections of suffering drew a measure of public sympathy. This aspect can be seen in the Quaker controversy with the Dublin Baptist Oswald Edwards. In 1738 'a young lawyer' published an open letter to a 'scholar in Trinity College' that sided with the Quakers and condemned their Irish Baptist antagonist. In the satirical poem that opened the broadside the familiar theme of the social devastation of Munster was mentioned in contradistinction to the Quakers' commitment to 'absolute peace,' an obvious reference to Quaker pacifist doctrine. The Irish Baptists were

unable to shake off an historical association that was believed widely outside their community.<sup>402</sup>

Histories of Baptist communities in other geographic localities were also celebrations of their success in gaining new adherents, and this also provided a market for the sale of the books. Such histories delineated the rise and progress of the faith in their respective areas. Histories also had the ulterior motive of providing a standard of belief, of organization and of behaviour for the instruction of new members.

### Morgan Edwards' Quest to Reform Baptist Church Polity

Morgan Edwards owed a great deal to powerful ministerial personalities among English Baptists for his ministerial advancement. His attendance at Bristol Baptist College enabled him to escape, like many other young Welsh Baptist ministers, the obscurity of a low-paying Welsh ministry. Bernard Foskett seems most likely to have paved the way for his first ministerial post at Boston, Lincolnshire. His movement to Cork, and subsequent removals to Rye, Sussex and <sup>to</sup> Philadelphia, were the result of the patronage of powerful London ministerial personalities who made up the 'Board of Ministers'. His dependence on the good will of congregational subscribers at Cork seems to have left a bad taste in his mouth that partially accounts for his obsession with institutional reform. We have already seen how Edwards attempted to



reform his local church government; now we will look more closely at the overall vision which he pursued at the associational level.<sup>403</sup>

Edwards' vision seems to have been to build a super-Association in America that would have drawn its authority from the 'Board' in London. This can be seen by his insistence on cultivating a relationship between the Philadelphia Association and London. The vision was in some ways consistent with Baptist tradition up to that time. He did not want to build a hierarchical structure, but rather to develop a model that was already in existence in England. London enjoyed an influential and advisory position, in relation to the other Particular Baptist churches of England and Wales, which was derived at least in part from its ability to give financial assistance. His support of the College of Rhode Island in 1764, and his subsequent tour soliciting funds for the college in Ireland and England in 1767-8, was consistent with the vision. Soliciting support in the home countries was probably seen by Edwards as a good method for developing closer bonds between Baptists in various locations across the British dominions.

Edwards was moving in the direction of developing a historical polemic and justification for his vision of the Baptist church. Although his ideas and conceptualization changed slightly over time, he did not deviate from traditional Baptist

beliefs of local church authority. His vision retained a congregational church polity which was a fundamental part of Baptist church government. Edwards' shift to historical polemic began when he set up a committee in his local church to study the New Testament and to search therein for a mode of church government and discipline. Shortly after the findings of the committee <sup>were reported,</sup> Edwards began a monumental work based on a systematic dissection of New Testament passages that were concerned with local church governmental affairs. No doubt that while Edwards was touring Ireland, and especially England, he was able to gain advice and assistance in this work. Shortly after his return to Philadelphia he published in 1768 the fruit of his dissection, in a work entitled *Customs of the primitive church*.

The circumstances surrounding this publication does provide further light concerning Edwards' motivation. Opposition to him in Philadelphia had increased during his absence in Europe, and as a result adverse comment about him was spreading to other Baptist meetings in the Philadelphia Association. Before Edwards had left for Europe, and just after the 'unanimous' vote by the meeting to accept the new reforms of establishing elders, a Mr. Cox complained about 'the conduct of the church'. He raised the issue as to whether Edwards had been called to be pastor 'properly', <sup>and maintained</sup> that the 'Church' was not involved enough, that the 'Church' was not looking into the lives of those who supported the church, and that the business



of the congregation was agreed by a 'few' in the meeting by 'Wispers', leaving the rest of the congregation surprized by their decisions. The 'committee' dismissed Cox's complaint as 'frivolous'.<sup>404</sup> In February 1767 shortly after Edwards left for Europe, Henry Woodrow, who had opposed the previous lay pastor for his 'arbitrary proceedings', was suspended by the congregation for spreading 'uncomely' rumours in 'the Jersies' (New Jersey) about Edwards, claiming that he was being paid £400 per annum, and that he had been collecting the 'box money' and fees for burial in the church yard. Added in the charge against Woodrow, was that he had been seen in a 'Publick house' singing songs after dark, but this was dropped because there was only one witness and the witness was not a member of 'the visible church'.<sup>405</sup> Later in the same year Lewis Rees, who was Woodrow's accomplice in their actions against the previous lay pastor, was suspended for non-attendance and 'divulging church secrets'.<sup>406</sup> The resentment of those opposed to the reforms in Philadelphia fanned the suspicions of many that Edwards was establishing 'arbitrary rule', and this was expanded further by Woodrow's adding a financial dimension. The fact that the rumour was being passed around as far as 'the Jersies' and was recirculating back to the church authorities in Philadelphia reveals that discontent among Baptists in the meetings belonging to the Philadelphia Association was widespread. Edwards was developing a reputation by the late 1760s as an authoritarian minister.

In the light of this situation it is very understandable that Edwards chose in 1768 to publish *Customs of the primitive church* privately and that copies <sup>were to</sup> be passed only to the ministers and elders of the Philadelphia Association.<sup>407</sup> Edwards was indeed interested in bringing institutional reform by the use of an essentially undemocratic scheme which involved bringing ~~change~~ from the top down, bypassing ordinary members in individual congregations.

### Edwards' Use of History in Establishing an Identity

Morgan Edwards' use of history to help form a Baptist identity took shape in two different ways. His first attempt was not unusual in the sense that Protestants, as we have seen, were interested in finding historical precedents for justification and standards. What was unusual was that Edwards was using non-Baptist theological writers in order to explain how the early church actually operated. For instance, Edwards quoted Thomas Hooker, the New England Congregational divine who wrote *The rule of Church order* in 1648, in order to prove that women should not have suffrage in local Baptist meetings. He claimed that 'Women's voting is a novel thing; not known, and supposed never to be, and that by the father of popular church government', referring to Hooker. On other issues Edwards cited other divines from the Puritan tradition such as John Owen.<sup>408</sup>



Edwards' work on the practice of the early church was designed to establish uniformity and standardization of local church government. There were fifty-four proposals. They had a legalistic quality and were concerned with drawing clear lines of responsibility that removed ambiguity for both the ministers and everyone else who was a member of a local meeting. Edwards wanted to replace the fluid tradition, which had been most prevalent in Ireland, with a tightly ordered system of local church government. But he was careful enough not to tamper with the larger Baptist form of government: the Association. His treatise devoted only two proposals that touched directly on the Association. The work simply reinforced the principles that had already existed in the Baptist conceptualization of church government. There were no significant deviations from the Baptist tradition of congregational independency.<sup>409</sup>

Edwards was however interested in changing the greater polity of the American Baptists. His work in this area was the result of another attempt to use history to form an identity. After his return from Europe in 1768 difficulties with his local church increased, culminating in a blunder which effectively ended his ministerial career in Philadelphia on New Years day in 1770. He delivered a sermon that day stating that he was to die before the end of the year. He was twenty-five years premature in the prediction. As a result Edwards' credibility in

the wider Philadelphia community was severely deminished, and this led to his replacement in 1771. The career change led to his establishing a new tact in the use of history. The Association appointed Edwards as an itinerant evangelist to other Baptist communities in America.<sup>410</sup>

In 1770 Edwards published *A History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania*. He had been working on the project since 1768 when he <sup>had</sup> placed an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* soliciting manuscripts and other sources for his intended history. The project was a failure, and Edwards lost money because many copies remained unsold. What is interesting about this work was the scope. His history was not only about Baptist congregations in Pennsylvania that were part of the Philadelphia Association, but also various other baptistical religious groups. He covered virtually every denomination that practised believer's baptism; 'Seventhday Baptists' who believed that the Sabbath day should be on Saturday, 'Keithian Baptists', an extinct schism of Quakerism, and 'Tunker Baptists', a group of German Baptists not to be confused with another German group called 'Mennonist Baptists'. Edwards stated explicitly what his motivation was, 'a solicitude to unite them together and to settle some useful means of intercourse and familiarity between their churches'. He further explained what he meant by this 'union'. He wanted the various groups to form 'associations' in their 'proper vicinities', so that they in turn could be united to the Philadelphia Association in the way that



the Warren Association in New England and the Kekokton Association in Virginia were functioning at that time. Edwards wanted to form a Baptist church that would be tolerant of differences, but at the same time maintain a loose union which would have some continuity with early seventeenth century Baptist tradition, but it was probably unrealistic.<sup>411</sup>

