

**'TIS MY LOT BY FAITH TO BE SUSTAINED':
CLERICAL PROSPERITY IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DORSET**

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Abstract

Drawing on biographical data collected on over 2,500 individuals appointed to Dorset's 289 rectories, vicarages and curacies over the course of the seventeenth century, this study examines a range of economic, geographical, social and political factors that affected clerical prosperity during this period. A wide range of sources is analysed, including ecclesiastical administrative records, parish valuations, wills and inventories, records of oath taking and published sermons. The physical landscape is also mapped, drawing on geological and topographical data and personal fieldwork.

The study reveals that Dorset's incumbents tended to be locally ordained and native to the county, although the richest livings were secured through university or other connections. The precise nature as well as the value of parochial income affected clerical prosperity, and detailed analysis of Dorset's landscape reveals differences between five key regions in terms of land usage and yields and the nature of tithe produce, as well as other income-generating activities in which clergymen engaged. Some individuals augmented their income by serving more than one parochial cure, or by acting as household and army chaplains. Regional differences are identified in the likelihood of persecution and ejection during the middle decades of the century. Investigation of social relationships with family, patrons, parishioners and other clergy reveals the impact of improved education, the increasing influence of familial ties, and rising geographical mobility. Analysis of oath taking, preaching, publishing and military involvement reveals some patterns in clergymen's propensity for activism that did not necessarily follow denominational distinctions. Boundaries between parochial and non-parochial clerical activities were fluid, and nonconformist ministers continued to associate with conformist clergy even after leaving the established Church.

Overall, this study presents a broad picture of the diverse contexts in which Dorset clergymen lived and worked over the course of a turbulent century.

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Abbreviations

BRO	Bristol Record Office
CCEd	Clergy of the Church of England Database
CSPD	Calendar of State Papers Domestic
DHC	Dorset History Centre
Mayo, <i>DSC</i>	C.H. Mayo (ed.), <i>The Minute Books of the Dorset Standing Committee, 1646-1650</i> (Exeter, 1902).
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> .
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
SRO	Somerset Record Office
<i>Survey</i>	Parliamentary Survey of Ecclesiastical Livings, 1650
TNA	The National Archives
<i>Valor</i>	Anon., <i>Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henry VIII Auctoritate Regia Institutus</i> , Vol. 1 (Burlington, Ontario, 2013).
WSHC	Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre

Old-style dating is used throughout, except that the year is taken to begin on 1 January rather than Lady Day, 25 March. In quotations from manuscript sources, conventional abbreviations are expanded but the original spelling is retained as much as possible.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Context

Men by their trades expect to be maintain'd

*But tis my lot by faith to be sustained.*¹

In this verse, Thomas Larkham, born in Lyme Regis, Dorset in 1602, expressed a widely-held expectation that the clergy should survive not on worldly income but on strength of faith. Even today, stipends paid to Church of England clergy are funded largely by their congregations' donations, to enable them 'to exercise their ministry without the need to take another job in order to earn their living'.² However, during the dramatic political and religious changes of the seventeenth century, faith often became a liability, and clergymen's prosperity might hinge on non-religious considerations.

This study takes a broad view of the whole century, encompassing the political and religious climate before, during and after the civil wars and Interregnum. Early in the century, the repercussions of the Reformation were still being felt by the English clergy following successive swings between Catholic and Protestant state religion. They were adapting to the new economic reality of having families to support, with an increasing expectation that they be educated at university. The middle years of the century saw two major waves of ejections from parochial benefices, and after the Restoration, parochial clergy had to come to terms with nonconformity and challenges to their ministerial authority. Although many studies have tended to concentrate on the major upheavals resulting from the civil wars and Interregnum, it is important also to examine the contrasting national and local contexts of the early and later years of the century in order to appreciate both change and continuity.

This thesis examines factors that aided or hindered clergymen's prosperity in Dorset parishes throughout the seventeenth century. Two personal reasons guided the initial choice of this research topic. First, the author had recently moved to the county and was seeking to deepen her knowledge of its history through both archival research and fieldwork. Part of the self-imposed challenge

¹ Thomas Larkham, 18 August 1664, in S. Hardman Moore (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Larkham 1647-1660* (Woodbridge, 2011), p.267.

² <https://www.churchofengland.org/more/clergy-resources/national-clergy-hr/clergy-pay-and-expenses> (accessed 18 November 2018).

was to walk through the landscape of every parish in the county in order to gain familiarity with the topography, geology, land usage and practical difficulties of getting around different parts of the county on foot, and to give some context to the archival evidence. Second, the author's ancestor, John Haddesley was curate of Poole during the 1640s and 1650s. He experienced ejection, reinstatement, and ultimately life as a nonconformist minister until his death in 1699, sparking curiosity about the contextual factors that most affected his career trajectory.

Nevertheless, despite its personal origins, the choice of location, topic and period for this study is entirely justifiable on academic grounds. It focuses on a single county, and therefore draws on county studies that have shed invaluable light on the multi-layered social and political lives of seventeenth-century England.³ However, it remains conscious of the limitations of a county-level perspective. For example, Everitt suggested that the notion of the county might have more meaning and coherence for the county gentry, who tended to form an interrelated community of families with power to run the county-centric administration, than for those of non-gentle status.⁴ The current study therefore uncovers the differing economic, social and political experiences of Dorset clergy from both elite and lower-status families. It also takes account of the permeability of county borders, and the extent to which regional and national rather than local factors influenced clergymen's lives.

This study focuses on Dorset not because of its unique or coherent identity, but rather as a convenient geographical location through which to compare and contrast clergymen's experiences, both within the county and further afield, and to determine how they were affected by various contextual factors. It reveals how 'vagaries of landscape and climate, agrarian practices and settlement patterns were as likely to have been determinative of political and religious behaviour as the county itself'.⁵ The county's landscapes are diverse, with chalk downs, heathland and marshy clay vales, providing an opportunity to examine

³ A. Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion 1640-60* (Leicester, 1966); A. Fletcher, *Sussex, 1600-60: A County Community in Peace and War* (London, 1975); J. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630-1660: County Government and Society during the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1974); D. Underdown, *Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum* (Newton Abbot, 1973).

⁴ A. Everitt, 'Country, county and town: Patterns of regional evolution in England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 29 (1979), p.80.

⁵ D. Woolf and N.L. Jones, 'Introduction', in N.L. Jones and D. Woolf (eds), *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2007), p.4.

the impact of differing landscapes and topography on clergymen's daily lives, as well as on the political and cultural influences to which they were exposed.

This is the first detailed study of the lives of clergymen across Dorset during this period. Dorset has no cathedral: the minster church of Wimborne was large enough to employ three ministers during the seventeenth century, but it was a royal peculiar and did not form part of the diocesan administration. The county had become part of the newly-formed diocese of Bristol in 1542, but many Dorset parishes remained under the jurisdiction of the dean of Salisbury. Thus, Dorset provides material to explore whether differences in ecclesiastical administration had any effect on the parish clergy. Overall, this study adopts multiple perspectives on a relatively under-studied county.

Research questions

The research presented in this thesis examines economic, geographical, social and political factors that affected Dorset clergymen's ability to prosper in the fluctuating contexts of the seventeenth century. For example, some chose to accommodate to the changing requirements of Church and state, some sought the protection of patrons, benefactors or their own parishioners, and others fell foul of authorities and consequently lost their livelihoods. The study draws together national political and religious events, parochial agricultural and geographical factors, and diocesan and county influences to present the range of circumstances with which clergymen across the county had to cope. Statistical analysis is used to shed light on broader features of their environment, while a prosopographical approach is adopted to reveal patterns in individuals' lives.

The study aims to answer two broad research questions:

1. What economic, geographical, social and political factors helped or hindered Dorset clergymen's prosperity, and how did these change during the course of the century?
2. How were clergymen's career options and choices determined by contextual factors such as their location, education, local allegiances and social movements, loyalty to patrons or parishioners, religious conviction or economic necessity?

The first question addresses the broad economic, social and political background to clergymen's everyday working lives, while the second examines individual approaches to their survival as parochial ministers.

Dorset: Geographical context

Dorset, a county in south-west England, is bordered by Devon, Somerset, Wiltshire and Hampshire, with the English Channel to the south (see Figure 1.1).

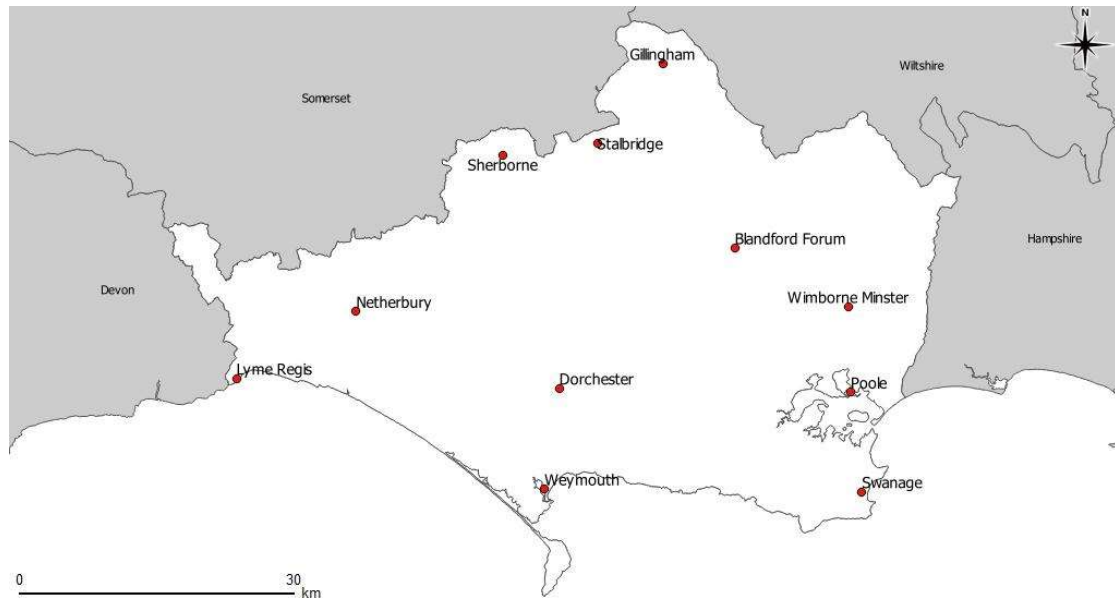


Figure 1.1: Dorset and neighbouring counties, with major towns

The county's boundaries were redrawn in the nineteenth century, and most recently in 1974 to encompass Bournemouth and Christchurch, but had previously remained unchanged for many centuries. Apart from the recent development of the south-east conurbation of Poole, Bournemouth and Christchurch, the county was and remains largely rural. Dorchester, the county town, is now dwarfed by the coastal conurbation, but even in the seventeenth century it was barely larger than a clutch of other towns such as Gillingham, Lyme Regis, Stalbridge and Netherbury. It was also smaller than Sherborne, which had been a bishop's seat until the Norman Conquest, and had then been incorporated into the diocese of Salisbury until the establishment of Bristol diocese in 1542.

There were eleven market towns in Dorset (Beaminster, Blandford Forum, Bridport, Dorchester, Lyme Regis, Melcombe Regis, Poole, Shaftesbury, Sherborne, Sturminster Newton, Wareham and Wimborne Minster), yet the

hearth tax returns of the early 1660s indicate that only 14 towns had more than 100 taxpayers, of which Sherborne and Dorchester, each with around 260 taxpayers, were by far the largest.⁶ Indeed, of the 23 'small towns' in Dorset, (defined by Clark and Hosking as those with fewer than around 2,500 inhabitants, and therefore comprising all Dorset towns), only Dorchester, Lyme Regis, Melcombe Regis, Shaftesbury and Sherborne had an estimated population of more than 1,000.⁷ Anne Whiteman estimated the adult population of seventeenth-century Dorset at around 59-61,000, but this was based on the Compton Census of 1676 which has very partial data for Dorset.⁸ David Underdown used the Protestation returns of 1641-2 and the hearth tax returns of 1662-4, as well as supplementary sources, to estimate a total population of 84,100, of whom 15,800 (19 per cent) lived in towns and villages with over 1,000 inhabitants, while most lived in predominantly rural settings.⁹

Detailed analysis of Dorset's landscape is presented in Chapter 4. Broadly speaking, the north and west of the county were wood-pasture areas with nucleated settlements, characterised by dairy herds for cheese and butter production, although cattle were also 'drive[n] fat to London; for they feede more than the Countrie is able to utter'.¹⁰ A wide swathe of downland across the middle of the county, with ribbon settlements along chalk valleys, was associated with extensive sheep flocks and corn cultivation, and with close manorial control over tenant farmers.¹¹ The south of the county had extensive heathland and more varied landscapes owing to the tilted geological layers of the Jurassic coast. The port towns of Lyme Regis, Weymouth and Poole attracted international trade and were used for troop movements, while west Dorset around Bridport and Beaminster was renowned for producing flax and hemp for sacking, sailcloth and

⁶ C.A.F. Meekings, *Dorset Hearth Tax Assessments, 1662-1664* (Dorchester, 1951), pp.xxx-xxxi.

⁷ P. Clark and J. Hosking, *Population Estimates of English Small Towns 1550-1851* (Leicester, 1993), pp.29-45.

⁸ A. Whiteman, *The Compton Census of 1676: A Critical Edition* (London, 1986), p.ciii. Figures for numbers of communicants exist only for a small number of parishes for 1603 under the jurisdiction of the dean of Salisbury.

⁹ D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford, 1987), p.296; D. Underdown, 'The problem of popular allegiance in the English civil war: The Prothero Lecture', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 31 (1981), p.93.

¹⁰ J. Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: Vol. IV, 1500-1640* (Cambridge, 1967), p.65; T. Gerard, *A Survey of Dorsetshire* (London, 1732), p.4.

¹¹ J. Bettey, 'Downlands', in J. Thirsk (ed.), *The English Rural Landscape* (Oxford, 2000), pp.29-30.

rope.¹² The only major non-agricultural activity in the county was stone quarrying in the southern peninsulas of Purbeck and Portland. County histories, which address some salient features of topography and trade from the particular perspectives of their authors, are reviewed in Chapter 2.

Assessment of key primary sources

A range of primary sources was consulted to establish a database of over 2,500 clergymen known to have ministered in Dorset parishes during the seventeenth century. The earliest systematic listing of clergy names by parish appears in Hutchins' *History of Dorset*.¹³ Hutchins drew on various ecclesiastical sources, although he acknowledged that 'The List of Incumbents cannot be exact, by reason of many omissions in ancient times, and more in modern ones, where institutions are not regularly recorded.' He also obtained ecclesiastical information from other sources, including parliamentary records.

Two hundred years later, George Squibb supplemented and corrected Hutchins' lists of incumbents.¹⁴ Squibb acknowledged the work of Edward Fry (1854-1934), an 'industrious antiquary', who made abstracts of various ecclesiastical records relating to Dorset. For the seventeenth century, these included bishops' certificates of institutions from 1614 to 1699, the subscription books of the diocese of Bristol from 1619 to 1738 and Dorset entries in the augmentation books in Lambeth Palace Library.¹⁵ Squibb also referred to Frederick Pope's index of incumbents, compiled from wills and other non-ecclesiastical sources.¹⁶ Notes and case studies in local history series and individual parish histories similar to those by Pope provided signposts to other primary sources for the current study.¹⁷

Data on individuals appointed to parochial livings during the 1640s and 1650s were drawn from Edmund Calamy's and John Walker's first- and second-

¹² H.R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600-1750* (Oxford, 2007), p.71.

¹³ J. Hutchins, *History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, 4 vols (London, 3rd ed., 1861-73).

¹⁴ G.D. Squibb, 'Dorset incumbents, 1542-1731', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 70 (1948), pp.99-117; 71 (1949), pp.110-32; 72 (1950), pp.111-28; 73 (1951), pp.141-62; 74 (1952), pp.60-78; 75 (1953), pp.115-32.

¹⁵ E.A. Fry, 'Dorset Clergy', *Somerset & Dorset Notes and Queries*, VI (1898-99), pp.133-44, 180-92, 232-40, 286-88; E.A. Fry, 'The augmentation books (1650-1660) in Lambeth Palace Library', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*, 36 (1915), pp.48-105.

¹⁶ Squibb, 'Dorset incumbents' (1948), p.101.

¹⁷ *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club; Notes & Queries for Somerset & Dorset*; Dorset Record Society publications.

hand accounts of persecution experienced between 1640 and 1672, and from the minutes of the Dorset Standing Committee transcribed by Charles Mayo.¹⁸ Individual clergy are also mentioned in ecclesiastical court records and in state and parliamentary papers over the same period, such as the records of the Committee for Plundered Ministers and the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents, and less frequently in the records of the Committee for the Advance of Money and the general papers and letters of the reign of Charles I.¹⁹ While Hutchins had access to Calamy's and Walker's accounts, Squibb was also able to draw on Matthews' revisions of both.²⁰ Several primary sources had also been indexed by the time Squibb undertook his work, and he therefore drew on a wider range of sources, correcting Hutchins' original listings. These include Crown presentations, archiepiscopal act books, and Oxford and Cambridge alumni data.²¹ These various sources contain transcription errors and have therefore been treated with some circumspection, but in many cases the original documents are no longer available for cross-reference. Kirby's catalogue of the surviving records of Bristol Diocese, compiled in 1970, was helpful in identifying and locating those records that have survived, although many have since been transferred to different repositories.²²

Online catalogues have become available relatively recently. The most useful is the *Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835 (CCEd)*, for which sources are meticulously recorded and which cross-references data from

¹⁸ J. Walker, *An Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England* (London, 1714); E. Calamy, *The Nonconformist's Memorial: Being an Account of the Ministers, Who Were Ejected or Silenced After the Restoration, Particularly by the Act of Uniformity, Which Took Place on Bartholomew-Day, Aug. 24, 1662*, ed. S. Palmer, 2 vols (London, 1775); E. Calamy, *A Continuation of the Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges, and Schoolmasters, Who Were Ejected and Silenced After the Restoration in 1660, By or Before the Act for Uniformity*, 2 vols (London, 1727); C.H. Mayo (ed.), *The Minute Books of the Dorset Standing Committee, 1646-1650* (Exeter, 1902) [hereafter Mayo, DSC].

¹⁹ The National Archives [TNA] SP22, SP23, SP19 & SP16.

²⁰ A.G. Matthews, *Walker Revised: Being a Revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion, 1642-60* (Oxford, 1947); A.G. Matthews (ed.), *Calamy Revised: Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and others Ejected and Silenced, 1660-1662* (Oxford, 1988).

²¹ W. Hardy, 'No. 2 - Presentations on the Patent Rolls: Charles II', *Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Appendix I* (London, 1886), pp.18-126; C. Jenkins and E.A. Fry (eds), *Index to the Act Books of the Archbishops of Canterbury, 1663-1859* (London, 1929); J. Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714* (1891); J. Venn and J.A. Venn (eds), *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1922-7).

²² I.M. Kirby, *Diocese of Bristol: A Catalogue of the Records of the Bishop and Archdeacons and of the Dean and Chapter* (Bristol, 1970).

registers of Oxford and Cambridge alumni, which are also now available online.²³ Nevertheless, this database is not comprehensive, and lacks data on some Dorset parishes, as well as being unhelpful regarding appointments made during the suspension of the episcopacy in the 1640s and 1650s. Digitised images of Dorset parish records held at the Dorset History Centre are also now available online.²⁴ Another useful digitised secondary source is Boswell's analysis of parish valuations for Bristol diocese, which draws together data from successive parish valuations, including the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 and the Parliamentary Survey of 1650, and explains the structure of diocesan administration and the various sources of ecclesiastical income.²⁵ These online websites and databases provided invaluable pointers toward alternative sources and original documents, helping to avoid problems of mistranscription and interpretative bias.

Individual clergymen who retained their livings by avoiding litigation or persecution tend to be less visible in formal records such as those mentioned above. It was therefore necessary to consult a wide range of other sources in order to tease out patronage and parishioner relationships, non-ecclesiastical sources of income, attitudes to authority, and other information that would help build a more rounded picture of clergymen's lives. Sources of income other than those resulting directly from incumbencies were identified from wills, inventories, terriers and hearth tax returns. For example, several authors have suggested that most rural clergy were involved to some extent in farming, and O'Day's analysis of Lichfield diocese terriers reveals that 'In almost every case the parsonage was first and foremost a farm house and the buildings were clearly situated about a farmyard.'²⁶ Very few letters or diaries written by Dorset clergy survive, but Macfarlane's analysis of the diary of Ralph Josselin, an Essex clergyman, concludes that his wealth was accumulated through 'a generous patron, gifts and fees, land and farming, school-mastering, timely legacies,

²³ <http://db.theclergydatabase.org.uk/> [hereafter *CCEd*]; British History Online, *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714* (online), available at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=1270>; University of Cambridge, *A Cambridge Alumni Database* (online), available at <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk>.

²⁴ Ancestry.com, *Dorset, England, Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1538-1812* (online database), available at <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>.

²⁵ E. Boswell, *The Ecclesiastical Division of the Diocese of Bristol* (Sherborne, 1826).

²⁶ M. Coate, *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum 1642-1660* (Truro, 1963); A.T. Hart, *The Country Clergy in Elizabethan and Stuart Times 1558-1660* (London, 1958); R. O'Day, *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession 1558-1642* (Leicester, 1979), p.180.

shrewdness, and luck'.²⁷ While many clergy relied on wealthy patrons, others were themselves landowners or members of wealthy families or dynasties, and Oxford and Cambridge alumni data reveal many such familial links. Other potential sources included local gentry family and estate papers, although clergy mentioned in these are rarely indexed or calendared, making it very time-consuming to trawl through them in the hope of an oblique reference.

Contemporary literary sources, such as newsbooks, tracts, sermons and literature formed another rich source of data, offering eye-witness accounts of clergy activities and providing insights into clergy preoccupations. For example, many Dorset clergymen published sermons and other addresses, and some wrote religious or secular poetry, much of which is available through *Early English Books Online* (EEBO), which now includes images of documents referenced in Alfred Pollard and Gilbert Redgrave's *Short-Title Catalogue (1475-1640)* and Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue (1641-1700)*, as well as the Thomason Tracts (1640-1661) and Early English Books Tract Supplement collections held by the British Library.²⁸

In summary, the sources have several key limitations. First, the availability of primary sources is limited in terms of the extent to which the records survive. Chapter 3 examines ecclesiastical administration, a key part of which was regular visitations by the bishop or other senior cleric responsible for a parish. Many visitation records relating to parishes under the control of the dean of Salisbury survive, but there are none for the bishop of Bristol during this period. Also, the entire visitation process was in abeyance between 1642 and 1660 during the civil wars and the subsequent suspension of the episcopacy. Thus, general conclusions on clergymen's relationships with their superiors must be treated circumspectly, as the surviving evidence may be unrepresentative.

Second, although many records have become more accessible as a result of transcriptions, indexes and online availability, their accuracy and reliability vary.

²⁷ A. Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin* (Cambridge, 1970), cited in B. Donagan, 'The clerical patronage of Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick, 1619-1642', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 120, No. 5 (1976), p.402.

²⁸ A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640* (London, 1926); D.G. Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700* (New York, 1945-51).

Third, data collected and published in secondary sources may have been coloured by the original purposes of the collection process and therefore require reinterpretation for current purposes. For example, the early county histories were written with patronage in mind, while later indexes and transcriptions inevitably focus on issues of interest to particular authors. Finally, so many archival, printed and online sources are now available that a single researcher could not possibly consult them all. It was therefore necessary to be selective, balancing time and resources against the potential likelihood that a particular source would provide new insights into the research topic.

Methodology, structure and problems encountered

This study combines qualitative and quantitative approaches. The first step in the data collection process was to identify all individuals known to have ministered in Dorset between 1600 and 1700, link them with particular parish appointments, and systematically record personal data such as life events, education, publications and political involvement. The large volume of personal and professional data enabled quantitative analysis to identify trends and key characteristics, determine the extent to which individual cases were representative or idiosyncratic, and draw conclusions with broader relevance. A qualitative approach was adopted to compare the experiences of selected individuals and identify possible motives for and influences on particular courses of action.

Alongside the practical difficulties of studying part-time while maintaining a full-time freelance business and undergoing two major surgical operations, the patchy availability of records was the most serious problem, common to much early-modern research. In terms of ecclesiastical administration, from 1542 Dorset was an archdeaconry of the diocese of Bristol, administered from Blandford Forum. Many episcopal records, including those relating to clergy institutions, were lost in a major fire at Blandford in 1731, and many diocesan records were damaged during the Bristol riots of 1831. The absence of seventeenth-century churchwardens' presentments for Bristol diocese is particularly regrettable, since those that survive for parishes within the jurisdiction of the dean of Salisbury shed invaluable light on relationships

between incumbents and parishioners. Care has thus been taken not to extrapolate general findings from this relatively small sub-set of records, and to seek alternative secondary sources and oblique references to intra-parochial relationships in order to fill this gap. In other areas, the wealth of data available presented a challenge. Therefore, in addressing social and political impacts on clergymen's prosperity, data sources have been used selectively to investigate specific factors.

The remainder of this thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature and assesses the strengths and weaknesses of the existing historiography. Chapter 3 examines the economic impact of ecclesiastical administration on seventeenth-century Dorset clergy. This involves analysis of the various ecclesiastical jurisdictions within the county and the extent to which they intruded into the lives of parish clergy in terms of administrative oversight, income and taxes. Alternative sources of ecclesiastical income are also examined. Chapter 4 investigates the impact of geological, geographical and topographical factors on clergymen's economic survival, including the limitations and opportunities presented by different terrains and agricultural practices, ease of communications, and geographical patterns of mid-century persecution. Chapter 5 assesses the impact of social factors on clerical livings, including family ties, education, relationships with parishioners and patrons, and clerical networks. Chapter 6 reviews the impact of (religio-)political factors on the Dorset clergy. It examines patterns of allegiance, oath taking and military employment, the extent to which clergymen were prepared to fight for their tithe and other income through ecclesiastical and civil courts, and the degree to which they proselytised publicly through sermons and publications. Finally, Chapter 7 summarises the findings of the previous chapters, and makes recommendations for further research.

Synthesis of a wide range of sources of biographical detail on over 2,500 clergymen known to have ministered in Dorset over the course of a century has enabled confirmation of the identity of many individuals who would otherwise be difficult to identify in historical records. This thesis explores a range of sources that help build a rich picture of the economic, geographical, social and political contexts of these clergymen's lives.

Chapter 2: Historiographical Review and Assessment

This chapter presents and assesses key literature relevant to this study. Three main strands of historiography are addressed. The first is the political and ecclesiastical events that affected Church governance and the clergymen's economic context, focusing particularly on the precursors, effects and consequences of the civil wars. The second is previous research on the lives of parish clergy, including their education, social status, patronage and social networks. The final area of historiography focuses on the landscape, economy and politics of Dorset at a local historical level.

Political and religious causes of the civil wars

Historical interpretations of the English civil wars are central to an understanding of seventeenth-century religious issues because they highlight key concerns which were developing during the early years of the century, and which had yet to be resolved in the years following the Restoration. Previous literature reveals the extent to which politics and religion were intertwined, in terms of both the causes of conflict and the world views of the early-modern population. The causes of the civil wars were interpreted variously even by contemporary commentators, and attempts to attribute the events of the mid-seventeenth century to a single overarching cause have inevitably led to subsequent re-evaluations.

As John Adamson has suggested, 'there are moments when Civil-War historiography seems to be condemned to an endless dialectical to-and-fro, in which hopes of a heightened understanding of the past are raised, only to be dashed by the next incoming interpretative wave'.²⁹ The first of these 'waves', known as the Whig view and led by Samuel Gardiner and Charles Firth, attributed the civil wars to long-term political and religious issues, exacerbated by a weak king, which led to a 'Puritan Revolution'.³⁰ According to Gardiner, on both sides of the civil war, 'the religious difficulty was complicated by a political

²⁹ J. Adamson, 'Introduction: High roads and blind alleys – the English civil war and its historiography', in J. Adamson (ed.), *The English Civil War: Conflict and Contexts, 1640-49* (Basingstoke, 2009), p.4.

³⁰ S.R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War* (London, 1888-91); C.H. Firth, *Stuart Tracts 1603-1693* (London, 1903).

difficulty'.³¹ Religion and politics were thus inherently intertwined, and in the Whig view, constitutional conflict between king and parliament arose owing to puritan reliance on parliament against a hostile monarchy. The civil wars were thus 'progressive' in enabling the elevation of parliament and religious toleration.³²

The Marxist perspective shifted the focus from constitutional conflict to class conflict arising from socio-economic issues. According to this view, of which Christopher Hill and Brian Manning were leading exponents, the civil wars evidenced the eclipse of feudalism, the development of capitalism and the rise of the bourgeoisie. Economic crisis was thus resolved through the 'bourgeois revolution' of the civil wars.³³

The Whig and Marxist views both focused on grand narratives of deep social and political divisions leading inexorably to conflict. So-called revisionist historians rejected these simple dichotomies and focused their examination on a range of more short-term, local and contingent factors. Some revisionists stressed the consensual nature of politics and society. Derek Hirst supported Mark Kishlansky's view that parliament was less concerned with ideological rhetoric than with 'getting things done, a preoccupation with consensus, with mediation in committee and the avoidance of division'.³⁴ Adamson noted a revisionist tendency 'to stress the general good order and relative stability of English society before 1640 and to downplay the role of secular ideological controversy before the Civil War, implying the largely accidental nature of that conflict'.³⁵ However, Hill argued that 'The acceptable conclusion that the English Revolution was made by events, not by the conscious wills of men, is no reason for refusing to try to analyse its causes.'³⁶

³¹ Gardiner, *History*, p.1.

³² J.H. Hexter, 'Power struggle, parliament, and liberty in early Stuart England', *The Journal of Modern History*, 50 (1978), p.11.

³³ C. Hill, *Change and Continuity in 17th Century England* (London, 1974); B.S. Manning, 'Neutrals and neutralism in the English civil war 1642-1646', PhD thesis (King's College, London, 1957); A. Hughes, *The Causes of the English Civil War* (Basingstoke, 2nd ed., 1998), p.11.

³⁴ M. Kishlansky, 'The emergence of adversary politics in the Long Parliament', in R. Cust and A. Hughes (eds), *The English Civil War* (London, 1997), pp.62-83; D. Hirst, 'Unanimity in the Commons, aristocratic intrigues, and the origins of the English civil war', *The Journal of Modern History*, 50 (1978), p.51.

³⁵ Adamson, 'High roads and blind alleys', p.22.

³⁶ C. Hill, 'Parliament and people in seventeenth-century England', *Past and Present*, 92 (1981), p.124.

John Morrill's criticism of the grand narratives lay in a perceived need to examine local issues. He focused on the 'county community' as the 'overriding political unit', and advised that 'all rigid, generalized explanations, particularly of the socio-economic kind, are unhelpful if not downright misleading'.³⁷ Conrad Russell also rejected the 'dialectical frameworks' of both Whig and Marxist views and suggested that revisionists have 'a disinclination to see change as always happening by means of a clash of opposites'.³⁸ In his view, politics were generally much more consensual, or 'unrevolutionary', than the grand narratives suggested.

Focusing on local issues has led to a range of factors being proposed as contributing to the outbreak of war. Social factors include the extent to which local gentry influenced their communities, and the contrasting views of 'court' and 'country'. According to David Underdown, Alan Everitt and Anthony Fletcher, geographical and local economic factors often determined the extent to which communities were likely to mobilise.³⁹ Underdown suggested that 'variations in popular political behaviour may be related to plebeian culture as well as patrician leadership', and that it is important to examine how 'political and cultural attitudes reinforced each other'.⁴⁰

Revisionists have also examined the incidence of neutrality, which might be driven by apathy, by fear, or by a genuine inability to choose between two 'sides' whose range of motives meant that it was possible to agree and disagree with elements of each. Underdown suggested that there was little appetite for war amongst the lower strata: 'The war had been fought between two minorities, struggling in a sea of neutralism and apathy. And the further down the social scale we penetrate the more neutralism and apathy we encounter.'⁴¹ However, Hill criticised historians who 'developed a mystique of "the county community", by which they often meant exclusively the gentry of the county, intensely local in their interests, apolitical, neutralist, wanting only to be left alone by the central

³⁷ J. Morrill, *Revolt in the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War 1634-1648* (London, 1976), p.17.

³⁸ C. Russell, *Unrevolutionary England, 1603-42* (London, 1990), p.ix, cited in J. Sanderson, 'Conrad Russell's ideas', *History of Political Thought*, 14 (1993), p.85.

³⁹ Everitt, *Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion*; Fletcher, *Sussex*.

⁴⁰ Underdown, 'Problem of popular allegiance', p.90.

⁴¹ Underdown, *Somerset*, pp.117-8, cited in Morrill, *Revolt in the Provinces*, p.132.

government'.⁴² Meanwhile, according to Morrill, although the focus on local factors has provided a richer picture of the circumstances under which civil war broke out, it does not explain why. He suggested that, while 'only a small number of people felt a war was necessary or desirable', this minority was 'driven by religious militancy'.⁴³ For Morrill, the English civil wars were the last of the 'wars of religion', and 'it was the force of religion that drove minorities to fight, and forced majorities to make reluctant choices'.⁴⁴

There has been a gradual move away from attempts to fit events and findings into preconceived models. As Austin Woolrych suggested, it is now possible for historians to 'give due (but not undue) weight to human choice and human error, and to sheer contingency'.⁴⁵ Post-revisionist historians have tried to synthesise a range of views. Adamson has identified 'a distrust of mono-causal explanations' such as 'class, social change, political principle or religious zeal'.⁴⁶ Similarly, while acknowledging the role of religious differences in bringing about the conflict, Michael Braddick has suggested that they are not reliable determinants of the choices and actions of individuals. For example, exact meanings attributed to 'popery' and 'puritanism' were 'highly variable and situationally determined' and were not 'mutually exclusive'.⁴⁷ He has proposed that attention should be shifted away from studies of 'allegiance' and a 'static and fixed view of political commitments', to focus rather on 'mobilisation', and the different ways in which this could be stimulated. He has stressed that interrelationships between historical, economic, political and religious factors at the local level, including 'the temperature of local preaching', resulted in 'complex and cross-cutting mobilisations [that] might have quite unpredictable effects when acting on those histories and political ideologies'.⁴⁸

Post-revisionists have tended to focus on studying 'how contemporaries conceptualized their place in the world and the communities – *inter alia* of status,

⁴² Hill, 'Parliament and people', p.101.

⁴³ Morrill, *Revolt in the Provinces*, p.188.

⁴⁴ J. Morrill, 'The religious context of the English civil war', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 34 (1984), p.157.

⁴⁵ A. Woolrych, 'Shifting perspectives on the Great Rebellion', *History Today* (November 2002), p.52.

⁴⁶ Adamson, 'High roads and blind alleys', p.35.

⁴⁷ M.J. Braddick, 'Prayer book and protestation: Anti-popery, anti-puritanism and the outbreak of the English civil war', in C.W.A. Prior and G. Burgess (eds), *England's Wars of Religion Revisited* (Farnham, 2011), p.143.

⁴⁸ Braddick, 'Prayer book and protestation', p.144.

religion, profession and locality – to which they belonged.’⁴⁹ However, Barry Reay has cautioned that ‘Our own neat division between religion, politics, and society would have made little sense to the majority of the women and men of the seventeenth century and it is better to think in terms of overlap and interaction.’⁵⁰ In contrast to the clear-cut causes put forward by earlier historians, post-revisionists suggest that the wars can only be understood through interactions and combinations, with ‘a plurality of meanings, or parallel realities and alternative values’.⁵¹ Indeed, Margaret Spufford was optimistic that future local research would reveal ‘a variety of puritan and sectarian groups, formed of an infinite mix of different social and economic compositions’.⁵²

Alongside this progressive recognition of a wider variety of *causes*, historians over the last century have investigated a growing range of *enabling factors* that created the conditions under which armed conflict became a possibility. Among these were the removal of censorship, which led to the printing of large numbers of pamphlets and propagandist publications. The devices employed to engage support also led to a much greater popular awareness of the issues. For example, petitions and oaths prompted debates ‘in parish and print’, which ‘accelerated the circulation of political ideas and extended them beyond those social boundaries thought otherwise (and almost certainly wrongly) to contain them’.⁵³ Dorset clergymen’s oath taking is examined in Chapter 6.

While Gardiner had argued that ‘seventeenth-century Englishmen were fully aware of and vitally concerned about the actions of their national rulers’, Morrill and Everitt insisted that even the gentry were ill-informed of wider political issues, as ‘their political horizons were circumscribed by the boundaries of their shires’.⁵⁴ However, the increasing availability of grammar-school education for both the gentry and middling sorts may have engendered a new spirit of public activism ‘informed by classical and humanist political thought’.⁵⁵ Hill also

⁴⁹ Adamson, ‘High roads and blind alleys’, p.27.

⁵⁰ B. Reay, ‘Radicalism and religion in the English revolution’, in J.F. McGregor and B. Reay (eds), *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1984), p.3.

⁵¹ M. Braddick, *God’s Fury, England’s Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (London, 2009), p.585.

⁵² M. Spufford (ed.), *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725* (Cambridge, 1995), p.4.

⁵³ J. Walter, ‘The English people and the English revolution revisited’, *History Workshop Journal*, 61 (2006), p.179.

⁵⁴ C. Holmes, ‘The county community in Stuart historiography’, *Journal of British Studies*, 19 (1980), p.54.

⁵⁵ Braddick, *God’s Fury*, p.261.

highlighted that 'In addition to, or expressing, these class tensions there was a tradition of plebeian anti-clericalism and irreligion.'⁵⁶ A significant enabling factor was the focus on both external and internal religious threats, raising fear of a popish plot on the one hand, and a descent into religious sectarianism on the other.

Differing opinions on the causes of the civil wars can be attributed partly to different temporal perspectives. Gerald Aylmer noted that 'Whatever interpretation one adopts, it is important to distinguish the different phases in this very crowded period, from 1639 to 1642.'⁵⁷ According to Edward Vallance, it is now widely acknowledged that 'the old Whiggish view of a constitutional dialectic leading to armed conflict is wildly inaccurate',⁵⁸ since much of the evidence for constitutional conflict was drawn from the large volume of propagandist pamphlets published after 1642 when the fighting had already begun. The reasons for continued warfare evolved over the course of the conflict, as Braddick noted: 'By 1646 the war had provided opportunities to work off grudges, to redress local wrongs, to further a particular view of reformation, to promote pet projects, to make money, to assume local office.'⁵⁹

Vallance has suggested that 'There seems to be a growing consensus that religion was the prime factor in causing conflict and that in comparison political thought and constitutional grievance were of only secondary importance.'⁶⁰ Historians from the early Whigs through to revisionists and post-revisionists have observed that compromise might have been possible 'on matters to do with parliament, law and liberty', but that 'It was religion that made for irreconcilability.'⁶¹ However, Peter Lake has pointed out that the centrality of the religious choice between popery and puritanism was actually a choice between 'two competing sets of social and political, as well as religious, priorities and

⁵⁶ C. Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London, 1972), p.25.

⁵⁷ G.E. Aylmer, *The Struggle for the Constitution: England in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1963), pp.114-5.

⁵⁸ E. Vallance, 'Preaching to the converted: Religious justifications for the English civil war', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 65 (2002), p.396.

⁵⁹ Braddick, *God's Fury*, p.436.

⁶⁰ Vallance, 'Preaching to the converted', p.395.