After the New Year debacle Edwards travelled through the American colonies as an itinerant evangelist representing the Philadelphia Association. This part of his career lasted two years, 1771 and 1772. He claimed in 1790 that his trip, which was mainly to the southern colonies, 'cost him the tiring of two horses, and a ride of three thousand miles', for wherever he went Edwards was interested in collecting records and other information in order to construct the history of these scattered congregations. Presumably he had hoped to write histories of these various groups so that they could be 'united together'.<sup>412</sup>

Unfortunately for Edwards popular opinion among the Baptists went against him. He claimed that he had often been 'accosted' by people who asked 'What good will your history do?' They further criticized him by claiming that he was committing the sin of King David in the Old Testament because he was 'numbering the people' (II Samuel 24, I Chronicles 27: 23-4). Therefore the publication of the work was not successful. Edwards ended by losing 'about thirty pounds'. This rejection and the American revolution put a temporary

stop to his endeavours with history. Later in 1792, when Edwards was able to 'see the spirit of history and of other refinements rising among the baptists', he published another history of <sup>American</sup> Baptists, this time for New Jersey. But he was never able to publish the ten other histories that he had also worked on.<sup>413</sup>

### Edwards' Dilemma

Edwards had come of age during the early eighteenth century when a network of prominent personalities (mainly from London) steered the course of the Baptist movement in England and Wales. Scholarship is uncovering how religious dissenters developed political lobbying networks in order to protect and represent their interests in London, and that this network was extended to the American colonies. After 1750, however, this network was beginning a rapid decline and became ineffectual during the 1760s, the time of Edwards' arrival in the American colonies. In light of these findings the dilemma of Edwards' vision is more understandable.<sup>414</sup>

Edwards seems to have been unaware of two circumstances that were taking place during his career. The first was in not recognizing how to deal with what David Hall has called 'the marketplace of ideas' that ministers faced.<sup>415</sup> Because of the Puritan emphasis on the laity being able to read and digest the Scripture for themselves, ministers, especially dissenting ones, had to have a sensibility to the needs and



ideas of the congregations they served. Primarily this was the result of the English Revolution in the 1640s and 50s. At that time authoritarian ministries were rejected when more radical English revolutionaries purged the English Parliament of Presbyterians, and put aside the Westminster Confession. During the early eighteenth century as the conservative trend emerges, certain personalities among the Baptists were interested in making reforms that would resolve the tension between ministerial authority and the laity. Edwards was interested in following the path that many of these personalities had pursued. But he was caught in a transitional phase. The network of personalities was declining and the organizational stability that did eventually emerge had not come to fruition. Added to these difficulties was the political split that was occurring between the colonies and Britain.<sup>416</sup>

Edwards' career shows what the tensions were that were coming to a head as a result of Baptist evolution. This evolution as we have seen was uneven in many respects. At an important stage in his career Edwards had come out of the Irish Baptist church, which was the most underdeveloped, to the Philadelphia Association, which was the most developed. Having been influenced negatively by his Irish experience and seeing the potential of the Philadelphia Association<sup>it</sup> must have been too hard for him to resist the impulse that he felt to reform.

After this period of transition passed, the wider Baptist movement was as changed fundamentally as the societies in which it existed. The American church separated, but not totally, and developed in its own sphere. Most important for Irish Baptists was that in England a more institutionally developed and organized Baptist church emerged. And as J.C. Beckett has pointed out <sup>it</sup> was <sup>sufficiently</sup> developed organizationally to bring about a new birth of Baptism in Ireland in the early nineteenth century.



## **Conclusion**

The Protestant Reformation changed the face of Western Christianity radically because it moved the focus of religion to the individual. The Baptist movement grew out of the radical side of the religious expression that emerged as a result of these changes. The stress that Baptists placed on rite of baptism reveals how the priority of individual salvation became pre-eminent among those who entertained these religious ideas. The 'priesthood of all believers' implied a lesser role for the clergy as the guardians of religion, creating discomfort for Luther and other Reformers, which led them to place a greater emphasis on the clergy being educated and trained to deal with theological or ideological conformity. Luther and other Protestant leaders had encouraged individuals to read and interpret the Scriptures for themselves in the vernacular. However, this opened the door for theological speculation by more humble members of the church community at least those who had the ability to read the texts for themselves. Therefore the necessity for a well trained ministry became an imperative in the fight against heresy. In England during the 1640s, due to the breakdown of authority and censorship, many

individuals became free of clerical control, a situation which they welcomed wholeheartedly. Many Baptists, such as Christopher Blackwood, were among this segment of the population who were not pre-disposed to place themselves under the control of an authoritarian ministry.

Another reason for this anti-clerical attitude was the optimistic beliefs of these early speculators in England. Due to their perception of the power of the Holy Spirit, many of these speculators believed that truth would eventually win the day. However, as it became apparent that their perception was not accurate, they had to adjust their plan for creating a godly environment. This led to a more conservative posture, both socially and religiously, on the part of the leadership of these emerging religious societies. Members of newly formed religious societies, Baptist or otherwise, became more amenable to the control of an individual's ideas and behaviour. As this process increased, Particular Baptist leaders looked to Reformed models as guides to forming a more godly church. This can be seen in their adopting a credal formula in 1689 that was solidly grounded in the Reformed tradition. As this conservative trend continued in the eighteenth century it was natural for Baptists to seek a ministry that conformed to Reformed ideals in order to gain credibility and respectability from those outside their community.

Although the Irish Baptists had their roots in England, and many of their constituents were ethnically English



during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, their evolution and development was distinct from their brethren in England, Wales and Philadelphia. They were following the general ecclesiastical direction of their counterparts, but were not as successful in their endeavour. Their problem from the very beginning had been more acute. Their early membership, being part of the Cromwellian military establishment, was less stable than England and Wales mainly because of the mobility of the army. There was also a problem in developing a solidified body of like-minded individuals who could meet in a stable geographic area. The problem of geographic stability was easily overcome after the Restoration, but the problem of solidarity was never really solved. The problem of solidarity was due to the radical individualism that was prominent in the Baptist community, itself part of a larger Protestant community that was itself very individualistic.

After the Restoration it was not possible for Baptists, either in Ireland, England or Wales, to establish a larger organizational structure due to the repression of the period. It was only possible to develop local societies which revolved around personalities; these assumed pastoral roles as a result of being recognized as such by the other members of the meeting. But, after the demise of the Stuart monarchy, it became possible to promulgate a larger organizational structure that would be capable of establishing bonds between various local meetings. In England and Wales, the leaders of prominent London Baptist

churches led the larger Particular Baptist community in the direction of a more conservative church polity. Likewise in the Philadelphia Association, the First Philadelphia Baptist church led the way for the Particular Baptist churches in the colonies. In Ireland Dublin followed this pattern of leadership, but was not as successful as its counterparts.

The Irish Baptists certainly tried to put in place a national organizational structure in the early eighteenth century. They did benefit from their effort, but not to the extent that they hoped for. The effort produced dedicated ministers who helped to rejuvenate dwindling congregations, but the success of this effort was short-lived. And the re-organization did enable the Irish Baptists to survive the eighteenth century and keep a foothold in Ireland. Irish Baptists by and large remained very parochial and were not able to develop the more sophisticated organizational structures such as were emerging in other Baptist communities.

But, there was a beneficial aspect to this lack of organizational development for women in the Irish Baptist community. They maintained a more influential role in the religious community, due to their importance in providing stability to the community. But when conservative religious ideas and organizational structures that were capable of enforcing ideological conformity emerged, women receded in prominence, although their importance was not negated.



This dissertation has sought to analyze the Irish Baptists in terms of Baptism as a whole. In terms of Irish history the work was more descriptive. An analysis of Irish Baptists strictly in terms of Ireland cannot be accomplished until the wider Irish religious picture emerges which will identify key individuals and their relationship to the religious society of which they are a part, along with their relationship to other religious groups. Work on other individuals who belonged to ethnically English religious dissenting societies such as Quakers and Presbyterians will hopefully yield a more vivid picture of the Protestant community after the Interregnum. The Irish Baptists seem in many respects to be merely an appendix of Independency or Presbyterianism in Ireland. But, as the lives of the ordinary members of the different Protestant communities in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries become more understandable it should be possible to analyze Irish Baptists and their relationship with other Protestants in Ireland more closely.