⁶¹ G. Burgess, 'Introduction: Religion and the historiography of the English civil war', in C.W.A. Prior and G. Burgess (eds), *England's Wars of Religion Revisited* (Farnham, 2011), p.7.

values'.⁶² The centrality of religious conflict to the civil wars raises interesting questions about the extent to which parish clergy and their local communities were informed of and engaged in national debates, and about clergy roles in mobilisations. These are among the factors examined in Chapter 6.

Social and political context of parochial clergy

Having examined the historiography on the involvement of religion in the mid-century conflict at a national level, this section examines the literature on the social and political context of the parish clergy during the early seventeenth century, and factors relevant to their fortunes during the turmoil of the civil wars and Interregnum.

Compared with the history of dissent, the history of parochial ministry has tended to be regarded as 'an unassuming Anglicanism which minded its own business and only required lip service on Sundays'.⁶³ The status and patronage of the seventeenth-century parish clergy, and the extent to which these helped to protect them from the vicissitudes of the Reformation, the civil wars and the Restoration period, are of particular interest, as well as the role they played in shaping the attitudes of the laity, since the pulpit provided the clergy 'with a ready made forum for spreading their views to a variety of congregations'.⁶⁴ Indeed, the pulpit was the main channel of communication in most English parishes throughout the seventeenth century.

Many local studies have tended to focus on those who failed to conform with the national Church, including Roman Catholics, extreme puritans and Protestant separatists, partly because these have left a more accessible historical record and partly in the unfair belief that 'nonconformists took their faith more seriously than men and women who conformed to the lawful worship of the Church of England'.⁶⁵ Thus, Ann Hughes has called for greater attention to be paid to the actual workings of parish worship to complement studies of those who took advantage of liberty of conscience, and Ian Green has suggested that examination

⁶² P. Lake, 'Anti-popery: The structure of a prejudice', in Cust and Hughes, *English Civil War*, p.203.

⁶³ S.K. Roberts, 'County counsels: Some concluding remarks', in J. Eales and A. Hopper (eds), *The County Community in Seventeenth-Century England and Wales* (Hatfield, 2012), p.133.

⁶⁴ J. Eales, "'So many sects and schisms": Religious diversity in revolutionary Kent, 1640-60', in C. Durston and J. Maltby (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (Manchester, 2006), p.229.

⁶⁵ J. Maltby, "'By this book": Parishioners, the Prayer Book and the established Church', in K. Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642* (Basingstoke, 1993), pp.115-16.

of sermons, letters and other sources might throw light on the views of the 'moderate majority'.⁶⁶ Dorset clergymen's sermons are considered in Chapter 6.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the role of the clergy of the established Church was still in the throes of the significant transformation resulting from the Reformation. Their principal role was no longer predominantly sacerdotal, mediating between lay people and God, but educational and pastoral.⁶⁷ To this end, 'The life, training and vocational dedication of the clergyman became all-important', leading to an increasing requirement for clergy to be university graduates, and the introduction of measures 'to ensure the vocational suitability of ministers which ran hand in hand with a call for more congregational participation in the choice of pastor and more clerical supervision of the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage'.⁶⁸ Improved clerical education was also responding to increased lay, and especially elite, education and a consequent rise in expectations of clergymen's competence.⁶⁹ However, there was a danger that university education would make the clergy 'less attuned to the local customary standards of devotion and behaviour which they were charged with transforming'.⁷⁰ Andrew Foster has suggested that, in addition to education, 'a new feeling of superiority buttressed by ritual and ceremonial, and stress on different doctrines may have made some clergymen more confident and assertive leading to more frequent clashes with their parishioners'.⁷¹ However, this assertiveness was tempered by the fact that the clergy were reliant on patrons for their preferments and on parishioners for their tithe and other income.

Irene Cassidy has estimated that between 20 and 25 per cent of clergy actually succeeded their fathers during Bishop Cotton's episcopacy of Exeter

⁶⁶ A. Hughes, '"The public profession of these nations": The national Church in Interregnum England', in Durston and Maltby, *Religion in Revolutionary England*, p.93; I.M. Green, 'Career prospects and clerical conformity in the early Stuart Church', *Past and Present*, 90 (1981), p.115.

⁶⁷ K. Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680* (London, 2nd ed., 2003), p.215.

⁶⁸ R. O'Day, 'The reformation of the ministry, 1558-1642', in R. O'Day and F. Heal, *Continuity and Change: Personnel and Administration of the Church of England, 1500-1642* (Leicester, 1976), pp.55 & 61.

⁶⁹ M. Hawkins, 'Ambiguity and contradiction in "the rise of professionalism": The English clergy, 1570-1730', in A.L. Beier, D. Cannadine and J.M. Rosenheim (eds), *The First Modern Society* (Cambridge, 1989), p.249.

⁷⁰ Wrightson, *English Society*, p.217.

⁷¹ A. Foster, 'The clerical estate revitalised', in Fincham, *Early Stuart Church*, p.155.

from 1598 to 1621,⁷² while Patrick Collinson noted that ‘in the first half of the seventeenth century, one-third of the Kentish clergy married the daughters of other clergymen’.⁷³ O’Day observed an increasing tendency for curates to be promoted to rectories or vicarages in the same parish, indicating that physical presence was potentially more influential than local origin.⁷⁴ In contrast, David Underdown’s study of Somerset indicates that although the parish priest ‘demanded respect by virtue of his office and calling ... he was often an outsider in his village, coming from social origins no more exalted than many of his parishioners’,⁷⁵ yet distanced by a higher level of learning. Measures introduced by the Church to ensure that the clergy devoted their time to spiritual and pastoral matters also ‘had the side effect of divorcing the clergy occupationally and socially from the working community of the parish’.⁷⁶ There has so far been little detailed research on the familial ties and social status of the clergy in Dorset, which might shed light on patterns of persecution and survival during the upheavals of the century. Chapter 5 begins to address these issues.

The clergy were by no means socially isolated. Collinson suggested that they formed their own social group:

sharing each other’s company not only at synods ... but at combination lectures, funeral sermons and the concomitant dinners which invariably accompanied these events; or simply over business at market or travelling to and from market. It was emphatically not the case that every parish was a desert island.⁷⁷

Collinson’s research related to the ‘combination lectures’ of the early years of the century which, contrary to popular conception, were not a specifically puritan phenomenon of godly preaching.⁷⁸ Rather, ‘it was a nearly universal practice of the more capable clergy to take their turns in preaching a lecture in the local

⁷² I. Cassidy, ‘The episcopate of William Cotton, Bishop of Exeter, 1598-1621’ (BLitt thesis, University of Oxford, 1963).

⁷³ P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford, 1982), p.115.

⁷⁴ O’Day, *English Clergy*, p.14.

⁷⁵ Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, p.29.

⁷⁶ O’Day, *English Clergy*, p.158.

⁷⁷ P. Collinson, ‘Shepherds, sheepdogs, and hirelings: The pastoral ministry in post-Reformation England’, in W.J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds), *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay*, Studies in Church History, Vol. 26 (Oxford, 1989), p.191.

⁷⁸ Following David Appleby, the term ‘puritan’ is used in this thesis to denote ‘a godly individual who believed in moral conduct and worship according to Scripture, who resisted human innovation in worship, who believed in Providence and in a godly elect saved by Grace rather than good works’ (D.J. Appleby, *Black Bartholomew’s Day: Preaching, Polemic and Restoration Nonconformity*, Manchester, 2007, p.4).

market town, usually on market-day', attended by other local clergy and followed by formal and informal discussions.⁷⁹ Indeed, most puritans before 1640 saw their preaching activities as an integral part of a reformed Protestant church.⁸⁰ O'Day noted that clerical friendships 'often seem to have had their roots in a common educational background and in shared "scholarly", "professional" and religious interests'.⁸¹ It is therefore understandable that, following the disruption of the civil wars, attempts were made in many counties, most notably by Richard Baxter in Worcestershire, to re-establish clerical communities by reaching across denominational boundaries.⁸² Chapter 5 presents some evidence of cross-denominational associations in Dorset.

In terms of social status, many clergy were in a half-way position, educated to a high level while closer financially to lower social levels. David Cressy's evidence from probate inventories rated the clergy 'in general a little below the yeomen and somewhat above husbandmen, while noting their courtesy rank among the gentry'.⁸³ As clergy were no longer required to be celibate, they faced the additional financial pressures of supporting families, as well as accommodating to changes in lifestyle as a result of improved education. A hundred pounds per year was reckoned to be an adequate clergy income in the early seventeenth century, whereas in Cornwall, for example, Mary Coate found that 127 of 160 parishes were worth less than £80 per year.⁸⁴ Patronage was therefore very important. While Arthur Hart suggested that 'the Laudian plan for controlling and shaping the future of Anglicanism was to reduce, and eventually abolish altogether, lay patronage and lay impropriations',⁸⁵ Anthony Fletcher revealed that in Sussex 'During the 1640s and 50s the gentry fully realised their long hankered for autonomy of their parish churches.'⁸⁶ Wrightson reckoned that 62.6 per cent of tithes in the province of York and 40 per cent of those in the

⁷⁹ Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, p.136.

⁸⁰ S.B. Jennings, "'The gathering of the elect': The development, nature and socio-economic structures of Protestant religious dissent in seventeenth-century Nottinghamshire', PhD thesis (Nottingham Trent University, 1999), p.96.

⁸¹ O'Day, *English Clergy*, p.163.

⁸² C. Cross, 'The Church in England 1646-1660', in G. Aylmer (ed.), *The Interregnum: The Quest for Settlement* (London, 1972), p.119.

⁸³ D. Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980), cited in Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, p.96.

⁸⁴ Coate, *Cornwall*, p.329.

⁸⁵ Hart, *Country Clergy*, p.89.

⁸⁶ Fletcher, *Sussex*, p.111.

province of Canterbury had been impropriated by laymen 'who enjoyed considerable revenues from these tithes but left only a pittance for the vicar'.⁸⁷ This supports Archbishop Whitgift's estimation in 1585 that out of around 8,000 benefices in England, there were 'not six hundred sufficient for learned men'.⁸⁸

In some areas the Crown was the most significant patron: in addition to holding all livings valued at over £20 in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535, it was also entitled to present to livings in the gift of Crown wards and those that had been in lapse for twelve months or longer.⁸⁹ While Roland Usher estimated livings held by neither bishops nor the Crown 'at sixty per cent over the country as a whole and much higher in some areas',⁹⁰ O'Day noted that in the archdeaconry of Chichester roughly half were in the hands of the Crown or Church hierarchy in 1572, which 'may have been a factor contributing to the relative freedom of West Sussex from puritanism'. Puritanism had a stronger hold in neighbouring Lewes archdeaconry where 63 of the 79 patrons were laymen.⁹¹ Lay patronage was also dominant in many towns that appointed town preachers, 'answerable less directly to the archdeacon and bishop than to the town magistracy'.⁹² Analysis of clerical patronage in Dorset presented in Chapter 5 reveals the extent to which this county witnessed similar trends.

During the unrest and persecutions of the 1640s and 1650s, clergymen's prosperity often depended on their relationships with local holders of power: 'Patrons often provided invaluable assistance when faced with civil unrest, imprisonment, sequestration or financial difficulties.'⁹³ Clergy experiences were also closely linked with the fortunes of the patrons themselves. With regard to patronage between 1646 and 1660, non-delinquent and non-sequestered private patronage was left untouched throughout the whole period; delinquent or sequestered patronage was mostly exercised by Parliament, delegated successively to the Plundered Ministers' Committee, the Committee for the

⁸⁷ Wrightson, *English Society*, p.215.

⁸⁸ J. Strype, *The Life and Acts of John Whitgift, D.D., the Third and Last Lord Archbishop of Canterbury in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Volume 1 (Oxford, 1823), p.536.

⁸⁹ O'Day, *English Clergy*, p.113.

⁹⁰ R.G. Usher, *The Reconstruction of the English Church*, Vol. 1 (New York, 2nd ed., 1910), p.95, cited in Donagan, 'Clerical patronage of Robert Rich', pp.390-1.

⁹¹ O'Day, *English Clergy*, p.91.

⁹² P.S. Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships* (Stanford, 1970), cited in O'Day, *English Clergy*, p.101.

⁹³ F. McCall, *Baal's Priests: The Loyalist Clergy and the English Revolution* (Farnham, 2013), p.227.

Reformation of the Universities and the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers; royal rights of presentation were exercised by the Commissioners of the Great Seal and then by Cromwell; and some rights were usurped by the parishes.⁹⁴ Lay patronage was also highly influential at the Restoration, when well over a thousand clergy who had weathered the storms of the Interregnum left their livings 'quietly and resignedly' in the face of 'the zeal of the gentry for the episcopal Church of England, both in the counties and at Westminster'.⁹⁵

However, despite the influence of patronage, the clergy should not be regarded as 'unthinking agents of a paternalistic élite'; rather, they played 'a pivotal role in their communities', since they were well-educated, were required to reside within their parishes, and had extensive social networks, while their pulpits provided them with a public platform.⁹⁶ Indeed, the Earl of Clarendon voiced his suspicions of clergy involvement in sedition against the established Church: 'this strange wild-fire among the people was not so much and so furiously kindled by the breath of the Parliament as of their clergy, who both administered fuel and blowed the coals in the houses too'.⁹⁷

Regional and local variations are evident in the extent to which the parish clergy became actively involved. Mark Stoye remarked that 'The attempts of loyalist clergymen in Essex to influence public opinion have been described as "pitifully ineffective". Yet in many parts of Devon the "cavaliering priests" enjoyed considerable success'.⁹⁸ Some clergy even took up arms in defence of the establishment: John Wroughton described the support given by several clergymen in Somerset and Wiltshire, including Henry Collier of Steeple Langford, who 'deserted his church living and, having equipped himself with a horse and armour, rode out to join the king's forces'.⁹⁹ Other clergy were commissioned as parliamentary captains, like Benjamin Lovell, rector of Preston

⁹⁴ W.A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth 1640-1660*, Vol. 2 (London, 1900), pp.277-8.

⁹⁵ I.M. Green, *The Re-Establishment of the Church of England 1660-1663* (Oxford, 1978), pp.200-1.

⁹⁶ I.M. Green, "Reformed pastors" and *bon cures*: The changing role of the parish clergy in early modern Europe', in Sheils and Wood, *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay*, p.278; McCall, *Baal's Priests*, p.267.

⁹⁷ E. Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, ed. B. Bandinel, Vol. 3 (Oxford, 1826), p.230, cited in T. Goodwin, *Dorset in the Civil War, 1625-1665* (Tiverton, 1996), p.29.

⁹⁸ M. Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War* (Exeter, 1994), p.206.

⁹⁹ J. Wroughton, *An Unhappy Civil War: The Experiences of Ordinary People in Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire, 1642-1646* (Bath, 1999), p.42.

Bagot, Warwickshire.¹⁰⁰ A period of service as an army chaplain could be used as a stepping stone toward obtaining a living, although Green estimated that fewer than 200 beneficed clergy did so.¹⁰¹ Several such individuals have been identified in Dorset (see Chapter 6).

The number of clergy who played a role in the secular judicial system increased dramatically during the first decades of the seventeenth century. According to Foster, 'Arminianism in an English context gave many clergymen a sense of the separate status of the clerical estate, and revived ideas that they could play a special role in secular government'.¹⁰² Dorset had five clerical justices in 1626, none of whom were dismissed from the bench when nine laymen were removed in January 1626, as William Whiteway noted: 'Dr Godwin, Dr Wood and Dr Whetcombe not put out'.¹⁰³ However, two of the five were later dropped from the bench, one was elevated to bishop of Rochester and another died, so that by 1640 there were no longer any clerical JPs in Dorset,¹⁰⁴ reducing their influence over subsequent events.

William Sheils' study of the clergy of the West Riding in the early 1640s reveals that although they shared a common local and university education, 'which encouraged them to feel at ease in each other's pulpits in these months of crisis', their responses to the conflict differed.¹⁰⁵ Persecution was by no means universal. According to John Spurr, around 2,500 parish clergy suffered some disturbance between 1640 and the Restoration, meaning that 'perhaps 70 per cent or even 75 per cent of all parish ministers were left in possession of their benefices until their death or the Restoration'.¹⁰⁶ Green explained that this was not simply because the majority of parish clergy were moderates who 'were

¹⁰⁰ A. Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge, 1987), p.197.

¹⁰¹ A. Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642-1651* (Woodbridge, 1990), p.18; I.M. Green, 'The persecution of "scandalous" and "malignant" parish clergy during the English Civil War', *The English Historical Review*, 94 (1979), p.513.

¹⁰² Foster, 'Clerical estate revitalised', p.154.

¹⁰³ D. Underdown (ed.), *William Whiteway of Dorchester: His Diary, 1618-1635* (Dorset Record Society, 12, 1991).

¹⁰⁴ C. Haigh and A. Wall, 'Clergy JPs in England and Wales, 1590-1640', *The Historical Journal*, 47 (2004), pp.239-40.

¹⁰⁵ W. Sheils, 'Provincial preaching on the eve of the Civil War: Some West Riding fast sermons', in A.J. Fletcher and P. Roberts (eds), *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson* (Cambridge, 1994), p.310.

¹⁰⁶ J. Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (London, 1991), pp.6-7.

ready and willing to abandon the High-Church ceremonies when told to do so'¹⁰⁷ but, more importantly, because their parishioners were not prepared to indict them: 'the most important single influence upon the pattern of ejections was the co-operation between the more determined members of the county committees and the discontented elements in the parishes under their control'.¹⁰⁸ Such cases are difficult to determine because they leave little trace in the historical record. O'Day and Hughes have suggested that the Committee for Plundered Ministers tended to act 'upon petitions presented by ministers and parishioners themselves, rather than on information supplied by the local committees'.¹⁰⁹ Green also found a higher incidence of sequestration in parishes close to parliamentary garrisons,¹¹⁰ while Spurr noted that, owing to the patchy enforcement of the Covenant oath in 1643-4 and the Engagement oath in 1650 (see Chapter 6), and the 'haphazard nature of accusations and investigations', some parish clergy 'might never face a direct challenge to their principles or an immediate threat to their incumbency'.¹¹¹

McCall has cautioned that the extent of clergy mobility and disruption during this period may be underestimated because, 'although some cases of harassment or intra-parochial friction falling short of ejection are documented, others probably are not'.¹¹² In fact, she has suggested that around two thirds of petitions made against the clergy to Parliament between 1640 and 1643 related to legal conflicts with gentry or other ministers that pre-dated this period by as many as twenty years.¹¹³

With regard to the number of sequestrations in the western counties, Andrew Coleby estimated that in Hampshire 90 clergy in 72 livings were sequestered, accounting for 28 per cent of the county's total clergy.¹¹⁴ The same

¹⁰⁷ Geoffrey Tatham estimated that, of 8,600 parish incumbents in 1640, 'there were no more than 4,000 genuine high church clergy, about 1,000 fanatical Puritans, and the rest middle-of-the-road men who had not identified themselves with either party' (G.B. Tatham, *The Puritans in Power: A Study in the History of the English Church from 1640 to 1660*, Cambridge, 1913, p.53, cited in Hart, *Country Clergy*, p.112).

¹⁰⁸ Green, 'Persecution', pp.530 & 524.

¹⁰⁹ R. O'Day and A. Hughes, 'Augmentation and amalgamation: Was there a systematic approach to the reform of parochial finance, 1640-60?', in R. O'Day and F. Heal (eds), *Princes and Paupers in the English Church, 1500-1800* (Leicester, 1981), p.172.

¹¹⁰ Green, 'Persecution', p.523.

¹¹¹ Spurr, *Restoration Church*, p.7.

¹¹² McCall, *Baal's Priests*, p.11.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p.95.

¹¹⁴ A.M. Coleby, *Central Government and the Localities: Hampshire 1649-1689* (Cambridge, 1987), p.10.

percentage has been found by Fletcher for Sussex, where at least 76 of 272 benefices came under sequestration at one time or another between 1643 and 1660.¹¹⁵ Underdown's estimate for the proportion of ejections in Somerset is lower, affecting around a fifth of parishes.¹¹⁶ In Dorset, Joseph Bettey estimated that around 70 clergy were ejected from their livings in the 242 parishes of the county, amounting to around 29 per cent of the total. Charles Mayo put the figure mentioned in the Standing Committee minutes at 65, noting that only 13 of these appear in Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, whereas Walker mentioned others who do not appear in the minutes.¹¹⁷ The relatively high number for Dorset is somewhat surprising, given that as early as 1634, representatives of Laud's metropolitan visitation complained that 'there were Puritans in nearly every parish in Dorset'.¹¹⁸ Underdown explained that the committees paid particular attention to areas where puritanism had previously been resisted, including the southern downlands of Wiltshire and 'populous and disaffected places such as Sturminster Newton, Blandford, and Shaftesbury' in Dorset where 'puritan rogue' was a stock term of abuse.¹¹⁹ Green has suggested that many ejected clergy were able to obtain new livings, even within the same jurisdiction, and 'were probably appointed to vacancies simply for want of alternatives'.¹²⁰ Closer examination of the distribution of sequestrations at a local level may reveal factors which are not self-evident from county-level analysis. Mayo listed only 20 incumbents in Dorset 'who appear to have possessed the confidence of the Committee', while 'the unnoticed majority bowed to the storm, and gave a more or less unwilling obedience to the Directory'.¹²¹ There were also cases where the incumbent managed to avoid formal sequestration yet, as noted by Coate in Cornwall, was banned from preaching in either of his parishes and 'was obliged to put curates into them and preach elsewhere for a living'.¹²²

In conclusion, there are many avenues for further exploration with regard to the social relations of the parish clergy in Dorset. Roberts has suggested that

¹¹⁵ Fletcher, *Sussex*, p.108.

¹¹⁶ Underdown, *Somerset*, p.145.

¹¹⁷ Mayo, *DSC*; Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*.

¹¹⁸ J.H. Bettey, *Dorset* (Newton Abbot, 1974), pp.101-3.

¹¹⁹ Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, pp.244-5 & 89.

¹²⁰ Green, 'Persecution', p.526.

¹²¹ Mayo, *DSC*, p.xxxvii.

¹²² Coate, *Cornwall*, p.336.

‘Relations between clergy and their lay gentry patrons, the management of Church landed wealth and prosopographical studies of the parish clergy are obvious topics for future enquiry’,¹²³ while Green has called for a focus on ‘why thousands of clergy who had probably accepted Laud’s innovations in the 1630s were allowed to continue serving in the next two decades when hundreds of others were silenced’ and ‘why the radicals failed to overthrow the accepted concept of the ministry ... even in the middle of a reaction against all things episcopalian’.¹²⁴

Jennings has found in Nottinghamshire that, in determining the level of conformity or dissent, ‘The control of patronage, lay support and the financial and economic structures of a parish all were influential. Certainly in rural areas, loose patterns of settlement, mixed economies and weak manorial control all contributed towards the development and survival of Puritanism.’¹²⁵ This thesis examines the extent to which these and other issues determined Dorset clergymen’s prosperity.

Impact of the civil wars on Dorset

This section examines the social, economic and political impacts of the civil wars on Dorset, since these were central to clergymen’s experiences of parish ministry. Dorset witnessed no major battle during the civil wars, but their impact was felt as a consequence of the county’s strategic geographical position between the royalist south-west and Oxford, and parliamentary Somerset, meaning that ‘the fortresses of Sherborne and Corfe afforded keys respectively to the northern and southern communications with the west’, while its harbours and proximity to the French coast ‘were of inestimable importance in the Royalist communications with their continental friends and helpers’.¹²⁶

Underdown identified four phases of the first war affecting Dorset: parliamentary ascendancy during the first year; royalist domination after victories by forces under Hopton, Hertford and Prince Maurice in the summer of 1643; a year of turmoil with the arrival of Essex’s army in June 1644, prompting

¹²³ Roberts, ‘County counsels’, p.133.

¹²⁴ Green, ‘Career prospects and clerical conformity’, p.115.

¹²⁵ Jennings, ‘Gathering of the elect’, p.282.

¹²⁶ A.R. Bayley, *The Great Civil War in Dorset 1642-1660* (Taunton, 1910), p.2.

energetic activity by Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper for parliament and incursions by Goring's royalist army; and a final phase following the arrival of the New Model Army in July 1645, ending in the surrender of Corfe Castle in February 1646 and Portland two months later.¹²⁷

The first blood spilt in Dorset, in July 1642, was that of William Wake, rector of Wareham, wounded whilst defying a proclamation that the town be fortified for parliament.¹²⁸ Clarendon claimed that by mid-1643 Dorset was entirely in the hands of parliament, yet in late July 1643 Dorchester, the most 'malignant' town in England, surrendered to the royalists without a fight, only to change sides on the arrival of Essex a year later.¹²⁹ It suffered depredations by troops under both Prince Maurice in 1643 and Goring in 1645, and Fairfax's army marched through on its way west in October 1645 and on its return in April 1646.

Tim Goodwin estimated that 'Dorset must have suffered a bare minimum of 3000 battle deaths', representing a loss of over seven per cent of the county's population.¹³⁰ These deaths occurred predominantly during sieges of castles (Corfe and Sherborne) and seaports (Weymouth, Portland and Lyme Regis) and skirmishes around the county's garrisons (Weymouth, Wareham, Bridport, Lyme Regis and Poole). Attitudes in the county were clearly affected by repeated military incursions. For example, royalist soldiers plundered Dorchester and sacked Cranborne in 1643, strengthening parliamentary resolve in Lyme Regis and leading Poole magistrates to claim that, despite previous uncertainty, 'our men blessed be God are valiant and full resolved to fight'.¹³¹ Similarly, although John Fry of Iwerne Minster had been ready to support the king, he became radically parliamentary in 1645 when Prince Maurice's troops 'harshly stript Fry of all he could carry off',¹³² and by 1649 he was a captain in the Dorset Militia and MP for Shaftesbury. Barbara Donagan has suggested that rules of combat were generally observed in the conduct of the English civil wars and that 'war

¹²⁷ Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, p.146.

¹²⁸ Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*.

¹²⁹ Hyde, *History of the Rebellion*, p.161.

¹³⁰ Goodwin, *Dorset in the Civil War*, p.201.

¹³¹ Cited in Bayley, *Great Civil War in Dorset*, p.112.

¹³² T.S. Evans, *The Life of Robert Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester Deprived as a Non-Juror 1689* (London, 1876), p.8.

crimes did not become policy'; nevertheless, there were sporadic atrocities, including the hanging 'with sadistic preliminaries' of civilians in Dorset.¹³³

Morrill proposed that popular allegiance might be better understood by mapping the allegiance of three key constituents: military, gentry and clerical.¹³⁴ The last of these is specifically addressed in this thesis, but military and gentry factors obviously impacted on parochial clergy. Military matters have been covered in detail by Bayley and Goodwin.¹³⁵ Underdown's analysis of royalist pensions suggests that 'The ability to recruit depended as much on local military predominance as on popular sympathies.'¹³⁶ However, military recruitment was nothing new to Dorset, as the county had regularly provided troops to serve in the fleets during the 1620s. Whiteway noted in 1627 that 'There was great Preparation made for a fleete, 60 ships prepared ... many Land souldiers were prest for that service, 250 in Dorset, and 15 daies after 100 more, and a moneth after 150 more'.¹³⁷

Concerning Morrill's second feature, gentry allegiance, Everitt's view was that the 'county community' of Kent was held together by three key factors: intermarriage, long settlement and paternalism.¹³⁸ With regard to intermarriage, Gerard described the Dorset gentry in the 1620s as 'endowed with much Friendship one towards another, which hath been the Cause of their frequent matching amongst themselves; so as they are for the most part in some degrees of Consanguinitie allied'.¹³⁹ On the other hand, John Ferris found that only 138 of the 280 heads of families in 1642 had married within the county and that 'the county was far from being a self-contained social unit',¹⁴⁰ while according to Goodwin, 'Among the heavily intermarried Dorset aristocracy probably as many as one family in three had split loyalties.'¹⁴¹

¹³³ B. Donagan, 'Atrocity, war crime, and treason in the English civil war', *The American Historical Review*, 99, no. 4 (1994), p.1146.

¹³⁴ J. Morrill, 'The ecology of allegiance in the English revolution', *Journal of British Studies*, 26 (1987), p.465.

¹³⁵ Bayley, *Great Civil War in Dorset*; Goodwin, *Dorset in the Civil War*.

¹³⁶ Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, p.198.

¹³⁷ Underdown, *Whiteway of Dorchester*, p.89.

¹³⁸ A. Hopper, 'Introduction', in Eales and Hopper, *County Community*, p.3, citing Everitt, *Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion*.

¹³⁹ Gerard, *Survey of Dorsetshire*, p.6.

¹⁴⁰ J.P. Ferris, 'The gentry of Dorset on the eve of the civil war', *Genealogists' Magazine*, 15 (1965), p.108.

¹⁴¹ Goodwin, *Dorset in the Civil War*, p.37.

With regard to long settlement, Ferris found that, of 211 gentry families mentioned by Gerard, 103 had moved to the county between 1529 and 1603, particularly from Devon, while a further 45, including Henry Hastings and Denzil Holles, had arrived since 1603, 'of whom at least a third married Dorset heiresses' to claim a familial link with the county.¹⁴² Two other prominent figures, Sir John Digby of Sherborne Castle and Sir John Bankes of Corfe Castle, were relative newcomers to the county, having amassed fortunes through crown service, as ambassador to Spain and attorney-general respectively. A number of recusant gentry lived on the county borders with Somerset and Hampshire, perhaps to give them a cross-border 'escape route into an unfamiliar jurisdiction'.¹⁴³ These included James Hannam, who had residences in both Purse Caundle, Dorset and Holwell, a Somerset enclave. Francis Trotman found that Catholics were treated considerately in some parishes: Longbrey's list of signatories to the Protestation oath of 1641/2 includes a comment on 'John Napper, a Popish recusant', who was 'not to be spoken to with us',¹⁴⁴ implying that he was not to be asked, and therefore could not refuse, to sign. Trotman also suggested that Denzil Holles, then MP for Dorchester, influenced the high subscription rate in the neighbourhood. Meanwhile Bullen Reymes, a staunch royalist and cousin of the influential Cokers of Mappowder, during his years at Mappowder 'encountered little difficulty with the sequestrators, perhaps because Robert Coker was a member of the Dorset Committee', whereas when he moved to a new house in Trent, then in Somerset, his estate was sequestrated. Although Robert Coker was a parliamentarian, one of his sons was a colonel in Hopton's army, and another initially served for the king and later switched sides. While Hyde recorded appreciable royalist support in 1643, when 'the chief gentlemen of Dorsetshire ... were ready to join any considerable party for the king',¹⁴⁵ James Casada's analysis of Dorset's members of the Long Parliament reveals solid parliamentary support, six of whom 'formed the core of the county's leadership during most of the Interregnum'.¹⁴⁶ As Fletcher proposed, 'Political

¹⁴² Ferris, 'Gentry of Dorset', p.104.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, p.109.

¹⁴⁴ F.E. Trotman, *The Rectors of Longbrey in Dorset 1300-1850* (Warminster, 1968), p.44.

¹⁴⁵ Hyde, *History of the Rebellion*, p.161.

¹⁴⁶ J.A. Casada, 'Dorset politics in the puritan revolution', *Southern History*, 4 (1982), p.113.

ideas, religious convictions, and social and familial relationships all contributed to men's decisions about which side to support in the civil war',¹⁴⁷ making it impossible to generalise about individuals' responses to the conflict.

The existence of paternalism in Dorset is also debatable, as the gentry did not automatically command a loyal following. Sir Robert Poyntz wrote to the Duke of Ormonde while recruiting in the West Country in 1643 that although the gentry had responded in numbers, 'my countrymen love their pudding at home better than musket and pike abroad, and if they could have peace, care not what side had the better'.¹⁴⁸ In some areas the 'authority of Dorset landowners such as Richard Rogers and Sir John Strangways must have been aided by their apparently comfortable relations with their tenants',¹⁴⁹ whereas in other areas like Gillingham relationships had been soured by disputes over forest enclosures during the preceding decades. Buchanan Sharp suggested that 'the "common sort" were quite capable of producing their own leaders', rather than having their actions orchestrated by 'men of standing ... from behind-the-scenes for their own purposes'.¹⁵⁰

The clubmen risings in 1645 are another example of popular action, occurring 'chiefly in those areas which had experienced uncontrolled plunder and attacks on property from large numbers of semi-independent garrisons or from outside armies as they trampled their way in and out of the county'.¹⁵¹ Braddick has suggested that 'the clubman associations took root most strongly where gentry influence was weak',¹⁵² whereas Underdown noted that 'it is striking how many of the minor gentry ... were involved (and inevitably took leading roles)',¹⁵³ suggesting that mobilisation and attitudes may be explained by cultural differences relating to topography. He proposed that downland inhabitants were inclined toward royalism by their relatively cohesive communities with resident gentry and clergy, and that the 'increasing extremism

¹⁴⁷ Fletcher, *Sussex*, p.276.

¹⁴⁸ T. Carte, *A Collection of Original Letters and Papers Concerning the Affairs of England, 1641-1660, Found Among the Duke of Ormonde's Papers*, Vol. 1 (London, 1739), p.21.

¹⁴⁹ Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, p.172.

¹⁵⁰ B. Sharp, *In Contempt of All Authority: Rural Artisans and Riot in the West of England, 1586-1660* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980), p.261.

¹⁵¹ Wroughton, *Unhappy Civil War*, p.22.

¹⁵² Braddick, *God's Fury*, p.415.

¹⁵³ Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, p.172.

of parliamentary Puritanism' threatened this shared culture. However, he warned against attributing such tendencies simply to deference, since 'the gentry were as likely to share, or be swept along by, the prevailing mood of their communities', while 'plebeian culture as well as patrician leadership' might account for popular political behaviour.¹⁵⁴

Regardless of allegiance, as Blair Worden has suggested, 'Many more died in skirmishes or small battles than in large ones, though deaths in arms seem themselves to have been outnumbered by casualties of the diseases, especially typhus and dysentery.'¹⁵⁵ Disease was spread by armies marching through and quartering in the county. There were outbreaks of bubonic plague in Dorchester, Yeovil, Sherborne, South Perrott, Wyke and Poole,¹⁵⁶ while typhus 'the occupational disease of armies ... surfaced with lethal regularity over the winter months'.¹⁵⁷ Disease was, however, prevalent even in peacetime. There was an outbreak of plague in Cranborne in 1604 and a major smallpox epidemic in Dorchester in 1624, as well as sickness across the county in 1626, while the popular Woodbury Hill fair was banned in 1627 'in regard of the plague at Sarum'.¹⁵⁸

Armies also inflicted significant economic costs on the county. Fletcher has suggested that 'Free quarter, like the provisioning of garrisons, was one of the exacting yet unpredictable ways by which a subject countryside was made to carry the cost of the civil war.'¹⁵⁹ Yet some people reaped financial benefits. For example, carpenter John Haydon of Dorchester was employed to build gun carriages to be used against Sherborne, and clothiers were employed in making uniforms for both sides, like Richard Savage of Dorchester who supplied cloth both to parliamentarian Poole and to the Earl of Crawford's royalists.¹⁶⁰ Although some people were put out of work when estates were sequestered, others were employed by local committees to keep the estates going. However, the

¹⁵⁴ Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, pp.181 & 277; Underdown, 'Problem of popular allegiance', p.90.

¹⁵⁵ B. Worden, *The English Civil Wars 1640-1660* (London, 2009), p.73.

¹⁵⁶ Goodwin, *Dorset in the Civil War*, pp.116-17.

¹⁵⁷ S. Jennings, "'A miserable, stinking, infected town': Pestilence, plague and death in a civil war garrison, Newark 1640-1649", *Midland History*, 28 (2003), p.51.

¹⁵⁸ J.F.D. Shrewsbury, *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 2005), p.280; Underdown, *Whiteway of Dorchester*, pp.59, 84 & 91.

¹⁵⁹ Fletcher, *Sussex*, p.274.

¹⁶⁰ Underdown, *Fire from Heaven*, pp.199 & 207.

committees did not always manage properties well, as evidenced by Humphrey Weld's complaint that 'they had managed Lulworth very badly and let down all his rents'.¹⁶¹ Many others suffered from disruptions to markets and the consumption of crops and livestock by quartering troops. Fletcher's study of Sussex suggests that in the east of the county 'the pattern of rural life was hardly affected',¹⁶² while the civilian inhabitants to the west suffered more as a result of war. In Dorset, towns and villages across the county suffered at various times, depending on the presence of troops. Even if a landowner escaped sequestration, 'his fortune still suffered as long as the war continued from the difficulty of collecting his rents, the heavy taxation for financing the armies, the demands of the garrisons, and the plundering of the soldiers on both sides'.¹⁶³ Henry Meggs, lord of the manor of Bradford Peverell, on the main road west from Dorchester, was virtually ruined by the impact of billeting both royalist and parliamentary soldiers as Dorchester changed hands twice during the conflict.¹⁶⁴

The presence of foreign troops, particularly on their way to and from embarkation at Weymouth, also had an impact on the social life of parishes across the county. Eight hundred of Inchiquin's Irish troops under Henry O'Brien landed at Weymouth in November 1643, and such troop movements had knock-on effects as they 'played into the hands of the vagrant population', who could pretend to be soldiers making their way back to their companies.¹⁶⁵

Although historians have tended to focus on the disruption to local government and justice mechanisms caused by the imposition of county committees,¹⁶⁶ Richard Williams found that 'most innovations of the 1640s and 1650s were solidly founded on pre-war roots', and in Dorset 'the prominent committeemen contained a larger proportion of the old ruling class than any other county'.¹⁶⁷ Despite the nationwide hiatus in assizes between 1642 and 1646,¹⁶⁸ Williams' research reveals that in Dorset 'by and large the task of the

¹⁶¹ J. Berkeley, *Lulworth and the Welds* (Gillingham, 1971), p.65.

¹⁶² Fletcher, *Sussex*, p.270.

¹⁶³ Manning, 'Neutrals and neutralism', p.317.

¹⁶⁴ R. Greenland, *Bradford Peverell: History of a Dorset Parish* (Bradford Peverell, 2001), p.65.

¹⁶⁵ Fletcher, *Sussex*, p.166.

¹⁶⁶ Sharp, *In Contempt*, p.233.

¹⁶⁷ R. Williams, 'County and municipal government in Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Somerset 1649-1660', PhD Thesis (University of Bristol, 1981), p.64.

¹⁶⁸ J.S. Cockburn, *Western Circuit Assize Orders 1629-1648: A Calendar* (London, 1976).

Quarter Sessions and Assizes remained the same, and their practices and personnel remained startlingly similar to the conditions prevailing pre-war'.¹⁶⁹ This may account for the fact that social activities were not altogether curtailed. Just as Fletcher's observation of the Sussex gentry community was that 'Homes, hunting and local visiting preoccupied men, even in the midst of the Great Rebellion',¹⁷⁰ in Dorset once the armed hostilities had largely ceased, Anthony Ashley Cooper related that on 17 August 1646 he went to Bryanston bowling green, where he 'bowled all day'.¹⁷¹

In conclusion, despite the obvious upheaval, there appears to have been as much continuity as change in the county during the civil wars. As a complement to Underdown's regional social analysis and Bayley's and Goodwin's county-level descriptions of the civil wars, there is scope for further examination of the 'relationship between topography, the economy, social structure and political behaviour',¹⁷² particularly through an examination of clerical social networks and interactions in seventeenth-century Dorset.

Focus of this study

This is a single-county study of the impacts of the economic, topographical, social and political contexts in which the clergy lived and worked. Previous research has tended to focus on either conformist or nonconformist clergy, whereas this study examines clergy experiences and careers across the Protestant spectrum, and how their prosperity was affected by their local contexts.