At the present time it is only possible to recognize that the distinctive Irish Baptist identity that was trying to form in the in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries did not develop to the extent of Baptist groups elsewhere. The Irish Baptists did survive the eighteenth century, but this was the result of endeavours made by their brethren in London, who had developed a more sophisticated organizational apparatus. Morgan Edwards' ministerial prospects had depended on these London leaders, and he

admired the direction that these leaders were following; towards a more traditional Protestant polity. However, he was out of the mainstream of a varied and fluid tradition.



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180 Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, pp. 91-2; and 'Crises of Identity'.

181 Lawrence, *The Interest of Ireland*, Part II, pp. 77-82, 96 ff.

182 J. Taylor, *Liberty of Prophesying* (London, 1647).

183 *Memoirs of Ann Fowke*§ p. 27.

184 *The Register of the Parish of S. Peter and S. Kevin* (Dublin, 1911), p. 234; *Memoirs of Ann Fowkes*, p. 28.

185 See chapter 5.

186 *Memoirs of Ann Fowke*§ pp. 15-6.

187 Cork Church Book, p. 15.

188 *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, Diary of the First Earl of Egmont* (London, 1923), vol. 3, pp. 316-7.

189 Some other Anglican authors were William Wake, Bishop of Lincoln and later Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Burnett, Bishop Sherlock, and Bishop of Chester, John Pearson. The Trustees Book, fol. 23.

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- 190 Cork Church Book, p. 60.
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- 194 Trinity College Library, Dublin, Transcript of the Journal of Joseph Cook, Trinity College Ms. 6448. Also in the Genealogical Office, Dublin, Ms. 544; *Memoirs of Ann Fowkes*, pp. 72-3, 84-5, 104.
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- 197 Falkiner, C. L., *A Pedigree with Biographical Sketches of the Devonshire Family of Travers...* (printed privately, 1698).
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- 202 Cited in *Penn Papers*, vol. 1, pp. 267, 295.
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- 205 Edwards, O., *A Stroak at the Quaker's Foundation* (Dublin, 1722); *A Second Sfoak at the Quaker's Foundation* (Dublin, 1723); *A Third Stroak* (Dublin, 1736); *A Fourth Stroak* (Dublin, 1740); For Quaker's, *An Answer to a Phamphlet Signed by Oswald Edwards* (Dublin, 1723); J. Forster, *The People called Quakers Defended, and the Baptists Confuted* (London, 1740).
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- 207 *A Grand Dispute between Quakers & Anabaptists held this day August 26, Sunday, 1722. With a new ballad* ([Dublin, 1722]).
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- 210 Moravian Church House, London, Typescript of the Journal of John Cennick, pp. 30-2.
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- 212 [Mears, J.], *Advertisement* ([Dublin], 1747); Cennick Journal, pp. 43-4; F. Baker (ed), *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 26, *Letters II 1740 - 1755* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 281-5, 297-8, 303-4, 316-8.
- 213 Cork Church Book, p. 42; Subscription Account of Swift's Alley, the 1742 and 1743 record is unfoliated, 1750 and 1752, fols. 33-5.
- 214 Cennick Journal, pp. 33-4.
- 215 *Ibid.*, p. 34.
- 216 Cennick Journal, p. 44; Jonathan Binns was listed as a Bradilonian, but he was a subscriber to the Swift's Alley congregation in 1745. Subscription Account of Swift's Alley, unfoliated, September, 1745.
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- 218 *Ibid.* pp. 39-41.
- 219 Cennick Journal, p. 40.
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- 221 Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol, Essex Lewis Book, fol. 60; J. Thomas, *Welsh Association*, pp. 20-2; P. Masters, *The Baptist Confession of Faith, 1689* (London, 1989), *passim*.



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- 222 Masters, *The Baptist Confession of Faith, 1689*, chapter 1.
- 223 J. Thomas, *Welsh Association*, pp. 21-5.
- 224 J. Thompson, 'Rev. Henry Phillip (1719-1789), His Testimony', in *Irish Baptist Historical Society Journal* (1984-5) vol. 17.
- 225 For Wales, Thomas, *Welsh Association*, pp. 76-82; for Philadelphia, A. D. Gillette (ed), *Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association from 1707 to 1807* (Philadelphia, 1851), passim; for Ireland, Cork Church Book, pp. 56-7, 72-5, 79-80, 87-8, 99, 111; Backus Ms., appendix pp. 4-7.
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- 238 Gillette, *Philadelphia Association*, p. 35.
- 239 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
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- 241 Cork Church Book, pp. 55-61, 78-9, 81-6, 324,7. For Welsh ministerial candidates coming to Ireland, see Bristol Baptist College, Bristol, Joshua Thomas, *Materials for a History of the Baptists in Wales*, [hereafter 'Materials'], pp. 190, 278-9, 341, 482, 475; and, *History of the Baptists in Wales*, [hereafter 'History'], pp. 107, 161, 241, 301, 326, 335, 338.
- 242 Cork Church Book, pp. 72, 78, 131-6, 324-8; Thomas, 'Materials', p. 278-9; and 'History', pp. 326.
- 243 Cork Church Book, pp. 71-2, 326.
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- 245 [Piggot, J.] *Eleven Sermons Preached upon special occasions* (London, 1714), pp. 72-5.
- 246 Rawlinson Ms. 409c, no. 1, fol. 44, no. 2, fol. 3.
- 247 *Life of Knollys*, pp. 25-7; White, *The English Baptists in the 17th Century*, pp. 129-30.
- 248 Morgan Edwards in his histories of the Baptists in Pennsylvania and New Jersey gave the date of birth and ordination all the ministers that he could obtain, *Materials*, pp.5-26, 81-133.



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- 249 Gillette, *Philadelphia Association*, pp. 27, 32-3, 42.
- 250 The Trustees Book, fols. 12-4, 19; Cork Church Book, pp. 76-7.
- 251 Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol, Essex Lewis Book, fol. 27.
- 252 Angus Library, Account Books of the Education Fund, vol 1, unpaginated and unfoliated, introduction.
- 253 The Trustees Book, fols. 15-6, 19; Cork Church Book, pp. 116-9; *Memoirs of Ann Fowkes*, pp. 56, 152-3; Journal of John Cennick, p. 33.
- 254 Piggot, *Eleven Sermons*, p. 74.
- 255 Account Book of the Education Fund, unpaginated, introduction in the beginning of vol. 1.
- 256 Dr. William's Library, The Journal of Benjamin Stinton, pp. 1-14; Education Fund, London, vol. 1, introduction; *Rules and Orders of the Particular Baptist Fund in London* ([London?],n.d.). This tract was an advertisement for donations to the fund in the 1790s.
- 257 The Trustees Book, fols. III, IV, 1, [3], 5.
- 258 Cork Church Book, pp. 24-5.
- 259 O. Edwards, *The Case of Oswald Edwards, being an impartial and faithful account of the ... services he has done for the creditors of the bank being lately kept by Samuel Burton and Daniel Falkiner* (Dublin, 1740), pp. 2-4.
- 260 *Memoirs of Ann Fowkes*, pp. 57, 141.
- 261 *Materials*, p. 17.
- 262 Cork Church Book, pp. 22-4, 57, 76-7.

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- 264 Thomas, *Welsh Association*, pp. 43-4.
- 265 Cork Church Book, pp. 76-7.
- 266 Gillette, *Philadelphia Association*, pp. 440-6.
- 267 The Trustees Book, unfoliated page near the back.
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- 269 Baptist Union of Ireland, Belfast, Miscelleaneous Waterford Deeds; Backus Ms, appendix, p. 14; *Memoirs of Ann Fowkes*, p. 141.
- 270 Cork Church Book, pp. 48, 117; The Trustees Book, fols. 14-7; *Memoirs of Ann Fowkes*, pp. 78, 87, 141-4.
- 271 T.C. Barnard, 'Reforming Irish Manners: the Religious Societies in Dublin during the 1690s' in *Historical Journal* forthcoming.
- 272 Cennick Journal, p. 30.
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- 274 Cork Church Book, p. 57.
- 275 Richard Ware to John Siddon, 19 June 1769, Dr. Williams Library, Siddon Papers, fol. 134.
- 276 Cork Church Book, 78-9.
- 277 Cork Church Book, pp. 57-6, 61; Thomas, 'Materials', pp. 278-9; and 'History', p. 326; Thomas, *Welsh Association*, p. 64.
- 278 Thomas, 'Materials', p. 249-50; 'History', p. 241.



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- 280 Pettit last payment on the educational fund was in February 1704. The Trustees Book, fol. 1; Cork Church Book, pp. 21-6.
- 281 Cork Church Book, pp. 26, 76-7.
- 282 Cork Church Book, pp. 81-3, 85-6, 91, 97, 101-5, 110-4, 120, 122-8, 130; *Cork Examiner*; 21 May 1821.
- 283 *Memoirs of Ann Fowkes*, pp. 139-45; 'Materials', p. 190; 'History', p. 109; *Welsh Association*, p. 64.
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- 286 Lovegrove, D., *Established Church; Sectarian People: Itineracy and the Transformation of English Dissent* (Oxford, 1990), *passim*.
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- 289 Public Record Office, Dublin, ~~P~~<sup>r</sup>erogative Will-book, 1700-1725.

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- 290 Edwards made the transcription from the Llanwenarth Church Book which is now deposited in the National Library of Wales. Deposist 409b; Cork Church Book, pp. 329-30.
- 291 Cork Church Book, p. 330.
- 292 See chapter III.
- 293 The Trustees Book, fol. 1; Cork Church Book, pp. 21-6, 330.
- 294 Registry of Deeds Office, Dublin, Ms. 26,200; Cork Church Book, p. 22.
- 295 Nickolls, *State Papers*, p. 149; R. Hayden, (ed), 'Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol', in *Bristol Record Society Publications*, vol. 27, p. 243; Robert Bodenham to Thomas Sparling, Bristol, 5 January 1687, Essex Lewis Book, fol. 34; *Memoirs of Ann Fowkes*, pp. 20- 1, 142; Cork Church Book, p. 330.
- 296 Backus MS, appendix, pp. 4-7.
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- 302 Thomas, *Welsh Association*, p. 23.
- 303 Essex Lewis Book, fol. 48; Bristol Baptist College, Photocopy of 'Bodenham Endowment'.
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- 310 See *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 311 Cork Church Book, p. 3; Crosby, *History of English Baptists*, vol. 4, pp. 82-4.
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- 313 *Memoirs of Ann Fowkes*, pp. 7-9.
- 314 B. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1858), pp. 365-6.
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- 319 Cork Church Book, p.14.
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325 Cork Church Book, pp. 14, 30; 'Waterford Deeds'; Gen. Off. Ms. 112, pp. 76, 113, pp. 249-55.

326 Friends Library, Dublin, 'Cork Birth Records', unfoliated.

327 Cork Church Book, p. 14.

328 *Ibid.*, pp. 89-91.

329 *Penn Papers*, vol. 1, p. 106.

330 The following explanation is based on *The Interest of Ireland*, Part I, chapter 1.

<sup>330A</sup>  
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332 *Memoirs of Ann Fowkes*, pp. 25-9.

333 Cork Church Book, pp. 88-92.

334 K. Thomas, 'Women in the Civil War Sects', in *Past and Present* (April, 1958), pp. 42-62.

335 *Ibid.*, pp. 42-3.

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- 337 *Memoirs of Ann Fowke*<sup>s</sup><sub>h</sub>, pp. 7-41.
- 338 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- 339 For soldiers, see Barnard, 'Reforming Irish Manners'.
- 340 *Memiors of Ann Fowkes*, pp. 18-9.
- 341 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-7, 34-7.
- 342 'Collection Account, Swift's Alley' 25 December 1742 entry, fol. 34.
- 343 Cork Church Book, pp. 5-13, 18-9, 54-5, 59, 93-5.
- 344 'History of Leominster Baptist Meeting', pp. 74, 76; Cork Church Book, pp. 6, 26; *Memoirs of Ann Fowke*, pp. 32, 55.
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- 351 The Trustees Book, fols. III, VIII, 10-2, 17, 20-1, 24-5, 27; The Registers Book, fols. [1], 4-14, 24-7, 90; 'Waterford Deeds'; Cork Church Book, pp. 103-4.
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- 358 Barnard, 'Reforming Irish Manners'.
- 359 For examples of disciplinary procedures, Cork Church Book, pp. 51-2, 102-9; 'Leominster Church Book', p. 2; 'Essex Lewis Book', fols. 36-7; Philadelphia Minutes, vol. 1, pp. 9-10, 13, 21, 23, 31, 37, 59-60, 68, 72, 74-5, 77-80, 82-3, 85-94, 96-7.
- 360 Philadelphia Minutes, vol. 1, pp. 21, 23.
- 361 Ibid., p. 60.
- 362 Ibid., p. 13.
- 363 Ibid., pp. 80, 82.
- 364 Ibid., pp. 85, 94.
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- 366 Ibid., pp. 68-71.
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- 369 Ibid., pp. 114-5.
- 370 Backus Ms., appendix, p. 6.
- 371 Cork Church Book, p. 77.
- 372 Cork Church Book, p. 35.



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- 373 British Library, Add. 36,166, fols. 1-7; The Trustees Book, fols. III, V, 8-13, 18, 20.
- 374 The Trustees Book, fols. III, VII, 17, 20-2, 24-5.
- 375 *Materials*, p. 23; Thomas, *Welsh Association*, p. 52, 59, 64; 'Materials', pp. 80, 190, 275-8; 'History', pp. 107, 326; Llanwenarth Church Book, p. 36.
- 376 Joshua Thomas to John Rippon, Leominster, 19 March 1795, Angus Library, Rippon Collection, fol. 27; Dr. William's Library, The name of those that have been under my care,[signed by] Dr. Foskett.
- 377 London Education Fund Account Book.
- 378 His first manuscript sermon at Cork city is dated 29 November 1750.
- 379 Edwards, M., *A New Years Gift* (Philadelphia, 1770).
- 380 Edwards' Sermons, 6 June 1758.
- 381 Cork Church Book, p. 326.
- 382 Edwards' Sermons, 12 August 1759.
- 383 *A Tear for King George II* (Dublin, 1761); *A Farewell Sermon at Rye* (Dublin, 1761).
- 384 Philadelphia Minutes, vol. 1, pp. 9, 13.
- 385 Ibid., pp. 4-15.
- 386 Gillette, *Philadelphia Association*, pp. 85, 88, 91, 94, 100, 103, 106, 111, 117, 122.
- 387 Philadelphia Minutes, vol. 1, pp. 32, 38-9, 49-50, 58, 63.
- 388 Gillette, *Philadelphia Association*, pp. 82-3; Philadelphia Minutes, vol.1, pp. 51, 73;

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- 389 Philadelphia Minutes, vol. 1, pp. 51, 60, 63, 65-6, 75-7, 93-4, 97; Gillette, *Philadelphia Association*, pp. 82-3, 91, 94-5, 109-10; *Materials*, pp. 2-3, 20-3, 148-51;
- 390 *Materials*, p. 216; Gillette, *Philadelphia Association*, p. 119.
- 391 *Materials*, pp. 215-6; Gillette, *Philadelphia Association*, p. 243.
- 392 J. Hill, 'Popery and Protestantism, Civil and Religious Liberty: The Disputed Lessons of Irish History, 1690-1812', in *Past and Present*, no. 128, (1991), pp. 96-126.
- 393 See chapter III.
- 394 Crosby, *History of the English Baptists*, preface; D. Neal, *The History of the Puritans or Non-Conformists, from the Reformation to the Act of Toleration in 1689* (London, 1732-38); E. Calamy, *The Nonconformists Memorial* (London, 1774).
- 395 Crosby, *English Baptists*, vol. 1, preface.
- 396 *Penn Papers*, vol. 1, pp. 363-5.
- 397 Leominster History, introduction.
- 398 *Hanes Bedyddwyr Cymry* (Carmarthen, 1778); *Welsh Association*, pp. 52, 82.
- 399 Although Thomas' work was not published they are extant at Bristol Baptist College, Library. 'Materials', and 'History'
- 400 Cork Church Book, pp.
- 401 *Memoirs of Ann Fowkes.*, p. 5.
- 402 *A Letter from a Young Lawyer to a Scholar in Trinity College* (Dublin, 1738); Another example is *A Vindication of the Quakers written by a Member of the Church of England* (Dublin, 1698).