The main focus of this research is not on religious practices. It focuses instead on how the clergy of the period survived as parochial ministers, shaped partly by their religious beliefs, but also by geography, family, education, patronage and politics. It has been argued that, throughout the seventeenth century, 'political culture remained indelibly coloured by confessional identity'¹⁷³ and 'modern notions of religion, politics, and society represented an undivided

¹⁶⁹ Williams, 'County and municipal government', p.190.

¹⁷⁰ Fletcher, *Sussex*, p.57.

¹⁷¹ W.D. Christie, *Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury 1621-1683* (London, 1871), Vol. 1, p.82.

¹⁷² Roberts, 'County counsels', p.136.

¹⁷³ J. Rose, 'Religion and revolution in seventeenth-century England', *The Seventeenth Century* (29), p.293.

domain for most members of the early modern population.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, whilst issues of religion, politics and society are treated as separate contexts in this thesis for purposes of analysis, these notions were actually much more intertwined in seventeenth-century lives. Indeed, David Appleby has argued that 'The more the Bartholomean clergy attempted to deny that religion and politics were intertwined, the more they highlighted the fact that it was so.'¹⁷⁵ Debate over whether the civil wars were caused primarily by political or religious factors is therefore misguided, since 'controversy over religion was seldom solely about private belief, but also or mainly about public practice and the ideal relationship between civil and religious power'; therefore, most arguments about religion were 'consciously political in some form or other'.¹⁷⁶

Social, economic, political and religious upheaval throughout the seventeenth century, and the breadth of contextual factors affecting the career choices available to the clergy makes generalisation difficult. However, this thesis attempts to identify patterns in their sources of wealth and income, responses to persecution, social standing and relationships, and religious and political engagement.

¹⁷⁴ D. Beaver, 'Review – Religion, politics, and society in early modern England: A problem of classification', *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), p.315.

¹⁷⁵ Appleby, *Black Bartholomew's Day*, p.225.

¹⁷⁶ M. Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 27, 21, cited in J. Spurr, 'Shaftesbury and the politics of religion', in J. Spurr (ed.), *Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury 1621–1683* (Farnham, 2011), p.132.

Chapter 3: Impact of Ecclesiastical Administration

This chapter examines the impact of ecclesiastical administration on the lives of the Dorset clergy. It begins by establishing the context of the various ecclesiastical jurisdictions to which the clergy of Dorset were accountable. Comparison of appointments by the two key ecclesiastical superiors reveals that they were more likely to appoint locally born and locally ordained clergy, but that the richest livings in the county tended to be awarded through university connections.

Based on detailed analysis of two major valuations of parish livings conducted in 1535 and 1650, clergy incomes are analysed to determine the types of ecclesiastical income to which incumbents were entitled, and how this affected their prosperity. Although the early Dorset valuations were generally in line with the national distribution of parochial incomes, they did not keep pace with inflation, and rectories fared better than vicarages. These valuations were notional, and the nature of and ability to collect income also impacted on clerical prosperity. For example, even clergy in poorer parishes might be at an economic advantage if more of their income was derived from glebe land, over which they had control, rather than from tithes, which had to be collected from parishioners. The difficulties of actually collecting due income are discussed in Chapter 5.

Ecclesiastical expenditure is also analysed, in terms of clerical taxation. Since taxes were based on 1535 valuations, the relative tax burden gradually became lighter for incumbents whose incomes had subsequently increased most sharply. Analysis of hearth tax payments, a non-clerical form of taxation, also provides insights into the size of parsonage houses and reveals that the number of hearths did not correlate with parochial income. Therefore, some ministers with little income were subject to relatively high hearth taxes.

Finally, some alternative sources of ecclesiastical income are examined. Serving more than one parochial cure benefited some clergy at the lower end of the income scale, but was also exploited by those at the top. Others acted as chaplains to elite households, and during the civil wars, chaplaincies were taken up in both royalist and parliamentary armies and garrisons. Overseas postings also offered alternative employment when parochial ministries were disrupted. Further non-ecclesiastical sources of income are examined in Chapter 4.

Ecclesiastical jurisdictions

There were 289 parochial livings in seventeenth-century Dorset (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Number and status of livings in seventeenth-century Dorset

Status	Number
Rectory	171
Vicarage	60
Parochial chapel	37
Donative chapel	7
Perpetual curacy	14
Total	289

Until the mid-sixteenth century, Dorset had been largely under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Salisbury. With the creation of a new diocese of Bristol in 1542, one deanery of parishes in the city of Bristol and five deaneries formerly within the diocese of Salisbury, comprising most Dorset parishes, were transferred to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Bristol, presided over by an archdeacon.¹⁷⁷

However, 53 of the 289 parishes (17 rectories, 17 vicarages and 19 chapels) fell outside the diocesan jurisdiction. Most of these belonged to the dean of Salisbury, and 11 were royal peculiars, while the rest were under the jurisdiction of lesser ecclesiastical authorities, largely prebendaries of Salisbury cathedral over which the dean of Salisbury exercised quasi-episcopal jurisdiction (see Table 3.2 for a summary, and Appendix 1 for a full list of parishes by jurisdiction).¹⁷⁸

Table 3.2: Ecclesiastical jurisdictions of Dorset parishes

Jurisdiction	Rectories	Vicarages	Other	Total
Bishop of Bristol	154	43	39	236
Dean of Salisbury	15	6	7	28
Dean and chapter of Salisbury		1		1
Prebend of Chardstock	1	1		2
Prebend of Fordington and Writhlington		1		1
Prebend of Lyme and Halstock		1	1	2
Prebend of Netherbury in Ecclesia		1	1	2
Prebend of Preston		1		1
Prebend of Yetminster and Grimstone		1	2	3
Royal peculiar	1	3	7	11
Other peculiar		1	1	2
Total	171	60	58	289

¹⁷⁷ Boswell, *Ecclesiastical Division*, p.3.

¹⁷⁸ *CCEd*, available at: <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/reference/diocesan-resources/the-cathedral-and-collegiate-church-in-the-church-of-england/a-z-list-of-cathedrals-and-collegiate-churches/salisbury-cathedral-history-and-description/> (accessed 27 May 2016).

In fact, in all but 13 peculiar benefices (one rectory, four vicarages and eight chapels), the 'ordinary', or person exercising ordinary jurisdiction in ecclesiastical causes, was either the bishop of Bristol or, ultimately, the dean of Salisbury.

The ordinary periodically inspected parishes within his jurisdiction to ensure that clergy and parishioners were adhering to ecclesiastical law. Such inspections were generally carried out shortly after the ordinary was appointed, and thereafter annually by the dean or archdeacon, triennially by the bishop and occasionally by the archbishop. Owing to the patchy survival of visitation records, it is difficult to ascertain how actively parishioners engaged with the ordinary and how close was his oversight of incumbents in much of the county. Many visitation records relating to parishes in the dean of Salisbury's jurisdiction survive, but there are none for the bishop of Bristol in the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁹ The process was also suspended between 1642 and 1660 on account of civil war disruption and the subsequent suspension of the episcopacy.

Despite Dorset's separation by at least forty miles from the city of Bristol, it appears that the bishops were not entirely unfamiliar with the county. Indeed, John Thornborough, who was bishop between 1603 and 1617, was a relatively local man, having been born in Salisbury and served for a year as rector of Marnhull in 1577-8. In 1606, a certificate of residence showed that he was liable for taxation in Dorset, and in 1611 he wrote to the Remembrancer of the Exchequer regarding his tax collections, being at the time resident in Turner's Puddle, Dorset.¹⁸⁰

Little documentation survives for Bristol diocese, but parochial accounts of visitation costs give some indication of the frequency with which parishes were visited by the ordinary. For example, Kingston Magna's churchwardens recorded an agreement made on 5 April 1697 'that the Churchwardens of the parish for the time ensuing shall spend no more at the visitation at one time but £0 15s 0d, and if two happen in one year £1 5s 0d'.¹⁸¹ This, and the annual expenditure accounted for, confirm that the archdeacon was making annual visitations, while

¹⁷⁹ For example, WSHC D5/29/1-9 Dean of Salisbury visitation books, 1610 & 1662-1699.

¹⁸⁰ TNA E 115/440/60 Certificate of residence showing John, Bishop of Bristol to be liable for taxation in Dorset; TNA SP 46/69 f.168 John, Bishop of Bristol to Sir Henry Fanshaw, 10 February 1611.

¹⁸¹ DHC PE/KIM CW1/1 Kingston Magna churchwardens' accounts.

the bishop visited less frequently. Printed visitation sermons provide further evidence that the bishop of Bristol did, in fact, visit Dorset, and Robert Cheek, rector of Dorchester All Saints and founder of Trinity School there, even had his students present plays for Bishop Wright during his visitation in 1623.¹⁸² On the other hand, a letter from Jonathan Trelawny (bishop from 1685 to 1689) to the Lord President, a member of the Privy Council, in 1686 indicates that he was rarely in Dorset owing to the poor remuneration of the office:

... was I enabl'd from the revenue of yr Bishopwike to make any residence in Dorsetshire the clergy should have the influence of my exemple to the force of my precepts, but the episcopal income being too despicably poor, I trust your Lordship will not enjoyne what will be to my certaine ruine.¹⁸³

The archdeacon of the diocese, as the bishop's deputy, generally held a living in Dorset: Henry Tuichenor (1572-1607) held the cures of Cattistock and Wootton Glanville, Richard Fitzherbert (1621-54) was incumbent at Gussage All Saints and Cheselbourne, Ralph Ironside (1671-83) held Longbredy for over fifty years, and John Feilding (1683-98) was vicar of Puddletown. However, Edward Wickham (1607-21) only held a living in Sussex, while Richard Meredith (1660-71) was incumbent at Stogursey, Somerset, indicating that residence in or close connection with the county was not a requirement of office. Nor, according to Henry Tuichenor, was the office particularly remunerative, as he claimed that the archdeacon was 'a very poore man ... having noe other living in the worlde but this Archdeaconrie, which is charged with fower and twenty or five and twentie poundes yearlie, in tenths and subsidies to the Queenes Majestie'.¹⁸⁴

With regard to the dean of Salisbury, the other key ordinary, none was resident in Dorset. However, Salisbury lay much closer to the county boundary than Bristol, and visitation records indicate that the county was under quite close supervision. Rather than visiting every single parish, visitations of Dorset

¹⁸² R. Lougher, *A Sermon Preached at Cern, in the County of Dorset, the 18. Day of September 1623 at the Visitation of the Right Reuerend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Bristoll* (London, 1624); H. Ward, *A Sermon Preacht at Shaftsbury, at the Primary Visitation of the Right Reverend Father in God, Guydo by Divine Providence Lord Bishop of Bristol* (London, 1674), Wing (2nd ed.) W768; R. Roderick, *A Sermon Preached at Blandford-forum in Dorset-shire, December the 19th, 1682 at the Lord Bishop of Bristol's Visitation* (London, 1683); R.C. Hays and C.E. McGee (eds), *Dorset: Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto, 1999), p.340.

¹⁸³ TNA SP 31/3 f.70 The bishop of Bristol to [the earl of Sunderland] Lord President re preachers in Cerne and Dorchester, 21 May 1686.

¹⁸⁴ SP 46/42 f.15 Complaint of Henry Twichener, archdeacon of Dorset, that the bishop of Salisbury has moved in the Exchequer for the sequestration of the fruits of the archdeaconry, 27 February 1600.

parishes were generally carried out in circuits, and the incumbent and churchwardens would make presentments at locations pre-notified by the registrar.

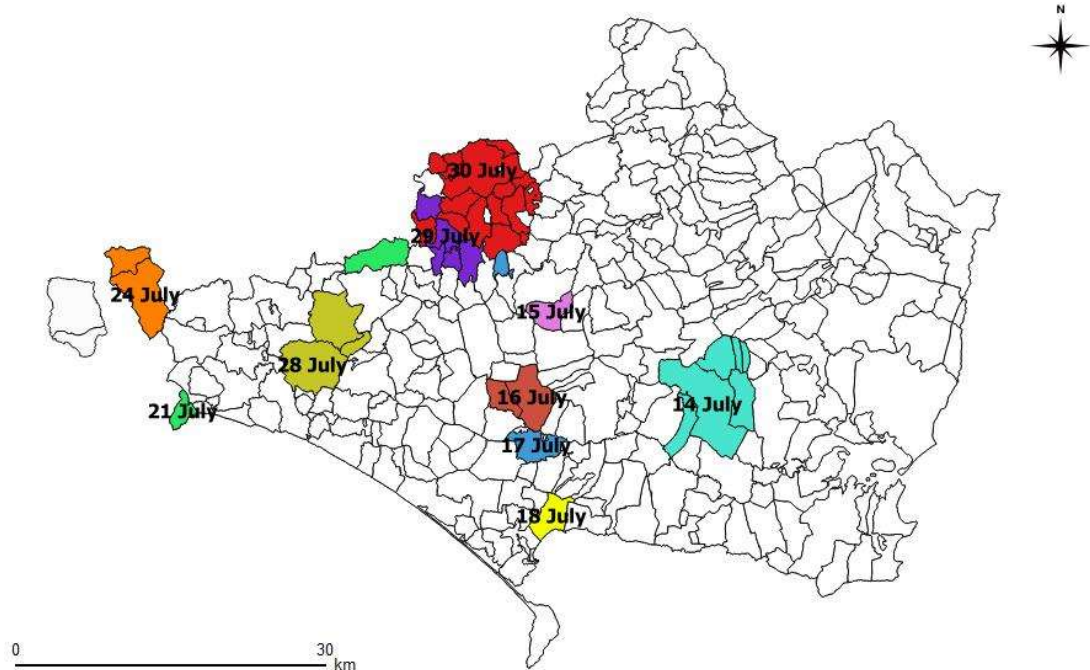


Figure 3.1: Dean of Salisbury's Dorset visitation route, July 1600¹⁸⁵

Visitation records show that in 1600 the dean spent 17 days on a circuit of visitations, beginning in Bere Regis on 14 July and ending in Sherborne on 30 July (Figure 3.1). The same route was still being followed at the end of the century.¹⁸⁶ Any incumbent who failed to attend a visitation might face sanctions, which would be likely to involve the expense of attending a court in Salisbury to give account, as John Bennett, rector of Winterborne Tomson was ordered to do in 1600.¹⁸⁷ Visitations were also an opportunity for incumbents to complain to the ordinary. For example, Thomas Whitlock, rector of Ryme Intrinseca, noted in a presentment in 1603 that 'my benefice is under value in the King's Book'. Whitlock was a non-graduate, and by 1606 was being reported by his churchwardens for having 'neglected divine service on Sundays in our parish,

¹⁸⁵ WSHC D5/19/19 Dean of Salisbury Act Book, 14-30 July 1600.

¹⁸⁶ WSHC D5/29/9 Dean of Salisbury Visitation Book, 1697.

¹⁸⁷ WSHC D5/19/19 Dean of Salisbury Act Book, f.59v.

also he is very slack in the week days'.¹⁸⁸ It is unclear whether this alleged neglect was due to incompetence, or to resentment about the level of his income.

Incumbents had to adhere to any mandates issued by their ordinary, and establishing close relationships might bring benefits. For example, ordination in a particular diocese might lead to preferment for a benefice within the same jurisdiction. Analysis of 488 individuals whose ordinations and first appointments in Dorset have been traced indicates some correlation between the jurisdiction in which they were ordained and that in which they secured a living.

*Table 3.3: Ordaining bishop compared with jurisdiction of appointment in Dorset*¹⁸⁹

Jurisdiction Ordained by	Total		Bristol		Salisbury		Peculiars	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bishop of Bristol	147	30	117	80	26	18	4	3
Bishop of Oxford	115	24	93	81	15	13	7	
Bishop of Salisbury	63	13	42	67	19	30	2	
Bishop of Exeter	42	9	29	69	11	26	2	
Bishop of Bath & Wells	41	8	29	71	11	27	1	
Bishop of London	20	4	16	80	3	15	1	
Bishop of Winchester	19	4	17	89	1	5	1	
Bishop of Lincoln	9	2	9	100		0		
Bishop of Norwich	6	1	6	100		0		
Bishop of Peterborough	6	1	5	83		0	1	
Bishop of Chichester	4	1	3	75	1	25		
Bishop of Ely	3	1	2	67		0	1	
Bishop of Gloucester	3	1	3	100		0		
Archbishop of Canterbury	2	0	2	100		0		
Presbytery of London	2	0	1	50	1	50		
Bishop of Chester	1	0	1	100		0		
Bishop of Clonfert	1	0	1	100		0		
Bishop of Durham	1	0	1	100		0		
Bishop of Rochester	1	0	1	100		0		
Bishop of Sodor & Man	1	0	1	100		0		
Presbytery of Prestwick, Lancs	1	0	1	100		0		

Of the 147 Dorset clergymen ordained by the bishop of Bristol, 80 per cent were appointed to parishes within the same diocese and only 18 per cent to Dorset parishes within Salisbury diocese, while of the 63 ordained by the bishop of Salisbury, 67 per cent went to Bristol diocese and 30 per cent remained within

¹⁸⁸ WSHC D5/28/3 f.33 Ryme Intrinseca churchwardens' presentment, 1603; WSHC D5/28/9 f.52 Ryme Intrinseca churchwardens' presentment, 1606-8.

¹⁸⁹ Totals may not equal 100 per cent owing to rounding.

the same diocese. Clearly, there were fewer Dorset livings available within the diocese of Salisbury, and many Salisbury ordinands would have obtained appointments elsewhere in that diocese. By comparison, of the 115 individuals who had been ordained by the bishop of Oxford, having studied at university there, 81 per cent were employed by Bristol diocese and only 13 per cent by Salisbury diocese. Salisbury benefices were therefore more likely to be conferred on those whom the bishop of Salisbury had ordained himself, so most Dorset clergy were men ordained locally (Table 3.3).

However, examination of preferments to the ten most valuable benefices in Dorset during the seventeenth century reveals a different pattern (see Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: Preferments to ten most valuable livings by jurisdiction and ordaining bishop

Location	Jurisdiction	Ordaining Bishop					
		Bristol	Salisbury	Oxford	Exeter	Peterborough	Other
Corfe Castle	Royal peculiar			3	1		
Gillingham	Royal peculiar		1			2	
Litton Cheney	Bishop of Bristol	1					1
Maiden Newton	Bishop of Bristol	1	1	2	2		1
Marnhull	Bishop of Bristol	2		1			1
Netherbury	Netherbury in Ecclesia		3	1			2
Puddletown	Bishop of Bristol		1	2		1	
Sturminster Marshall	Royal peculiar						1
Symondsbury	Bishop of Bristol			5			
Whitchurch Canoncorum	Bishop of Bristol	1	2	3	1		
	Totals	5	8	17	4	3	6

Out of 43 appointments to these parishes where the incumbent's ordaining bishop is known, only nine had been ordained by the bishop of the jurisdiction to which they were appointed. University connections appear to have been a much more significant factor in preferment to the most valuable parishes, as 20 of the 43 incumbents had been ordained by the bishops of Oxford or Peterborough (closest to the two universities) rather than by local bishops, and only four were non-graduates. Thus, although these individuals were not necessarily more highly educated than many other Dorset incumbents, a greater proportion were graduates than amongst the Dorset clergy as a whole (see Chapter 5), and they may have been recruited through university rather than local diocesan influences. The patrons of these 10 wealthy livings included the earls of

Huntingdon and Hertford, the attorney-general and Eton College, as well as the bishops of Salisbury and Bath and Wells, while four belonged to local gentry families such as Strangways, Strode and Ironside. However, although such connections were advantageous under normal circumstances, the incumbents of nine out of ten of these livings suffered sequestration or heavy taxation during the mid-century upheavals. The reasons for sequestration were various, including desertion and, in the case of Matthew Osborne, sheltering Charles I at his rectory in Maiden Newton in 1644, but the value of the livings may also have been a deciding factor for the county committee when considering whether or not to sequester the property.

In investigating clergy mobility, Ian Green compared the counties in which clergy were harassed (for example, through heavy taxation) or sequestered in the 1640s and 1650s with their counties of residence on admission to Oxford or Cambridge universities.¹⁹⁰ His analysis indicates that clergy tended not to move far from their native counties. Out of 1,749 individuals whom he matched with university records, 38.5 per cent had returned to their county of origin and a further 24.3 per cent were in a neighbouring county, while only 37.2 per cent had moved further afield. For Dorset, the equivalent percentages of the 75 individuals identified by Green are 56.0, 22.7 and 21.3 per cent respectively, suggesting that Dorset clergy were even more likely to remain close to their home county following education and ordination.¹⁹¹ Such ties were closer in only five other counties (see Table 3.5) – three in the southwest (Devon, Somerset and Cornwall) and two in the northwest (Lancashire and Westmorland). By contrast, only 45 per cent of clergy harassed in neighbouring Hampshire had entered university from that or an adjoining county. Further investigation might reveal whether this was because a higher proportion of Hampshire clergy had come from further afield, or whether those from further afield were more likely to be harassed, perhaps being regarded by their parishioners as ‘incomers’.

¹⁹⁰ Green, ‘Career prospects and clerical conformity’, drawing on Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*; Matthews, *Walker Revised*; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*; Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

¹⁹¹ Calculations based on figures given in Green, ‘Career prospects and clerical conformity’, p.90.

Table 3.5: Counties with most clergy in same county on entry to university and on suffering harassment¹⁹²

County in which sequestered or harassed	% Entered university from same or adjoining county
Devon	85.22
Lancashire	84.62
Somerset	83.33
Westmorland	83.33
Cornwall	78.95
Dorset	78.67
Average for 40 counties	62.84

For the current research, it has been possible to match 790 individuals who served a cure in Dorset at some point in their career with their Oxford or Cambridge alumni records, corroborated in some cases by parish registers and family records.¹⁹³

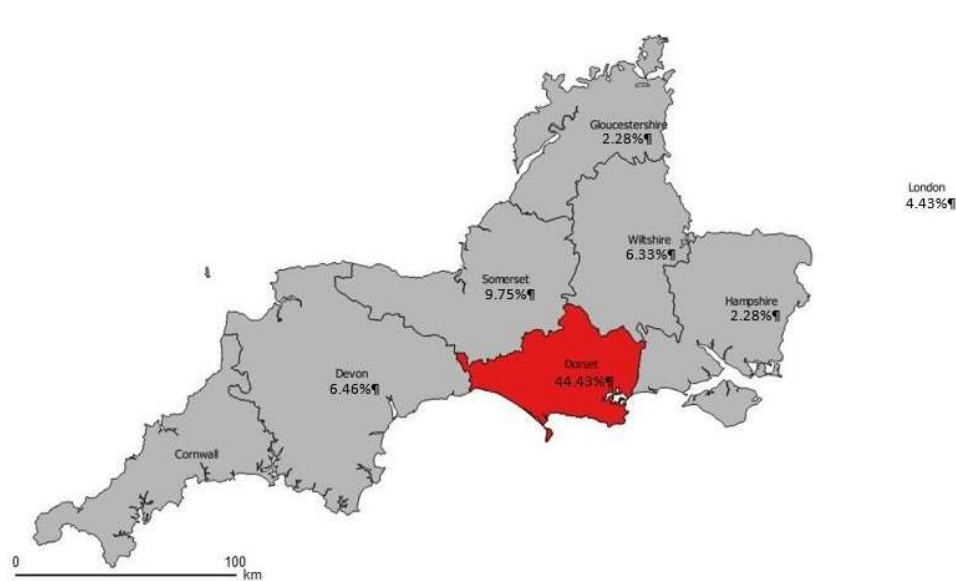


Figure 3.2: Percentage of clergy from Dorset and neighbouring counties¹⁹⁴

Forty-four per cent of these individuals were originally from Dorset, 10 per cent from Somerset, and just over six per cent from each of Devon and Wiltshire, with four and a half per cent from London and just over two per cent from Hampshire and Gloucestershire (see Figure 3.2). The surprisingly low number from

¹⁹² Calculations based on figures given in Green, 'Career prospects and clerical conformity', p.90.

¹⁹³ British History Online, *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714* (online), available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=1270>; University of Cambridge, *Cambridge Alumni Database*; Dorset parish registers; J.P. Rylands (ed.), *The Visitation of Dorset, Taken in the Year 1623* (London, 1885); G.D. Squibb (ed.), *The Visitation of Dorset 1677 made by Sir Edward Bysshe* (London, 1977).

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*

neighbouring Hampshire warrants future investigation, as it indicates that Hampshire clergymen were not being enticed westward.

Overall, around 70 per cent of the 790 Dorset clergymen who can be matched with counties of origin came from either Dorset or adjoining counties (see Table 3.6).

Table 3.6: County of origin of Dorset clergy (counties with more than 10 individuals)

County	No.	%
Dorset	351	44.43
Somerset	77	9.75
Devon	51	6.46
Wiltshire	50	6.33
London	35	4.43
Gloucestershire	18	2.28
Hampshire	18	2.28
Berkshire	14	1.77
Oxfordshire	14	1.77
Kent	12	1.52
Surrey	11	1.39
Total	651	82.41

Gillian Ignjatijevic found that only 34 per cent of clergymen beneficed in the diocese of Canterbury in 1637 and 22 per cent in the archdeaconry of Bedford in 1633 were from the same county.¹⁹⁵ For Dorset, the comparative figure for that period is 47 per cent, again indicating that a much higher proportion of Dorset's clergy were local men.

The above data comprise just over half the known incumbents of Dorset during the seventeenth century. The origins of a further 125 individuals who studied at Oxford and 37 at Cambridge are not recorded in alumni data. Also, importantly, 531 Dorset clergymen had not received a university education, many of whom occupied more lowly positions in the Church hierarchy. These would arguably have been more likely to have remained in their home county, having not had an opportunity to establish links elsewhere in the course of their studies.

The foregoing analysis indicates that clergymen's county of origin was more influential in their subsequent careers than the ordinary by whom they were

¹⁹⁵ G.L. Ignjatijevic, 'The parish clergy in the diocese of Canterbury and archdeaconry of Bedford in the reign of Charles I and under the Commonwealth', PhD thesis (University of Sheffield, 1986), p.36.

ordained. This supports Rosemary O'Day's suggestion, at least in Dorset, that 'the operation of patronage, both at primary and subsidiary levels, was still dictated primarily by considerations of local origin, kinship and connection, with education acting as the deciding factor in only a minority of cases', and that by the seventeenth century, 'the clergy were probably not significantly more geographically mobile than their predecessors'.¹⁹⁶

Valuations of parish income

Having examined the ecclesiastical structure of the county, and the influence of the ordinary and local origins on clergymen's career prospects, this section examines clergy income, based on two major valuations of benefices in England. The values of Dorset livings are compared with available national statistics in order to establish whether the clergy were likely to have been able to live comfortably on the notional proceeds of their benefices.

The earliest systematic valuation of parish livings was the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, compiled in 1535 to establish a taxation system for church income following separation from the Church of Rome. Out of almost 9,000 benefices named in the *Valor*, roughly half were valued at less than £10, a third at less than £5, and 1,000 at less than £2. Only 144 were valued at more than £40.¹⁹⁷ With regard to Dorset, the *Valor* records valuations of 166 rectories and 60 vicarages, as well as five chapels. The latter include the peculiar chapel of Wimborne Minster, worth £133, which is excluded from the following calculations because it supported three presbyters or ministers, each with his own clerk, and was therefore more akin to a cathedral than a parish church.¹⁹⁸ In 1535, the average value of a clerical benefice (rectory or vicarage) in Dorset was approximately £12 6s, while 111 (49 per cent), were valued at less than £10 per annum (see Figure 3.3). This is in line with the national figure of around half of all livings valued at under £10 a year.

¹⁹⁶ O'Day, *English Clergy*, pp.4 & 7.

¹⁹⁷ Hart, *Country Clergy*, p.47.

¹⁹⁸ *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henry VIII Auctoritate Regia Institutus*, Vol. 1 (Burlington, Ontario, 2013).

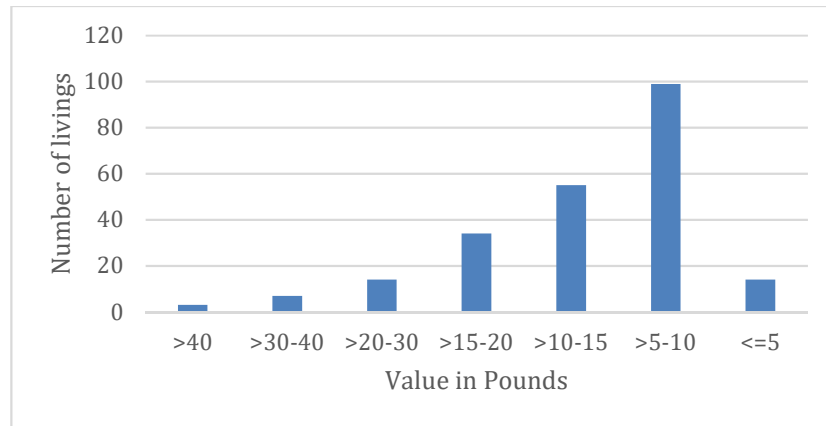


Figure 3.3: 1535 valuations of Dorset parish livings (£)¹⁹⁹

Interestingly, although rectors were generally entitled to all parochial tithes whereas vicars tended to receive only small tithes (see p.54), the average value of vicarages, at £13.44, was higher than for rectories, at £11.91. A greater proportion of rectories (52%) than vicarages (43%) was worth less than £10. Figure 3.4 compares the values of rectories and vicarages in the *Valor* as a whole with those for Dorset, expressed in percentage terms. This shows that the percentage of poorest rectories was slightly higher in Dorset than elsewhere, whereas the percentage of vicarages in the poorest category was lower in Dorset, resulting in less disparity between the two.

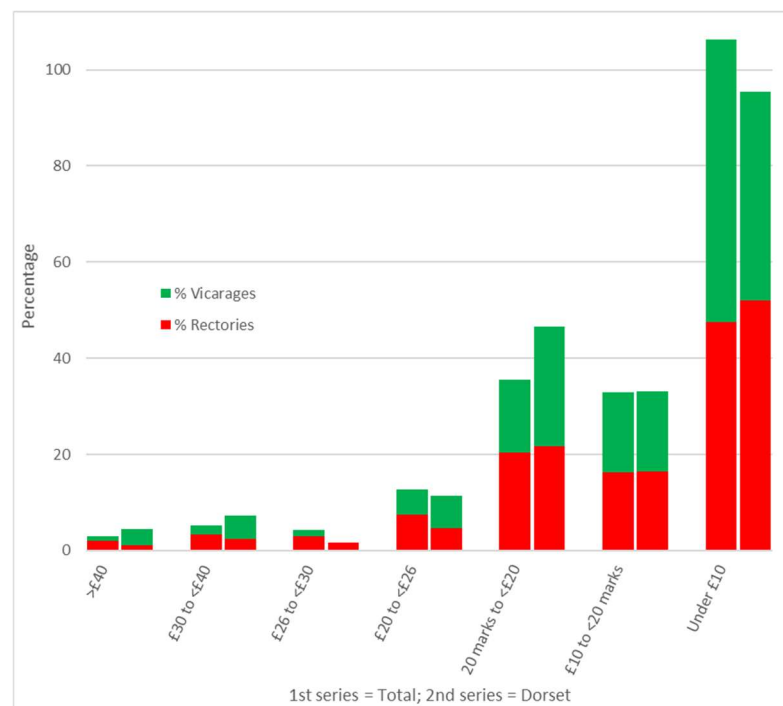


Figure 3.4: Comparison of values of livings for the whole of England and for Dorset²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Author's calculations based on *Valor*.

During the Elizabethan period, £30 had been reckoned to be a decent living,²⁰¹ but in sixteenth-century Dorset only 10 out of 226 parishes (4.4 per cent) were reported to provide this level of income. Following the Reformation, clergy were no longer required to be celibate, so many faced the additional financial pressure of supporting a family, as well as other lifestyle changes that will be examined in Chapter 5.

The *Valor* continued to be used for over a century, during which time actual values changed considerably, both as a result of inflation and due to changes in local parish governance. In 1650, parliament ordered that a *Survey of Ecclesiastical Livings* be carried out in order to establish the true value of clerical incomes and to ensure that parishes were supplied with suitable ministers who could be maintained appropriately. The *Survey* returns for 230 Dorset rectories and vicarages (excluding chapels) show that the average valuation had risen from £12 6s 6d in 1535 to £67 3s 3½d in 1650, the median being £60. By the seventeenth century, between £80 and £100 was considered to be a 'competent maintenance', and in 1647 Hugh Peters suggested that parochial income should amount to at least £100, with £150-200 in towns.²⁰² This was clearly somewhat aspirational; nevertheless, Archbishop Whitgift reckoned in 1585 that only 600 or so of England's nine to ten thousand livings were 'capable of attracting and supporting a learned minister',²⁰³ and in Cornwall in 1586, for example, 127 of 160 parishes (79%) were valued at less than £80 per year.²⁰⁴ Even by 1650, 150 of the 230 livings (65%) valued in Dorset were worth less than £80 per year (see Figure 3.5). However, at the upper end of the income scale, Dorset compared favourably with the diocese of Canterbury: 23 per cent of rectories and five per cent of vicarages were worth at least £100 in Canterbury, compared with 30 per cent of rectories and eight per cent of vicarages in Dorset.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁰ J. Collier, *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, Vol. 9 (London, 1841), pp.362-3, and author's own calculations.

²⁰¹ Donagan, 'Clerical patronage of Robert Rich', p.402.

²⁰² *ibid.*; H. Peters, *A Word for the Armie and Two Words to the Kingdome* (London, 1647), Thomason 65:E.410[16], p.10.

²⁰³ R. O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450-1800: Servants of the Commonweal* (London, 2014), p.63.

²⁰⁴ Coate, *Cornwall*, p.329.

²⁰⁵ Ignjatijevic, 'Parish clergy in the diocese of Canterbury', p.56.

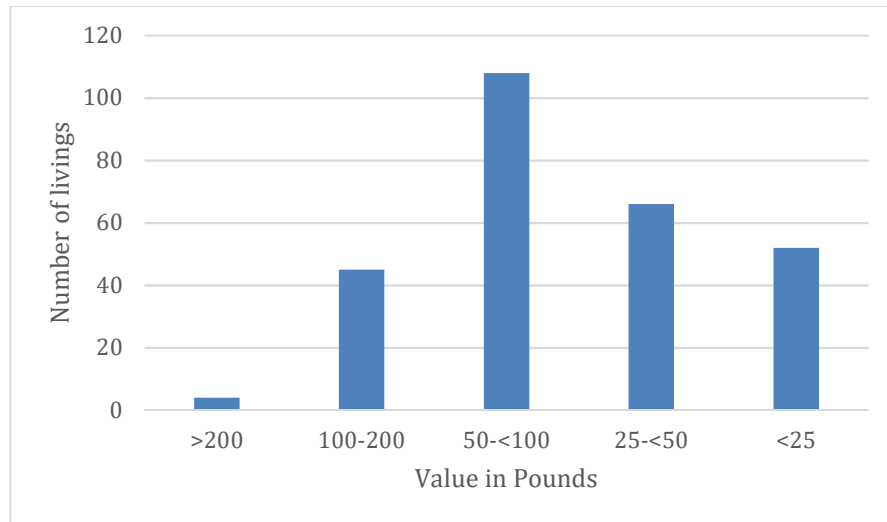


Figure 3.5: 1650 valuations of Dorset parish livings²⁰⁶

Although the impact of inflation varied by commodity, Phelps Brown and Hopkins' index suggests that the price of consumables had risen by 640 per cent between 1535 and 1650.²⁰⁷

Table 3.7: Benefices with greatest increases in value between 1535 and 1650²⁰⁸

Location	Rectory/ Vicarage	1535 Decimal	1650 Decimal	% Change
Dorchester All Saints	R	4.23	79.82	1,789.15
Cattistock	R	13.69	180.00	1,215.07
Clifton Maybank	R	4.80	60.00	1,150.00
Swyre	R	7.02	86.00	1,124.93
Tarrant Rushton	R	4.95	60.00	1,111.10
Hinton Parva	R	4.60	55.00	1,095.11
Winterborne Clenston	R	6.91	80.00	1,058.37
Wareham Holy Trinity	R	6.64	75.00	1,029.94
Witherstone	R	2.67	30.00	1,025.00
Shaftesbury St James	V	6.68	75.00	1,023.24
Edmondsham	R	6.24	70.00	1,021.12
Langton Long Blandford	R	13.49	150.00	1,012.14
Shillingstone	R	14.30	155.00	983.84
Silton	R	7.47	80.00	970.83
Childe Okeford	R	11.70	125.00	968.00
Steeple	R	9.77	100.00	923.45
Tarrant Keyneston	R	7.88	80.00	915.60
Ashmore	R	7.99	80.00	901.56
Tyneham	R	11.04	110.00	896.60

²⁰⁶ TNA C 94/2 ff.1-121 Parliamentary survey of ecclesiastical livings, 1650 [hereafter *Survey*].

²⁰⁷ H. Phelps Brown and S.V. Hopkins, 'Seven centuries of the prices of consumables, compared with builders' wage-rates', *Economica*, New Series, 23, No. 92 (1956), pp.296-314.

²⁰⁸ Author's own calculations from the *Valor* and the *Survey*.

Analysis reveals that the overall value of Dorset livings had increased by 428 per cent between 1535 and 1650, and they were thus worth considerably less after accounting for inflation. However, vicarages had fared worse than rectories, as the latter had increased in value by 498 per cent, while the former had increased by only 253 per cent. Only one vicarage appears in the list of benefices that had experienced the most significant increases in value (see Table 3.7).

In 1660, the king commanded bishops, deans and chapters to make provision that inappropriate 'Vicarages or Curats places where are no Vicarages endowed have so much Revenue in Glebe Tythes or other Emoluments as commonly will amount to Fourescore pounds'.²⁰⁹ Nevertheless, according to Donald Spaeth, 'Gregory King's famous estimates of the incomes of different social groups suggest that £80 was unrealistically high. King regarded £72 as the average income of "eminent clergymen" and thought that lesser clergymen were worth £50 a year.'²¹⁰ Spaeth's calculations for Wiltshire clergymen in the late seventeenth century are that those with a single living earned around £80 and pluralists earned around £130, whereas few earned below £50, most of whom were curates.²¹¹ Spaeth's figures were based on a survey by Bishop Seth Ward in the 1670s, 20 years later than the parliamentary *Survey*, and were also adjusted for the fact that Ward's estimates were rounded to the nearest ten pounds. Nevertheless, in Dorset, 84 out of 230 parishes (36.5 per cent) were valued at less than £50 in 1650, suggesting that livings were generally poorer in Dorset than in Wiltshire. This may have put clergy under greater pressure to maximise the value of their benefices, collect any dues owing to them, and potentially seek additional income from alternative sources. It might also lead to greater conflict with tithe-paying parishioners, as will be examined in Chapter 5.

Types of ecclesiastical income

The 1535 and 1650 valuations were often very rough estimates of the value of livings, and were subject to various potential misrepresentations, depending on who carried out the survey, how well-informed they were, and whether they

²⁰⁹ SP 44/27 f.1 The king to the bishops, deans, and chapters, 7 August 1660.

²¹⁰ G.S. Holmes, 'Gregory King and the social structure of pre-industrial England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 27 (1977), pp.41-68, cited in D. Spaeth, *The Church in an Age of Danger: Parsons and Parishioners 1660-1740* (Cambridge, 2001), p.35.

²¹¹ Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, p.40.

might benefit from a parish being under- or over-valued. However, it was not only the monetary value of a living that affected clergy income. The nature of their entitlements also determined their real value and the extent to which they could actually be collected. The *Valor* classified income in terms of glebe, tithes, pecuniary income such as oblations, and other annual receipts such as pensions. The overall valuations were expressed net of expenses such as charges for synods and procurations payable to the archdeacon or other ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and of customary annual payments made to support abbeys, prebends and vicarages. Therefore, although two incumbents might hold similarly valued benefices, their sources of income and types of expenditure might differ considerably.

The parsonage house, grounds and glebe lands belonged to the benefice and were either farmed by the incumbent himself or let to a tenant. Details of glebe provisions were given in terriers, which tended to be drawn up when requested by the ordinary, or when a new incumbent arrived in order to document the precise entitlement and avoid later argument. This section examines the information conveyed by the valuations, while Chapter 4 will refer to the detailed content of glebe terriers.

For the 227 valuations (165 rectories, 60 rectories, one parochial chapel and one perpetual curacy) in the *Valor* for which a breakdown of income is available (which unfortunately excludes the most valuable living, Wimborne Minster, as well as Wareham Lady St Mary), the value of glebe lands ranged from £11 14s per year for Symondsbury to zero for 31 parishes with no Church-owned land or property to support the benefice. Symondsbury's incumbent was in an advantageous position, not only because his total income of over £39 was the fourth highest in the county (after Netherbury, Gillingham and Corfe Castle), but also because the glebe land represented a high proportion (30%) of the total. Only 16 livings had glebe accounting for over 25 per cent of total income. As an established entitlement, glebe income was both more collectable than other forms of income because it was under the direct control of the incumbent, and more flexible in terms of either farming it oneself or letting it to tenants. It thus offered incumbents options in seeking to maximise their income, and even in

very poor livings, those with a greater percentage of glebe might be better able to prosper.

For example, the total income of Shaftesbury St James was valued at only £11, but £9 6s (84 per cent) of this was from glebe lands. Christopher Green was appointed to this rectory in 1620 and continued there until his death in 1669. In 1650 his parishioners reported that he 'hath for thirtie years inioyed the said Vicarage & Parsonage And is an Able Scholler & a goode Minister, a man of a holy Conversation & preacheth twice every Sabbath daye and we disier to Continew ye same minister'. Perhaps his good relationships with his 300 communicants were due partly to the fact that he received only £1 per year in tithe income, so did not need to chase his parishioners for payment. This contrasted sharply with the experience of Edward Williams, who held the neighbouring parishes of Shaftesbury Holy Trinity and Shaftesbury St Peter, neither of which had any glebe land and were worth a combined total of £33 6s 8d. Williams had arrived in Shaftesbury in 1617, and in 1633 ten parishioners signed a letter denouncing him to the Archbishop of Canterbury, claiming that 'noe minister in our country ... hath done such iniury to Religion in withdrawing the people from the reverent esteeming of the book of common prayer and observation of holie dayes, as Mr Williams hath done'.²¹² Many of his alleged misdemeanours were puritanical, such as preaching against the Book of Sports 'in a most high kind of terrification', and failing to perform baptisms 'until after the Common Prayer and sermon have quite ended and most of the parishioners have left the church' when he 'moves his forefingers over the child's forehead, but not to make a cross'. However, he fared no better under the new ecclesiastical regime, as in 1646 the Dorset county committee ordered that he cease officiating because he was 'very unfitt for the ministry by reason of his old age, naturall defects and scandelous conversacion'.²¹³ In 1650, the churchwardens acknowledged that the low income from the benefice might have contributed to the low quality of the incumbent,

²¹² TNA SP 16/267 f.21 Presentment of churchwardens and sidesmen of Holy Trinity, Shaftesbury to Archbishop Laud against their minister, Edward Williams, 1 May 1633.

²¹³ Mayo, *DSC*, pp.109-10.

and sought 'an increase in the maintenance for the better encouragement of a preaching minister'.²¹⁴

The parish with the second highest percentage of glebe income (63%) was Stockwood, which was very different from Shaftesbury St James, comprising only six or eight ancient tenements and lying only 'neere about halfe a mile from the parish church of Melbury Bub', according to a petition by its inhabitants to the Dorset Standing Committee in 1646.²¹⁵ Here, the vicar, Robert Williams (no relation to Edward) had been appointed in 1633 and was to remain until his death in 1671. In the early years of his incumbency, he made presentments against various parishioners for incontinency and failure to maintain the church fabric, and in 1635 he prosecuted Francis Deway for 'playinge att fives in the church yarde before prayer on the Sabbath daye', and for 'playinge att kittles on the Sabbath daye before prayer'.²¹⁶ However, by 1646 he appears to have gained the respect of the parishioners, who were keen for the parish to be united with Melbury Bubb, but only as long as Mr Williams 'shalbe settled in some other spirituall lyveing of as good a vallew as that of Stockwood'. The unification did not take effect, and in 1650 no mention was made of any such desire, even though the parliamentary *Survey* specifically asked whether the parish was fit to be united with any other.²¹⁷ Following the Restoration, the presentments largely recorded '*omnia bene*' (all well), and Williams presumably continued to live off his glebe unhindered.

In 153 parishes, the glebe accounted for less than 10 per cent of the total valuation, and 31 of the parishes listed in the *Valor* had no glebe income at all, the most valuable of which, Bere Regis, was worth only £25 5s in total. The other main source of ecclesiastical income was tithes. These were an agreed proportion of yearly produce or profits paid by parishioners for the support of their parish church and its clergy. Originally paid in kind, they were classified into *praedial* tithes, being all things arising from the ground and subject to annual increase, such as grain, wood and vegetables; *mixed* tithes, being all things nourished by the ground, including the young of cattle, sheep and so forth, and

²¹⁴ TNA C 94/2 f.6 *Survey*, Shaftesbury Holy Trinity, 1650.

²¹⁵ Mayo, *DSC*, pp.107-8.

²¹⁶ WSHC D5/28/35 f.53 Presentment for Stockwood, 1635.

²¹⁷ Mayo, *DSC*, p.108; TNA C 94/2 f.44 *Survey*, Stockwood 1650.

animal produce such as milk, eggs and wool; and *personal* tithes, being the produce of labour, particularly profits from mills and fishing. Tithes were further subdivided into great and small, the former generally consisting of corn, grain, hay and wood, while all other praedial tithes, together with mixed and personal tithes, were classed as small tithes.²¹⁸

During the upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s, the legitimacy of tithes was openly debated. The scriptural argument against tithes was that they had no legal foundation because they were a temporal rather than spiritual imposition, while the most common socio-economic argument was that priests and impropriators were being maintained in idleness by the labours of the poor. The Nominated Assembly considered abolishing tithes in July 1653, but there was no easy alternative that would provide for ministers' maintenance, and it was feared that abolishing tithes would undermine parochial discipline, order and clerical authority.²¹⁹ Quakers were most strongly opposed to paying tithes, viewing ministers as using religion as a cover for the pursuit of material wealth.²²⁰ Adherents from Dorset were among those who petitioned in 1659 that 'as those who are differently minded in matters of Worship, are not required nor desired to pay to our [the Quakers'] Ministers, we may not be constrained to pay to the maintenance of theirs'.²²¹

Many tithe entitlements had passed into lay or non-parochial hands following the suppression and dissolution of the monasteries. The tithes due to many clergymen were thereby severely restricted, as the new owners, or impropriators, usually took the great tithes while the incumbent, as vicar rather than rector, received only the small tithes due from the parish. There were also many perpetual curacies, the incumbents of which were entitled only to salary payments from the impropriator or patron of the living. The most immediate effect of these changes was on the economic livelihoods of the clergy.

²¹⁸ <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/research-guides/tithe-records.htm> (accessed 9 May 2015).

²¹⁹ 'HCJ 15 July 1653', in *Journal of the House of Commons*, Vol. 7, 1651-1660 (London, 1802), p.285, available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol7/p285> (accessed 22 June 2019).

²²⁰ L. Brace, *The Idea of Property in Seventeenth-Century England: Tithes and the Individual* (Manchester, 1998), p.54.

²²¹ L. Chapman, *The Humble Petition of Many Well-affected Persons of Somerset, Wilts, and some part of Devon, Dorset, and Hampshire to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England Against Tythes, together with Parliament's Answer Thereunto and Resolves Thereupon* (London, 1659), Wing H3479, p.3; Brace, *Idea of Property*, p.59.

Seven Dorset parishes in the *Valor*, all vicarages, received no tithe income. All of these received pensions from dissolved abbeys but none was very valuable, the largest being a grant of £17 13s 4d per year to the vicar of Tarrant Monkton. At the other end of the scale, thirteen parishes with tithe income of £20 or more were all heavily reliant on this income, which accounted for between 77 and 90 per cent of their total income, the exception being Symondsbury where, as previously mentioned, the glebe income was also significant so tithe income accounted for only 56 per cent of the total.

According to the *Valor*, in Cheselbourne the rector relied on tithes for 88 per cent of his total income of £25. However, a 1634 terrier reveals that the glebe land consisted of 54.5 acres in small parcels throughout the common fields, and that the parson had compounded with Sir Nathaniel Napper to receive an annual income of £5 in lieu of his right to 'the depasturing of one plough or six oxen and one hundred ewe sheep' on Napper's farm, so the glebe income clearly exceeded the £1 per annum specified in the *Valor*; indeed, in the 1650 *Survey*, glebe was valued at £30 while tithe income was specified as £100 per year.²²² This casts doubt on the accuracy of the *Valor* data, since there is no evidence that the nature of Cheselbourne's glebe had changed since the 1535 valuation. However, the dispersed nature of the glebe land, together with the high proportion of tithe income, would have made it challenging for the incumbent to realise the value of his living.

In addition to glebe and tithe income, 18 per cent of the total income specified in the *Valor* for Dorset parishes was derived from oblations and other pecuniary income. This included customary offerings, usually at Easter and sometimes at other major festivals, as well as payments for baptisms, weddings, churchings and funerals. Yields from this type of income would be greater in more populous parishes. In Dorset, oblations amounted to over £10 in only seven parishes (Gillingham, Netherbury, Marnhull, Bere Regis, Blandford Forum, Iwerne Minster and Dorchester Holy Trinity), all of which were sizeable towns. In many larger towns elsewhere in England, income from glebe and tithes was relatively low because of the lack of agricultural land within the parish. In Dorset

²²² WSHC 28/10/35 Cheselbourne terrier 1634; TNA C 94/2 f.120 *Survey*, Cheselbourne, 3 July 1650.

this was not uniformly the case because the towns were relatively small and often encompassed surrounding rural hamlets. However, Blandford Forum, Bridport, Dorchester, Lyme Regis and Shaftesbury all yielded very low tithes, and of these, only Shaftesbury St James had sizeable glebe income.

No detailed population returns survive for seventeenth-century Dorset, apart from those for 22 parishes within the jurisdiction of the dean of Salisbury in 1603.²²³ The most useful source from which to derive statistics on the comparative size of parishes is therefore the hearth tax returns for 1662-64, which list heads of households rather than total population. These are given by civil rather than ecclesiastical division, split by tithing, and therefore require some manipulation in order to present the data by parish.²²⁴ Even so, these data only indicate relative rather than actual population size, and may be distorted by non-returns for those exempt from tax (broadly speaking, properties exempt from church or poor rates or with a rentable value of less than 20 shillings per year or property of under £10, except that properties with more than two hearths could not be exempted). Although individuals with wealth of £10 or more or occupying property valued at 20s or more per year could not claim exemption, as Tom Arkell has observed, it was a property tax rather than a personal tax.²²⁵ Therefore, hearth numbers cannot be translated into the number of individuals living in a property. For example, the hearth tax returns for Sherborne and its associated tithings give a total of 748 hearths, while a petition by the inhabitants of Sherborne in 1634 reported the total number of communicants (aged 16 and over) to be around 2,000.²²⁶

Calculations to produce comparative figures reveal less correlation between size of parish and value of oblations than might be anticipated. Of the seven parishes with oblations of more than £10 in the *Valor*, five had over 300 hearths, but the other two, Marnhull with 202 hearths and Iwerne Minster with 87 hearths appear to have yielded rather more pecuniary income from their parishioners than might be expected. On the other hand, Sherborne, Lyme Regis

²²³ Whiteman, *Compton Census*, pp.547-8; A. Dyer and D.M. Palliser (eds), *The Diocesan Population Returns for 1563 and 1603* (Oxford, 2005), pp.310-11.

²²⁴ Meekings, *Dorset Hearth Tax*.

²²⁵ T. Arkell, 'Identifying regional variations from the hearth tax', *The Local Historian*, 33 (2003), p.149.

²²⁶ SP 16/267 f.83 Petition of inhabitants of Sherborne, co. Dorset, to the King, 4 May 1634.

and Stalbridge show yields somewhat below expectations given the number of hearths (see Table 3.8).

Table 3.8: Parishes with oblations worth more than £10 p.a. and/or more than 180 hearths²²⁷

	Hearths	Oblations		
	No.	£	s	d
Sherborne	748	£3	6	8
Dorchester Holy Trinity	650	10	19	4
Gillingham	523	34	10	11
Lyme Regis	485	7	0	0
Stalbridge	457	3	0	0
Netherbury	450	12	0	0
Cranborne	424	0	0	0
Blandford Forum	374	11	10	0
Bere Regis	328	12	13	4
Bridport	295	7	12	4
Yetminster	214	7	13	4
Marnhull	202	12	0	0
Chardstock	182	7	17	0
Iwerne Minster	87	11	13	4

In terms of detail, a 1669 terrier for Sherborne states simply that the vicar was to have ‘oblations or Easter offerings’,²²⁸ whereas at Yetminster an earlier dispute over the vicar’s entitlements had been resolved by 1688, and it was stated that the vicar was due ‘for every marriage ten pence, for every communicant at their first receiving one penny, and for every receiving afterwards two pence ... for the churching of a woman after childbirth five pence ... for every burial in the chancel ten shillings’.²²⁹ In a parish with 214 hearths, these oblations amounted to an estimated £7 17s out of a total income of around £21 in 1535, but in 1650 no mention is made of income other than £12 in glebe and £50 in praedial tithes.²³⁰ Although oblations are mentioned in terriers for five other Dorset parishes (Burstock, Cerne Abbas, Minterne Magna, Portland and Sydling St Nicholas), only for Portland is it specified that ‘every communicant at Easter pays 2d for his or her offering’.²³¹ Presentments made during visitations of the ordinary frequently cited the names of those who failed to receive communion at Easter, and the incumbent obviously had a pecuniary as

²²⁷ Author’s calculations based on *Valor* and Meekings, *Dorset Hearth Tax*.

²²⁸ WSHC D5/10/2 Dean’s terrier for Sherborne, 1669.

²²⁹ WSHC D5/28/67/77 Terrier for Yetminster, Leigh and Chetnole, 1688.

²³⁰ TNA C 94/2 f.100 *Survey*, Yetminster, July 1650.

²³¹ WSHC D28/10/105/2 Terrier for Portland, 1626.

well as spiritual reason for ensuring that as many parishioners as possible did so, whilst paying their annual offerings.

The fourth and final category of income specified in the *Valor* is ‘portions, pensions and other receivables’. In eight parishes, this type of income accounted for at least 80 per cent of the total (see Table 3.9). These derived mainly from monastic institutions and were paid by those who took over ecclesiastical lands and tithe income following the Dissolution. These ‘impropriators’ were obliged to provide and maintain a minister for the cure of souls, but could use any excess income as they pleased.

Table 3.9: Portions, pensions and other receivables exceeding 80% of Valor valuation

Parish	Portion, pensions & other receivables			% of total income	Source
	£	s	d		
Tarrant Monkton	17	13	4	98.15	Tewkesbury Abbey
Sydling St Nicholas	12	0	0	89.55	Milton Abbey
Abbotsbury	10	0	0	100.00	Abbot of Abbotsbury
Portesham	8	13	4	99.62	Abbot of Abbotsbury
Chaldon Herring	8	0	0	99.59	Abbot of Bindon
Winterborne St Martin	8	0	0	82.05	Abbey of Abbotsbury
Winterborne Whitechurch	8	0	0	90.91	St Edmunds College, New Sarum
Cranborne	6	13	4	100.00	Tewkesbury Abbey

At Abbotsbury, the abbey buildings and land had been leased to Sir Giles Strangeways in 1539 and were in the hands of his successor, Sir John Strangways a century later, at which point the vicar was still receiving only £10 per year from him. However, Strangways’ estate was sequestered following Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper’s dramatically-recounted storming of the church and manor house in 1644.²³² On 20 November 1646, the Dorset Standing Committee ordered that the ‘able and orthodox’ incumbent, Edward Osbourne ‘shall (from our Lady day next) have, hold, receive and injoye all the tythes and profitts of the impropriate parsonage ... together with the curtlage and barne thereunto beeloungeinge’.²³³ By 1648, Strangways had compounded for his delinquency, thus regaining the profits of Abbotsbury, prompting a note in the 1650 *Survey* that ‘the Committee

²³² A.A. Cooper, letter to Dorset Standing Committee, cited in Christie, *Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Vol. 1, pp.62-64.

²³³ Mayo, *DSC*, p.78.

for Plundered Ministers made two grants to augment the value of the vicarage by £80, but one part of that was only paid for a short time and has now ceased'.²³⁴

The incumbent of Abbotsbury's reliance on a stipend from the lay impropiator highlights that the clergy not only depended on clearly established spiritual entitlements, but also had to cooperate with laymen and others with vested interests in parochial income. By Keith Wrightson's calculations, 62.6 per cent of tithes in the province of York and 40 per cent of those in the province of Canterbury had been impropriated by laymen 'who enjoyed considerable revenues from these tithes but left only a pittance for the vicar'.²³⁵ Lay patronage was also dominant in many towns that appointed town preachers, 'answerable less directly to the archdeacon and bishop than to the town magistracy'.²³⁶ No towns in Dorset appear to have appointed lecturers independently of the parochial ministry, even during the 1640s and 1650s. John Trottle was appointed lecturer at Blandford in 1646, but was already rector of Spetisbury; and although Robert Tutchin was appointed lecturer in Bridport in 1642, the cure appears to have been vacant at this time, and he was formally appointed in 1646. In Shaftesbury, nominated parish clergy took turns in preaching sermons. For example, in January 1647, the Dorset Standing Committee ordered that Peter Ince, Daniel Curry, Thomas Andrews and John Devenish give Wednesday lectures in Shaftesbury, no one else being permitted to preach on Wednesdays without the permission of at least two of them, and two months later William Benn, Simon Ford, William Lyford, Thomas Hallett, John Darby and William Hussey were added to this list, all being parish clergymen.²³⁷ Patrick Collinson refuted the idea that lecturing was associated largely with 'the activities of unbeneficed, stipendiary preachers', and suggested instead that 'it was a nearly universal practice of the more capable clergy to take their turns in preaching a lecture in the local market town, usually on market-day'.²³⁸ In Dorchester, it had long been the practice for clergy beneficed elsewhere to preach, particularly during the

²³⁴ TNA C 94/2 f.57 *Survey*, Abbotsbury, 3 July 1650.

²³⁵ Wrightson, *English Society*, p.215.

²³⁶ Seaver, *Puritan Lectureships*, cited in O'Day, *English Clergy*, p.101.

²³⁷ Mayo, *DSC*, pp. 138 & 204.

²³⁸ Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, pp.136-8.

assizes, but also on other Sundays, as recorded by William Whiteway between 1618 and 1635.²³⁹

In Somerset, 45 per cent of benefices were either vicarages or perpetual curacies rather than rectories, and thus tended to receive only the small tithes, while comparative figures for Canterbury diocese and Bedfordshire were 55 and 52 per cent respectively, and in Durham diocese were as high as 64 per cent.²⁴⁰ In Dorset, the level of impropriation was lower, at 41 per cent, as 161 rectories remained within the benefice of the clerical incumbent, while the remaining 110 parishes had either wholly impropriate livings, with curates supported by whatever stipend a patron was willing to grant, or vicarages entitled usually to the small tithes, and sometimes some glebe lands.²⁴¹ For example, the Fitzjames family of Leweston owned the impropriations of several parsonages surrounding their manor house, including North Wootton, Longburton and Holnest, and the incumbents of each received only a fraction of the total value of the parish lands. By 1650, these three livings were being supplemented by 20 marks each from the impropriate parsonage of Sherborne, which had been sequestered from the earl of Bristol and had come under the control of parliament.²⁴² Nevertheless, in 1655 Thomas Sampson, who was renting the parsonage notionally worth £250 per year, claimed in a petition to Cromwell that he had made a loss of £132 because 'the great plenty of Corne' had been requisitioned by the army, and he had had to procure a minister 'from Sabath to Sabath' since the death of the previous incumbent because there was 'no certain Maintenance knowne for One'.²⁴³ Tithe income was thus not guaranteed even to impropiators, and provisions were not always made to ensure a stable ministry.

Ecclesiastical impropiators were not necessarily any more benevolent to their ministers than lay owners. For instance, the village of Stanton St Gabriel had originally been a parish in its own right, but had been annexed as a chapel to the parish of Whitchurch Canonorum in the Middle Ages. In 1650, the

²³⁹ Underdown, *Whiteway of Dorchester*.

²⁴⁰ M.F. Stieg, 'Some economic aspects of parochial churches in the diocese of Bath and Wells in the seventeenth century', *Albion*, 3 (1971), p.212; Ignjatijevic, 'Parish clergy in the diocese of Canterbury', p.57; J. Freeman, 'The parish ministry in the diocese of Durham, c.1570-1640', PhD thesis (Durham University, 1979), p.129.

²⁴¹ Based on author's analysis of *Valor*, glebe terriers and *Survey*.

²⁴² TNA C 94/2 *Survey*, f.212 North Wootton, f.211 Longburton, f.223 Holnest, f.215 Sherborne.

²⁴³ TNA SP 18/129 f.180 Petition of Thomas Sampson for the inhabitants of Sherborne to the Protector.

parishioners reported that they had tried to maintain a curate with the small tithes of the parish consisting of hemp, wool, 16d per lamb and 6d per cow, amounting to £8 a year in total; however, the greater tithes of corn and hay, worth £25 a year, were inappropriate to the deanery of Wells.²⁴⁴ This parish was trying to retain its own ministry. The parishioners were petitioning the commission of inquiry for restoration of parish status because the 23 families of the hamlet had to travel more than two miles 'along a road exposed to such violence of wind and weather' to attend the parish church of Whitchurch Canonorum, whereas if they had had access to the impropriated tithes taken by the deanery of Wells, the minister would have had a sufficient maintenance.

In terms of patronage, or the right to nominate an incumbent to a living, in some areas of the country the Crown was the most significant patron: in addition to holding all livings valued at over £20 in the *Valor*, it was also entitled to present to livings in the gift of Crown wards and those to which no incumbent had been presented after a lapse of twelve months.²⁴⁵ While Usher estimated livings held by neither bishops nor the Crown 'at sixty per cent over the country as a whole and much higher in some areas',²⁴⁶ O'Day noted that in the archdeaconry of Chichester, roughly half of advowsons were in the hands of the Crown or Church hierarchy in 1572.²⁴⁷ In Dorset, 84 per cent of advowsons were held by the laity (89 per cent of rectories and 69 per cent of vicarages), while only nine per cent were held by ecclesiastical patrons, mainly the bishop of Salisbury. The Crown held only seven advowsons, including the most valuable living of Wimborne Minster, but the advowsons of some royal peculiars had been gifted to other patrons: Sturminster Marshall was in the gift of Eton College, Gillingham of the bishop of Salisbury, and Corfe Castle of Edward Coke, attorney-general.

In summary, analysis of the *Valor* reveals that, across the county as a whole, glebe accounted for 9.21 per cent of income, tithe for 68.24 per cent, other

²⁴⁴ TNA C 94/2 f.82 *Survey*, Stanton St Gabriel, 12 June 1650.

²⁴⁵ O'Day, *English Clergy*, p.113.

²⁴⁶ Usher, *Reconstruction of the English Church*, p.95, cited in Donagan, 'Clerical patronage of Robert Rich', pp.390-91.

²⁴⁷ O'Day, *English Clergy*, p.91.

oblations for 18.12 per cent, and stipends and pensions for 4.43 per cent.²⁴⁸ Overall, incumbents were therefore heavily reliant on tithe income, but this varied considerably from parish to parish. In addition to the immediate economic implications of the parish valuation, whether this constituted an adequate living was determined by the nature of the income, in terms of its flexibility and dependability, and by geographical, social and political factors, which will be discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Having established the structure and implications of ecclesiastical *income*, the next section examines issues relating to clerical *expenditure* controlled by the ecclesiastical administration.

Ecclesiastical taxes and expenditure

Clerical taxes were calculated according to the net values recorded in the *Valor*. By a statute introduced in 1558, rectories exceeding the clear yearly value of 20 nobles (£6 13s 4d) and vicarages the clear yearly value of £10, according to the valuations in the *Valor* or *King's Book*, were charged with taxes known as first fruits and tenths.²⁴⁹ First fruits were payable on appointment to a benefice, usually in instalments over three years, while tenths, or a tenth of the value of the living, were payable annually thereafter.²⁵⁰ Since there was no full revaluation after 1535, the relative tax burden gradually became lighter for incumbents whose livings had increased most sharply in real value since that time. Those with enough glebe land to be relatively self-sufficient were less affected by inflation than those heavily reliant on monetary income or the conversion of tithe goods into money with which to pay their taxes. Although benefices below the limits set in the 1558 statute were exempt from paying first fruits and tenths, O'Day concluded that:

Whereas a large number of rectors were keeping their heads above water economically and even prospering as a result of rising prices, a great number of the country's 3,800 vicars were remaining impoverished and in real terms being more stretched than ever, as families and changing life-styles made their relentless demands.²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ Author's calculations based on *Valor*.

²⁴⁹ 1 Elizabeth I c. 4: An Act for the restitution of the first-fruits and tenths, and rents reserved nomine decime, and of parsonages impropriate, to the Imperial Crown of this realm, 1558.

²⁵⁰ Boswell, *Ecclesiastical Division*, p.xxvi.

²⁵¹ O'Day, *English Clergy*, p.176.

Close analysis of the composition books of the Office of First Fruits and Tenths reveals that there had been a number of adjustments to the valuations before the end of the sixteenth century.²⁵² Most were minor, but in three cases in Dorset (Frampton, Stock Gaylard and Wareham Holy Trinity) they resulted in previously exempt livings becoming subject to first fruits and tenths. Nevertheless, the incumbents of 30 out of 171 rectories (17.5 per cent) and 27 out of 60 vicarages (45 per cent), or a quarter of all benefices overall, were exempt from ecclesiastical taxes on the basis of the value of their livings. These figures are lower than those calculated for England as a whole by Jeremy Collier, who claimed that 1,083 out of 5,526 rectories (19.6 per cent) and 1,895 out of 3,277 vicarages (57.8 per cent), or 33.8 per cent overall, were exempt from first fruits.²⁵³ Taxes were therefore collected on a greater proportion of livings in Dorset than the national average, hitting those on middle incomes the hardest since the lowest earners were exempt.

First fruits payments were made to the Exchequer, while tenths payments were made to the ordinary. For example, the Office of First Fruits and Tenths recorded a composition by Matthew Romaine, appointed rector of Stock Gaylard in 1639, to make four six-monthly payments totalling £6 6s between May 1640 and November 1641. This amounted to £7 for first fruits, minus 14 shillings which had been retained by the bishop of Bristol for the first year's tenths payment (Figure 3.6).

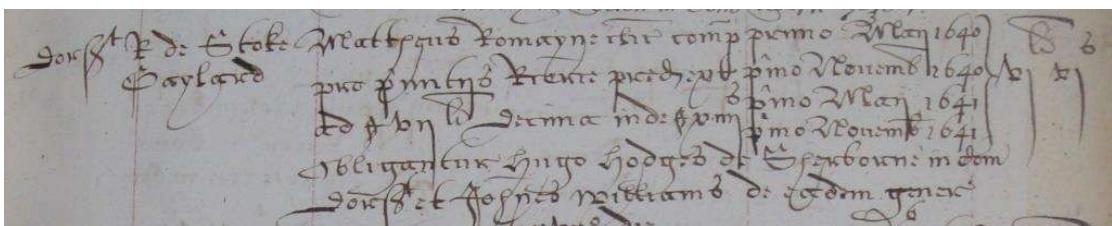


Figure 3.6: Composition by Matthew Romaine for payment of first fruits, 1639²⁵⁴

In most cases, incumbents arranged to pay their first fruits in four six-monthly instalments, but occasionally they paid the full amount up front. This was the case for Matthew Osborne, who settled in full on entry to the rectory of Melbury Bubb in April 1638. However, this may have been because he had already been

²⁵² TNA E 334/23-27 Office of First Fruits and Tenths: Composition Books.

²⁵³ Collier, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp.362-3.

²⁵⁴ TNA E 334/20 Office of First Fruits and Tenths: Composition book, f.37.

appointed to the rectory of Maiden Newton a year earlier and was still paying first fruits instalments for that living.²⁵⁵

As in the example in Figure 3.6, the composition books also note two guarantors for each entry, in this case Hugh Hodges and John Williams, gentlemen of Sherborne. In a single case for Dorset, a guarantor actually paid the full first fruits amount on behalf of the incumbent. This was for William Wake of Wareham Holy Trinity, for whom Sir Henry Knollys paid £6 10s 9½d in 1634.²⁵⁶ No explanation is given in the composition book, but since Wake was appointed to Wareham in 1625 and had compounded to complete payment by July 1627, it appears that he had failed to comply.

In order to establish whether the first fruits entry fee encouraged incumbents to remain in that parish for longer and thus gain the benefit of their initial outlay, the lengths of incumbencies across the county have been calculated based on every known incumbency ending after 1600 and beginning before 1700, excluding interim ministers appointed during the Interregnum who were ejected at the Restoration. This set of results has then been manipulated to remove the effect of sequestrations where an incumbency was curtailed during the 1640s. Where the incumbent was subsequently restored, the length of the incumbency has been treated as uninterrupted; where the incumbent died in the intervening period, the length of incumbency has been calculated up to the year of death; and where no information is available on an incumbent after sequestration, the record is excluded from the calculations.

Table 3.10: Summary statistics for length of incumbencies

Statistic	Unadjusted	Adjusted
Number of observations	1,357	1,308
Average	21.26	22.98
Average no. per parish	5.87	5.66
Minimum	0	0
1st quartile	6	7
Median	16	18
3rd quartile	30	32
Maximum	69	72

²⁵⁵ TNA E 331/BRISTOL/4 Office of First Fruits and Tenths: Certificates of Institutions to Livings, 1633-40, f.68.

²⁵⁶ TNA E 334/19 Office of First Fruits and Tenths: Composition book, 21 Jun 1634.

Sequestrations had little effect. The two sets of data produce similar results, with the average length of an incumbency being 21.26 years, or 22.98 years when adjusted for curtailments, with medians of 16 and 18 years respectively (see Table 3.10).

Parishes with the highest first fruits were, of course, also the most valuable according to the 1535 valuation. At Corfe Castle, valued at £40 14s 7d, only three incumbents occupied the benefice between 1565 and 1697, apart from a period of sequestration between 1646 and 1660. Robert Kercher was appointed in 1601 and remained until his death in 1645, and Nicholas Gibbon was appointed in 1645 but was unable to take up his cure until 1660, although he then remained rector of Corfe until he died in 1697. At Symondsbury, the next most valuable benefice, all four incumbents died in office, including Henry Glemham, who was appointed in 1631, sequestered in 1645, reinstated in 1660, and then held on to Symondsbury after becoming bishop of St Asaph in 1667 until his death in 1670. At Litton Cheney, valued at £33 7s 8d, Richard Berjew was incumbent for 49 years until his death in 1643, and from 1646, the incumbency was filled by John Filer, father and son, who served successively for another 44 years. Therefore, it appears that incumbents of the most valuable livings did tend to remain for longer, but this is more likely to have been due to the value of the income rather than a desire to reap the benefits of first fruits payments. Further research might examine the correlation between first fruits valuations and the 1650s valuations, since parishes where the value had appreciated most sharply would have been most attractive in terms of the difference between tax assessments and actual income.

The clergy were also liable to lay taxes, calculated on their income net of ecclesiastical taxes. These included hearth tax and Crown subsidies. Although not administered by the ecclesiastical administration, hearth tax returns give some indication of the size of the incumbent's rectory or vicarage house, and therefore of his economic status within the parish. The Dorset hearth tax assessments for 1662-1664 do not specifically identify rectories and vicarages, but by cross-referencing with data on incumbents' names, it has been possible to identify the

parsonage house in 193 parishes.²⁵⁷ Only five parsonages were taxed on ten or more hearths, the largest being at Folke, with 21 hearths, where Abraham Forrester was rector from 1614 until his death in 1668. Despite the large parsonage, the living of Folke was worth only £9 12s 2d in 1535, consisting mainly of tithes valued at £8 per year. The rectory was sequestered between 1645 and 1660, but Forrester was also a practising physician, licensed by the archbishop of Canterbury in 1629, so is likely to have been able to survive economically during that period.²⁵⁸ Indeed, in 1635, a libel action had been raised against him, accusing him of ‘riding as an ordinary man in his practise of physicke taking upon him to cure all diseases and will take noe lesse then doctors fees’, and only performing his role as minister one day a week.²⁵⁹ The next largest parsonages were Gillingham, with 13 hearths, and Symondsbury, with 11 hearths, both of which have already been mentioned as among the most valuable benefices in the county.

Table 3.11: Number of hearths and value of living for largest parsonages²⁶⁰

Location	No. of Hearths	1650 Value	Max. Hearths	No. with More Hearths
Folke	21	£50	21	0
Gillingham	13	£190	13	0
Symondsbury	11	£310 8s 4d	11	0
Stalbridge	10	£190	30	2
Spetisbury	10	£200	10	0
Marnhull	9	£100	10	1
Rampisham	9	£84	9	0
Burton Bradstock	9	£201	9	0

Interestingly, the size of the parsonage was not necessarily indicative of the value of the living. As shown in Table 3.11, Folke was a much poorer living but had a much larger parsonage than the others in the top five. Rampisham, with a 1650 valuation of £84, was also considerably poorer than the other largest parsonages. Taxation according to the number of hearths would therefore have accounted for a higher proportion of their income. While Abraham Forrester at

²⁵⁷ Meekings, *Dorset Hearth Tax*, and author's own calculations.

²⁵⁸ Lambeth Palace Library, *Research Guide: Medical Licences Issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury 1535-1775*, p.12 [online]. Available at: http://www.lambethpalacelibrary.org/files/Medical_Licences.pdf (accessed 6 August 2018).

²⁵⁹ WSHC D5/21/3/9 Dean of Salisbury libels: Letter to vicar of Folke, 1635.

²⁶⁰ Author's calculations based on *Survey* and Meekings, *Dorset Hearth Tax*.

Folke supplemented his income with his medical practice, James Ford at Rampisham simultaneously held the living of Hawkchurch, with five hearths, and may therefore have been able to let out the property in which he was not resident.

In relative terms, in 42 parishes the parsonage had the highest number of hearths, and in a further 55 only one dwelling in the parish was larger, usually the great house of the parish. In other words, the incumbent held the largest or second-largest property in 50 per cent of parishes. However, in some parishes the parsonage house was much less significant. Table 3.12 presents data on parishes with the greatest number of properties with more hearths than the parsonage.

Table 3.12: Parishes with greatest number of properties larger than parsonage²⁶¹

Location	No. of Hearths	Value	Max.	No. with More Hearths
Cerne Abbas	2	£8 15s 11d	20	31
Motcombe	3	-	25	19
Yetminster	2	£20 14s 5d	8	17
Sturminster Marshall	2	£31 4s 10d	12	16
Hazelbury Bryan	3	£19 13s 9d	6	15
Sixpenny Handley	2	-	11	14
Pimperne	3	£19 2s 5d	14	12
Whitcombe	1	-	4	12
Mosterton	1	-	4	12
Fifehead Neville	2	£5 1s 5d	11	11
Buckland Newton	3	£16 19s 8d	7	11
Broadway	2	£7 15s 2½d	7	10
Tarrant Monkton	2	£17 16s 8d	6	10

In Cerne Abbas, for example, the parsonage had only two hearths, and 31 out of a total of 87 properties in the parish were larger, the largest having 20 hearths and belonging to Denzil Lord Holles, who appears to have owned the farm there. By contrast, Motcombe, where 19 properties had more hearths than the parsonage, had been a chapel of ease to Gillingham and had only recently been designated a separate parochial church, by order of the Dorset Standing Committee in 1646.²⁶²

²⁶¹ Meekings, *Dorset Hearth Tax*, and author's own calculations.

²⁶² Mayo, *DSC*, p.92

At Sturminster Marshall, valued at £31 4s 10d, the vicar actually resided within the chapelry of Corfe Mullen rather than in the largest settlement in the parish. Thus, various factors contributed to the relative size of the parsonage compared with other properties in the parish and the value of the living. Despite the relative poverty of some incumbents, they still occupied parsonage houses that might confer some standing in the parish. However, as will be seen in Chapter 4, some buildings became dilapidated (see p.108) as their occupiers lacked the means to keep them in good repair.

Alternative sources of ecclesiastical income

It was important for ministers to maximise their income by ensuring that all entitlements due to them were actually paid, and to protect those entitlements through litigation when necessary. This topic will be discussed in Chapter 5 in the context of social relationships at the parochial level. The focus of this section is on other potential sources of income arising from ecclesiastical services, both parochial and non-parochial.

One way for clergymen to increase their ecclesiastical income was to take on more than one parochial appointment, known as pluralism. According to Mark Curtis, 'a low estimate for the state of the Church as a whole in 1603 shows that 1,000 clergymen still held 2,500 livings'; he claimed that pluralism was still rising during the seventeenth century.²⁶³ However, Anne Whiteman suggested that pluralism was not so much a way for the poorer clergy to enhance their incomes, as an opportunity for richer clergy to become still richer: 'Well-to-do clergy neglected their obligations as well as their poverty-stricken brothers, and so far as additional preferments went it was probably more often the rich than the poor who became pluralists.'²⁶⁴ This contention was supported by Margaret Stieg, who suggested that '[f]ifty percent of those who were sons of gentry can be determined to have been pluralists, 33.1% of the sons of commoners, and 37.5%

²⁶³ M.H. Curtis, 'The alienated intellectuals of early Stuart England', *Past & Present*, 23 (1962), p.30.

²⁶⁴ A. Whiteman, 'The re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 5 (1955), p.129.

of the sons of clergymen', and that the sons of gentry were 'both more likely to hold in plurality and to hold more valuable benefices'.²⁶⁵

According to Kenneth Fincham, the availability of pluralism as an option depended on the attitude of bishops, of whom 'almost all had been pluralists earlier in their careers, and as patrons usually condoned non-residence and pluralism'.²⁶⁶ John Blaxton, rector of Osmington (a minister with puritan leanings, see page 149), was particularly scathing of cathedral clergy, 'since they visite their Congregations but once or twice in the yeare, and then having gathered up the profits of their Livings, they speedily returne to their Dennes of idlenesse'.²⁶⁷

Evidence from Dorset confirms the pluralism of bishops. Henry Glemham was rector of Symondsbury from 1631 until 1645, when his living was sequestered. He became dean of Bristol in 1660, and bishop of St Asaph in 1667, but held on to his restored living at Symondsbury, the third most valuable benefice in Dorset, until his death in 1670. Glemham was succeeded at Symondsbury by William Gulston, who was presented to the living by the dowager duchess of Somerset, to whom he was chaplain. He became bishop of Bristol in 1679, but retained Symondsbury until his death in 1684, having made provision for his son Seymour to inherit the living once he was old enough.²⁶⁸ Humphrey Henchman became bishop of Salisbury in 1660 and bishop of London in 1663. He had previously been simultaneously rector of Portland and of Wyke Regis, worth a total of £36 19s 3d, before going to fight in the king's army and assisting in planning Charles II's flight from Worcester in 1651.²⁶⁹ Henchman's livings were sequestered in 1643, and four years later Thomas Allen, then minister, and the inhabitants of Portland successfully petitioned the Dorset Standing Committee not to require Mr Allen to pay fifths to Henchman's wife and children because Dr Henchman 'is a man of a very sufficient temporall estate to

²⁶⁵ M. Stieg, *Laud's Laboratory: The Diocese of Bath and Wells in the Early Seventeenth Century* (London, 1982), p.73.