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- 403 Thomas, *Welsh Association*, pp.52, 82; 'Materials', pp. 286-7; 'History', pp. 342-3.
- 404 Philadelphia Minutes, vol. 1, pp. 65-6.
- 405 Ibid., pp. 75-7.
- 406 Ibid., p. 96.
- 407 *Customs of the primitive church*, title page.
- 408 *Customs of the primitive church*, pp. 47.
- 409 Ibid., p. 110.
- 410 Edwards published the sermon later in the year in order to defend himself, but to no avail, *A New Years Gift*; Gillette, *Philadelphia Association*, p. 199.
- 411 Materials, pp. 5, 32-5, 43-6, 136, 141, 150.
- 412 Ibid., pp. 2-3, 78.
- 413 Ibid., p. 77.
- 414 A.G. Olson, 'The Eighteenth Century Empire: The London Dissenters' Lobbies and the American Colonies', in *Journal of American Studies*, vol. 26 (April, 1992), pp. 41-58.
- 415 Hall, *Worlds of Wonder*, chapter I
- 416 A.G. Olson, 'The Eighteenth Century Empire', pp. 41-58.

## Appendix I

### Baptist positions in the Cromwellian establishment

#### Military

##### Colonels

Daniel Axtell  
Richard Lawrence  
Richard Leigh  
William Leigh  
Richard Le Hunt  
Heirom Sankey

##### Lieut-Colonels

John Nelson

##### Majors

Thomas Adams  
Thomas Davies  
Henry Jones  
William Moore  
Benjamin Woodward

##### Captains

Stephen Allen  
William Allen  
John Baker  
Thomas Bolton  
William Bolton  
William Heydon  
Charles Houlcroft  
John Vernon  
Samuel Wade

##### Lieutenants

Mordicai Abbott  
Thomas Barnes  
Paul Dod  
William Hay  
Henry Johnson  
Thomas Matthew

##### Other

Capt. Thomas Sparling (naval)  
Ensign Arnold Thomas  
Cornet Thomas Trockmorton



## Civilian

Phillip Alden, attorney  
Ambrose Andrews, commissioner of revenue  
Francis Bishop, supplier of cloth  
Phillip Carteret, advocate-general  
George Cawdron, supplier  
Bartholomew Hussey, supplier  
James Morley, attorney  
Richard Neale, supplier  
Edward Roberts, auditor  
William Sault, clerk  
James Standish, treasurer  
Edward Tomlins, comptroller

## Ministers

Christopher Blackwood, Dublin, Kilkenny  
Robert Carr, Clonmel  
Robert Clarke, Galway  
John Coleman, Cork  
John Hunt, Maryborough  
James Knight, Limerick  
Thomas Patient, Dublin, Kilkenny, Tipperary  
Thomas Lamb, Dublin, Waterford

## Appendix II

### Baptist Signatories in Ireland during the Interregnum.

1) Letter from Baptists in Waterford to Dublin, 14 Jan 1652

Thomas Patient	Thomas Brenton
William Burgis	Peter Row
Edward Hutchinson	William Leigh
Edward Marshall	George Cawdron
Richard Sutton	Richard Ladbroke
James Standish	Edward Roberts

Thomas Patient, Patience, came to Baptist principles while in New England, appointed chaplain to Col. John Jones, afterward became Fleetwood's chaplain, returned to England after the Restoration.

William Burgis, only instance as a signatory.

Edward Hutchinson, later involved with Baptists in Tipperary, went to England with Thomas Delaune.

Edward Marshall, listed in the west ward of Waterford city in the 1659 census.

Richard Sutton, nothing known.

James Standish, deputy treasurer for the army in Ireland.

Thomas Brenton, only instance as a signatory.

Peter Row, according to B.R. White a member of the Hubbard-How-More church, paid on the civil list 1654-7, was known to authorities after the Restoration.

William Leigh, military governor of Waterford, did not support Baptist opposition to Henry Cromwell, may have settled in the Barony of Bantry after the Restoration.

George Cawdron, landlord to William Allen, governor of Waterford during the Interregnum, goaled for debt in 1661, listed as gent in the Subsidy Rolls.





2) Letter of Exhortation from Irish Baptists to London Baptists,  
1 June, 1653

Waterford	Kilkenny	Dublin
Robert Kingdon	Anthony Harrison	James Hardish
Thomas Skelson	John Pratte	Henry Jones
Edward Marshall	Humphrey Prichard	James Montely
Peter Rowe	Thomas Willsoppe	William Sands
Thomas Boulton	John Courte	William Salt
Thomas Sparling	Arnold Thomas	Edward Roberts
George Cawdron	Christopher Blackwood	Phillip Carteret
John Rowe	Richard Wood	Thomas Patience
William Leigh		Nicholas Scots
Richard Sutton		Adrian Strong
Robert Murry		
Thomas _____		

**Waterford**

Robert Kingdon, possibly mistranscribed and should read Richard, who would be a captain in the army otherwise nothing else is known.

Thomas Skelson, according to the Act of Settlement (1665) he owned land in Kiltuber, County Westmeath. There was a Baptist congregation in that vicinity until around 1880.

Edward Marshall, see above.

Peter Rowe, see above.

Capt. Thomas Boulton, in Col. William Leigh's regiment, remained in Waterford and participated in local government as Mayor and Councilor, was record as a tanner in the Subsidy Rolls. (1)

Capt. Thomas Sparling, named has been erroneously transcribed as Sparkling, was a sea captian on the Assistance, settled as a merchant in Waterford after the Restoration trading with Bristol.

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<sup>1</sup> Bodl. Lib. Rawlinson MSS A 208, p.



George Cawdron, see above.

John Rowe, listed in the Barony of Deaces in the 1659 census, listed as a gent in Hacketstown in the Subsidy Rolls.

Col. William Leigh, see above.

Richard Sutton, nothing known.

Robert Murry, nothing known.

### **Kilkenny**

Anthony Harrison, nothing known.

John Pratte, listed at the Barony of Iverke in the 1659 census.

Humphrey Prichard, nothing known.

Thomas Willsope, possibly mistranscription of Wilson, who was listed in the north ward of Kilkenny city in the 1659 census.

John Courte, nothing known.

Arnold Thomas, ensign in Col. Richard Stephens company of foot in the regiment of Col. Daniel Axtell.

Christopher Blackwood, original from Kent, minister on the civil list, eventually settled at Kilkenny and died around 1670.

Richard Wood, may have become a schoolmaster after the Restoration in Tipperary, who was suspected of being involved in a plot in 1667, a Mr. Woods was a school teacher on the estate of Major Edward Riggs in the later seventeenth century.

### **Dublin**

James Hardish, mistakingly identified as James Standish, but was father in law of William Allen.

Major Henry Jones, was arrested for involvement in the conspiracy to take Dublin Castle in 1663.

James Montley, probably should read Morely, an attorney that served in Ireland up until the 1680s.

William Sands, nothing known.

William Salt, [Sault], 'a clerke to the Counsell of Warre.'

Edward Roberts, see above.

Phillip Carteret, born in France, was advocate general in Ireland, in 1659 he became Judge Advocate in England, wrote a law treatise in Italian in 1662 at Dublin, arrested in 1663 with Philip Alden a Baptist spy, married one Richard Lawrence's daughter and died childless.

Thomas Patience, see above.

Nicolas Scot, nothing known.

Adrian Strong, nothing known.



3) Names given in the appendix of the letter of 1653 giving details of the condition of the baptized churches in Ireland.

### Dublin

Thomas Patience, \_\_\_\_\_ Lamb [Law], John Vernon, Edward Roberts, Smyth [Smith], and several others.

Lamb may be a mistake for Richard Lawrence.

Smyth is transcribed Smith by Morgan Edwards who used the Lanwenarth Church Book, an R. Smith signed the petition to the Protector in 1657.

### Waterford

\_\_\_\_\_ Wade, \_\_\_\_\_ Row, \_\_\_\_\_ Boutlon, \_\_\_\_\_ Caudron, \_\_\_\_\_ Kingdon, and several others.

Whitley believed that this was Capt. Samuel Wade. A Samuel Wade is listed in the Subsidy Rolls.

### Clonmel

\_\_\_\_\_ Charles, \_\_\_\_\_ Drapes, \_\_\_\_\_ Hutchinson, \_\_\_\_\_ Bullock

Charles, nothing known.

Drapes, may be Capt. John Draper who was arrested at the Restoration.

Hutchinson, probably Edward, see above.

Bullock, nothing known.

### Kilkenny

\_\_\_\_\_ Blackwood, \_\_\_\_\_ Card, \_\_\_\_\_ Axtell, \_\_\_\_\_ Gough

Christopher Blackwood, see above.

Card, probably Edward

Axtell, Daniel, governor of Kilkenny, executed as a regicide at the Restoration.

Gough, a Christopher Gough signed petition to the Protector.  
Cork

\_\_\_\_\_ Lamb, \_\_\_\_\_ Coleman,

Lamb, nothing known.