²⁶⁶ K. Fincham, 'Clerical conformity from Whitgift to Laud', in P. Lake and M. Questier (eds), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), p.137.

²⁶⁷ J. Blaxton, *A Remonstrance against the Non-Residents of Great Brittain* (London, 1642), Wing 122:10, p.23.

²⁶⁸ DHC D-BOW/KW/231 Bower family archive: Settlement of advowson of Symondsbury by William Gulston, rector & clerk, 1674.

²⁶⁹ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p.133

mayntayn his wife and famaly'.²⁷⁰ On the other hand, Gilbert Ironside had been rector of both Winterbourne Steepleton and Winterborne Farringdon, amounting to the value of £17 7s 11½d, but resigned from both on being appointed bishop of Bristol in 1689.²⁷¹

From the data collected for Dorset's parochial benefices, it is difficult to assess the full extent of pluralism because it was possible for clergymen to serve cures in two or more different ecclesiastical jurisdictions or different counties, as well as securing non-parochial ecclesiastical appointments. At parish level, pluralism usually became an issue only when parishioners complained that they were not being served adequately in terms of prayers and communion services. However, appointing a curate was often felt to be a satisfactory arrangement. For example, at Yetminster in 1628, the churchwardens reported that 'Mr William Bartlett, the vicar of Yetminster is likewise beneficed in the Isle of Purbeck but for the most part he comes to Yetminster; Mr Robert Gibbs our minister preaches in Yetminster for the most part every Sabbath day.'²⁷² Seven years later, Bartlett was still serving two cures, Yetminster and Church Knowle, which were actually 35 miles apart, one being in north Dorset and the other in the Isle of Purbeck near Swanage, yet the parishioners appear to have been satisfied with the arrangement: 'Mr William Bartlett, vicar is resident with us for the most part and also is the imputed parson of Knowle'.²⁷³ Yetminster was valued at £20 14s 5d and Church Knowle at £17 17s 4d, so Bartlett's combined income of £38 11s 9d rivalled the highest in the county at that time.

At Fordington in 1638, it was reported that 'our vicar is not resident among us ... but supplys his absence by a Curate, who is licensed both to preach & officiate the Cure'.²⁷⁴ Edward Pele had served the cure of Fordington since 1617, but in 1628 was appointed to a second benefice, Compton Valence, around eight miles away. However, Fordington's parishioners appear to have been satisfied with his appointment of a curate. Fordington was valued at £15 per annum and

²⁷⁰ Mayo, *DSC*, p.264.

²⁷¹ Evidenced by first fruits payments of successors, John Page at Winterborne Farringdon, 13 December 1689 and John Edwards at Winterbourne Steepleton, 26 November 1689 (TNA E 331/BRISTOL/12 ff.189v & 187).

²⁷² WSHC D5/28/28 f.76 Churchwardens' presentment for Yetminster, 1628.

²⁷³ WSHC D5/28/35 f.59 Churchwardens' presentment for Yetminster, 1635.

²⁷⁴ WSHC D5/28/38 f.17 Churchwardens' presentment for Fordington, 1638.

Compton Valence at £12 5s 1d, so the combined total of £27 5s 1d, minus whatever he allowed his curate, placed Pele's income in the county's top twenty.

Sometimes plurality ensured stability in the Church ministry. For example, Catherston Leweston in west Dorset was the third poorest parish, with a 1535 valuation of only £2 16s 10½d. During the early part of the seventeenth century, it was served by a succession of short-term rectors who resigned to take up more valuable cures. However, Benjamin Bird was appointed in 1662, and a year later was appointed to a second cure at Wootton Fitzpaine only a mile distant, worth £8 4s 11d. Although the combined income from the two parishes was still meagre, Bird remained there for forty years. His first appointment had been as minister to Charmouth in 1658, and he appears not to have received a university education, so he may have been relieved to secure a settled benefice following the Restoration.

However, while plurality benefited those at the lower end of the income scale, it was also exploited by those at the top. At Corfe Castle, with the chapel of Kingston annexed, Robert Kercher held the living for 44 years. Nevertheless, he was not resident in Corfe Castle because he had a second benefice at Fawley in Hampshire, as well as being a canon of Winchester Cathedral, so by 1625 the churchwardens were complaining: 'We present that we have not one prayer on the Sabith day as usually. We have not our prayer Wednesdays and Sundays as usually we had before Dr Kerchen had the Bonofice.'²⁷⁵ Ten years later, they were still complaining: 'We present that we have not our prayers in due tyme and that the Minister doth serve two Cures.'²⁷⁶

At Gillingham, another very wealthy parish valued at £40 17s 3¼d, Edward Davenant held the living from 1625 until his death in 1679, apart from an unusually short period of sequestration between 1645 and 1647. He had been reported to Wiltshire county committee for 'residing in royal quarters at Bristol', but the Dorset county committee adjudged him 'not to bee within any ordinance of sequestracion' and ordered the sequestrators not 'to entermedle any further with the estate', allegedly 'out of regard to his uncle' John Davenant, the Calvinist

²⁷⁵ Extracts from the Books of the Acts of the Peculiar of Corfe Castle for Kingston Chapel, available at: http://www.kingstonopc.org.uk/peculiar_records.html (accessed 26 June 2016).

²⁷⁶ Books of the Acts of the Peculiar of Corfe Castle for Kingston Chapel, 4 June 1635.

bishop of Salisbury who had died in 1641.²⁷⁷ In addition to Gillingham, he was at various times treasurer of Winchester Cathedral, archdeacon of Berkshire and prebendary of Ilfracombe, Chute and Chesingbury. On his death, he left over £2,500 in bequests, having been able to augment his inherited family wealth through advantageous preferments.²⁷⁸ The living of Gillingham then went to Thomas Ward, nephew of another bishop of Salisbury. According to Charles Mayo, such men 'were capable of holding their own socially among the neighbouring gentry, by their attainments, connexions, and the importance of their ecclesiastical preferment', and 'when the parochial incumbent was sufficiently furnished with private or official means, no consideration of rank or birth stood in the way of social intercourse or intermarriage'.²⁷⁹

Clergymen were also able to earn additional income from non-parochial ecclesiastical appointments, such as chaplaincies. Records of these are less easy to locate because they were private rather than Church appointments. For example, in 1631 the churchwardens of Ryme Intrinseca presented their rector, John Barton, who 'is not resident with us nor has been the past three yeares, being resident with the Earl of Peterburrow whose household chaplain he is', although he did supply a curate.²⁸⁰ It is likely that many parochial clergy served as chaplains to noblemen or gentry in nearby large houses. Two key sources of data are accounts of the sufferings of both conformist and nonconformist clergy during the civil wars and Interregnum, and Anne Laurence's study of parliamentary army chaplains, although these focus rather narrowly on the 1640s and 1650s.²⁸¹

The army was a major employer of chaplains. Twenty-four individuals in Dorset are known to have served as chaplains to the military in one guise or another. Five were chaplains to garrisons, including Peter Ince and James Strong at Melcombe Regis.²⁸² Ince was admitted rector of Cheselbourne in 1642, and

²⁷⁷ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p.131; Mayo, *DSC*, p.202; Hutchins, *History and Antiquities*, II, pp.239-40.

²⁷⁸ TNA PROB 11/363/358 Will of Edward Davenant, Doctor in Divinity and vicar of Gillingham, Dorset.

²⁷⁹ C.H. Mayo, 'The social status of the clergy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *The English Historical Review*, 37, no. 146 (1922), pp.260 & 266.

²⁸⁰ J.H. Bettley, 'Parish life in Dorset during the early seventeenth century', *Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society Proceedings*, 114 (1993), p.10.

²⁸¹ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*; Matthews, *Walker Revised*; Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*.

²⁸² The others were Edward Damer in Guernsey, John Tutchin at Farnham, Surrey and Nicholas Watts at Great Chalfield, Wiltshire.

then served as minister of Radipole with Melcombe Regis from 1644 to 1646, simultaneously acting as chaplain to the garrison. He moved to Donhead St Mary in Wiltshire in 1646, despite a petition by the townspeople of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis to the House of Commons to get him to remain there instead because he had been 'very instrumentall in the preservation of the place' during the siege, through his encouragement of the soldiers.²⁸³ James Strong succeeded Ince at Melcombe Regis before moving to the rectory of Bettiscombe in 1648, having previously been a preacher during the siege of Lyme Regis. The parochial careers of both men were terminated at the Restoration, although both continued to preach around Dorset and Somerset. Ince suffered a period of imprisonment, and in 1663 Strong was the subject of a presentment by the vicar of Chardstock for preaching there at his father's funeral.²⁸⁴

Thirteen individuals are known to have served as chaplains to army regiments in England and Ireland during the civil wars and Interregnum, eight on the parliamentary side and five for royalist regiments. Only two of the former, Sebastian Pitfield and Thomas Pelham, subsequently played a parochial role. Pitfield had already served as a parliamentary officer before matriculating at Oxford in March 1649 and being awarded a BA two months later 'by favour of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell'. In January 1650, having been ordained by the 8th Classical Presbytery in the Province of London, the Dorset county committee appointed him to Caundle Bishop, and subsequently to Winfrith Newburgh. However, following the Restoration, he did not secure his first parochial living until 1668, as curate of Warblington, Hampshire, where he was confirmed rector in 1671 and remained until his death in 1686.²⁸⁵ Thomas Pelham also matriculated at Oxford in 1649 after his parliamentary army service. Having spent some time as fellow of New College, in August 1658 he obtained a certificate of approbation from four Dorset ministers and was presented by his father to the rectory of Compton Valence. He conformed and was ordained by the

²⁸³ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fifth Report, Appendix: Manuscripts of the Towns of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis* (London, 1876), p.589.

²⁸⁴ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, pp.288-9; WSHC D5/28/41 f.39 Presentment of vicar and churchwardens of Chardstock, 1663.

²⁸⁵ 'Pitfield, Sebastian', in Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, pp.1154-1181, available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1154-1181> (accessed 31 May 2019); Mayo, *DSC*, p.567; Fry, 'Augmentation books', pp.55-6 & 66.

Bishop of Bristol in March 1661, and remained at Compton Valence until his death in 1690.²⁸⁶ Family patronage was crucial in Pelham's case, whereas Pitfield suffered a period of unemployment as a result of his parliamentary service.

Those who served on the royalist side experienced mixed fortunes. After serving in the king's army, William Stone fled to the continent, was admitted to Padua University, and was restored to Wimborne Minster in 1661.²⁸⁷ Richard Hyde, who was sequestered from Tarrant Rawston as a 'delinquent' for serving in the king's army, became a canon of Salisbury Cathedral from 1660 until his death in 1666.²⁸⁸ James Crouch had been curate of Wareham Lady St Mary, but in 1643 the parishioners there petitioned parliament for a replacement since he was 'absent from his cure by reason of his Restraint in Dorchester, for traducing and scandalizing the Parliament'. He was presented to the living of Hinton Martell in 1644, but was imprisoned in Weymouth and did not take up the incumbency until the Restoration.²⁸⁹ In the meantime, he served in the royal army until he was given shelter by the Frekes of Hinton St Mary and Hannington in Wiltshire, whom he served as chaplain. He was said to be receiving a stipend of £10 per year as minister of Hinton St Mary in 1650, although his wife and children were allegedly living in great want in 1651.²⁹⁰ In 1656, he was reported as 'for his abilityes very weake' while serving the cure of Hannington, so it is perhaps unsurprising that his parishioners in Wareham had failed to support him.²⁹¹

Thomas Fuller, who gained fame in the 1650s with *The Church History of Britain*, served as chaplain to Hopton's army in the West and presents a more unusual case.²⁹² By the time he returned from the army, his benefices as rector of Broadwindsor, prebend of Salisbury Cathedral and lecturer at the Savoy Chapel

²⁸⁶ 'Pelham, Thomas', in Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, pp.1131-1154, available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1131-1154> (accessed 31 May 2019); Fry, 'Augmentation books', p.79; BRO EP-A-10-1-1 Bishop of Bristol subscription book.

²⁸⁷ J.M.J. Fletcher, 'A Dorset worthy: William Stone, royalist and divine (1615-1685)', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*, 36 (1915), pp.16-27; Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p.137.

²⁸⁸ A. à Wood and P. Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford; to which are added the Fasti, or Annals of the said University* (London, 1813), Part 2, p.240.

²⁸⁹ 'HCJ 4 January 1643', in *Journal of the House of Commons*, Vol. 2, 1640-1643 (London, 1802), pp. 913-914, available at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp913-914> (accessed 4 April 2015).

²⁹⁰ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p.131.

²⁹¹ C.B. Fry, *Hannington: The Records of a Wiltshire Parish* (Hannington, 1935). p.118.

²⁹² T. Fuller, *The Church History of Britain, from the Birth of Jesus Christ* (London, 1656).

had been appropriated by parliament, and he refused to subscribe to the Solemn League and Covenant, yet he managed to secure first a series of preaching engagements around London, and then parochial appointments. From 1648 he was perpetual curate of Waltham Abbey, for which he received the handsome stipend of £100 per annum, and from 1658 he was rector of Cranford, Middlesex, with a stipend of £80 per annum plus glebe land. According to Patterson, 'While waiting, therefore, for the restoration of episcopacy, without, he hoped, the corruptions of recent times, Fuller was content to pursue his ministry at the parish level, following the provisions established by parliament.'²⁹³ Despite continuing to make veiled attacks on the regime, he appears to have owed his success to his willingness to establish close working relationships with puritan ministers in London. He died in 1661 and thus failed to see the full re-establishment of the episcopacy, but he had managed to earn a decent parochial income throughout the Interregnum.

Arthur Squibb was too young to have been involved in the civil wars, and did not begin his ministry at Netherbury until 1674, but by 1688 his churchwardens were presenting him for non-residence. In February 1690, confirmation was received from the lieutenant-colonel of the Duke of Norfolk's regiment that Squibb was serving as chaplain to the regiment in Ireland, resulting in his sequestration.²⁹⁴ He does not appear to have been driven to the army by economic necessity, since Netherbury was one of the richest livings in Dorset.

Other Dorset clergy served in the army in a non-ministerial capacity. William Morris was 18 years old at the outbreak of the civil wars in 1642, and his gravestone in Manston church recorded that he left Oxford University to become a cornet in the royalist army.²⁹⁵ In 1660 John Ryves appointed him curate at Manston, and let the rectory to him for £50 per year, granting him all profits from the living as well as the right of next presentation.²⁹⁶ He succeeded Ryves and remained at Manston until his death in 1699. John Wesley served as a soldier under Major Dewey, and as a chaplain on board the *Triumph* in 1657. He was

²⁹³ W.B. Patterson, 'Thomas Fuller as royalist country parson during the Interregnum', in D. Baker (ed.), *The Church in Town and Countryside* (Oxford, 1979), pp.301-14.

²⁹⁴ WSHC D5/21/1/39 Dean of Salisbury citations.

²⁹⁵ Hutchins, *History and Antiquities*, II, p.310.

²⁹⁶ Somerset Record Office DD\WM/1/111 Agreement for appointment of curate and lease of rectory of Manston (Dorset).

admitted to Winterborne Whitechurch in 1658, but was denounced in early 1661 for having ‘most diabolically railed in the pulpit against the late King’ and against bishops, as well as wielding pistols and a sword and going ‘a trooping to Dorchester’. He had clearly not put his military ways behind him. He was ejected in 1662 and died in 1671.²⁹⁷ John Estmond did not serve in the army himself, but his son, William, who had returned from the royalist army to help his father at the rectory of Iwerne Courtney, died in 1647 after being harassed by parliamentary soldiers while reading from the Book of Common Prayer.²⁹⁸

With regard to non-military chaplaincies, 29 Dorset parish clergy are known to have served as chaplains to the peerage and gentry, but evidence for the majority of these is drawn from the 1640s and 1650s, when they were forced to seek alternative incomes as a result either of sequestration or inability to secure a first parish living, or of subsequent nonconformist activities. Samuel Hardy obtained a BA from Oxford in 1659 but refused to take the post-Restoration oaths necessary to complete his MA, and instead took up a position at Charminster, which was:

...a peculiar belonging to the family of the Trenchards, and out of any episcopal inspection or jurisdiction. The minister there was a kind of chaplain to that family, but neither parson nor vicar, nor did he take any institution or induction.²⁹⁹

Despite his nonconformity, he retained his position at Charminster, and in 1669 was appointed to the perpetual curacy of Poole, a royal peculiar outside conventional ecclesiastical jurisdiction. According to Calamy, ‘the irregularity of his position much exercised the ecclesiastical authorities who finally succeeded in getting him removed 3 Aug 1682’.³⁰⁰

Henry Glover, having been ejected from Oxford in 1648, took up a position as minister of the chapel of Wynford Eagle in 1653, and was admitted to the rectory of Iwerne Courtney in 1657. He subscribed to the Act of Uniformity in 1662, was

²⁹⁷ TNA SP 29/30 f.64 Information against John Wesley, vicar of Winterbourne Whitchurch for diabolically railing in the pulpit against the late King, praising Cromwell, riding with pistols, etc., 5 February 1661; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p.521; Wesley’s son was an Anglican clergyman, and his grandsons founded Methodism.

²⁹⁸ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p.132.

²⁹⁹ W. Densham and J. Ogle, *The Story of the Congregational Churches in Dorset* (Bournemouth, 1899), pp. 66 & 182-87.

³⁰⁰ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p.248.

awarded a bachelor's degree from Oxford in 1665, and continued at Iwerne Courtney until his death in 1668. In a published version of a sermon delivered at Dorchester assizes in 1663, he described himself as chaplain to Thomas Freke, High Sheriff of Dorset, stating:

there is no man upon earth, to whom I stand so particularly obliged (not at all to disparage the curtesies of other Friends) for many great and extraordinary Favours, as to your self. You have been pleased not onely to make choice of me for your Minister, and freely to present me to a Living, but to give me many other encouragements, not usual for Patrons to bestow upon their Clerks.³⁰¹

Indeed, he had particular reason to be grateful to Thomas Freke who, together with Denzil Holles and Dame Jane Covert, had secured him his living at Iwerne Courtney, with a certificate of approbation from three prominent Dorset ministers, Stanley Gower, William Benn and Robert Cheeke.³⁰² It is not known what pecuniary benefits were included among the 'many other encouragements' resulting from his chaplaincy duties.

Another Dorset incumbent was 'Chaplain to Denzell Lord Holles'. Richard Russell had completed his Oxford education in 1652. In 1663, he was granted a special dispensation to hold his present rectory of Brixton, Surrey with that of West Stafford and Frome Billett, where his father had officiated before the wars, even though the benefices 'be something above thirty miles distant from each other'.³⁰³ In fact, they were more like 130 miles apart, so his dispensation may have been the result of close contact between Sir William Constantine, patron of West Stafford, and Lord Holles, a fellow MP for Dorset.

In addition to the above, 11 individuals served as royal chaplains, while Edward Buckler, who was minister of Wyke Regis from 1646, was chaplain to Oliver Cromwell and 'preach'd before him four times a Year, and had 20l a Year for his Pains'.³⁰⁴ Having lost his ecclesiastical income at the Restoration, Buckler moved to Bradford Abbas and became a maltster, whereas those who were king's

³⁰¹ H. Glover, *Ekdikesis, or a Discourse of Vengeance* (London, 1664).

³⁰² Fry, 'Augmentation books', p.75.

³⁰³ SP 29/69 f.23 Warrant for a dispensation to Rich. Russell, M.A., chaplain to Denzil Lord Holies.

³⁰⁴ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, pp.84-5.

chaplains tended ultimately to benefit from additional preferments as a result of their royal connections.

For a few clergymen, chaplaincies offered the prospect of new shores. Two Dorset clergymen, Eleazar Dunken and Robert Frampton, became chaplains to the Levant Company. Dunken was in Livorno in 1650, where he died soon afterwards. Frampton's university studies were interrupted by the outbreak of war in 1641, but he was privately ordained by the bishop of Oxford and became minister of Gillingham. However, he encountered problems as a result of his refusal to adopt the new liturgy, and instead became chaplain to the earl of Elgin at his family chapel in Ampthill, Bedfordshire, before joining the Levant Company in Aleppo from 1655 to 1670. On his return, he became a preacher at the Rolls Chapel in Chancery Lane and served as chaplain to the lord keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, who presented him with prebends at Gloucester and Salisbury in 1672. Lord Henry Howard, duke of Norfolk, for whom he had preached in Rome on his way back from Aleppo, also secured him the rectory of Okeford Fitzpaine in Dorset. His series of chaplaincies and renowned preaching (Samuel Pepys declared that he preached 'the most like an apostle that ever I heard a man. And was much the best time that ever I spent in my life at church') established profitable connections and a reputation that resulted in his consecration as bishop of Gloucester in 1681.³⁰⁵

In summary, chaplaincies could be lucrative additional sources of income, could help plug gaps in income when alternative sources became unavailable, or could even accelerate promotion up the clerical hierarchy.

Summary

This chapter has examined the ecclesiastical administration of Dorset and its impact on the parish clergy. The county's parishes were largely within the relatively new diocese of Bristol, interspersed with other jurisdictions. Oversight was enforced through regular visitations by the archdeacon and dean, and less frequently by the bishop and archbishop. Except for the richest livings, appointments to Dorset parishes were likely to be obtained from ordaining

³⁰⁵ R.D. Cornwall, 'Frampton, Robert (bap. 1622, d. 1708)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (online edition, 2005), available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10061> (accessed 29 June 2016); R. Matthews and W. Latham (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Vol. 8 (Berkeley, CA, 1971-83), p.21.

bishops, although county of origin was more influential, with a greater proportion of native incumbents than in other counties.

The value of Dorset's rectories and vicarages was in line with the national average. Although comparison of the 1535 and 1650 valuations has shown that values did not keep pace with inflation, Dorset livings were generally richer than in Canterbury diocese, but poorer than in Wiltshire. Detailed analysis of the breakdown of income in the *Valor*, cross-referenced with information from surviving glebe terriers, indicates that larger glebe entitlements enabled greater self-sufficiency, and hence reduced conflict with tithe payers, especially when questions were raised about the legitimacy of tithes. However, hearth tax analysis has shown that populous parishes did not necessarily attract higher income in the form of oblations from baptisms, marriages, churchings and burials.

Analysis of clerical taxes has revealed that a greater proportion of Dorset livings were liable to first fruits payments than the national average, although high entry fees did not encourage incumbents to stay longer. Hearth tax data have also been analysed to determine that some relatively poor livings had large parsonage houses, increasing the tax burden.

Some clergy augmented their ecclesiastical income by serving more than one cure, and those at the higher end of the income scale gained additional remunerative preferments in upper echelons of the Church. During the period of disruption to the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the 1640s and 1650s, opportunities arose to supplement income through lectures in towns and garrisons, while some individuals chose or were forced to accept military chaplaincies or overseas postings as alternatives to parochial employment. Many clergy are likely to have served as chaplains to local elite, although the full extent of such activities is impossible to determine.

The next chapter will examine the county in closer detail to determine the extent to which geographical factors impacted on parochial clergymen's prosperity.

Chapter 4: Impact of Geographical Location

Dorsetshire is a maritime County, of a fruitful Soil, and wholesome Air, abounding with all Things necessary for Pleasure and Life, Sea and Land conspiring together to supply the Inhabitants with plenty of Corn and Flesh, Fish and Fowl for Food, Flax and Wool for the cloathing, and other Uses, and Stone and Timber for Building, and so is not unfitly called, *The Garden of England*.³⁰⁶

This chapter examines whether Thomas Cox's rosy view of Dorset reflected reality, and how the county's geographical location, topography and landscape helped or hindered clergymen's prosperity and affected the economic choices available to them. Having investigated ways in which clergymen were able to supplement their income through additional ecclesiastical work (Chapter 3), this chapter examines some non-ecclesiastical activities to which they turned through choice or necessity, focusing on the landscape and its advantages and disadvantages for clergymen seeking to earn a living.

Alan Everitt stressed the importance of observing how different types of landscape 'affected not only agricultural practice but almost every aspect of human life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', including social, demographic, manorial and religious development, building styles and the distribution of wealth.³⁰⁷ This chapter begins by discussing depictions of Dorset by early county historians and travellers, and develops a parish-level classification of five different types of landscape, informed by the previous literature and by the author's personal perambulations around the 289 rectories, vicarages and curacies of seventeenth-century Dorset. Evidence from glebe terriers is then used to determine the impact of agricultural practices on the extent, quality and value of glebe land and tithe yields, and probate inventories and wills are examined to identify regional patterns in other sources of wealth. A wider view of the landscape is then taken to consider ease of travel and mobility within the county and further afield, and the extent to which people were visible to the authorities. This leads to an examination of patterns of sequestration and ejection between 1642 and 1662 in the context of different landscape types.

³⁰⁶ T. Cox, *Magna Britannia; or, Topographical, Historical, Ecclesiastical and Natural History of Dorsetshire* (London, 1731), p.580.

³⁰⁷ A. Everitt, 'River and wold: Reflections on the historical origins of regions and pays', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 3 (1977), p.2.

Early depictions of Dorset's landscape

The first county history for Dorset was written by Thomas Gerard (1592-1634) in the 1620s. Gerard was from Trent, then in Somerset but now in west Dorset. Unlike many of his contemporary historians, he did not take holy orders after graduating from Oxford, but instead wrote 'surveys' of both Dorset and Somerset. His *Survey of Dorsetshire*, originally attributed to his brother-in-law, John Coker, was not published until 1732, perhaps prompted by the publication of Cox's *Magna Britannia* a year earlier. Cox was born and lived in Essex, and had no connection with Dorset, which might account for his fanciful description of the county (above), so the Coker family were probably spurred into publishing Gerard's manuscript as a more authoritative account of their native county.

Gerard's *Survey* describes 'those Places that either by reason of some Notable Accident, or on account of their Antient or Moderne Lords, deserve to be remembred', and follows each of the county's rivers, from west to east, 'even from their Springs and Fountaines, untill they take up their Lodging in the Ocean'.³⁰⁸ The focus of county histories on manorial rather than topographical issues led to the omission of obvious landscape features, hence Jan Broadway's comment that, 'If county maps and local histories had been created for purely practical reasons, the roads would have been included.'³⁰⁹ As Gerard himself acknowledged, he followed the same format and replicated some of the contents of Camden's *Britannia*, who in turn had drawn on original manuscripts by Leland, eventually published as his *Itinerary*.³¹⁰ Gerard provided some descriptions of the county's topography and contemporary agricultural practices.

The most substantial county history of Dorset, by John Hutchins, was first published in 1774.³¹¹ Hutchins, like Gerard, wrote predominantly on subjects of interest to his prospective patrons, focusing inevitably on land, property and genealogy, but also on the history of individual parish churches, their patrons and incumbents.³¹² This history provides much more detail than its predecessors

³⁰⁸ Gerard, *Survey of Dorsetshire*, p.8.

³⁰⁹ J. Broadway, 'No Historie so Meete': *Gentry Culture and the Development of Local History in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Manchester, 2006), p.234.

³¹⁰ W. Camden, *Britannia* (London, 1586); L. Toulmin Smith (ed.), *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535-1543*, 5 vols (London, 1907-10).

³¹¹ Hutchins, *History and Antiquities*.

³¹² R. Douch, 'John Hutchins', in J. Simmons (ed.), *English County Historians* (Wakefield, 1978), p.121.

on individual parishes. As a clergyman and a native of Dorset, Hutchins served several cures in the county, and his familiarity with the landscape is evident. For example, the soil of the downland parish of Bradford Peverell ‘consists of gravel and chalk, arable and pasture, but near the river is much meadow ground’, while Buckland Abbas, in the Vale of Blackmore, ‘is mostly arable land, and pasture for sheep, but the lower part is used for grazing and dairies and is much inclosed’. In west Dorset, Bridport is ‘situated in a deep dirty soil and in a vale surrounded by hills’, while Moreton, a heathland village, ‘takes its name from its situation in a heathy soil, though a great part of it adjoining to the river consists of rich meadows, nor does it want good arable and pasture land elsewhere’.³¹³ Hutchins thus provides useful first-hand, parish-level observations of the nature of the landscape, rather than the more general views of other works. Although some enclosure had occurred between the end of the seventeenth century and Hutchins’ writing, this related largely to common and waste land.³¹⁴ Other enclosures had already been completed, as at Gillingham, where £14 10s was paid annually to the rector following enclosure of the former forest.³¹⁵

The key early travel writings relating to Dorset are those of Leland, Fiennes and Defoe, which provide some insights into agricultural practices, small-scale industry and topographical detail but little on parish life or clergy activities.³¹⁶ For example, from Caundle Marsh to Sherborne, Leland travelled ‘3. miles by enclosid and sumwhat hilly Grounde meately welle woddyd’.³¹⁷ Aubrey’s comments on the topography of neighbouring Wiltshire also apply to part of Dorset: his distinctions between ‘chalk’ and ‘cheese’ country have been taken up by several authors, notably by David Underdown in his analysis of regional cultural and political differences in Dorset, Wiltshire and Somerset. In Aubrey’s view, ‘According to the severall sort of earth in England ... the *indigenae* are respectively witty or dull, good or bad’: in the downland or ‘chalk’ country, ‘where ’tis all upon tillage, and where the shepherds labour hard; their flesh is

³¹³ Hutchins, *History and Antiquities*, I, pp.443, 233 & 144; II, p.252.

³¹⁴ J. Chapman and S. Seeliger, *Enclosure, Environment & Landscape in Southern England* (Stroud, 2001), p.55.

³¹⁵ DHC Ph873 Commutation of tithe agreement between Edward Davenant, vicar of Gillingham, and Thomas Brunker, for land belonging to Thomas, Earl of Elgin, 1640.

³¹⁶ Toulmin Smith, *Itinerary of John Leland*; C. Morris (ed.), *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes c.1682-1712* (London, 1982); D. Defoe, *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Circuits or Journies* (London, 1727).

³¹⁷ T. Hearne, *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary* (3rd edition, Oxford, 1769), p.109.

hard, their bodies strong', whereas in the 'dirty clayey country' where 'they only milk the cowes and make cheese', he described the people as 'generally plump and feggy'.³¹⁸ Historical commentators such as Camden, Speed and Aubrey clearly distinguished between the two major types of landscape and their effects on the population. However, they took a broad, regional view, whereas the aim of this chapter is to examine the Dorset landscape in closer detail to identify parish-level differences.

Classification of landscape types

The geology of Dorset exhibits considerable variety, creating a wealth of different landscapes in a comparatively small area. An 1812 survey described the soils as 'naturally divided into three principal districts, viz. chalky loams, gravelly sand, and clay, or various soils as a clay basis', which translate roughly into three main types of landscape: downland, heathland and wood pasture. However, the same survey went on to say that 'they are much intermixed together in many places, so as to render it a task of some difficulty to ascertain by what name they should be described'.³¹⁹ As Joseph Bettey noted, this makes it 'difficult to generalise about the development of the county, for the lives, work and settlements of the people living on the heathlands of east Dorset or around the shores of Poole harbour differed widely from, for example, those of the inhabitants of the chalk downlands or of the farmers in the low-lying clay vales of the west of the county'.³²⁰

Figure 4.1 illustrates the geological variety of Dorset. The wide central belt of chalk downland (shown in yellow), is bounded to the north and west by largely clay soils (pink) with some limestone (purple), while to the south east is sandstone heathland (brown). The south coast stretching westward from Portland to Burton Bradstock, together with parts of south Purbeck, is a mixture of clay and limestone but is hillier and more exposed than the clay vale regions.

³¹⁸ Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*; D. Underdown, 'The chalk and the cheese: Contrasts among the English clubmen', *Past & Present*, 85 (1979), pp.25-48; J. Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire* (London, 1847).

³¹⁹ W. Stevenson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Dorset* (London, 1812), pp.36-7.

³²⁰ Bettey, *Dorset*, p.9.

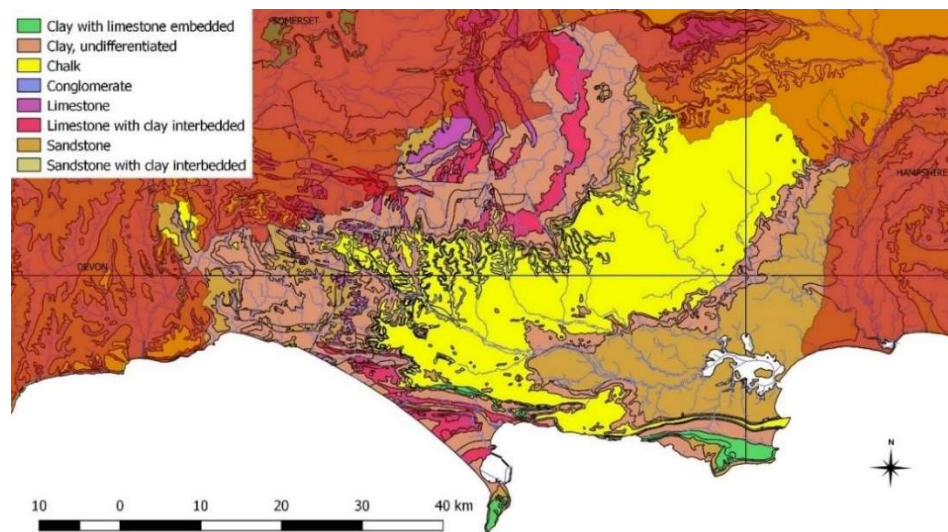


Figure 4.1: Geological map of Dorset³²¹

For the purposes of this study, this map has been simplified and the 289 seventeenth-century Dorset parishes categorised according to their predominant soil type: 120 parishes on downland, 84 in the Blackmore Vale, 39 in West Dorset, 27 on heathland and 19 in South Dorset. This simplified categorisation, corroborated by the author's extensive walks through and between the parishes, is illustrated in Figure 4.2, and each type is described below.

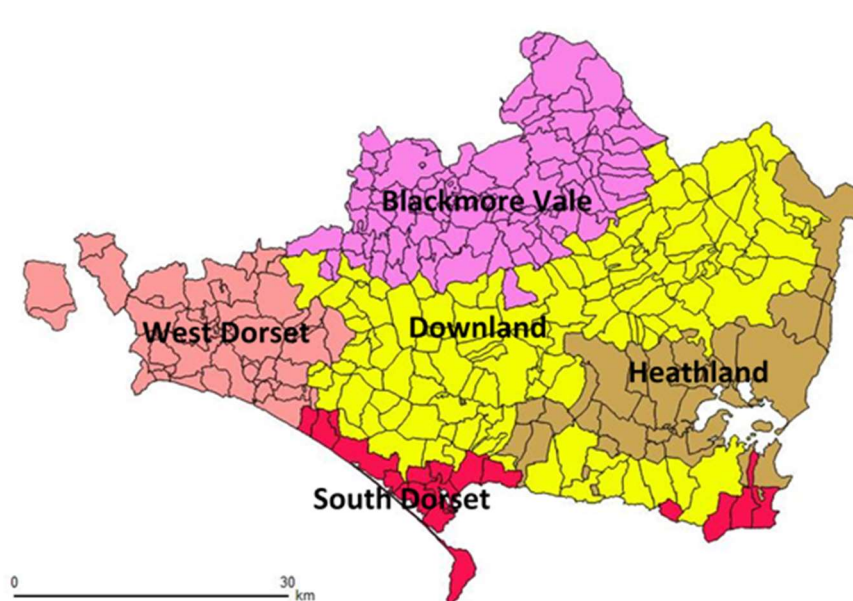


Figure 4.2: Simplified map of Dorset's geological regions³²²

³²¹ Based on DigiMapGB-250 [ESRI Shapefile geospatial data], scale 1:250,000, British Geological Survey, UK, using EDINA Geology Digimap Service, available at: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk/> (downloaded 24 January 2017).

³²² Author's own calculations based on DigiMapGB-250 data.

West Dorset and Blackmore have largely clay soils, with deep lanes and the small fields characteristic of former woodland. Thomas Gerard described Blackmore as ‘verie subject to Durt and foule Wayes’, although ‘abounding also with verie good Pastures, and Feedeings for Cattell; watered with fine Streames, which take their Courses through rich Meadowes; which Inducements have invited manie of the Gentlemen of these Partes to dwell there’. He described Marshwood Vale in West Dorset as ‘rich and well stored with Woods, by means whereof it affordeth convenient dwellings’.³²³ These wood pasture areas are associated with Aubrey’s ‘cheese’ country. Particularly in Blackmore, the clay gives rise to ‘damp, ill-drained and often intractable soils’, and the landscape is an ‘intimate patchwork of enclosed lush pastures and close network of small farms’. However, the area is not entirely low-lying.³²⁴ As John Chaffey observed, many villages are situated on higher and drier limestone ground: ‘It is thus the succession of clay lowlands that make up Blackmoor Vale, together with the intervening limestone ridges, that contribute so much to the intricate variety of the North Dorset landscape.’³²⁵ This reflects Brian Roberts’s characterisation of southern Somerset and northern Dorset as having ‘the greatest concentrations of nucleated settlements ... where physical landscapes are particularly intricate and settlement possibilities are extremely diverse’.³²⁶ The relative wealth of Blackmore is indicated by a much higher proportion of properties with three or more hearths (29%) compared with the rest of the county (19%), and this area also had some of the largest parsonage houses (see Figure 4.3).³²⁷

³²³ Gerard, *Survey of Dorsetshire*, pp.3 & 13.

³²⁴ J. Chaffey, *The Dorset Landscape: Its Scenery and Geology* (Tiverton, 2004), p.31

³²⁵ *ibid.*

³²⁶ B.K. Roberts, ‘Rural settlement and regional contrasts: Questions of continuity and colonisation’, *Rural History*, 1 (1990), p.54.

³²⁷ Arkell, ‘Identifying regional variations’, p.161.

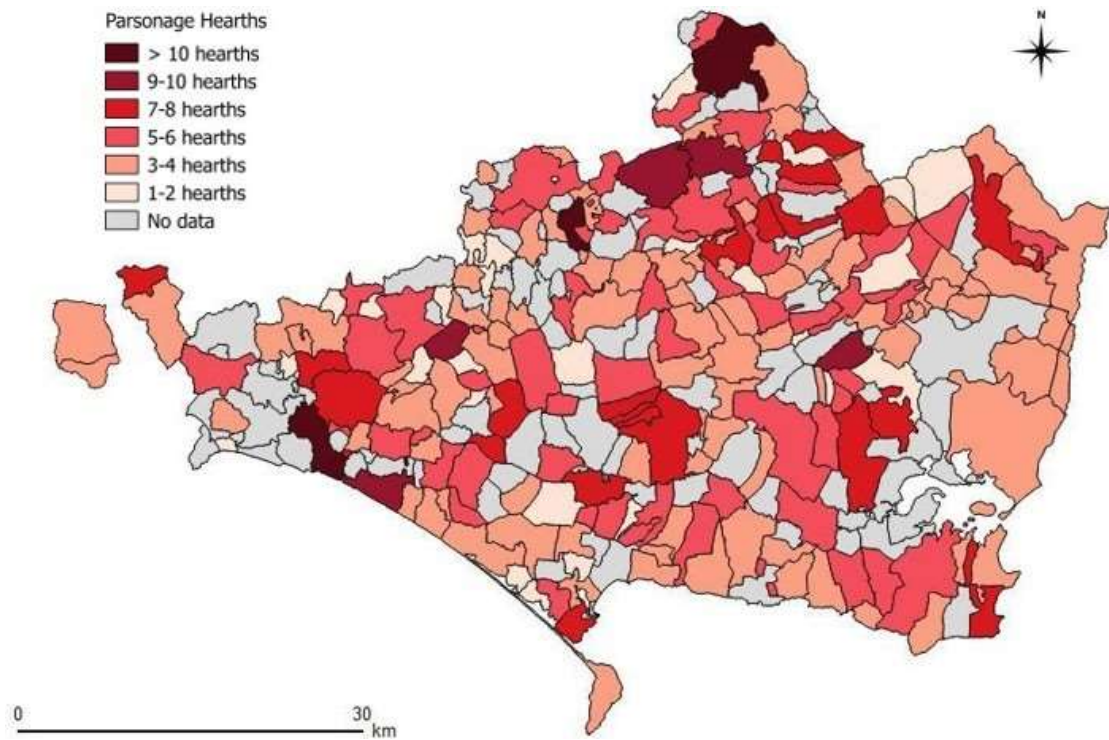


Figure 4.3: Number of hearths in parsonage houses³²⁸

Figure 4.4 shows a typical Blackmore landscape of enclosed fields, woodland and limestone rises.



Figure 4.4: Blackmore landscape, near Holwell³²⁹

³²⁸ Meekings, *Dorset Hearth Tax*, and author's own analysis.

West Dorset similarly abounds with deep lanes and vestiges of woodlands, as shown in Figure 4.5.



Figure 4.5: Deep lane near Shipton Gorge, West Dorset³³⁰

The ‘chalk’ country stretches in a wide band from the northeast to the southwest of the county, where ‘distinctive chains or ribbons of nucleations cling to the water supplies of the chalk valleys’.³³¹ Gerard’s early description of the county in terms of river courses is explained by the fact that settlements stretch along the valley bottoms of the Cerne, Piddle, Tarrant and Allen, and along escarpments where springs emerge.³³² According to William Cobbett, there was a ‘comparative absence of habitation on the open downland’ where sheep and corn husbandry was practised because, ‘though the downs are naked and cold, the valleys are snugness itself’ (see Figure 4.6).³³³

³²⁹ Author’s own photograph.

³³⁰ Author’s own photograph.

³³¹ Roberts, ‘Rural settlement and regional contrasts’, pp.54-55.

³³² Bettey, ‘Downlands’, p.36.

³³³ *ibid.*, p.29; W. Cobbett, *Rural Rides* (Harmondsworth, 1967 [1830]), p.304.



Figure 4.6: Chalk downland with dry valley, Chaldon Herring³³⁴

Following the Dissolution, major landowners amassed very large flocks of sheep, leading to the desertion of many downland villages. For example, Gerard described Winterborne Farringdon as ‘a lone Church, for there is hardlie anie house left in the Parish, such of late hath beene the Covetousnesse of some private Men, that to encrease their Demesnes have depopulated whole Parishes’.³³⁵ This depopulation also put pressure on woodland areas, as many poor people ‘flocked to the woodlands in the seventeenth century from champion England, as agrarian change displaced many from their cottages and work’.³³⁶ Common-field farming survived longer in the chalk parishes. The seventeenth century also saw the ‘introduction and rapid spread of water meadows along the chalkland valleys’, which had expanded to around 50,000 acres by the end of the following century.³³⁷

The southeast of the county around Poole harbour and the Isle of Purbeck consists mainly of heathland, ‘a most dreary waste’ used for ‘the support in

³³⁴ Author’s own photograph.

³³⁵ Gerard, *Survey of Dorsetshire*, p.73.

³³⁶ B. Short, ‘Forests and wood-pasture in lowland England’, in J. Thirsk (ed.), *The English Rural Landscape* (Oxford, 2000), p.130.

³³⁷ G.A. Cooke, *Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Dorset* (London, 1802), pp.36-37

summer of a few ordinary cattle and sheep, and the heath which is pared up by the surrounding villages for fuel' (see Figure 4.7).³³⁸



Figure 4.7: Heathland, near Moreton³³⁹

Finally, the area classified as South Dorset, comprising the south side of Purbeck, the Isle of Portland and the villages close to the south coast from Portland to Burton Bradstock, lie on a mixture of limestone and clay but, in contrast to Blackmore, is hillier and exposed to the maritime air (see Figure 4.8).



Figure 4.8: Abbotsbury with Fleet lagoon and sea, South Dorset³⁴⁰

³³⁸ Cooke, *Topographical and Statistical Description*, p.50.

³³⁹ Author's own photograph.

³⁴⁰ Author's own photograph.

Having thus identified five distinct regional landscapes in Dorset, the next section will begin to examine the landscape at a parochial level.

Glebe usage and tithe yields

The nature of the landscape had a major impact on Dorset clergymen's prosperity, since their parochial income was tied closely with farming and agricultural activities. Land usage and productivity affected both the potential profitability of any glebe land and their income from tithes.

Closer observation of the geological map of Dorset (Figure 4.1) reveals a complex mixture of geology, and hence soil types, at the individual parish level. Only 46 per cent of parishes are located entirely on a single geological foundation, while 54 per cent contain significant areas of other types. For example, in Blackmore Vale, the low-lying land is clay, but the area is crossed by limestone ridges, on which most settlements are situated.

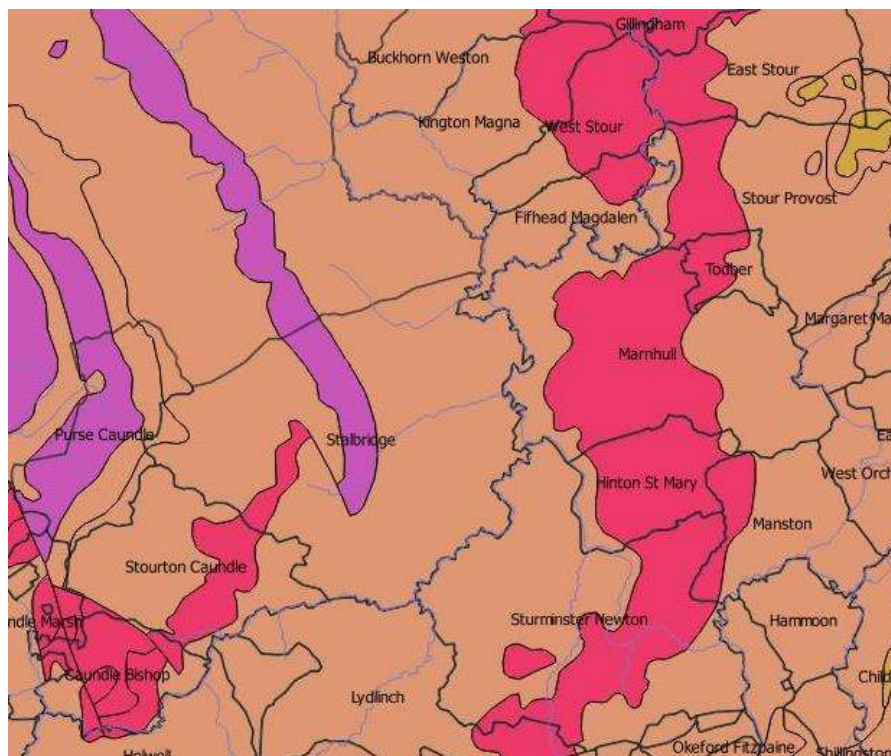


Figure 4.9: Mixed geology of Blackmore Vale³⁴¹

As shown in Figure 4.9, most villages that take their names from the River Stour (East and West Stour, Stour Provost, Sturminster Newton) are located partially

³⁴¹ Author's own calculations based on DigiMapGB-250 data.

on Corallian limestone rises (shown in pink) rather than in the clay vale, while Stalbridge lies on a spur of Cornbrash limestone (shown in purple) projecting from the northern border with Somerset. Therefore, few parishes lack areas of higher land. The south coast from Portland to Bridport is similarly mixed, while the Isle of Purbeck has a spine of downland separating heath from clay. In contrast, many downland villages lie on largely undifferentiated chalk soils. The heathlands around Poole harbour are almost entirely sandstone-based, but 'all have the saving agricultural grace of some alluvial meadow land which was mown communally by the leading parish farmers'.³⁴²

Seventeenth-century Dorset covered a total of 629,282 acres, but parish sizes varied widely.³⁴³ The largest, Canford Magna, comprised almost 16,000 acres, while Witchampton, the smallest (excluding chapelries) encompassed only 148 acres. The average size was around 2,300 acres (9.3 km²), with 34 acres (0.14 km²) of glebe land.³⁴⁴ However, owing to the wide variety of landscapes and size, it cannot be said that any particular type of parish was typical. Prior to the Reformation, 'there were very few parishes, apart from those of recent creation, which did not have at least five or ten acres of glebe', equivalent to a small peasant holding, but this had been eroded by impropriations both before and after the Dissolution.³⁴⁵ The first full survey of glebe land was not taken until 1887, when it accounted for around 1.2 per cent of the county's total acreage.³⁴⁶ Some changes had occurred in the intervening period, particularly as a result of augmentation by Queen Anne's Bounty, amalgamation of common strips into closes, and exchanges of tithe in open fields and commons for glebe in newly-enclosed land, but the 1887 survey provides a rough guide to the extent of seventeenth-century glebe.³⁴⁷

However, the survey does not specify how glebe land was actually used, whereas glebe terriers drawn up from around 1612 usually list land in terms of

³⁴² B. Kerr, *Bound to the Soil: A Social History of Dorset 1750-1918* (London, 1968), p.31.

³⁴³ Figures taken from data on individual parishes available at <http://visionofbritain.org.uk>, drawn from several nineteenth-century gazetteers. There had been no significant parish boundary changes since the seventeenth century.

³⁴⁴ C.B. Stuart-Wortley, 'Return of glebe lands in England and Wales', *House of Commons Papers*, 64 (1887), Paper No. 307, pp.162-8.

³⁴⁵ N.J.G. Pounds, *A History of the English Parish: The Culture of Religion from Augustine to Victoria* (Cambridge, 2000), p.216.

³⁴⁶ Author's calculations based on Stuart-Wortley, 'Return of glebe lands'.

³⁴⁷ N.J.G. Pounds, 'Terriers and the historical geographer', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 31 (2005), p.377.

arable, meadow, pasture and woodland. Land usage might vary from year to year, but the terriers give a good indication of the types of use to which the land in each parish could be put. According to Bettey, 'tenants with small areas of arable but with rights of downland grazing were often much better off than those of the small farms on the claylands where most of the land was enclosed'.³⁴⁸ The reverse might be true for clergymen who had their own glebe enclosures in the claylands, as opposed to little glebe and only rights of common pasture in the downlands.

Seventeenth-century glebe terriers or equivalent data survive for 102 parishes, around a third of the total. Their distribution between different types of landscape is fairly even, except that only four of the 27 heathland parishes are represented.

Table 4.1: Number and percentage of terriers by landscape type

Landscape type	No. of Parishes	No. of Terriers	Percentage Terriers
Downland	120	42	35
Blackmore	84	36	43
Heath	27	4	15
South Dorset	19	6	32
West Dorset	39	14	35
Total	289	102	35

The terriers reveal that all glebe land in West Dorset was enclosed, as it was in Blackmore Vale except for a few rights to common pasture at Minterne Magna, Stockwood and Sutton Waldron, and common fields in Marnhull and Over Compton. In contrast, the glebe in most downland and South Dorset parishes was in common fields, sometimes in numerous pieces. Common-field farming survived longer in the chalk parishes, raising issues for clergy whose glebe lands were distributed in small parcels across different fields. For example, the terrier for Cattistock lists 22 parcels of glebe in the north, middle and south fields, as well as pasture for sheep and cattle on the down. At Langton Long Blandford, another downland parish where the rector had one small close of pasture, the rest of the glebe consisted of meadow land in the 'Town meadow', various acres

³⁴⁸ J.H. Bettey, 'Land tenure and manorial custom in Dorset, 1570-1670', *Southern History*, 4 (1982), p.39.

of ground in the north, middle and south fields, and common pasture for cattle and horses in the marsh and for sheep on the downs.³⁴⁹

In heathland parishes, glebe was more mixed, with both common and enclosed land, as well as sizeable coppices at Bloxworth and Morden. For example, the rector of Studland had four small closes of glebe land, two small areas of meadow and twenty acres of arable in two common fields, plus common of pasture for 120 sheep 'to have their feeding in the fields and heath' and horses and rother cattle 'in the heath, so many in the summer as he can winter'.³⁵⁰ Like other heathland parishes, he could take as much furze and turf as he needed for fuel, and was also allowed 'frith from the wood' (brushwood). The mixed nature of his glebe and the fuel allowance were advantageous; however, glebe had accounted for only six per cent of the parish valuation in 1535, and his total income amounted to only £50 in 1650, confirming the poor yield on heathland.³⁵¹

Types of soil obviously affected productivity. In 1812, arable, pasture and meadow lands were estimated to yield 3s 6d an acre in tithes, so were much more valuable than commons, open downs and heath, which yielded around 8d, 4d and 1d per acre respectively.³⁵² Some indication of the value of crops in the seventeenth century is given in a legal case relating to a farm in Wimborne Minster in 1639, which estimated:

40 acres of wheat worth 40s per acre, 30 acres of barley worth 35s per acre, 20 acres of hay worth 40s per acre, 40 bushells of apples worth 4s a bushel, 20 bushells of pears worth 5s shillings a bushel, beans worth £3, peas worth 20s, carrots worth £2 10s, turnips worth 30s, cabbages worth 10s, parsnips worth 13s 4d, plums worth 20s, cherries worth 10s, onions worth 20s ... 300 lambs worth at titling time 4s, 500 fleeces of wool worth 3s 4d each, 100 lbs of loakes worth 6d each.³⁵³

However, it was reported in 1812 that 'The county of Dorset is remarkable for the great numbers of parishes in which a very low modus has been long established, in lieu of the vicarial tithes.' A modus was an agreement whereby

³⁴⁹ WSHC D28/10/24 Cattistock terrier, 1612; D28/10/76 Langton Long Blandford terrier, 1633.

³⁵⁰ WSHC D5/10/1 Bloxworth terrier, 1613; D28/10/89 Morden terrier, 1631; D28/10/127 Studland terrier, 1634.

³⁵¹ WSHC D28/10/127/1 Studland terrier, 1634; TNA C 94/2 f.36 *Survey*, Studland; *Valor*.

³⁵² Stevenson, *General View*, p.96.

³⁵³ A.L. Clegg, *A History of Wimborne Minster and District* (Bournemouth, 1960), pp.181-2.

tithes in kind were substituted with flat rates on tithable produce, which gradually reduced in value as a result of inflation.³⁵⁴ This was acknowledged by John Cowell in 1607, who observed that monetary payments were ‘very unreasonable in these daies, when both lamb and calves are growne four times dearer, and more then they were when this price was first accepted’.³⁵⁵

In a few cases, subsequent incumbents managed to reverse disadvantageous agreements. At Buckland Newton, William Lister took his case to the Exchequer Court and succeeded in revoking an unusual *modus* allegedly introduced by the parishioners in a 1634 terrier, by which cheese, rather than money, was due in lieu of all tithe of cow white (milk, butter and cheese) from three tithings, ‘to be delivered when stiff and fit to be carried’.³⁵⁶ Nathaniel Napier, rector of Sutton Waldron from 1686, recorded a long list of tithe customs in the parish register in 1721 in order to safeguard the rights of future incumbents, writing that ‘experience has confirmed to me, which I communicate to you, viz. that twill be much to your disadvantage to be over-familiar with your neighbours at first coming’. For example, he had succeeded in renegotiating tithes on milk and calves: ‘The parishioners have pleaded a custom of paying 2d per cow for milk; the left shoulder for a calf killed at home; but we are now agreed that the rector shall receive 1 shilling for each cow in lieu of milk and calf.’ He advised his successors ‘at your Perill to make yourselfe truely Master of these Directions that so you may not be abused or foold by these unmannerly Clowns’.³⁵⁷

Moduses in Dorset were most frequently agreed in lieu of milk from cows and heifers. In the dairying regions of Blackmore Vale and West Dorset, parishioners paid two or three pence per cow and somewhat less for a heifer. For example, Matthew Perry, rector of Silton in Blackmore, confirmed in a 1637 terrier that there was ‘an absolute perfect Custome for cowe white’ of two pence per cow and one pence per heifer.³⁵⁸ By contrast, downland parishioners tended to pay only one pence per cow, confirming their lower milk yield, and there are

³⁵⁴ Stevenson, *General View*, p.96.

³⁵⁵ J. Cowell, *The Interpreter: or Booke Containing the Signification of Words* (Cambridge, 1607), STC 723:01.

³⁵⁶ TNA E 134/2/Anne/East16 & Trin4 Lister v Foy & Hopkins, Buckland Newton tithes. According to one definition, ‘cow white’ was a customary payment in lieu of the tithe on cows’ milk (Boswell, *Ecclesiastical Division*, p.73); however, in this case, the context indicates that it meant the combined tithe due on milk, butter and cheese, to be delivered as a portable cheese.

³⁵⁷ DHC PE/SWN/RE1/1 Sutton Waldron parish register, 1721.

³⁵⁸ WSHC D28/10/117/2 Silton terrier, 1637.

no recorded instances of moduses applied to any other produce in this region, apart from one penny per garden plot at Godmanstone. Surviving terriers for heathland parishes mention no moduses and are relatively unspecific about particular types of produce, referring only to corn, wheat and hay. Similarly, terriers for South Dorset parishes do not mention types of produce, apart from detailed arrangements for fish caught in Portland, but tend to name specific farms and holdings from which tithes were due.

Much more information is provided by terriers for the 'cheese' regions, which frequently list a wide range of produce, including apples, hemp, flax, hops, turnips, honey, wax, geese, ducks, turkeys, eggs, pigs, lambs, sheep, kine, horses and colts. As a perishable form of produce, eggs appear to have been a particular source of annoyance for incumbents. Some parishes specified that a penny was due annually for eggs, often at Easter. At Buckhorn Weston, tithe eggs were due 'on Good Friday if demanded', suggesting that the rector might not insist on his entitlement; whereas at Sutton Waldron, the rector claimed he had never received tithe eggs for 32 years, and had then been paid for two years together, at three eggs for a cock, and two for each hen.³⁵⁹ He did not record how many eggs this amounted to, but it had been sufficiently irksome for him to note it in the parish register. Despite the wooded nature of the 'cheese' regions, only one terrier, for Hazelbury Bryan, mentions tithe of 'stock or board wood', in this case as an exception, as the rector was allowed only three pence per acre rather than its true value.³⁶⁰

In summary, glebe terriers confirm differences in yield and land usage in the five Dorset regions. Enclosed glebe land in West Dorset and Blackmore would have been easier for the incumbents to farm or let out, compared with scattered rights of common pasture in the downlands. Heathland glebe was more mixed, but yields on heath, common and downland were generally much lower than on arable, pasture and meadow lands. Tithe values were also affected by yields on a wide range of produce. Where tithes had been commuted into moduses, the monetary income may have been more convenient, but agreed rates became less

³⁵⁹ WSHC D28/10/19 Buckhorn Weston terrier, 1682; DHC PE/SWN/RE1/1 Sutton Waldron parish register, 1721.

³⁶⁰ DHC D/392/1 Hazelbury Bryan terrier, 1614.

advantageous with inflation, and were subject to disagreement and renegotiation.

Sources of wealth

Wills and probate inventories give some indication of clergymen's sources of wealth and tools of trade. In her analysis of Sussex clergy inventories, Annabelle Hughes found that between a half and a third listed stock and/or crops. She noted that this must relate to farming of the glebe, but cautioned that the amount of such items would have been affected by the point in the agricultural year at which the inventory was taken.³⁶¹ Margaret Spufford also cautioned of the limitations of inventories and the importance of comparing information provided in a corresponding will, if available, particularly since inventories do not refer to real estate.³⁶² Therefore, in analysing the inventories of Dorset clergymen, this section draws on supplementary data from wills and other sources to determine the types of income-generating activities in which incumbents of different types of parish engaged.

For this study, 40 relevant probate inventories have been identified for Dorset incumbents, ranging in date from 1608 to 1708, and in value from £13 to £3,995. In Ignjatijevic's study of 48 inventories for Kent ministers, the maximum value was £918. She found no correlation between the value or status (rectory or vicarage) of the benefice and the probate value, and suggested that this was because many clergymen were substantial land and property owners, through either purchase or inheritance, providing them with lease and rental income.³⁶³ Similarly, the values of Dorset probate inventories show no correlation with the values of livings.

Focusing first on downland parishes, some had been subject to depopulation to make way for large flocks of sheep, as noted earlier; yet the church, as a parish institution, 'continued to receive tithe and spiritualities from what remained of its parishioners, even though they no longer lived in a tight cluster around it ... As long as there was a rector or a vicar the fabric of the church was likely to survive,

³⁶¹ A. Hughes (ed.), *Sussex Clergy Inventories, 1600-1750* (Lewes, 2009), p.xviii.

³⁶² M. Spufford, 'The limitations of the probate inventory', in J. Chartres and D. Hey (eds), *English Rural Society, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 2006), p.142; M. Overton, 'Probate inventories and the reconstruction of agricultural landscapes', in M.A. Reed (ed.), *Discovering Past Landscapes* (London, 1984), p.169.

³⁶³ Ignjatijevic, 'Parish clergy in the diocese of Canterbury', pp.68-70.

however ruinous.³⁶⁴ This naturally affected the incumbent's income, and might actually make tithe easier to collect from a smaller number of larger landholders. However, there was little glebe land in these parishes. Fourteen had no glebe land at all, and of the sixteen livings noted in the previous chapter for which glebe accounted for more than 25 per cent of total income in the *Valor*, none was a downland parish.

Inventories exist for seven incumbents of six downland parishes: Blandford St Mary, Gussage St Michael, Maiden Newton, Winterborne Monkton, Winterborne Tomson and Spetisbury. In the two Winterborne parishes, the 1535 valuations of glebe lands were only 10s and 7s 4d respectively, accounting for a very small proportion of total income. While no terrier survives for Winterborne Monkton, a 1634 terrier for Winterborne Tomson lists the dwelling house, barn, stable, orchard, garden and backside comprising three quarters of an acre, plus tithe in kind, but no glebe land, so it is likely that the value of the glebe in both parishes consisted only of the parsonage house and grounds.³⁶⁵ The 1691 inventory of Peter Blanchard of Winterborne Monkton valued his belongings at only £53 2s, consisting of kitchenware, furniture and bedding, plus four pigs worth £2 10s, a horse and saddle worth £5, crops worth £22 and some lumber.³⁶⁶ These are insufficient to indicate that he was farming much land of his own. Abel Selley, who died at Winterborne Tomson in 1661, left a larger inventory totalling £109 10s 8d, comprising an extensive list of kitchen and food preparation utensils, plus a cow and one large and one small pig, worth £4 16s 4d, with lumber but no crops in store. His most valuable items were books worth £10 and money due to him on bonds and other debts totalling £45.³⁶⁷ The source of his amassed wealth is unclear and no will is available. He had arrived in Winterborne Tomson from Hatherleigh in Devon in 1641, the son of a Devonshire clergyman, but since he was plaintiff in a case involving a tenement in Wimborne Minster while he was still officiating in Devon, he may already have

³⁶⁴ Pounds, *History of the English Parish*, p.91.

³⁶⁵ WSHC D5/10/2 Winterborne Tomson terrier, 1634.

³⁶⁶ DHC BC/I/1690/55 Inventory of Peter Blanchard of Winterborne Monkton, 1691.

³⁶⁷ WSHC P5/1661/54 Administration bond, commission and inventory of Abel Selley, clerk of Winterborne Tomson, 1661.

had income from property in Dorset.³⁶⁸ In 1648, Selley had written up the churchwardens' accounts of Langton Long Blandford, where he officiated 'upon the petition of the inhabitants', in addition to Winterborne Tomson between 1646 and 1649. He had personally spent 23s 2d on repairs to the church glazing and had received 13s 4d for two burials, so claimed he was still owed 12s 10d. The scanty accounts between 1642 and 1661 suggest that no one was able or willing to act as churchwarden during this period, placing a greater burden on a conscientious 'preaching minister' such as Selley.³⁶⁹

Two inventories for Spetisbury are available, for William Zouch in 1680 and Benjamin Crosse in 1684. Spetisbury was one of the most valuable livings in Dorset, and had one of the largest parsonage houses, taxed on 10 hearths in 1662/4 (see Chapter 3), but glebe accounted for only four per cent of total income. In 1650, the living was valued at £200, with Charlton Marshall, worth another £60, being in the same presentation. Zouch's estate was valued at the enormous sum of £3,995 3s 10d. In agricultural goods, he left two loads of hay (£2 10s), turfs and faggots with cleft wood (£10), a pair of horses with charrett and horses (£20), two pigs (£2) and a carte and harness for two horses (£2 6s). However, most of his wealth comprised cash and debts due on mortgages, bonds and bills, while his goods and chattels were worth only £209 7s, including various kitchenware and equipment for processing farm produce, plus furniture, bedding and plate.³⁷⁰ Brian Holderness found that between a quarter and a third of English clergy were 'in some sense, creditors of relatives, friends or neighbours' prior to 1800, so the existence of bonds and bills in clerical inventories is relatively common, and Zouch appears to have profited from lending money.³⁷¹ He had been preceded by his father and grandfather as rectors of Spetisbury, both of whom had held posts at Salisbury Cathedral, but it is unclear whether the family wealth originated solely from remunerative clerical appointments, or from other sources.

³⁶⁸ 'Sellie, Abel', in Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1322-1350> (accessed 4 March 2017); TNA C 2/JasI/S39/25 Sellie v Haward re tenement in Leigh in the parish of Wimborne Minster.

³⁶⁹ C.H. Mayo, 'Langton Long Blandford: Churchwardens' account book', *Somerset and Dorset Notes & Queries*, 3 (1893), p.19; Mayo, *DSC*, p.99; TNA C 94/2 f.8 *Survey*, Winterborne Tomson, 5 June 1650.

³⁷⁰ TNA PROB 4/19863 Inventory of William Zouch, clerk of Spetisbury, 20 May 1680.

³⁷¹ B.A. Holderness, 'The clergy as money-lenders in England, 1550-1700', in R. O'Day and F. Heal (eds), *Princes and Paupers in the English Church, 1500-1800* (Leicester, 1981), p.202.

In August 1684, Zouch's successor, Benjamin Crosse gave an ante mortem (he died in December) 'true and perfect inventory' of £576 15s in bills, bonds and debts, all held by Randall Hull, merchant of Cork, plus £690 in English debts held by Christopher London. He did not inventory his physical property. He had been rector of Holy Trinity, Cork since 1664 and whilst in Ireland had married the dean of Ross's daughter, but his earlier life is largely undocumented. However, a Benjamin Crosse, described as rector of Poole, is mentioned in the dean of Salisbury's visitation book in October 1662, having baptised a sick child in a Longburton parishioner's house using the Book of Common Prayer because Bernard Banger, the curate there, refused to do so according to the form of the Church of England. His presence in Poole is uncorroborated by surviving parish records, but in 1670 Solomon Eccles, a Quaker proselytising in Cork, 'going into the cathedral at Cork, found there Benjamin Cross preaching in a surplice, who having formerly been a Presbyterian preacher in Dorsetshire, had there said, that he had rather go to the stake and be burnt, than put on a surplice'. Having abused Crosse, Eccles was imprisoned and subsequently whipped through the streets of Cork. This case raises many questions about Crosse's religious convictions and the state of the ministry in Poole but sheds no light on his origins or the source of his wealth, since as vicar of Holy Trinity Cork he had been paid only £50 per year and yet appears to have been involved in mercantile activities.³⁷² Zouch and Crosse had secured a very rich living, but both appear also to have amassed considerable wealth from other sources.

William Huish died in the same year as Crosse, at Maiden Newton, another downland parish. The rectory was valued at £180 in 1650, and the glebe was valued at only £50 compared with £130 in tithes. Huish's inventory of 1684, totalling £595 3s 3d, refers to the inappropriate tithes of Dunsford, Devon worth £170, a house in Maiden Newton worth £60, 189 sheep and horses with saddles and bridles worth £91 4s, one cow, three ricks of wheat, barley in the barn and in ricks, and one rick of oats and peas worth £118 18s, two ricks of hay, one coach, one cart and dung pelt, plough tackling with things thereto belonging, and three

³⁷² TNA C 94/2 f.15 *Survey*, Spetisbury and Charlton Marshall, 1650; W.M. Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*, Vol. 1 (London, 1864), p.106; WSHC D5/29/2 f.23 Dean of Salisbury's visitation book, October 1662; T. Wight, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers, in Ireland, from the Year 1653 to 1700* (4th edition, London, 1811), p.120.

pigs worth £33 18s, plus books, as well as debts of £68 11s 1d owing to him.³⁷³ His possession of a coach and an unspecified number of horses suggests some opulence, as these were ‘trappings of affluence’, and records of clergy owning them are rare.³⁷⁴ For example, Peter Heylyn owned a coach and horses, and initially held onto them when sequestered, but subsequently had to sell them to survive.³⁷⁵ Like Zouch and Crosse, but on a smaller scale, Huish died with debts owing to him. However, although his inventory lists farming equipment and a considerable flock of sheep, the quantity of crops specified suggests that they were tithe rather than home-grown produce.

At Gussage St Michael, Miles Crich was approved by the Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers in 1654 following the sequestration of Frederick Vaughan, and was then confirmed in his appointment in 1662 by Vaughan himself, patron of the living.³⁷⁶ In 1535, Gussage St Michael had been valued at only £20, with £1 11s of glebe income. By 1650 it was valued at £100, but no detail is given of glebe lands and no terrier survives. Crich died in 1675 leaving an inventory valued at £372 12s, consisting of books worth £60, and the contents of two houses, at Gussage St Michael and Witchampton. His agricultural goods included grain in the barns of both properties worth £76 5s 4d, hay, wood and turf in the backside, four pigs, four cows, a colt and a bullock, and ten acres of wheat on the ground worth £8. Debts owing to him amounted to only £4, but he also had £20 due from his prebend of Rochester, where he had been appointed canon two years previously. He bequeathed messuages, land, tenements and hereditaments in Witchampton to his wife, Elizabeth to be sold to pay off his debts and raise an estate for herself and their children.³⁷⁷ He therefore appears to have bought property, as well as engaging in farming to supplement his income.

³⁷³ TNA C 94/2 f.98 *Survey*, Maiden Newton, 7 July 1650; TNA PROB 4/5705 Inventory of William Huish, 20 February 1685.

³⁷⁴ A. Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic in Seventeenth-Century England: The Career and Writings of Peter Heylyn* (Manchester, 2007), p.134.

³⁷⁵ J. Barnard, *Theologo-Historicus, or the True Life of the Most Reverend Divine and Excellent Historian, Peter Heylyn DD* (London, 1683), Wing 1395:15, p.204.

³⁷⁶ Fry, ‘Augmentation books’, p.58; BRO EP/A/3/167 Diocese of Bristol: Presentations to Gussage St Michael.

³⁷⁷ TNA PROB 4/11326 Inventory of Miles Crich of Gussage St Michael, 20 January 1675; TNA C2/94 f.86 *Survey*, Gussage St Michael, 1650; TNA PROB 11/347/140 Will of Miles Criche, clerk of Gussage Saint Michael, 6 February 1675.

Blandford St Mary, the final downland parish for which an inventory is available, was valued at £100 per annum in 1650. In common with other downland parishes, it had little glebe: the 1535 valuation of £15 17s 7d consisted of only £1 glebe, £16 tithes and £1 8s 4d oblations. William Sutton was vicar of Sturminster Marshall from 1588 and rector of Blandford St Mary from 1592, holding the livings in plurality. Throughout his time in Dorset, he was also rector of Hackney, Middlesex, where he originated; however, he was residing in Blandford St Mary both when his first daughter was born in 1596 and when he died in 1632.³⁷⁸ His inventory, taken in 1635, lists land in Charlton Marshall (worth 24s per year in rent) and Holt (30s 4d rent), including arable, meadow, pasture, woods and common pasture; and in his will he bequeathed to his children, in addition to large sums of money, 'small quilletts of land I have purchased in Dorset'. This land, which he rented to various tenants, comprised at least 60 acres of arable, three acres of meadow, three acres of pasture, and common pasture for 264 sheep, 15 rother beasts, a bull, 'un ove vocat a Balridge' (a ewe) and three horses, as well as diverse lands, closes, meadows, leases, pasture, woods and underwoods.³⁷⁹

John Croke, described on admission to Oxford University in 1610 as a gentleman of Hampshire, succeeded Sutton at Blandford St Mary from 1632 until his death in 1645, and was buried there. However, since 1625 he had also been rector of Piddletrenthide, an advowson held by the dean and chapter of Winchester Cathedral, and in 1641 had resigned that living to take up the rectory of Bradford Peverell, under the patronage of Winchester College. In addition to holding two livings, he was fellow of St Mary's College, Winchester from 1635, warden of Winchester's Hospital of St Mary Magdalen from 1639 and a prebendary of Winchester Cathedral from 1640. Croke had family connections with the Ryves family of Damory Court, near Blandford, who were patrons of the living of Blandford St Mary. In his will of 1624, Sir John Ryves appointed 'my nephew John Croke' one of his executors.³⁸⁰ Unfortunately, no will or inventory

³⁷⁸ DHC PE/BLM 1/1 Blandford St Mary parish register.

³⁷⁹ TNA C 92/4 f.13 *Survey*, Blandford St Mary, 1650; TNA C 142/720/15 Inventory post mortem of William Sutton, clerk, 1635; TNA PROB 11/162/658 Will of William Sutton, clerk of Saint Mary Blandford, 1 December 1632.

³⁸⁰ 'Croke, John', *CCed* Person ID 54441; J.R. Childs, *Reliques of the Rives (Ryves)* (Lynchburg, VA, 1929), p.6.

survives for Crooke to confirm his assets. However, his close ties with local gentry support Bettey's contention that downland villages were characterised by 'close control exercised by great estates and a few major landowners, the continuing importance of manors and strong manorial authority over the tenant farmers'.³⁸¹

Crooke's successor at Blandford St Mary was John Pitt, who remained there until his death in 1672, by which time he held the patronage of the living. In his will, he entrusted all lands, tenements, debts, goods, reversions and chattels to his brothers William and Robert Pitt to dispose of at their discretion amongst his children, indicating that his property was considerable. His son, Thomas was a Salisbury MP and president of Madras in India, and prime ministers Pitt the elder and younger were his direct descendants.³⁸² John Lindsay, a witness to John Pitt's will, succeeded him as rector of Blandford St Mary in 1672. He had already been vicar of Blandford Forum since 1638, but had been sequestered by the county committee between 1646 and 1660, during which time he was imprisoned twice and fled to France, leaving his pregnant wife behind. He was said to be a 'Scottish minister', and his son Thomas became archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland. Lindsay passed on the rectory to Henry Willis after only two years, so appears to have been a family friend, holding it until Willis was in a position to take over, as Willis married Pitt's daughter, Sarah in 1676. The living was clearly being kept within the Pitts' extended family, and continued in the family throughout most of the following century.

The main conclusion to be drawn from the evidence of downland parishes is that the incumbents tended to be sponsored by wealthy local gentry or had influential family members, enabling them to purchase land and property. If they did not, they needed to protect the value of any glebe land they had. In 1685, Daniel Ribreau, vicar of Horton, a downland parish, sued the inappropriate rector, Elizabeth Uvedale in the Exchequer Court, claiming that two acres of land exchanged for a two-acre plot which was 'inclosed with a quick set hedge and has been planted for an orchard for about 11 years' were worth less, 'being dry,

³⁸¹ Bettey, 'Downlands', pp.29-30.

³⁸² P. Gauci, 'Pitt, Thomas (1653-1726)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22333> (accessed 21 February 2017).

chalky ground and the other of a richer soyle'. However, witnesses for the defendant, said that 'the two acres now part of the orchard was larger and better ground at the time of the said exchange than the said two acres in the said orchard then were'.³⁸³ Ribreau was also in dispute with the Uvedales over tithes on lands in the manor of Woodlands, which they claimed were part of the demesne land belonging to the impropriate rectory rather than the vicar.

Improvement of land over time, as in Horton, is also illustrated in a case in Melbury Osmond, a Blackmore Vale parish. In a Chancery case in 1621, it was claimed that Henry Symonds, rector of Melbury Osmond, had granted Philip Chichester the tithes of arable, meadow and pasture grounds that he held in Melbury Osmond for a yearly rent of £7. Chichester had then:

manured and dressed his grounds, ripping and tearing up some of them and then marling them and letting other grounds lie fresh and soiling them. And generally at his great charge and with much labour and travail he your subject has so bettered all his grounds with good husbandry that he has made them a great deal better in yearly value than when he contracted with the said Henry Symonds.

Symonds had allegedly tried, 'by all sinister means', to claim that Chichester had forfeited the lands as a result of late rental payments, which Chichester vehemently denied.³⁸⁴

Turning now to the inventories for Blackmore Vale, many more survive for this landscape region than for other regions. Beer Hackett provides a series of inventories, for John Downton in 1626, Nicholas Jefferyes in 1637 and Hugh Strode in 1662. The parsonage was valued at £40 in 1650, and the *Valor* indicates that the income was split almost equally between glebe and tithes. Downton was appointed curate of Yetminster in 1576, and by the next year had secured the neighbouring rectory of Beer Hackett. His will mentions several relatives living in the area, so he appears to have been a local man. Although his will includes bequests of land and property in Clifton Maybank and Yetminster, his inventory lists only a few household items valued at £20 2s 2d, with no animals or farm equipment. Jefferyes was appointed to Beer Hackett in 1626, but as early as June

³⁸³ TNA E 134/1Jas2/Mich18 Daniel Ribreau, clerk v. Elizabeth Uvedale, widow and others.

³⁸⁴ TNA C 2/JasI/C14/11 Chichester v. Henry Symonds, clerk: Composition for tithes of messuage and lands in Melbury Osmond.

1628, the churchwardens reported that 'Mr Nicholas Jefferies our parson is not resident upon his parsonage and that Mr Gibbs curate of Yetminster serveth our cure'. His 1636 probate inventory lists estate to the value of £78 15s 6d, including wheat and oats growing upon the ground worth £40, as well as a yoke of oxen, seven kine, two old mares, two colts, two pigs, various plough stuff, and a cart and wheels worth £32 19s. He was clearly heavily involved in farming, although it is unclear where he was living.³⁸⁵ Hugh Strode was appointed to Beer Hackett in 1637, and was sequestered in 1646, having allegedly been plundered of £5,000 in money and 'an incredible quantity of plate and jewels'. He was restored in 1660, but died in 1662. His inventory, totalling £30 16s 8d, includes £14 'upon specialties' (meaning in bonds or contracts), £4 for one mare, household items of small value, and 'a parcell of small bookes which the plundering rebels left him, 20s'. Administration of his will was granted to his brother John of Slape in Netherbury and his cousin John of Ryme Intrinseca, both gentlemen, and he appears to have been related to the influential Strodes of Parnham.³⁸⁶ Neither Downton nor Strode were graduates, but both were local men who had amassed land and money, although Strode had been stripped of most of his. Jefferyes's family background is unknown, and his inventory lists no property but indicates that he was personally involved in farming.