Coleman, John, served as pastor in Cork city until his death in the 1680s, listed in the parish of Killanally in the 1659 census.

Limerick

\_\_\_\_\_ Knight, \_\_\_\_\_ Uzell, \_\_\_\_\_ Skinner

Knight, presumably James Knight who refused a position in Waterford offered by Richard Lawrence in order to go here. Paid on the Civil List in 1654. Signed the petition to the Protector. Returned to England at the Restoration and signed letter repudiating Venner's uprising.

Uzell, listed as John Ouzzell in the 1659 census, most likely returned to England and took out a license under the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672.

Skinner, probably William, who signed petition to the Protector.

Galway

\_\_\_\_\_ Clark, \_\_\_\_\_ Davies

Clark, [Robert], minister on the civil list to preach in Connaught, 1652

Davies, Major Thomas, signed petition to the Protector, in Col. John Nelson's regiment of foot.



## Wexford

\_\_\_\_\_ Thomlins, \_\_\_\_\_ Hussy, \_\_\_\_\_ Neale, \_\_\_\_\_ Biggs.

Thomlins, Edward signed petition to the Protector, comptroller of the train, satisfied with the train of the artillery.

Hussy, Bartholomew, army supplier for Wexford, involved in the Enniscorthy ironworks after the Restoration, Died 1666.

Neale, Richard signed the petition to the Protector, supplier of the forces in Wexford.

Biggs, only instance as a signatory, nothing known.

## Kerry

\_\_\_\_\_ Dix, \_\_\_\_\_ Nelson, \_\_\_\_\_ Browne and wife, \_\_\_\_\_ Chambers

Dix, William, minister on the Civil List, supported by Col. Robert Barrow in a dispute with Presbyterians at Carrickfergus in 1655,

Nelson, Col. John, commander in chief at Kerry, died before Feb. 1666, testified against Col. Daniel Axtell, later married one of the Earl of Orrey's daughters and became a school master in County Cork.

Browne, James, signed the petition to the Protector, nothing else known.

Chambers, John, minister on the civil list, 1654.

## Carrickfergus

\_\_\_\_\_ Reade

Reade, John, minister on the civil list, 1654,

4) Persons in Ireland who were members of John Chamberlen's meeting in London, 1654.

Men

Women

William Eyre  
 William Walker  
 William Deakin  
 John Worface

Elizabeth Walker  
 Dorthy Deakin  
 Dorthy Haddock

Col. William Eyre, a Leveler, arrested in 1660 by Sir Theophilus Jones for alleged plotting.

Maj. William Walker, a William Waker signed the petition to the Protector, was in charge of incidently charges of the army in Ireland.

William Deakin, nothing known.

John Worface, nothing known.



5) Signatories to the petition to the Protector, 1657.

Thomas Patient	Richard Derks	Richard Lawrence
Richard Neale	James Morely	William Sands
James Standish	Richard [le] Hunte	Henry Johnson
Richard Slingdon	Barth. Hussey	John Ince
Edward Roberts	J. Stopford	Peter Rowe
William Hopkins	William Skinner	Robert Murrey
Paul Cudmore	Maurice Thomas	Michael Elliott
Am Andrews	Edward Thomlins	Christo. Dobson
Walter Bingham	James Browne	Thm. Trockmorton
Edward Sutton	Thomas Wilson	Phillip Alden
John Draper	Francis Bishop	C. Blackwood
Adrian Strong	William Waker	John Milant
Richard Fox	Peter Coventry	William Bolton
Robert Wells	Michael Hoxton	Christo. Gough
John Ingham	Stephen Vines	Charles Duke
Thomas Adams	Wilke Hardner	R. Smith
John Dike	William Hay	John Hunt
William Stokes	Thomas Atwalle	Daniel Fossey
Abraham Wells	Robert Phillips	Richard Scott
William Walker	John Ansloe	Thomas Davis
Roger Haldanby	Arnold Thomas	John Stulbor
Gresham Gourd	Robert Ormst	Charles Ormsbye
George Cotcher	William Cooper	Edward Rayment
Thomas Lewin	Paul Dod	Samuel Newton
Allen Beard	Thomas Pratt	Thomas Williams
John Matthew	George Duffett	John Jay
William Stotesbury	Mar. Lynch	John Bingham
Richard Hunt	William Speed	John Maverly
Thomas Bell	Charles Holcroft	Mord. Abbott
Henry Ormsby	John Knight	Ben. Woodworth
Robert Clarke	William Cruchley	Maurice Murphy
Thomas Barnes	John Sharpe	John Gryce
William Moore	William Heydon	T. Broadhurst
George Thomlinson	John Page	John Baker
Edward Card	Edward Olleye	John Willis
John German	John Church	Wm. Whittinge
John Reeves	John Meech	Stephen Hawes
John Bailey	Robert Carr	Charles Walters
Henry Everard	John Foster	Steven Mories
Robert Greay	Francis Thomas	

Thomas Patient, see above.

Richard Derks, nothing known.

Col. Richard Lawrence, captain in Thomas Fairfax's regiment in Oxford, 1647, received commission as commander of 1200 horse in 1650, governor of Waterford, survived Restoration through patronage, leader of a Baptist meeting in Dublin during the Restoration, died 1685.

Richard Neale, see above.

James Morley, see above.

William Sands, nothing known.

James Standish, see above.

Col. Richard [Le] Hunte, governor of Waterford.

Lt. Henry Johnson, in Theophilus Jones regiment, Kilkenny in census of 1659, land in Barony of Gowran, Kilkenny in Acts of Settlement, may have been the pastor of the Kilkenny church who died in 1704.

Richard Slingdon, nothing known.

Bartholomew Hussey, see above.

John Ince, nothing known.

Edward Roberts, see above.

J. Stopford, probably James Stopford, trustee of Trinity College, received grant from Charles II in 1663, could also be Lt. Joseph or Capt James who was in charge of payments.

Peter Rowe, see above.

William Hopkins, recorded in the census at Sippers Lane and Cooke Street in Dublin, received land in Barony of Demifore in Westmeath in Acts of Settlement.



William Skinner, probable member of the Limerick meeting.

Robert Murrey, nothing known.

Paul Cudmore, recorded at St. Audian's Parish, Dublin in census of 1659.

Maurice Thomas, nothing known.

Michael Elliott, nothing known.

Am[brose] Andrews, appointed by Ireton to be on the Commission of Revenue at Kilkenny, later removed to Wexford and is recorded in the southward of Wexford town. Will probated in Ferns, 1668.

Edward Tomlins, see above.

Christopher Dobson, recorded in eastward Wexford town in census, may have been an apothecary in Dublin involved in the plot to sieze Dublin Castle, 1663.

Walter Bingham, nothing known.

James Browne, probable member of the Kerry meeting.

Thomas Trockmorton, cornet in August, 1654 in Major Meridith's troops, record at Barony of Gowran in census of 1659.

Edward Sutton, nothing known.

Thomas Wilson, nothing known.

Phillip Alden, spy after the Restoration.

John Draper, see above.

Francis Bishop, clothier for the army in Ireland. Employed as a tailor in Dublin after the Restoration

Christopher Blackwood, see above.

Adrian Strong, nothing known.

William Waker, nothing known.

John Milant, nothing known.

Richard Fox, nothing known.

Peter Coventry, nothing known.

Capt. William Bolton, brother of Capt. Thomas Bolton, in Col. Pritty's regiment of horse, disbanded in September, 1655, opposed Ludlow at the Restoration, settled at Mt. Bolton ten miles from Waterford city, collector of subsidies, 1662, mayor Waterford after the Restoration, encountered trouble after the Act of Uniformity, 1669. George Deyos complained about him and his brother to Ormond.

Robert Wells, nothing known.

Michael Hoxton, nothing known.

Christopher Gough, deputy to the Surveyer General, may have been at the heart of the controversy between Dr. William Petty and Heirom Sankey in 1659.

John Ingham, nothing known.

Stephen Vines, nothing known.

Charles Duke, recorded at St. Patrick's inward Kilkenny city in the census of 1659, received land in the Barony of Upper Ossory, Queen's County in Acts of Settlement.

Maj. Thomas Adams, on the commission for setting out lands, recorded at northward, Kilkenny city in census of 1659.

Wilke Hardner, nothing known.

R. Smith, member of the Dublin church.

John Dike, nothing known.

Lt. William Hay[es],

John Hunt, minister at Maryborough, Queen's County.



William Stokes, nothing known.

Thomas Atwalle, nothing known.

Daniel Fossey, held land in the baronies of Duleek, Meath and Bargo, County Wexford in the Acts of Settlement.

Abraham Wells, nothing known.

Robert Phillips, nothing known.

Richard Scott, nothing known.

Maj. William Walker, see above.

John Ansloe, [Anslow], settled in Wexford after the Restoration, owned part of a mill in Norristowne, County Wexford in the Acts of Settlement.

Thomas Davis, [Davies], see above.

Roger Haldanby, nothing known.

Arnold Thomas, buyer of soldier's debentures, ensign in Lt. Col. Richard Stephen's company of foot in the regiment of Col. Daniel Axtell.

John Stulbor, [?Stubber], probably Col. John Stubber.

Gresham Gourd, recorded at Limerick in the Acts of Settlement.

Robert Ormst, nothing known.

Charles Ormsbye, nothing known.

George Cotcher, probably Capt. George Cotchett in the regiment of Col. Saunders.

William Cooper, may be Col. Cooper who was sent by Oliver Cromwell to report secretly on Henry Cromwell.

Edward Rayment, nothing known.

Thomas Lewin, may be Lt. Thomas Lewis.

Lt. Paul Dod, mayor of Galway.

Samuel Newton, nothing known.

Allen Beard, nothing known.

Thomas Pratt, see above.

Thomas Williams, nothing known.

Lt. John Matthew, nothing else known.

George Duffett, nothing known.

John Jay, nothing known.

William Stotesbury, quartermaster in the army, after the Restoration he returned to England, sent back to Ireland as a spy by Arlington in April, 1666.

Mar. Lynch, nothing known.

John Bingham, nothing known.

Ric. Hunt, nothing known.

William Speed, nothing known.

John Maverly, nothing known.

Thomas Bell, nothing known.

Capt. Charles Holcroft, on the commission for setting out lands in Connaught and Clare, received land in the barony of Iverke, County Kilkenny in Acts of Settlement, appointed as a commissioner at Loughrea by Charles Coote at the Restoration.

Lt. Mordicai Abbot, his son was raised by Richard Lawrence and became General Receiver of Revenue in England after the Glorious Revolution.

Henry Ormsby, nothing known.



John Knight, may be James, nothing known.

Ben. Woodworth, probably Maj. Benjamin Woodward, who resided in the barony of Kells, County Kilkenny in the census of 1659.

Robert Clarke, minister on the civil list, see above.

William Cruchley, probably William Cruihly received land in Portnyhinch, Queen's County in the Act of Settlement.

Capt. Maurice Murphy, Capt. in Acts of Settlement, in Waterford Subsidy Rolls in barony of Decies.

Lt. Thomas Barnes, in the barony of Ida, County Kilkenny in the census of 1659.

John Sharpe, parish of Christ church, Cork city in the census of 1659.

Capt. John Gryce, army captain in the Cromwellian army, later became a spy who's testimony brought conviction to eight plotter's in the Rathbone Plot, 1666, was sent to spy in Ireland by Arlington in 1667, possibly poisoned when he was to testify against the Duke of Buckingham in 1667.

Maj. William Moore, governor of Carrickmacross, went on the expedition to Hispaniola in 1655, registered at Nenagh in north Tipperary, in the census of 1659. Went to Jamaica at the Restoration but returned to Ireland when included in the general pardon, involved in the plot on Dublin Castle in 1663.

Capt. William Heydon, served in Lt. Col. Alexander Brayfield's regiment at Athlone, was arrested for attempted murder, but was reinstated by the intervention of Oliver Cromwell.

Thomas Broadhurst, probably Thomas Bringhurst, who resided in the barony of Ratouth, County Westmeath in the census of 1659.

George Thomlinson, nothing known.

John Page, master in chancery.

Capt. John Baker, received land in Kilkenny, later removed to Philadelphia.

Edward Card, nothing known.

Edward Olleye, probably Capt. Edward Oland.

John Willis, may be John Williams who was Col. Heirom Sankey's chaplain in 1659.

John German, nothing known.

John Church, nothing known.

William Whittinge, nothing known.

John Reeves, nothing known.

John Meech, nothing known.

Stephen Hawes, nothing known.

John Bailey, nothing known.

Robert Carr, minister on the civil list, pastor at Clonmel in 1659.

Charles Walters, may be cornet Charles Watkins.

Henry Everard, nothing known.

John Foster, nothing known.

Steven Mories, nothing known.

Robert Greay, nothing known.

Francis Thomas, nothing known.



## Appendix III

### Irish Contributors to the Baptist College of Rhode Island

Cork	Amount	£	s	d
<b><u>Baptists</u></b>				
Joseph Fowke		2	2	0
John Osburn		1	1	0
Stephen Mills, Banker		8	8	0
Walter Richards, Minister		1	1	0
Mary Murphy		1	1	0
William Harrington		1	1	0
Susanna Pilson		1	1	0
James Rains		1	1	0
Henry Wannell		0	2	0
Thomas Rogers Trayer		0	5	0
John Elliot		0	10	6
James Emerson		0	10	6
Francis Allen		1	1	0
Francis Mc Carthy		0	6	9
Daniel Jones		0	6	6
John Devroux, Physician		1	1	0
Thomas Jones		1	1	0
Total 16		21	13	3
<b><u>Quakers</u></b>				
Abraham Fuller		0	5	0
Thomas Beale		0	2	6
Ebenezer Pike		1	1	0
C. Beale		0	10	6
B. Pike		0	10	6
Peter Cambridge		1	1	0
George Randale		1	1	0
Joseph Abell		0	5	0
Nicholas Howell		0	5	0
Samuel Neale		0	10	6
John Dennis		1	1	0
George Newenham		1	1	0
Total 12		7	14	0

**Presbyterians**

Abraham Lane	0	10	6
Robert Stevelly	0	10	6
Richard Pope	1	1	0
Mary Howth	0	2	6
John Rolt	0	5	0
Total 5	2	8	6

**Church of Ireland**

Thomas Bible	0	10	6
Riggs Falkiner, Banker, MP	3	3	0
William Dixon	1	1	0
Thomas Strettile	2	2	0
Crawford Carleton	1	1	0
James Aicken	0	5	0
Matthew O' Dwyer	0	10	6
William Dobbin	1	1	0
Gerard Fehrmann	0	10	6
William Lawton	0	10	6
Humphrey Cowly	1	1	0
Nathaniel Lavit	2	2	0
William Parks	1	1	0
James Ellis	0	10	6
Luke Grant	1	1	0
Total 15	16	11	6
Total Cork 49	48	7	3

Waterford

**Baptists**

William Emerson	1	1	0
Elizabeth Brown	1	1	0
Josiah Porter	1	1	0
Rev'd James Edwards	1	1	0
William Hammond	0	10	6
Total 5	4	14	6



**Presbyterians**

Hans Wallace	0	10	6
Eat. Edwards	0	10	6
Hugh Ramsey, Newspaper publisher	0	10	6
John Lyon	0	10	6
John Brown	1	1	0
Total 5	3	3	0

**Church of Ireland**

Thomas Jones	0	10	6
Total 1	0	10	6
Total Waterford 11	8	8	0

## Dublin

**Baptists**

Joseph Agitt, Haberdasher, Capel St.	1	1	0
Mary Wilkinson	1	1	0
Mrs. Luke Kelly	0	5	0
Samuel Powell, Printer, Dame St.	0	9	0
Abraham Wilkinson, Widow and Abr. Merchant, Park St.	2	2	0
Mary Thomas	1	1	0
John Atkinson, Merchant, Fleet St.	1	1	0
John Allen	1	1	0
Peter Wilkinson, Hide Broker, Winetavern St.	1	1	0
George Gibson, Timber Merchant, Ellis Quay	1	1	0
Rachel Conner, Timber Merchant, Arran Quay	1	1	0
[Samuel] Tyndall, Timber Merchant, Queen St	1	1	0
William Mc Gowan, Teacher of English and Grammar, Chancery Lane	0	10	6
N[athaniel] Stakes, Hosier, High St.	0	10	6
Thomas Booth	0	10	6
Rebecka Gibton	2	2	0
William Gibson, Timber Merchant, Earl St.	0	5	0
Elizabeth Grabing	1	1	0

James Manypeny, Tallow Chandler, New Market	0	10	6
William Boulton, Minister, Golden Lane	1	1	0
Thomas Vickers, Partner with Wm. Lunell	0	5	0
[Richard] Bushnell, Print seller, Dame St.	0	10	6
Hester Hewetson, John, Cutler, Crane La.	0	10	6
Samuel Edwards, Schoolmaster	0	10	6
 Total 24	 20	 12	 0