The inventory of Richard Gyles of Stockwood, taken in 1632, reveals that his most valuable possession was five cows worth £15, and that he also had a bull, two calves, some sheep, two heifers, one mare, one pig and one suck calf. These animals amounted to £25 15s of his total of £84 4s estate, while he had £29 in money and £20 in debts owing. The vicarage was valued at £48 p.a. in 1650, comprising £25 glebe and £23 tithes, and according to a terrier of 1612, the glebe consisted of pasture, meadow and other ground totalling 37 acres, plus common of pasture for two beasts. The ecclesiastical duties of this parish were apparently not onerous. A response to articles for the dean of Salisbury's 1603 visitation, signed by Gyles himself, stated that there were only about 18 communicants in the parish, and Gyles was presented in 1609 for having preached only two

³⁸⁵ WSHC D5/28/28 f.68 Beer Hackett churchwardens' presentment, 14 July 1628; WSHC P5/1636/35 Account, administration bond, commission and inventory of Nicholas Jeffries, clerk of Beer Hackett, 1636.

³⁸⁶ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p.137.

sermons in the last year. He was a non-graduate, and he may well have been earning significant income from his farming activities, resulting in a cash surplus. He was also presented in 1606 for marrying various couples without licence or banns, from which he may have derived additional income.³⁸⁷

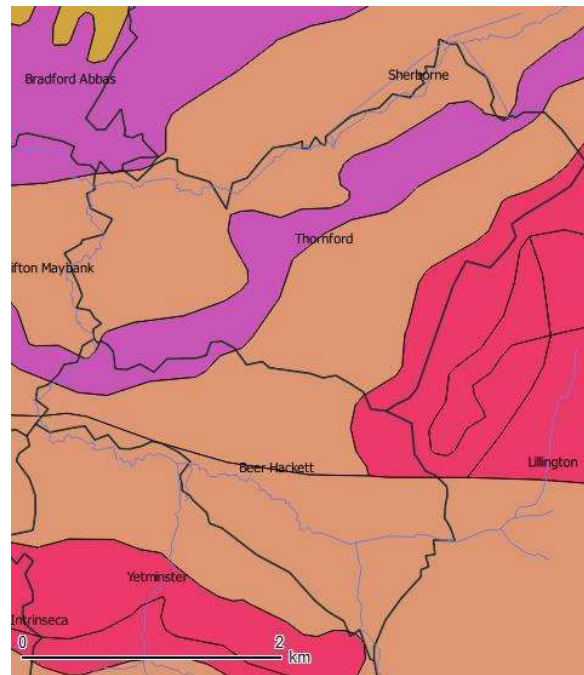


Figure 4.10: Thornford and Beer Hackett geology³⁸⁸

The rectory of Thornford was valued at £45 in 1650, and in 1535, 19 per cent of income was derived from glebe land, whereas 61 per cent came from tithes. This differs from Beer Hackett and Stockwood, where glebe accounted for much higher percentages of the total (54 and 62 per cent respectively). As shown in Figure 4.10, Thornford is situated predominantly on clay land, but a broad strip of limestone runs through the centre, providing a drier site for the village and the main road to Sherborne. Haynes Ryall was rector of both Thornford and Beer Hackett from 1690 until his death in 1702. He was buried at Thornford, and his inventory amounted to only £37 9s 4d, consisting of his clothing and bedding (£7 10s), books (£4), and farm goods (£8 5s 10d). The latter comprised 35 sheaves of

³⁸⁷ WSHC P5/1632/23 Account, administration bond, inventory and will of Richard Gyles, clerk of Stockwood, 1632; WSHC D28/10/123 Stockwood terrier, 1612; WSHC D5/28/3 f.32 Visitation responses, Stockwood, 1603; WSHC D5/28/12 f.34 Stockwood churchwardens' presentment, 1609; WSHC D5/28/9 f.51 Stockwood churchwardens' presentment, 1606.

³⁸⁸ Author's own calculations based on DigiMapGB-250 data.

reeds, a pair of wheels and a cart, two mow-staddles³⁸⁹ and the dung in the barton, one and a half acres of wheat and about six acres of beans growing in the fields, and one old horse. This gives an impression of mixed farming, with reeds and meadow land as well as some arable land. His two parishes had a combined value of £85 in 1650, placing his income within the top quartile in the county. However, he appears to have amassed little wealth, perhaps because he died aged 35 and was from a relatively poor family, his Oxford admission record having noted that he was the son of Henry of Sherborne, 'pauper'.³⁹⁰

The 1712 inventory of Samuel Thornton, vicar of Haydon amounted to £130 6s 6d, of which £40 was in money. The contents of the barn accounted for a further £23, including wheat, hay, wood, three cows and a pig. However, while his books were valued at only £1 10s, his bedlinen was valued at over £20. He appears to have had a well-furnished house, with a 'butter plumpe' and various vats, tubs and barrels for brewing and cheese-making – 15s worth of cheese was stored in the chamber above the buttery – but he had no crops in the field, and the grain in his barn may well have been from tithes rather than home-grown. Although glebe and tithe income had been valued fairly similarly in 1535, by 1662 the glebe was said to be worth a rent of £10 per year, while tithes amounted to £20. Both glebe land and tithes had been rented out during the 'vacancy of a legall vicar' during the Interregnum.³⁹¹

Joseph Allen, who died in 1684, had been rector of Melbury Osmond and Melbury Sampford since 1669, and had been appointed rector of the more valuable chalkland parish of Maiden Newton less than a year before his death at the age of 49. All three parishes were in the gift of the Strangways of Melbury House. Allen had previously been headmaster of Sherborne School. His inventory is unfortunately largely illegible, but the total value of £306 includes considerable livestock, crops and farm implements. In 1535, the glebe of Melbury Osmond had been valued at only 14s, but a glebe terrier of 1612 listed 16 acres

³⁸⁹ 'Mow-staddle: the framework or stone on which a stack of hay, corn, etc., is built up' ('mow, n.1.', in *OED Online* (Oxford, 2016), (accessed 19 February 2017).

³⁹⁰ WSHC P5/1702/36 Administration bond, commission and inventory of Haynes Ryall, clerk of Thornford, 1702; 'Ryall, Haynes', in Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1277-1295> (accessed 5 March 2017).

³⁹¹ WSHC P5/1712/55 Inventory and will of Samuel Thornton, vicar of Haydon, 1712; TNA E 134/14Chas2/Mich27 David Ford, clerk v. William Game re tithes of vicarage of Haydon, 1662.

of pasture, an acre of arable land and a 3.5-acre close, suggesting that it was reasonably extensive.³⁹²

William Browne, curate of Nether Compton left very little when he died in 1637. His inventory totalling £21 11s 8d comprised only wearing apparel, books, a trunk and two boxes, with £5 5s 8d in money. The other inventory for Nether Compton, of Paul Clement in 1704, totalled £242 18s 2d and listed a range of household furnishings, but his principal items of value were a leasehold estate in the parish of Upper Compton for one life, worth £84, and six acres on a long lease in Nether Compton, worth £100.³⁹³ Clement had not had an auspicious start at Nether Compton. His father, Thomas had given up the living by 1637 when his curate William Browne died, and in 1647 the parishioners had petitioned the county committee for George Drake to be their minister. However, in 1649 the committee resolved that the living was in the gift of Thomas Clement, who accordingly appointed his son, Paul. A year later, the parishioners were complaining that the cure was being served by one 'as yett altogether unfitt for the worke of the mynisterie', Clement being then aged only 23; therefore, some of the profits were being paid to him and some 'to a godly minister near adjacent', while the parishioners themselves were detaining some payments. In fact, Clement was not ordained priest until two years later: at the visitation of the Dean of Salisbury in 1662, he exhibited his papers dated 19 Aug 1652 for his ordination by Thomas Fulwar, bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe.³⁹⁴ Nevertheless, by the time of his death, he also held the rectories of two cures in Somerset and was a prebendary of Wells Cathedral, yet he died intestate. He appears to have owed his early success to his father's patronage, but had subsequently proved himself ecclesiastically, while investing his wealth in leasehold land.³⁹⁵

³⁹² 'Allen, Joseph', *CCEd* Person IDs 7431, 49245 & 49246 (accessed 5 March 2017); TNA PROB 11/378/264 Will of Joseph Allen, clerk of Melbury Osmond, 3 December 1684; TNA PROB 4/307 Inventory of Joseph Allen of Melbury Osmond, 1684.

³⁹³ WSHC P5/1707/14 Administration bond, commission and inventory of Paul Clement, rector of Nether Compton, 1707.

³⁹⁴ Fulwar was one of three Irish bishops who fled to England following the 1641 Irish Rebellion and ordained many English clergy between the abolition of the episcopacy in 1646 and its restoration in 1660. Fulwar himself is estimated to have ordained between 800 and 1,100 clergy during this period (K. Fincham and S. Taylor, 'Vital statistics: Episcopal ordination and ordinands in England, 1646-60', *English Historical Review*, 126, No. 519 (2011), p.327).

³⁹⁵ TNA C 94/2 f.109 *Survey*, Nether Compton, 1650; WSHC D5/29/2 f.20 Dean of Salisbury visitation books, 1662-1699.

At the neighbouring parish of Over Compton, Richard Pike's inventory was valued at £79 0s 6d in 1629, of which over £50 was for farming-related goods, including 'two oxen and 3 kyne ... two piggs ... 4 loads of hay ... corne in the barne & backside ... corne upon the ground ... wood & tymber ... one wayne with 2 payre of wheelles and the rest of the plough stuffe ... one mare with its furniture'. He also had small stores of apples, cheese and bacon, and £3 in ready money, and was owed £14 10s 'by Mr Andrew Abbington for rent'. Andrew Abbington was patron of the rectory and had been presented by the churchwardens in 1614 'for disturbinge our minister and the whole parish in the tyme of divine service' and in 1615 for not receiving communion, and the two men had been involved in reciprocal libel cases in the 1620s. According to a 1634 terrier, the glebe of Over Compton consisted of 19 acres of enclosed meadow and pasture, plus 31 acres in the common fields and common pasture for four oxen and a horse. Pike's inventory indicates that he was actively involved in farming, with corn growing in the field and his own plough.³⁹⁶ However, his house was very dilapidated. Following his death, the dean of Salisbury ordered a view to be taken of necessary repairs to the church and parsonage, and two carpenters commissioned to survey the property reported that extensive repairs were required to the thatching of the parsonage house, kitchen, barn and outhouses, as well as replacements to timber and flooring in several buildings.³⁹⁷ The whole amounted to £14 10s, a reminder that in order to maximise glebe income and store tithe produce, extensive outlays might be required to maintain the parsonage buildings effectively as a farmhouse.

Roger Nicholls was rector of Over Compton from 1660 until his death in 1667. His inventory totalling £184 0s 4d included £9 2s 6d in wheat, reed and hay in the barn, a bay mare, two hogs and 900 faggots. However, his most valuable items were books worth £35, £10 of money in his desk, a pair of virginals and a brass clock worth £5 10s, and silverware worth £13 10s, as well as £15 in debts. In contrast with his predecessor, Pike, the absence of farm

³⁹⁶ WSHC P5/1629/48 Inventory and will of Richard Pyke, rector of Over Compton, 1629; WSHC D5/28/16 f.4 Over Compton churchwardens' presentment, 1614; WSHC D5/28/16 f.49 Over Compton churchwardens' presentment, 1615; WSHC D5/21/3/9 Dean of Salisbury libels, 1626-29; WSHC D5/10/2/6 Glebe terrier for Over Compton parsonage, 1634.

³⁹⁷ WSHC D5/21/5/38 f.20 Report from carpenters on dilapidations to chancel and parsonage house with outbuildings of Over Compton, 1628.

implements suggests that he was not actively engaged in farming his own glebe.³⁹⁸

Charles Bragge died in Osborne in 1639, having been vicar there for 50 years. This was not a rich living, and the glebe in 1535 accounted for only 4.5 per cent of its total value. Bragge's goods were inventoried to the value of £46 11s 2d and included no agricultural items. Apart from small monetary sums, his books valued at £3 are the only items mentioned specifically in his will, so there is no indication of any income earned from non-clerical activities.³⁹⁹

At Ryme Intrinseca, Thomas Whitlock left nothing of any value apart from a bedstead and a pair of virginals in 1628,⁴⁰⁰ whereas John Elford's 1664 inventory totalled £115 15s 0d and gives a clear indication that he was involved in farming. He left oats, barley and vetches in the barn, plus six acres of wheat, two acres of beans, six acres of peas, two acres of oats and other corn to the value of £33 16s. In the field were 'two coves, two bullocks, an heffer and calfe, five yong beasts, a mare and two pigs' and 'three reeks of hay' totalling £25 13 4d. He was also farming other land, as his inventory lists 'the use of John Littles ground for two yeares yet to come', worth £7. However, he still had time for clerical activities, and even musical entertainment, as 'his studye of bookes, table, citterns & wrest for booke binding' were worth £20.⁴⁰¹

Turning from the Blackmore Vale to the other clay area, West Dorset, fewer inventories survive for this region. At Chardstock, James Keate was rector from 1669 until his death in 1704, and his inventory was valued at £321 10s. In addition to household furnishings, he left books worth £40 and two bullocks and a mare worth £10, but his principal legacy was the 'lease of the new parks in the parish of Chardstock', valued at £150. In his will, he left this lease, together with 'my right and title in the house & grounds there' to his son, William. His will reveals that he also held property elsewhere, as he left 'To my son James all those lands of mine lying in the parish of Chard, Dorset, known by the name of Rinspit & the 3 Buckhills' and 'To my son Jack all my stocks of beasts and cattell, both

³⁹⁸ WSHC P5/1667/37 Administration bond and inventory of Roger Nichols, rector of Over Compton, 1667.

³⁹⁹ WSHC P5/1639/9 Inventory and will of Charles Bragge, clerk of Osborne, 1639.

⁴⁰⁰ WSHC P5/1628/111 Administration bond and inventory of Thomas Whitlock, parson of Ryme Intrinseca, 1628.

⁴⁰¹ WSHC P5/1664/9 Administration bond, commission, inventory and renunciation of John Elford, clerk of Ryme Intrinseca, 1664.

those at Chedd[ar?] and those at Chardstock'. Having gone up to Oxford in 1650, he had been ordained by the bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe on 19 July 1659 and appears to have been a quiet conformist throughout his ministry. The year before his arrival at Chardstock, his predecessor, Richard Luce, had been presented by the churchwardens for neglecting the cure and being 'too notorious debawcht, much given to drunkennes cursing & swearing quarellinge & stirring up discord amongst his neighbors with many other vicious & rude deportments', but following Keate's appointment, no further issues were reported in the parish. The vicarage of Chardstock had no glebe land, and the tithes of wool, lamb, cow white and orchard fruits were worth only £40 per year in 1650. Keate left only £20 in bonds, money and credits, suggesting that, rather than investing money in mercantile activities or money lending, he invested in land to supplement his income.⁴⁰²

At Wambrook, another West Dorset parish, John Chase was rector when he died in 1684. His father, Gamaliel, had been rector there from 1621 until his sequestration in 1645. When an interim minister left in 1648, the county committee heard that Gamaliel Chase was the patron of the living, and that he had a son 'who hath bin bred a scholler and designed for the ministry'. John was duly examined by three ministers and appointed to the living in December 1648, but by August 1649 had been adjudged sequestrable and was ordered to cease officiating. Gamaliel regained the rectory in 1660, but passed it to his son in 1662. In 1650, the glebe land was said to consist of 18 acres of enclosed pasture and arable land worth £11 3s 4d out of the living's total of £40 3s. John Chase left a large inventory of goods at properties in Wambrook, Yarcombe in Devon and Whitestaunton in Somerset valued at £461 5s 10d, including farming produce and utensils worth £31 10s in the form of cheese and two flitches of bacon, a mare and colt, hay and corn, three cows and one yearling, two pack saddles and other horse furniture, plough tackle, and a pair of wheels. However, money in the house and received since his death was worth £68, and debts owing to him

⁴⁰² WSHC P14/101 Administration bond, commission, inventory, renunciation and will of James Keate, vicar of Chardstock, 1705; WSHC D5/29/4 f.16 Dean of Salisbury's visitation book, 1671; D5/28/46 f.39 Churchwardens' presentment, Chardstock, 1668; TNA C 94/2 f.74 *Survey*, Chardstock, 10 June 1650.

amounted to £267 10s. Chase had certainly profited from his family wealth and had invested money in both property and other activities.⁴⁰³

Jonas Paviot was rector of the West Dorset parish of Powerstock from his presentation in 1655 until his death in 1689, leaving an inventory valued at £673 9s 0d. He left silverware worth £49, books worth £50, and £20 in money, but a vast proportion of his wealth lay in 'Severall bonds, mortgages & mony owing for tyths' worth £450. Having gained his MA from Oxford in 1641, he was probably fortunate in being a local man (his Oxford admission records him as 'son of John of Beaminster, pleb.'), as he received a certificate of approbation for his appointment from four local ministers.⁴⁰⁴ However, Powerstock was another parish with virtually no glebe land, and tithes of wool and lamb amounted to only £26 in 1650. Paviot was assessed on seven hearths in 1664, occupying the largest property in the parish, but there is no indication of the source of his considerable fortune.⁴⁰⁵

Netherbury also had very little glebe land, and William Henman's inventory of 1608, valued at £91 5s 0d, included £10 in corn, but no other farming-related goods or implements. In fact, his most valuable effects were his clothing, valued at £17 10s, comprising two hats, three cloaks, two gowns, three doublets, two coats and three pairs of hose. This was considerably finer clothing than listed in any other inventory of the time. With books worth £10 and bedding worth £20, the remainder of his inventory consisted of small household items. Henman had been rector of Netherbury since 1575. It was a large parish, with over 600 communicants, but he ministered without major disruption: the churchwardens reported nothing more serious during his incumbency than three men 'playinge at the vives [fives] against the church walls & windowes', as well as some longstanding local recusants, including William Paulet esquire of Melplash Court

⁴⁰³ Mayo, *DSC*, pp.462, 476-7 & 542-3; TNA C 94/2 f.73 *Survey*, Wambrook, 11 June 1650; TNA PROB 4/11139 Inventory of John Chase of Wambrook, 28 February 1685.

⁴⁰⁴ Fry, 'Augmentation books', pp.62 & 66.

⁴⁰⁵ DHC BC/1/P42 Inventory of Jonas Paviot of Powerstock, 20 December 1689; DHC BC/W/P42 Will of Jonas Paviot of Powerstock, 3 August 1685; 'Paviot, Jonah', in Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1104-1131> (accessed 6 March 2017); TNA C 94/2 f.70 *Survey*, Powerstock, 12 June 1650; Meekings, *Dorset Hearth Tax*, p.94.

and his family.⁴⁰⁶ He appears to have survived on tithe income from wool, lambs, kine, hay, hemp, pigs and fruits from gardens and orchards, valued at £70 in 1650.⁴⁰⁷

Symondsbury differed from the previous West Dorset parishes in having considerable glebe land. The 1650 survey listed about 146 acres of glebe to the value of £120 8s 4d, with tithes, agistments of corn, hay, wool and small tithes worth £190, making the total value of the parsonage £310 8s 4d per annum. This was the most highly valued parish in Dorset by some margin, the next most valuable being Wimborne Minster at £222, which was served by three ministers. The advowson was therefore an attractive purchase for Elizabeth Newburgh in 1618. Her son, Walter was ordained deacon in 1619 and priest in 1620, and gained his BD from Oxford in 1623. He then took over the rectory of Symondsbury from 1624 until his death in 1631.⁴⁰⁸ In addition to the advantages of coming from an armigerous family, Newburgh married first the daughter of Sir Richard Strode and then the daughter of John Browne of Frampton, both influential local gentry and MPs. In his will, he left lands, tenements and hereditaments with rents at West Holme, East Stoke, Rushton and Frome St Quintin in Dorset, and his executors included Sir Walter Erle of Charborough and John Browne esq of Frampton. His inquisition post mortem was conducted in Chancery, resulting in an inventory listing numerous properties, including the manor of Worth Francis in Netherbury. Little is known of his ministry, although he was an associate of John White of Dorchester and invested in the Dorchester Company so must have had puritan leanings, as did the Erle, Strode and Browne families. Unfortunately, no churchwardens' presentments survive to throw light on his parochial activities.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁶ In fives, 'boys used the buttresses and walls of a church and hit the ball with their hands against the walls the angles of the buttresses and walls lending variety to the game' (<https://www.wessexfivesclub.org.uk/the-game>).

⁴⁰⁷ WSHC P5/1608/18 Administration bond, inventory and will of William Henman, vicar of Netherbury, 1608; WSHC D5/28/3 f.20 Dean of Salisbury's visitation book, 1603; WSHC D5/28/9 f.56 Netherbury churchwardens' presentment, 1606; TNA C 94/2 f.73 *Survey*, Netherbury, 11 June 1650.

⁴⁰⁸ 'Newboroughe, Walter', *CCEd* Person ID 13880 and 'Newburgh, Walter', *CCEd* Person ID 55009 (accessed 7 March 2017).

⁴⁰⁹ TNA C 94/2 ff.78-79 *Survey*, Symondsbury, 18 June 1650; J.G. Bartlett, *The Ancestors and Descendants of Thomas Newberry of Dorchester, Norfolk, Massachusetts* (Boston, MA, 1914); F. Thistlethwaite, *Dorset Pilgrims* (London, 1989), p.51; TNA C 142/762/150 Inventory post mortem of Walter Newburgh, clerk, 10 September 1632.

Few inventories survive for heathland parishes. There are just two for Bere Regis which, though predominantly heathland, also contains some downland. The parish 'covered the common West, Middle and East fields on the chalk; the fertile, alluvial meadows bordering on the river Bere ... and stretches of heath on the sandy, gravelly podsols south of the village'.⁴¹⁰ In 1650 it was valued at £60, with a further £60 from the chapel of Winterborne Kingston. There was no glebe land, and no seventeenth-century terrier survives, but in 1242 it had been confirmed that the vicar had a vicarage with two acres of land and received the tithes of corn, hay and mills, annual oblations and a pension of six marks per year out of the rectory of Bloxworth, while the curate of Winterborne Kingston received the tithes of wool and lambs, with small tithes and oblations.⁴¹¹

Thomas Bastard, appointed to Bere Regis in 1593, died in 1618 leaving an inventory valued at only £16 1s 5d, of which £7 17s 7d was for 133 books in a chest. His goods and chattels included two horses, but no crops nor any indication of engagement in farming. Bastard had had a chequered career. He was born in Blandford and went up to Oxford in 1586. He was described as being 'endowed with many rare gifts, was an excellent Grecian, Latinist, and poet, and in his elder years a quaint preacher ... He was a most excellent epigrammatist, and being always ready to versify upon any subject, did let nothing material escape his fancy'.⁴¹² However, in 1591 he was accused of libel and was forced to leave Oxford. He received support from and served as chaplain to Charles Blount, who became Lord Mountjoy in 1594 and had a family seat at Hooke, Dorset, and Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, presented him to livings in Bere Regis in 1592 and Almer in 1606. He continued to write in an effort to supplement his income, as described in an epigram published in 1598:

But nowe left naked of prosperitie,
 And subject unto bitter iniurie.
 So poore of sense, so bare of wit I am,
 Not neede her selfe can drive an Epigram,

⁴¹⁰ Kerr, *Bound to the Soil*, p.126.

⁴¹¹ W. Page (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Dorset* (London, 1908), p.13.

⁴¹² A Wood and Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses*, Part 2, p.228.

Yet neede is mistresse of all exercise.
And she all thriving arts did first devise.⁴¹³

Bastard died in debt in Dorchester prison in 1618.

The other inventory for an incumbent of Bere Regis, that of Thomas Basket in 1665, is also meagre, totalling only £26 12s, £20 of which was for his study of books. There is no indication of any farming equipment or produce, apart from 'Three thousand of turffes' valued at 15s, which would have been dug from the heathland. Basket's earlier life is obscure. He was ordained in 1660 and appointed to Bere Regis in 1663, but whether he had been active prior to the Restoration is unknown. Administration of his estate was granted to his sister, Elizabeth, so he was probably unmarried.⁴¹⁴

The evidence for heathland parishes is therefore scanty, although the absence of surviving inventories suggests that, in contrast to the Blackmore Vale, the incumbents left little wealth. There are no surviving inventories for the South Dorset landscape region.

In this section, available inventories have been analysed in some detail because they illustrate not only the range of clergymen's income-generating activities, but also that generalisation is difficult owing to the breadth of factors that affected their prosperity. Overall, the evidence from inventories indicates that those incumbents of downland parishes for whom inventories were made tended to have influential patrons or wealthy family, supported by 'nucleated villages, tight bonds of kinship and neighbourhood, and firm mechanisms of social control from church and manor', enabling them to invest in property and other activities.⁴¹⁵ The absence of glebe meant that most did not engage directly in farming. The survival of a larger number of wills and inventories from Blackmore Vale suggests that a greater proportion of incumbents in this region were sufficiently wealthy to have property to bequeath. Self-sufficiency was perhaps easier in this region, given the enclosed nature of the glebe land. In contrast, incumbents of heathland parishes derived little income from the land,

⁴¹³ WSHC P5/1618/3 Administration bond and inventory of Thomas Bastard, clerk of Bere Regis, 1618; T. Bastard, *Chrestoloros: Seven Bookes of Epigrammes* (London, 1598), Book 1, Epigram 2.

⁴¹⁴ WSHC P5/1665/8 Administration bond, commission and inventory of Thomas Baskett, clerk of Bere Regis, 1665; 'Baskett, Thomas', *CCEd* Person ID 13728 (accessed 7 March 2017).

⁴¹⁵ Underdown, 'Chalk and cheese', p.26.

and either lived in relative poverty or, like Thomas Bastard, turned to more creative ways of earning a living.

Topography and mobility

As the preceding sections have shown, the nature of the landscape influenced agricultural practices and affected the profitability of glebe lands and the collectability of tithes. It also had an impact on travel and communications between parishes and further afield. At a parish level, the 1650 *Survey* gives some indication of parishioners' problems in getting to church during adverse weather conditions.

Several examples arose in the villages of the Blackmore Vale, where winter flooding was used to support cases for the establishment of chapels of ease as parish churches in their own right. The chapel of West Orchard sought to be separated from the mother church because 'by reason of the height of waters in the winter season betweene the said mother Church at Ffountmell and the said Chappell at West Orchard aforesaid a greate parte of the winter time the passage betweene them two is impassible'. At neighbouring East Orchard, a proposal was made to unite it with Fontmell only two miles distant, even though the mother church was Iwerne Minster. Meanwhile, the parishioners of Margaret Marsh, another chapel belonging to Iwerne Minster, were asking to be united with East Orchard.⁴¹⁶ These three parishes were some of the few lying wholly on wet clay land in Blackmore Vale, watered by a network of tributaries of the River Stour. As shown in Figure 4.11, the mother parishes of Fontmell Magna and Iwerne Minster were both situated partly on drier downland, whereas the chapels of ease had been established in the clay bottoms because travelling to the mother churches was so difficult in wet weather.

⁴¹⁶ TNA C 94/2 *Survey*, f.12 West Orchard, f.7 East Orchard, f.96 Margaret Marsh.

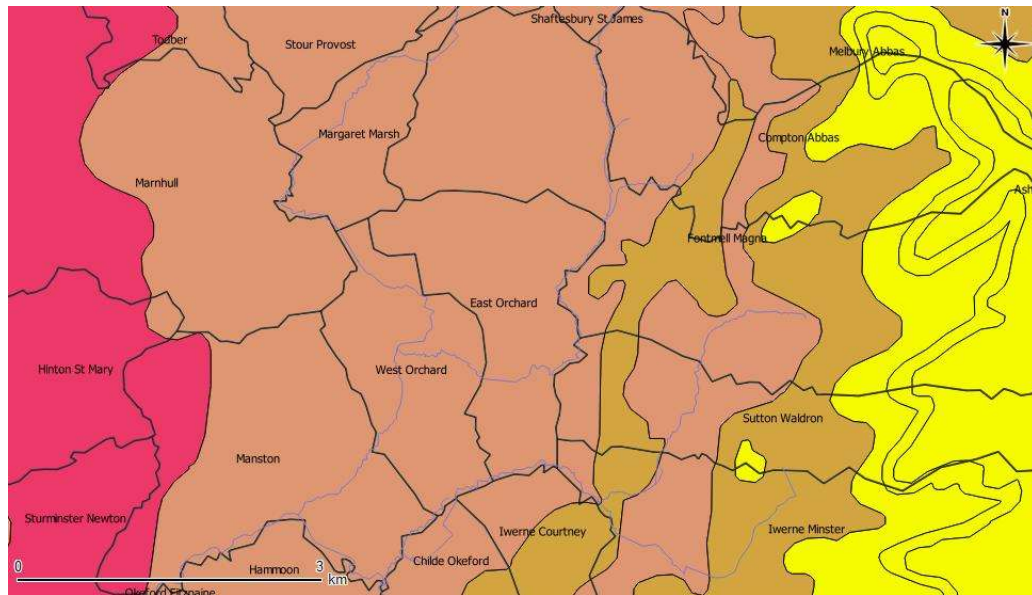


Figure 4.11: Geological map of East and West Orchard and Margaret Marsh⁴¹⁷

According to George Fussell, Blackmore Vale was very isolated in the seventeenth century ‘because of its heavy soil and lack of good roads’. Writing in the 1950s, Fussell claimed that, ‘Only a few years ago an ancient native boasted to the writer that Cromwell could not conquer this part of the country, “Dirty Do’set”, a strange tradition to have remained alive.’⁴¹⁸ Although this adage may form part of the myth around Cromwell rather than having any basis in fact, it does illustrate local pride in the area’s isolation and independence.⁴¹⁹ Motcombe, another Blackmore parish a little further north, sought to be established as a parish church, ‘there being noe other church or chappell nearer to it then the said Church of Gillingham, the road thereunto from Motcombe in winter season by reason of floods is unpassable’.⁴²⁰ At Kington Magna, too, ‘part of the parish is a mile away from the church and inaccessible when the waters are high’.⁴²¹ Some of these problems were no doubt due to incumbents’ failure to appoint curates to outlying chapels. For example, in 1684, John White, vicar of Yetminster, was presented by the churchwardens for not celebrating divine service in the chapels of Leigh and Chetnole every Sunday, but only ‘on every other Sunday, except when he was sick, from home or the waters up’. His predecessor, William

⁴¹⁷ Based on DigiMapGB-250.

⁴¹⁸ G.E. Fussell, ‘Four centuries of farming systems in Dorset, 1500-1900’, *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Club*, 73 (1951), p.119.

⁴¹⁹ A. Smith, ‘The image of Cromwell in folklore and tradition’, *Folklore*, 79 (1968), pp.17-39.

⁴²⁰ Fry, ‘Augmentation books’, p.90.

⁴²¹ TNA C 94/2 f.113 Survey, Kington Magna, 1650.

Bartlett, had allegedly ensured that weekly services were provided by himself or one of his succession of curates.⁴²² There was therefore some tension between amalgamating parishes to enable suitable preaching ministers rather than curates to serve the cure, and ensuring that incumbents were able or willing to travel to fulfil their weekly obligations at outlying chapels.

In more extensive parishes, it was not the minister but the parishioners who might have difficulty getting to church. This was the case at Folke in 1635, where 'most parishioners do not come to divine service on holy days in regard their houses are too far distant from the church'.⁴²³ In Haydon, five people were presented for non-attendance in 1619 because 'they dwell three miles from the church', and two were presented in 1628, who 'inhabiting att Boy's Hill, within the precincts of our parish and distant from our parish Church about fower miles, doe very seldome frequent our parish Church ... but onely frequent the parish Churches which are neere adjoyning with them'.⁴²⁴ Boy's Hill was actually a detached part of the parish about three and a half miles south of Haydon.

All the previous examples are from Blackmore Vale. There are fewer examples from West Dorset, the other clay area of the county, but in 1650 the 250 inhabitants of Shipton Gorge, a chapelry of Burton Bradstock, claimed that they 'are not able to travell to Burton Church it being distant at least a myle and quarter from the neerest house to it and much of it two myles and the waies thither unpassable at winter by reason of dirt'. The example of Stanton St Gabriel (see p.60), where the parishioners were struggling to attend the mother church of Whitchurch Canonorum more than two miles away, 'along a road exposed to such violence of wind and weather', is another example from West Dorset.⁴²⁵ No similar examples have been found in downland or heathland parishes, suggesting that the terrain there caused fewer problems.

It was clearly no coincidence that the dean of Salisbury's visitations took place in July when the roads were more passable. Even so, the journey to attend visitations was not always easy. Robert Lane, rector of Hermitage in Blackmore

⁴²² WSHC D5/22/19 ff.7v-15 Depositions in the case of William Harris, churchwarden of Yetminster against John White, vicar of Yetminster for neglecting the cure of the chapel of Leigh, 28 May 1684.

⁴²³ WSHC D5/28/35 f.86 Folke churchwardens' presentment, 1635.

⁴²⁴ WSHC D5/28/20 f.83 Haydon churchwardens' presentment, 1619; WSHC D5/28/28 f.65 Haydon churchwardens' presentment, 1628.

⁴²⁵ TNA C 94/2 f.118 *Survey*, Shipton Gorge, 12 June 1650; f.82 Stanton St Gabriel, 12 June 1650.

Vale, sent his apologies to the dean in 1638, since ‘at the last visitation in this place, I adventured to ryde on a side saddle ... but I was not able to endure the miles ryding homeward’; he was taken down off his horse, which was led home while he had to ‘creepe home ... in greate payne & misery alone there after’. Lane further informed the dean that he lived about a mile from his church, and that his infirmity was such that he had to make his way to a chamber at the church on Saturday night because he would otherwise be unfit to officiate on Sunday morning.⁴²⁶ In another example, Charles Long had been serving as curate of the donative chapels of Charminster and Stratton, potentially for as long as three years since his ordination in 1696, when his absence from the dean of Salisbury’s triennial visitation was noted in 1699, and it was subsequently discovered that he had not applied formally for a licence to minister. Accordingly, he had set out on horseback toward Salisbury, but had been driven back ‘when the snow falling in such abundance made it not feasible to go farther’. His letter to the dean expressed great concern that he might be suspended, but would be unable to afford to employ a curate in his stead from his meagre income of £18 per annum.⁴²⁷

As outlined in Chapter 2, seventeenth-century Dorset was largely rural. According to Mark Stoye, ‘it was from the limited circle of villages served by the local market town that the majority of an individual’s social and business contacts would be drawn ... the hinterland of each centre was usually pretty well-defined; by ranges of hills, by river systems or by considerations of distance’.⁴²⁸ That is not to say that those living in small villages and hamlets were necessarily isolated, despite Beaver’s conclusion on seventeenth-century communities in the Vale of Gloucester that ‘[l]ittle everyday contact occurred between hamlets separated by as much as four or five miles’.⁴²⁹ Dorset’s topography certainly has some areas similar to that of the Vale of Gloucester, but the early seventeenth-century records of one Dorset JP reveal that people were travelling around the county to fairs, markets and ports, and were also in contact with people from

⁴²⁶ WSHC D5/28/38 f.18 Hermitage presentment, 1638.

⁴²⁷ WSHC D5/7/6 Letter from Charles Long to dean of Salisbury, 16 November 1699.

⁴²⁸ Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality*, p.152.

⁴²⁹ D.C. Beaver, *Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester, 1590-1690* (London, 1998), pp.49-50.

much further afield.⁴³⁰ William Huish must have used his coach to travel further afield (see p.100), and in 1647 Hugh Gundry of Mapperton was awarded £10 by the county committee because ‘through and by reason of plundringe his goods and losse of the profitts of his parsonage for his affeccion to the Parlyarment in these late troubles [he] hath not an horse to ride on’, indicating that mobility was important.⁴³¹

Nevertheless, evidence from 215 wills and inventories suggests that clergymen in West Dorset, where Gundry lived, were less likely to own horses than in the downland and heathland parishes. Horses, saddles or riding apparel appear in only four out of 35 West Dorset cases (11.43 per cent), compared with 20 per cent of heathland and 16 per cent of downland parishes. None of the eight available wills and inventories for South Dorset mention horses, and the figure for Blackmore Vale is just under 14 per cent. Thus, horse ownership appears to have differed by landscape type, with heathland and downland perhaps being more conducive to keeping and riding the animals, particularly given the relatively unenclosed nature of the landscape. This is confirmed by evidence from glebe terriers. In Blackmore Vale, only five terriers mention provision for horse pasture, and the vicar of Sherborne, whose glebe amounted to only his house, garden and stable, was ‘permitted to keepe his horse in the Churchyard, Abby Lytten or Abby greene’.⁴³² Similarly in West Dorset, the only terrier that mentions horses is for Wambrook, where the outhouses included ‘a stable to conteyne fflower horzes’, and where rector, Christopher Marraker left his ‘baye Mare’ to his wife.⁴³³ Wives are also mentioned in two heathland wills, with a wife’s ‘pillion Saddle and Saddlecloathe’ at Owermoigne and ‘my wife’s Riding Suite and best wastcoate’ at West Parley.⁴³⁴ However, only one heathland terrier, for Studland, makes reference to horse pasture on the heath, whereas several South Dorset terriers mention commons for horses, although the latter are likely

⁴³⁰ J. Bettey, *Casebook of Sir Francis Ashley, 1614-35* (Dorchester, 1981).

⁴³¹ Mayo, *DSC*, p.201.

⁴³² WSHC, D5/10/2 Sherborne terrier, 1669.

⁴³³ WSHC, D28/10/139 Wambrook terrier, 1612; TNA, PROB 11/138 Will of Christopher Marraker, Wambrook, 1620.

⁴³⁴ TNA, PROB 11/124 Will of Leonard Parry, Owermoigne, 1614; PROB 11/335 Will of John Sherren, West Parley, 1671.

to have included animals for ploughing rather than riding.⁴³⁵ Horse commoning occurs much more frequently in downland terriers, often providing for two or three horses in the common fields or leazes, although once again, rather than for riding, the terrier for Bradford Peverell specifies 'the depasturing of fower Hallers [haulers], whether they be Horses or oxen ... in all Commons, pastures, meades and stubbles'.⁴³⁶ Although the evidence suggests that horse ownership was more common in downland and heathland parishes, clergymen in other regions may have hired mounts when necessary. Ralph Josselin of Earls Colne in Essex travelled frequently by horse, but usually borrowed or hired them, as the only animal purchases noted in his diary are of cows and pigs.⁴³⁷

Another indication of cross-county travel is given in a letter from John Bingham to secretary Thurloe in 1655, which suggested that people were gathering from as far afield as Beaminster in the west and Canford in the east, particularly to drink at Cashmore Inn near Blandford and to watch cock fighting in Wimborne. Many of these were 'yong blades, well horsed, habited, and each a man waiteinge on them', but the older gentry and clergy were also involved, including Thomas Bragge, vicar of Horton.⁴³⁸ All the parishes mentioned in this letter, apart from Beaminster, are in the downland and heathland regions, which confirms the potentially greater mobility of incumbents in these areas, but perhaps also their greater visibility and susceptibility to surveillance where enclosure was less common.

As Daniel Beaver observed, increasing religious diversity meant that 'religious community and locality had ceased to be synonymous', and that 'many came to define spiritual fellowship not in terms of common residence and parochial neighborhood but in terms of sympathy of conscience and shared belief'.⁴³⁹ This entailed travelling further afield to worship. Everitt suggested that dissent tended to proliferate at parish boundaries, and Rosalind Johnson has identified high levels of dissent in the Hampshire parishes bordering both Dorset

⁴³⁵ WSHC, D28/10/127 Studland terrier 1634.

⁴³⁶ WSHC, D28/10/14 Bradford Peverell terrier, 1634.

⁴³⁷ A. Macfarlane (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683* (London, 1976), pp.26, 208, 237, 448 & 543.

⁴³⁸ 'Letter from J. Bingham to secretary Thurloe, January 1655', in T. Birch, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Volume 3, December 1654 – August 1655* (London, 1742), pp.117-134, available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/thurloe-papers/vol3/pp117-134> (accessed 1 March 2017).