### Quakers

John Fawcett	1	1	0
Thomas Bond, Tobacconist, Castle St.	0	10	6
Robert Jaffray, & Alex, Merchants, Eustace St.	1	1	0
William Grubb, Tobacconist, Capel St.	0	10	6
 Total 4	 3	 3	 0

### Presbyterians

Robert Moore, Distiller, Hammond Lane	2	2	0
Robert Montgomery, Grocer & Tobacconist, Capel St.	0	10	6
George Wilson	0	10	6
William Hunt, Clothier, Chamber St.	1	1	0
Richard Maxwell, Merchant, Pill Lane	1	1	0
James Booth, Shoemaker, Cut-Purse Row	0	10	6
Elizabeth Benn, Worsted Manufacturer, Spittal-fields	0	10	6
Rev'd Thomas Vance	1	1	0
John Reilly	1	1	0
Robert Riky, Clothier, Chamber St.	1	1	0
Edward Hincks, Merchant, Lower Ormond Quay	0	10	6
Isaac Simon, Bookseller & letter-founder, Meath St.	1	1	0
William Jackson	0	10	6
George Maquay, Sugar Baker & Merchant, Thomas St.	1	1	0
Col. James Dunn, member of the Dublin Society	1	1	0
John Walker, Walker and Vickers, Linen Drapers, Bride St.	0	5	0



Nathaniel Makay,	0	5	0
Nathaniel Graylon	1	1	0
Nathaniel Garner	0	10	6
[Benjamin] Page, Hatter, Great Sheep St.	0	10	6
Mary Mc Master	2	2	0
John Armstong	1	1	0
James Lang, and Hugh, Merchants, Capel St.	1	1	0
David Aigion, & Michael, Merchants, Linen Hall St.	0	10	6
Jeremy Vickers, Walker & Vickers	0	10	6
Thomas Read, Sheriff's Peer & Merchant Linen Hall St.	1	1	0
Thomas Garner	0	2	6
Miss Aigion	0	10	6
John Stewart, Merchant, Pill La.	1	1	0
Total 29	24	5	0

### Church of Ireland

Rev'd John Haughton	1	1	0
Michael White	0	10	6
William Coates, Merchant, Fleet St.	1	1	0
Joseph Nun, Nun & Watson Paper Makers, Bridge St.	1	1	0
John Fury, Hatter, Meath St.	0	1	0
John Barrow, Tanner, Cork St.	0	5	0
James Young	0	1	0
James Martin, Hatter, Little Sheep St.	0	5	6
B-lt-r Gr-rf-n	1	1	0
Benjamin Ness	1	1	0
Thomas Hatfield	0	10	6
Thomas Bible	0	5	0
Robert John Gregor	0	10	6
Samuel Goodman	0	10	6
Thomas King Sr.	1	1	0
Total 15	9	5	6
Total Dublin 72	57	5	6

Belfast

**Presbyterians**

Gregs & Cunningham	2	2	0
Rev'd Thomas Drennan	1	1	0
Gilbert Orr	1	1	0
Robert Armstrong	0	10	6
First & Second Presbyterian Churches	13	9	0
Third Presbyterian Church	14	15	4
Total 6	32	18	10

**Church of Ireland**

Rev'd James Sauvin	1	1	0
Total 1	1	1	0
Total Belfast 7	33	19	10

Lisburn

**Quakers**

William Nevill	1	1	0
John Hill	1	1	0
Jacob Hancock	0	10	6
Total 3	2	12	6

**Presbyterians**

James Bryson	0	10	6
Francis Burden	1	1	0
David Wilson	1	1	0
Henry Bell	0	16	8
Alexander Legg	1	1	0
Total 5	4	10	2

**Church of Ireland**

James, Bishop of Down and Connor	3	3	0
Total 1	3	3	0
Total Lisburn 8	10	5	8



Antrim

**Quakers**

Thomas Hoope	0	10	6
Total 1	0	10	6

**Presbyterians**

Thomas Thompson	1	1	0
John Gilmore	0	5	0
John Thompson	1	1	0
Charles Bell	0	10	6
Samuel Mc Cormick	1	1	0
Thomas Bell	0	10	6
Thomas Shaw	0	10	6
George Young	0	10	6
John Meek	0	2	6
William Meek	0	5	0
Alexander W. Burney	0	5	0
James Duncan	0	5	0
John Blackley	0	5	0
James Watt	0	2	6
Total 14	6	15	0
Total Antrim 15	7	5	6

Ballymony

**Presbyterians**

Presbyterian Church of Ballymony	4	6	3
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**Church of Ireland**

Rev'd Lawrence Grace	1	1	0
Thomas Leiky	0	2	6
Total Ballymony 3	5	9	9

Coleraine

**Presbyterian**

Alexander Lawrence	0	10	6
William Smith	0	5	0
John Galt	1	1	0
Charles Haslett	0	10	6
James Thompson	0	10	6
Robert Rice	0	2	6
Susanna Ferguson	0	2	6
Fredrick Ferguson	0	2	6 1/2
Jon Clarke Lewis	0	3	0
John Bell	0	2	6
Alexander Mc Kachar	0	2	6
Rev'd Robert Hagenbothorm	0	10	6
Arthur Kyle	0	10	6
William Mitchell	0	2	6
Hanna White	0	5	0
Alexander Patrick	1	1	0
William Gale	0	10	6
Henry Newton	0	10	6
John Hunter	0	2	6
James Hamill	0	2	7
Total Coleraine 20	7	8	7 1/2

Londonderry

**Presbyterians**

William Hall	0	10	6
William Caldwell	1	1	0
John Fairly	1	1	0
Samuel Hadfield	1	1	0
William Mc Kean	1	1	0
William Scott	1	1	0
Rev'd John Stood	0	10	6
Rev'd David Harvey	1	1	0
John Atchison	0	10	6
Robert Alexander	0	10	6
James Thompson	0	10	6
Total 11	8	17	6





## Midlands

Phil. Dixon of Tulamore	1	1	0
James Deaves of Garryard	0	10	6
Thomas Fouece of Tyrconnell Pass	0	10	6
Total 3	2	2	0

## Ormond

### Baptists

Rev'd James North	1	1	0
Daniel Rogers	1	1	0
Michael Lewis	1	1	0
William Short Jun.	1	1	0
Anna Wilkinson	0	5	0
Thurgood North	0	10	6
Zebulum Rhodes	0	2	6
Grace Otway	0	6	6
John Lemon	0	10	6
James Short	1	1	0
Total 10	7	0	0

### Church of Ireland

John Cornwall	0	5	0
Alexander Cornwall	0	5	0
Thomas Ashton	0	10	6
Joseph Smyth	0	10	6
Nicolas Middleton	1	1	0
Total 5	2	12	0
Total Ormond 15	9	12	0

Overall Total Collected	218	10	2
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## Appendix IV

Joshua Thomas' Description of the Association in Wales, 1795.

When strangers hear that at an Association nine or ten thousand people attend, more or less as the place is more less central, they may well wonder how all can be accommodated. The manner of doing it is briefly thus: a piece of ground is taken, near to the meeting-house, which is kept up early in the Spring, and by June the grass is good. Before 1790, when the Association was divided into three, it was sometimes necessary to prepare for seven or eight hundred horses, which graze in the time of service: two or three persons were appointed to take care of them. The inhabitants, for five or six miles round the place, provide lodgings for the strangers, and good entertainment for man and horse, gratis. The generosity of the country is such, that, at these times, all descriptions of persons open their doors cordially, whether religious or not, gentlemen as well as farmers. The leading men of the congregation know before hand where to send two, four, six, or more guests, and there are persons present ready to take them to their respective lodgings. On the Tuesday evening there is a meeting, almost on purpose to accommodate the strangers. They generally take their horses with them; and where they lodge that night they are commonly the next. The chief public day is the Wednesday. Thursday in the afternoon they set out on their return. They sup and breakfast where they lodge. The people before-hand bake a quantity of good bread, and brew table-beer, and put it in the vestry, or some convenient place; this, with cheese and butter, makes their dinner on Wednesday, which they take, in and about the meeting-house on tables, boards, and as they can. As no meeting-house will contain the people, a temporary pulpit is prepared in the most convenient place, that the auditory may hear in the house and out: it is so covered as to prevent the sun and rain from coming to the minister. The multitude is peculiarly numerous on the Wednesday, as all the neighbourhood flock together on that day. The accommodations are made at the expence of the church where the Association meets, but travelling expences lie upon the messengers and the churches which send them.

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