⁴³⁹ Beaver, *Parish Communities*, p.325

and Surrey by the early 1670s.⁴⁴⁰ Two such parishes on the northern border with Dorset were Rockbourne and Fordingbridge, to which John Haddesley resorted after being ousted from Poole in the 1650s, and where he was still preaching in 1669.⁴⁴¹



Figure 4.12: Loughwood Baptist meeting house, Dalwood⁴⁴²

One of the earliest surviving Baptist meeting houses was established before 1653 at Loughwood on the wooded borders of Dalwood, a curacy in the West Dorset parish of Stockland, which was itself a detached parish surrounded by Devon (Figure 4.12).⁴⁴³ Its location allowed preachers to flee across parish and county borders when threatened by persecution.

Further research might examine evidence of travel and communications between parishes in terms of Charles Phythian-Adams' 'cultural provinces', which might capture the fluidity of movement around the county and further afield, rather than static snapshots of parishes at particular points in time. As

⁴⁴⁰ A. Everitt, 'Nonconformity in country parishes', in J. Thirsk (ed.), *Land, Church, and People: Essays Presented to Professor H.P.R. Finberg* (Reading, 1970), p.198; R.N. Johnson, 'Protestant dissenters in Hampshire, c1640-c1740', PhD thesis (University of Winchester, 2013), p.128.

⁴⁴¹ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, pp.240-1.

⁴⁴² Author's own photograph.

⁴⁴³ J.B. Whiteley, 'Loughwood Baptists in the seventeenth century', *The Baptist Quarterly*, 31 (1985), pp.148-58.

Anne Mitson observed, parishes were not isolated from their surroundings, but depended on networks of neighbouring towns and market centres.⁴⁴⁴

Persecution

Having examined how the landscape affected clergymen's prosperity and mobility under 'normal' circumstances, this section examines how clergymen fared during more turbulent times in the different landscape regions. Figure 4.13 maps parishes where the incumbent was sequestered between 1640 and 1659. Out of 289 parishes, 75 incumbents were sequestered from 85 parishes (29%), and 44 ministers were restored to the same living following the Restoration.

Three sequestrations in Blackmore Vale were for very short periods. Thomas Bravell, rector of Compton Abbas, was sequestered 'for joininge with the Country in the clubb business', having led a rising of 4,000 Clubmen on Hambledon Hill in 1645 (see p.216). However, 18 months later, somewhat surprisingly, he was restored to his living on the testimony of three godly divines (John White, William Benn and Simon Ford) as a 'man sufficient in respect of his learninge for the worke of the ministry, orthodox in his judgment, and ready to submitt to the disciplyne of the Church of England as it is now established'.⁴⁴⁵ Edward Davenant, rector of Gillingham, was sequestered in 1645, but was restored in 1647 when the county committee found that he did not fall within any ordinance of sequestration, and ordered that he be unmolested.⁴⁴⁶ The third short-term sequestration was of William Bisson at Shillingstone. In June 1647, the county committee heard that he had been sequestered purely on account of his old age and sickness, and ordered that he be restored and that he pay £60 per annum to a curate to officiate for him, although he died the following year.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁴ A. Mitson, 'The significance of kinship networks in the seventeenth century: South-west Nottinghamshire', in C. Phythian-Adams, (ed.), *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580-1850: Cultural Provinces and English Local History* (Leicester, 1993), p.73.

⁴⁴⁵ Mayo, *DSC*, p.232.

⁴⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.202.

⁴⁴⁷ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p.128.

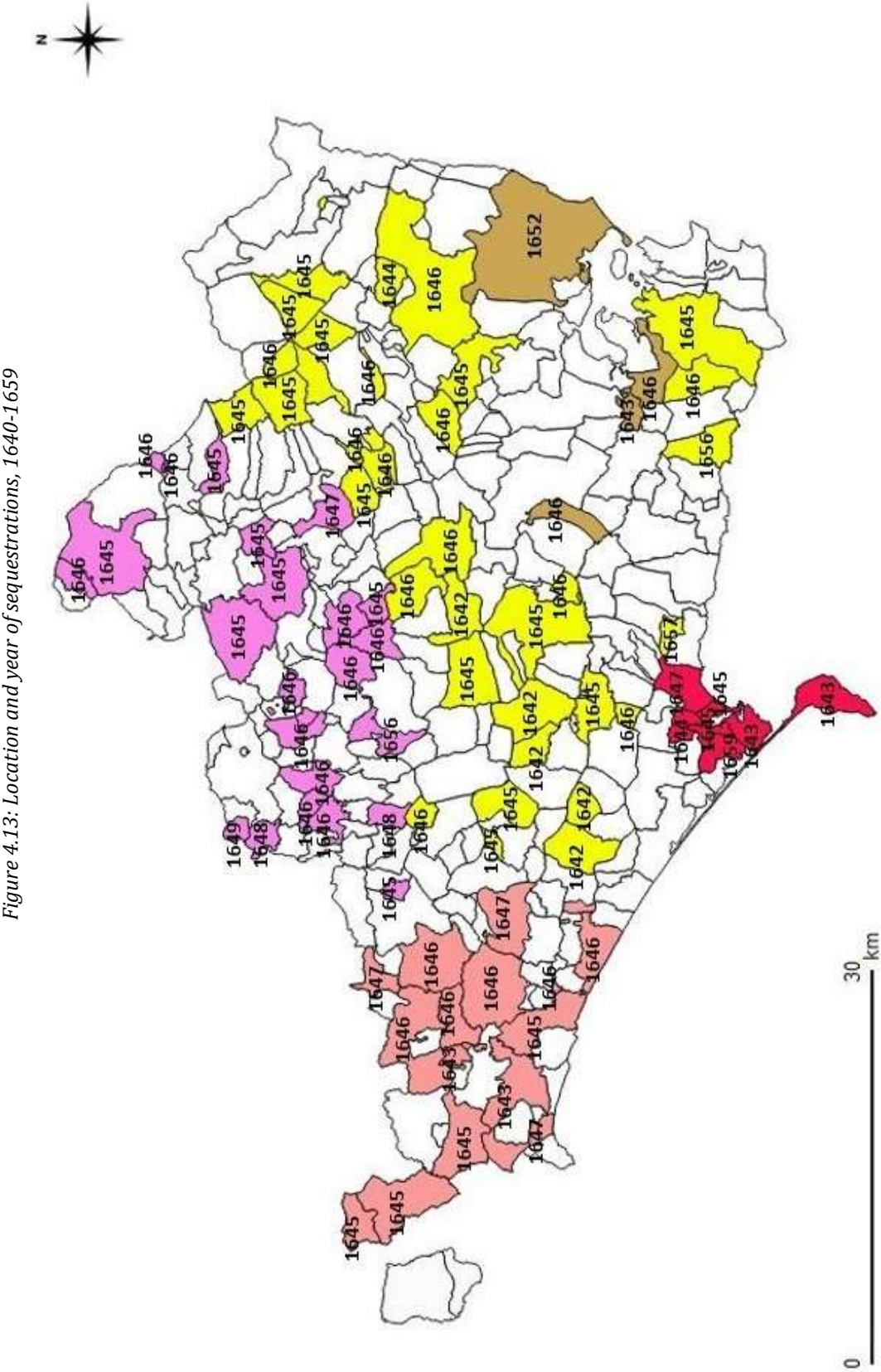


Figure 4.13: Location and year of sequestrations, 1640-1659

Analysis by landscape region of the percentage of parishes affected (Table 4.2) suggests that incumbents in South and West Dorset were much more likely to be sequestered (affecting 36% and 41% of parishes respectively) than those in other parts of the county (between 18% and 28%). This might suggest that there was greater support in the south and west of the county for puritan values and the new emphasis on preaching, but other factors may have been involved. For example, the parishes of South Dorset were close to the garrisons of Portland and Weymouth, and West Dorset was within the purview of forces at Lyme Regis. This accords with Ian Green's finding that many ejections occurred around the parliamentary garrison of Hull, and with Fiona McCall's observation of a cluster of sequestrations around the garrison of Wardour Castle, Wiltshire, which changed hands several times.⁴⁴⁸

Table 4.2: Number and percentage of livings suffering sequestration or ejection

Landscape Area	No. of Parishes	No. Sequestered	% Sequestered	No. Ejected	% Ejected
Downland	120	34	28	21	18
Blackmore	84	23	27	11	13
Heath	27	5	18	7	26
South Dorset	19	7	36	7	37
West Dorset	39	16	41	19	49
Total	289	85	29	65	22

Table 4.2 also gives figures for the numbers in each region ejected from livings following the Restoration. These are mapped in Figure 4.14. Overall, the percentage of ejections in Dorset is almost identical to that for neighbouring Hampshire, where Rosalind Johnson calculated that 57 out of 253 parochial ministers were ejected between 1660 and 1662 (22.53%).⁴⁴⁹ However, the preponderance of ejections from parishes in West Dorset is immediately obvious, accounting for 49 per cent of parishes in that region, while the figure of 37 per cent for South Dorset is also much higher than for other regions. This suggests that the influence of garrisons was indeed considerable, and that unwelcome 'intruders' were ousted as soon as this became possible.

⁴⁴⁸ Green, 'Persecution', p.523; McCall, *Baal's Priests*, p.132.

⁴⁴⁹ Johnson, 'Protestant dissenters', pp.290-302.

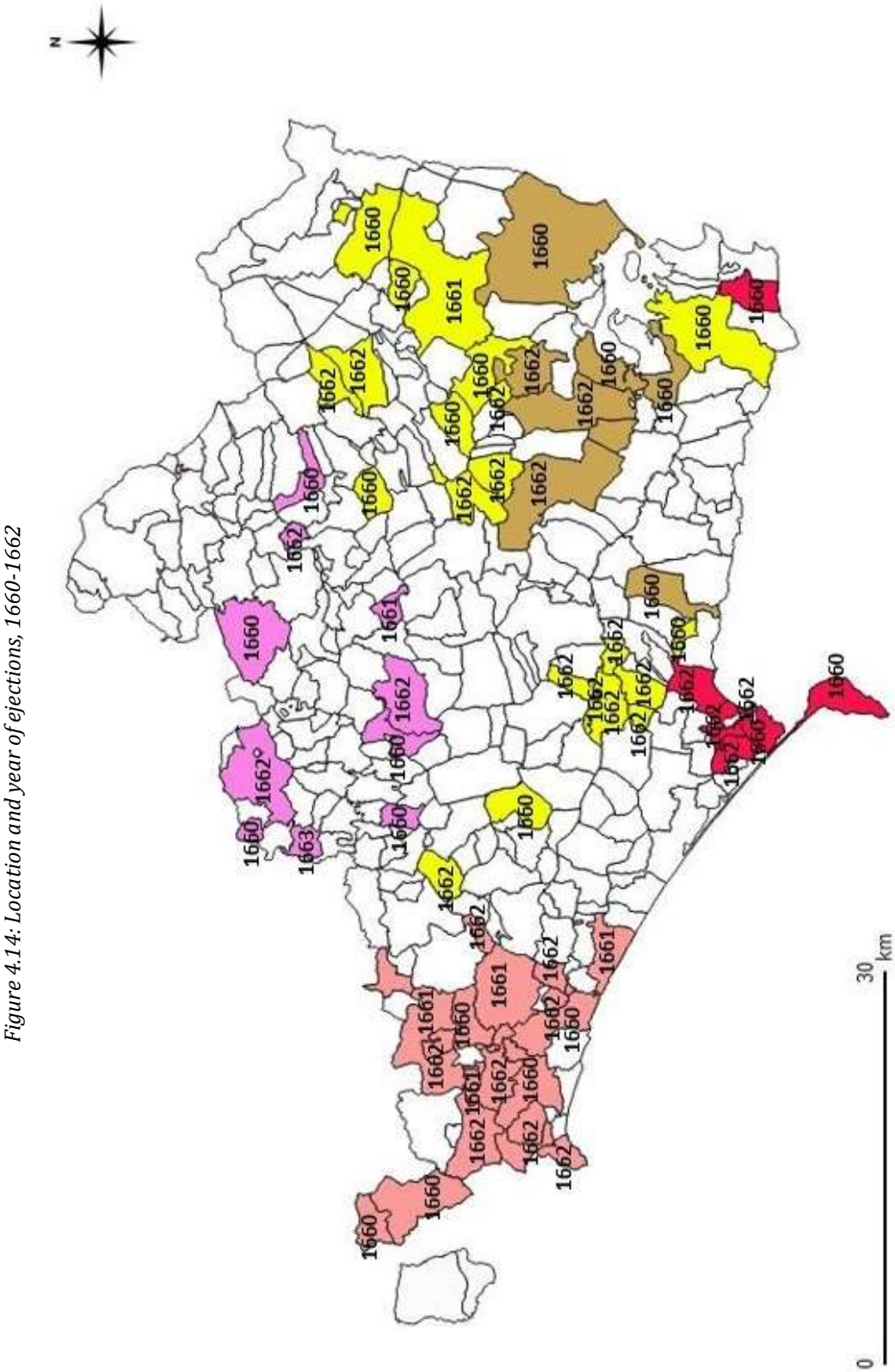


Figure 4.14: Location and year of ejections, 1660-1662

The percentage of ejections was lower for the Blackmore Vale where, as in the example of Paul Clement mentioned above, there had been sequestrations, but in some cases the replacement incumbents had been nominated by the patrons of the living, rather than being inserted by the county committee. This confirms the impression that Blackmore tended to be more isolated and independent than other parts of the county.

Summary

Informed by depictions of Dorset by early county historians and travellers, by the previous literature and by the author's personal perambulations around the 289 rectories, vicarages and curacies of seventeenth-century Dorset, this chapter has presented a parish-level classification of five different types of landscape. It has revealed that a simple division between 'chalk' and 'cheese' parishes fails to uncover the complexities arising from local differences in landscape, as well as other cultural factors, and 'cannot do justice to the complexity of English economic and settlement patterns'.⁴⁵⁰

Analysis of land usage reported in glebe terriers has revealed that all glebe land in West Dorset and most in Blackmore Vale was enclosed, whereas in downland and South Dorset parishes it was largely in common fields, sometimes distributed across numerous parcels of land. Glebe land in heathland parishes was more mixed, with common and enclosed land and coppices. Crop and animal yields were higher in the more fertile 'cheese' regions of West Dorset and Blackmore, as reflected in moduses of two or three pence per cow agreed in lieu of milk compared with only one penny in downland parishes. Terriers for the 'cheese' regions also list a much wider range of produce.

Evidence from wills and inventories has also revealed differing patterns of wealth. In downland parishes, with little glebe land, incumbents tended to be sponsored by wealthy local gentry or had influential family members, enabling them to purchase land and property rather than farming. The survival of a larger number of wills and inventories from Blackmore Vale suggests greater wealth in this region, where self-sufficiency was perhaps easier owing to the enclosed

⁴⁵⁰ French, *Middle Sort of People*, p.31; A. Hughes, 'The "chalk" and the "cheese": David Underdown, regional cultures and popular allegiance in the English revolution', *History Compass*, 11 (2013), p.376.

nature of the glebe land. Heathland parishes provided relatively meagre glebe income.

With regard to the effect of topography on clergymen's mobility, analysis of *Survey* data has shown that both parishioners and ministers experienced greater difficulties in travelling to church in the clay vale parishes of Blackmore and West Dorset than in downland and heathland parishes. Clergymen in the latter were more likely to own horses, easing their mobility across the county and further afield. With the rise of nonconformist worship in the second half of the century, there was a tendency to establish meeting houses on parish and county boundaries to aid mobility between jurisdictions.

Analysis of sequestration by landscape region has revealed that incumbents in South and West Dorset were much more likely to be sequestered than those in other parts of the county. This may have been because there was greater support in the south and west of the county for puritan values and the new emphasis on preaching, but is also likely to have been affected by proximity to military garrisons.

The analysis of this chapter has begun to demonstrate some patterns of activity and influence in the different landscape regions of Dorset, but has also revealed that clergymen's prosperity was usually determined by a combination of circumstances rather than a single factor. The next two chapters will examine a range of social and political factors that also impacted on incumbents' livelihoods.

Chapter 5: Impact of Social Factors

This chapter builds on the investigations of economic and geographical factors presented in Chapters 3 and 4 to look at some key social influences on Dorset clergymen's prosperity. A study of this nature cannot possibly examine every possible social factor, so the chapter focuses on a few specific aspects of relationships with family, patrons, parishioners and other clergy. First, drawing on university alumni data, ministers' changing qualification levels are examined to assess how these affected parochial relationships. Second, alumni data are analysed again to determine incumbents' social status, and confirmatory data are drawn from ecclesiastical, parish and other records to examine familial influences on parochial incumbencies. Third, types of patronage are analysed and compared with data from previous studies, and their impact on clergymen's security and prosperity assessed. Fourth, clergy-parishioner relationships are examined in light of tithe and glebe disputes recorded in churchwardens' presentments and other ecclesiastical records. Finally, relationships with other clergy are investigated through certificates of approbation, testimonials and nonconformist licence applications.

At this historical distance, it is difficult to determine the precise breadth and depth of clerical relationships, as the surviving evidence presents biased pictures of social interactions. For example, diocesan court records tend to reveal only negative incidents where relationships had broken down, while putative associations based on co-location of education or ordination may not reflect reality. Luise Schorn-Schütte has suggested that 'the regional ties of most of the Protestant rural clergy surely had a positive effect, for access to regional traditions of piety were easier for those who knew them from their own experience'.⁴⁵¹ However, Daniel Beaver's study of seventeenth-century Gloucestershire reveals complex communities 'divided on lines of social status and wealth, age, gender, and worldview'. He concluded that 'A place contained as many landscapes as its social experiences, marking landscape in patterns of purely personal significance.'⁴⁵² Thus, just as local villagers might disagree with

⁴⁵¹ L. Schorn-Schütte, 'Priest, preacher, pastor: Research on clerical office in early modern Europe', *Central European History*, 33 No. 1 (2000), p.15.

⁴⁵² Beaver, *Parish Communities*, p.35.

their neighbours over a range of issues, even locally-born parish clergy might find themselves at odds with their parishioners.

Rank and status were not simply inherited, but were constituted by various elements, including 'birth, conferred title, wealth and the nature of that wealth, life-style, occupation, form of land tenure, tenure of positions of authority and legal status', so social mobility was 'a structural feature of society'.⁴⁵³ Clergymen's social status might become particularly ambiguous as a result of their education, familial status and participation in various social circles of gentry, yeomen and other clergy. According to Donald Spaeth, 'This marginal position on the boundaries between social groups was fundamentally unstable and could generate anxiety and a sense of vulnerability.'⁴⁵⁴ Many clergymen were required 'to show the skills of an estate manager or litigant' in order to defend their income and status,⁴⁵⁵ and clergymen's own personalities and sociability impacted on their ability to develop successful parochial relationships, as is evident from diocesan court records.

After the Restoration, the parish became less a 'territorial community' and more 'a community of sympathetic families', moving from a geographical to a more social view of the parish community: 'The structure of religion, the pattern of relations among diverse local groups and factions, became contingent and variable, not fixed by the terms of doctrine and law.'⁴⁵⁶ In this challenging context, this chapter explores the impact of Dorset clergymen's education, family background, patrons, parishioners and other clergy on their prosperity as parochial ministers.

Education

Clergymen's level of education granted them some social status in their parish. O'Day has identified various factors that led to a better educated clerical body, including improved grammar school education, expansion of the universities, and rigorous examination of ordinands by more conscientious bishops.⁴⁵⁷ Evidence of the dean of Salisbury's early interest in his ministers' education

⁴⁵³ Wrightson, *English Society*, p.22.

⁴⁵⁴ Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, p.31.

⁴⁵⁵ Hawkins, 'Ambiguity and contradiction', p.250.

⁴⁵⁶ Beaver, *Parish Communities*, pp.244 & 267.

⁴⁵⁷ O'Day, 'Reformation of the ministry'.

appears in responses to his visitation of 1603, in which incumbents specifically stated their qualifications or, in the case of John Horder of Haydon, admitted that 'I am of noe degree of schole'.⁴⁵⁸ Few dean's articles of enquiry survive, but churchwardens' responses suggest that they were not consistently asked about incumbents' educational status, with references only in 1622 and 1635. However, the bishop of Bristol's articles of visitation in 1637 specifically asked 'whether your Parson, Vicar or Curate be a preacher, and by whom is he licensed, and of what degree of Schoole is he'.⁴⁵⁹

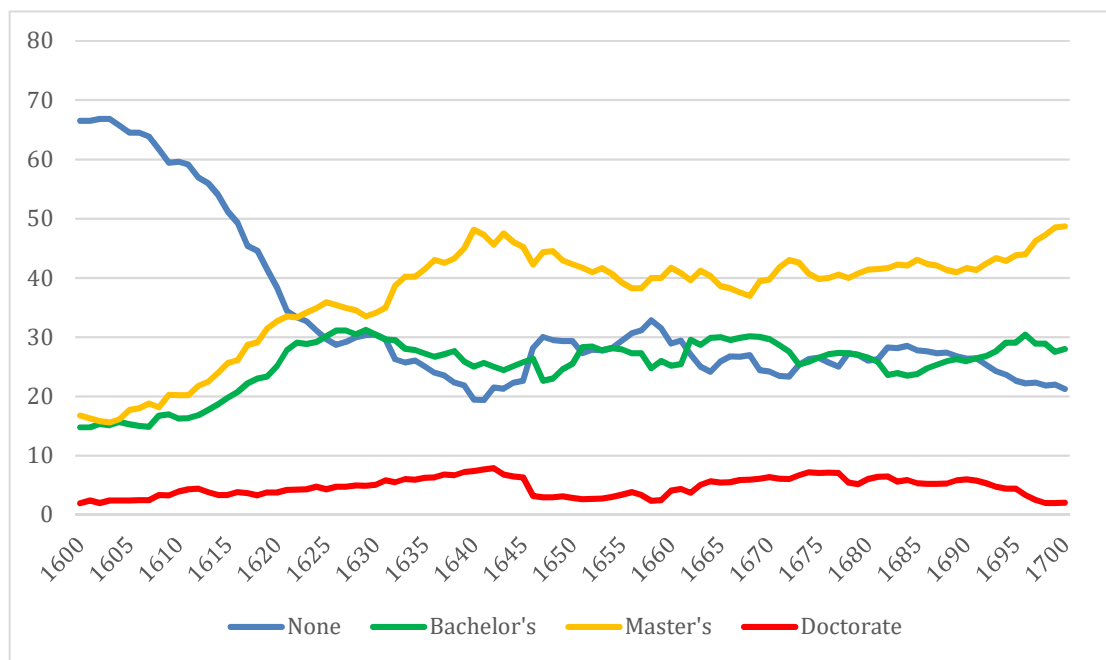


Figure 5.1: Highest university qualifications of Dorset clergy, 1600-1700 (percentages)⁴⁶⁰

Figure 5.1 plots the university qualifications of all known Dorset incumbents from 1600 and 1700, comprising between 180 and 242 individuals each year. The most striking trend is the reduction in the proportion of clergymen who had no university qualification, falling from 66 per cent at the beginning of the century to a low of 19 per cent in 1641. By comparison, previous studies have found that in the diocese of Bath and Wells, the proportion of beneficed clergy without a university degree fell from 69 per cent to 28 per cent between 1600 and 1640, and in Coventry archdeaconry the proportion reduced from 67 per

⁴⁵⁸ WSHC D5/28/3 f.38 Presentment for Haydon, 1603.

⁴⁵⁹ R. Skinner, *Articles to be Ministred, Enquired of, and Answered: in the First Visitation of the ... Lord Bishop of Bristol* (London, 1637).

⁴⁶⁰ Author's calculations based on alumni data and subscription books.

cent in 1603 to around 50 per cent by 1611.⁴⁶¹ These statistics paint a consistent picture of quite rapid improvements in clerical education during the first four decades of the century. Much higher levels have been found in the diocese of Canterbury (31% non-graduates in 1607 dropping to 13% in 1637) and the archdeaconry of Bedford (39% in 1603 falling to 9% in 1633), which Ignjatijevic attributed to the probability that 'better qualified men were attracted more to the centre of the province of Canterbury' rather than to rural archdeaconries, and to Bedford's proximity to both Oxford and Cambridge Universities.⁴⁶² Overall, the Dorset figures are in line with those for other largely rural ecclesiastical jurisdictions.

In some cases, the arrival of better educated parochial ministers prompted questions about their social status. O'Day has suggested that the 1620s and 1630s saw 'an excessive reliance upon degree status and a seriously diminished emphasis upon pastoral performance and vocation', and some educated clergy clearly found it difficult to fit into the social structure of their parishes.⁴⁶³ For example, at Beaminster in 1631, the churchwardens presented several parishioners for being rude to the curate, Anthony Harford. One of them 'did very unreverently and reproachfully with a loud & audible voice, say to our much respected Minister, Mr Anthony Hartford, you are a proud man', another said that 'hee had more wit then the said Mr Hartford had learning', while a third man was accused of 'saying to the said Mr Hartford in contemptuous manner, What are you man? you are but Antony Hartford; saying more over, I am a better man then you; and I have more right here in the Church then you'.⁴⁶⁴ This was Harford's first appointment since his graduation and ordination, and his 'proud' manner sparked a major division in the parish. Although the parishioners' taunts focused on his learning, the underlying cause may have been social and religious differences. Harford was a licensed preacher, and John Geare, the puritan-leaning minister of Lyme Regis, strongly supported his 'verie profitable ministerie', stating that 'he is approved and desired of the better, and best affected, sort of

⁴⁶¹ Stieg, *Laud's Laboratory*, p.54; A.A. Upton, 'Parochial clergy of the archdeaconry of Coventry, c.1500-c.1600', PhD thesis (University of Leicester, 2003), p.85.

⁴⁶² Ignjatijevic, 'Parish clergy in the diocese of Canterbury', p.23.

⁴⁶³ O'Day, *English Clergy*, p.160.

⁴⁶⁴ WSHC D5/28/30 f.12 Churchwardens' presentment, Beaminster, 1631.

that towne'. A year later over 60 individuals commended Harford to the dean of Salisbury, including schoolmaster John Hopkins and Hugh Strode, lord of the manor, as well as others who emigrated to Massachusetts later the same year, suggesting a polarisation of religious opinion in the parish.⁴⁶⁵ John Geare himself was also dealing with parishioners' insolence during the 1630s, being called 'great base rascall and base knave and other most opprobrious words'. These incidents substantiate Christopher Haigh's suggestion that attacks on ministers' morals may have resulted from 'the grave, aloof, scholarly style adopted by godly clergy'.⁴⁶⁶ Thus, improved education might be a double-edged sword for ministers, potentially affording them better social standing, yet divorcing them from their parishioners.

Following the restoration of episcopal administration in the 1660s, Dorset churchwardens rarely presented cases of disrespectful behaviour toward ministers. Perhaps parishioners had become more accustomed to having educated ministers, and the ministers themselves had less cause to feel 'aloof' since they were among many other highly educated colleagues. Instead, increasing numbers of parishioners were reported for failing to engage with the parish church in various ways. For example, returning to Beaminster, the 1682 presentment consisted solely of a long list of parishioners who had failed to attend divine service, have their child baptised or pay church rates.⁴⁶⁷ Ministering to a community with more diverse religious views no doubt increased the need for a sound education in order to deal with the doctrinal challenges of nonconformity, and by the end of the century over half the Dorset incumbents were educated to postgraduate level.

Family

Indications of clergymen's family status can be gleaned from university alumni records: Oxford University generally recorded their fathers' status, whereas Cambridge tended to record paternal occupation. David Cressy's analysis of probate inventories suggests that the clergy ranked 'a little below the yeomen

⁴⁶⁵ A.A. Pomeroy, *History and Genealogy of the Pomeroy Family*, Part 3 (Detroit, 1922), pp.30-31.

⁴⁶⁶ D5/28/35 f.73 Churchwardens' presentment, Lyme Regis, 1635; C. Haigh, 'Anticlericalism and clericalism, 1580-1640', in N. Aston and M. Cragoe (eds), *Anticlericalism in Britain, 1500-1914* (Stroud, 2000), p.23.

⁴⁶⁷ D5/28/60 f.54 Churchwardens' presentment, Beaminster, 1682.

and somewhat above husbandmen' in terms of wealth.⁴⁶⁸ Thus, the majority would be expected to be described as plebeian or 'pleb' in university subscription registers, except that 'clericus filius', or clergyman's son, was recorded as a separate status. With regard to clerical sons, Michael Hawkins found that, 'After 1660 as a whole the sons of clergy and gentry provided 37/38 per cent of all deacons ordained and 66/67 per cent of those whose social origin is known.'⁴⁶⁹

Analysis of seventeenth-century Dorset clergymen's Oxford and Cambridge alumni data reveals that, of the 803 individuals whose social status was recorded, 134 (17%) were of pauper, servitor or sizar status, 323 (40%) were 'plebeian', 111 (14%) were gentry, and only 22 (3%) were sons of noblemen, knights or esquires. A further 213 individuals (27%) were clergymen's sons. However, the status of 178 individuals identified as Dorset incumbents during the seventeenth century was not recorded on entry to Oxford or Cambridge, while a further 503 do not appear in university records.

Donald Spaeth has provided data on the social status of Wiltshire incumbents in 1683. Comparison with corresponding data for the 172 Dorset clergymen for whom alumni records have been matched (see Table 5.1) indicates that a much greater proportion in Dorset (33 per cent) had clerical fathers than in Wiltshire (25 per cent).

Table 5.1: Social origins of Wiltshire and Dorset incumbents of 1683 at matriculation⁴⁷⁰

	Wiltshire	%	Dorset	%
Gentry and above	24	19	23	16
Clergy	31	25	47	33
Plebeian	42	34	46	32
Pauper/servitor	27	22	27	19
Total	124	100	143	100

Earlier in the century, in 1625, only 20 per cent of Dorset alumni (24 out of 121) are known to have been clergymen's sons, while Spaeth's later figure for Wiltshire in 1730 is 33 per cent, suggesting that the proportion of clerical sons rose throughout the seventeenth century and into the next. This may be due

⁴⁶⁸ Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order*, pp. 139 & 122, cited in Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, p.96.

⁴⁶⁹ Hawkins, 'Ambiguity and contradiction', p.268.

⁴⁷⁰ For Wiltshire incumbents, Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, p.48, and for Dorset, author's own database drawn largely from *Alumni Oxoniensis* and *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*.

partly to the development of clerical 'dynasties', which would have been impossible prior to the Reformation when clergymen were required to be celibate (or more difficult to detect because of illegitimacy). The number of incumbents whose fathers were also Dorset clergy rose from 16 in 1625 to 22 in 1683. However, by the latter date, a larger proportion of clerical sons were from other counties (53 per cent compared with 33 per cent in 1625), indicating that clerical dynasties were not limited geographically.

Irene Cassidy's estimate for the diocese of Exeter during Bishop Cotton's episcopate (1598-1629) is that between 20 and 25 per cent of clergy succeeded their fathers as incumbents of the same parish.⁴⁷¹ In Dorset during the same period, 22 individuals appear to have succeeded relatives in 20 parishes. These comprised 15 sons, one son-in-law and four brothers, while in two other cases shared surnames imply some relationship. This is a much smaller proportion than Cassidy's Exeter figures, accounting for only seven per cent of the 289 parishes and six per cent of the 386 appointments during the period. Between 1630 and 1652, 26 relatives succeeded to Dorset incumbencies in 22 parishes (15 sons, three brothers, a brother-in-law and four nephews, with three unknown relationships), and between 1660 and the end of the century, a further 20 familial successions can be identified in 23 parishes, 14 of whom were probably sons. Thus, the level and extent of father-son successions in Dorset remained quite stable throughout the century.

These figures are based on known familial relationships, identified largely through common surnames. However, closer examination of wills, parish registers and other local sources reveals a denser network of relationships and sheds light on the extent to which individual clergymen and their families were integrated into their local communities through intermarriage, thereby improving their financial and career prospects. For example, in the West Dorset parish of Stoke Abbott, John Clement, who had been rector since 1585, was succeeded by William Gollop in 1625. The Clement and Gollop families were linked by John Clement's marriage to Mary Gollop in 1591, and the advowson of Stoke Abbott subsequently passed from Thomas Clement to Roger Gollop.

⁴⁷¹ Cassidy, 'Episcopate of William Cotton', cited in O'Day, *English Clergy*, p.161.

Exhaustive investigation of the backgrounds of all 1,500 or so seventeenth-century Dorset incumbents would be impossible within the constraints of this study. Therefore, detailed examination has been undertaken of clergymen appointed to Dorset parishes in two years, 1630 and 1675, drawing on parish registers, wills and other archival sources. These data are intended to provide an indication of the breadth and depth of familial relationships at two points in time, representing relatively stable periods before and after the civil wars, unaffected by sequestrations and ejections.

In 1630, there were nine new appointments (see Table 5.2). These individuals joined a complement of clergymen whose length of service in their current parish ranged from one to 56 years. Richard Handley, the longest serving, had been appointed to the parish of Swyre in 1574 and was among 72 incumbents who had already completed 20 years of service in the parish by 1630. The median length of incumbency at that time was 13 years. Seven of the nine 1630 appointees were aged in their thirties. William Sherley was a little younger at 28, and Christopher Pitt was the oldest at 41. The latter had received his first preferment in 1614 to the parish of Winterbourne Steepleton, and five years later had moved to his native parish of Pimperne. He employed a curate to serve Langton Long Blandford from at least 1636, if not from his appointment in 1630.

Of the nine appointees of 1630, the family backgrounds of two (William Pyne and James Rawson) are unknown. Five were certainly native to Dorset, though of differing social status. The families of Highmore and Sherley were established gentry, while Walter Glisson, presented to the rectory of Marnhull by his father William, was described as 'pleb' on admission to Oxford University in 1618 but his father had risen to armigerous status by 1623.⁴⁷² Pitt was also described as 'pleb' on entry to Oxford, and seems to have been only distantly related to the more distinguished Pitt family of Blandford (see Chapter 4), by whom Sherley was presented to Iwerne Steepleton. Swithun Cleaves was of plebeian status on entry to university in 1609, although his family gradually acquired land in Dorset and his nephew was subsequently mayor of Poole.

⁴⁷² Rylands, *Visitation of Dorset*, p.46.

Table 5.2: Appointments to Dorset parishes, 1630

Name	Parish	Status	End Year	Reason for departure	Age on Appt.	University Status	University Degrees	Ordination Diocese & Date (D = deacon, P = priest)
Thomas CLAVERING	Piddlehinton	Rector	1665	Died	30	cler fil	King's BA 1619, MA 1623	Peterborough D & P 1624
Swithin CLEEVES	Poole	Curate	1642	Unknown	36	pleb	Hart Hall BA 1613, MA 1615	Oxford D 1615 (prob also P)
Walter GLISSON	Marnhull	Rector	1639	Died	30	pleb	Trinity BA 1621, MA 1624, BD 1633	Unknown
Robert HIGHMORE	Hampreston	Rector	1658	Died	36	cler fil	Balliol BA 1615, MA 1619	Salisbury D 1616
John PARKE	Okeford Fitzpaine	Rector	1634	Died	33	pleb	Queen's BA 1617; New College MA 1620	Salisbury P 1619
Christopher PITT	Langton Long Blandford	Rector	1644	Died	41	pleb	New College BA 1609, MA 1612	Oxford D 1609
William PYNE	Stoke Wake	Rector	1638	Resigned		unknown	MA?	Unknown
James RAWSON	Witherstone	Rector	1647	Sequestered	c.33	unknown	Broadgates Hall BA 1618, MA 1620	Oxford D 1614, P 1615
William SHERLEY	Iwerne Steepleton	Rector	1656	Died	28	gent	Christ Church BA 1621, MA 1623; Trinity BD 1631	Oxford D 1622

Two of the nine were non-natives. Parke was from the neighbouring county of Hampshire, where he had been curate of Warblington for the previous eight years; he subscribed to Oxford as 'pleb', and his residence in Dorset was shortlived as he died in 1634. Finally, Thomas Clavering's father, John was vicar of Gamlingay in Cambridgeshire and a fellow of Eton College, which owned the advowson of Piddlehinton to which Thomas was presented in 1630.⁴⁷³ There may also have been a family connection with Thomas's predecessor, William Otes, as an individual of the same name is mentioned as 'my loving brother' in Clavering's will dated 1664.⁴⁷⁴ Clavering married a Dorset woman, and their son, Robert became rector of Winterborne Stickland in 1682. Overall, of the seven individuals appointed in 1630 whose family background is known, two were clergymen's sons, one of whom was of gentry status; one further individual had been categorised as 'gent' on subscription to university, although two more might be classified as gentry by 1630. The other two (Parke and Pitt) died within ten years and thus had little opportunity to advance in social standing. Six of the nine remained in the same parish until they died.

In 1675, there were 12 appointments involving 11 individuals (Table 5.3). Three of these were clergymen's sons. Thomas Romaine succeeded his father, Matthew at Stock Gaylard, although the family was from neighbouring Lydlinch, where Hutchins noted that 'In the parish was formerly seated a family of some note and antiquity, named Romaine, now extinct, probably lessees under the Stourtons'.⁴⁷⁵ The Romaine name appears in the earliest parish registers for Lydlinch in the 1560s, and their long standing in the parish is noted on a plaque to Thomas's cousin, Nicholas in Lydlinch church (Figure 5.2). However, the incumbent of Lydlinch, Melchisadec Waltham, had been appointed in 1617 and was to remain there until his death in 1685, so the Romaine clerics were instead established at Stock Gaylard, just a mile and a half away.

⁴⁷³ 'Clavering, John', *CCEd* Person ID 22801.

⁴⁷⁴ TNA PROB/11/319/15 Will of Thomas Clavering, clerk of Piddlehinton, 4 January 1666.

⁴⁷⁵ Hutchins, *History and Antiquities*, II, pp.356-9.

Table 5.3: Appointments to Dorset parishes, 1675

Name	Parish	Status	End Year	Reason for departure	Age on Appt.	University Status	University Degrees	Ordination Diocese & Date (D = deacon, P = priest)
George Duval BASMESNIL	Wootton Glanville	Rector	1685	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	D & P 1664 dispensation
Thomas BIELBY	Fifehead Magdalen	Vicar	1675	resigned	27	currier	St John's BA 1670, MA 1673	unknown
	North Poorton	Rector	1676					
Lawrence COLBORNE	Gillingham	Curate	1680	resigned	c.39	ser	Oriel BA 1658, MA 1660	unknown
Edward CRICHE	Gussage St Michael	Rector	1722	died	21	cler fil	Christ Church BA 1675	Bristol D 1675; Winchester P 1675
John FIELDING	Puddletown	Vicar	1691	resigned	25	earl	Queens' MA 1671, DD 1690	
Henry GLOVER	Fifehead Neville	Curate	1680	died	23	cler fil	Wadham BA 1672, MA 1675	Bristol D 1674, P 1675
Benjamin GOLLOP	Up Cerne	Rector	1694	died	c.38	gent	Christ Church 1655 did not graduate	Bath & Wells D & P 1663
Thomas ROMAYNE	Stock Gaylard	Rector	1686	died	23	cler fil	Hart Hall BA 1673	Bristol D & P 1675
Edmund STRANGWAYS	Bere Regis	Vicar	1678	died	24	gent	Hart Hall BA 1673	Bristol D & P 1674
James WHITBORNE	Fifehead Magdalen	Vicar	1677	died	20	pleb	Brasenose BA 1674	Bath & Wells D 1671, P 1674
William WILLS	Charminster	Curate	1684	resigned	26	pauper	Wadham BA 1672	Bristol P 1673

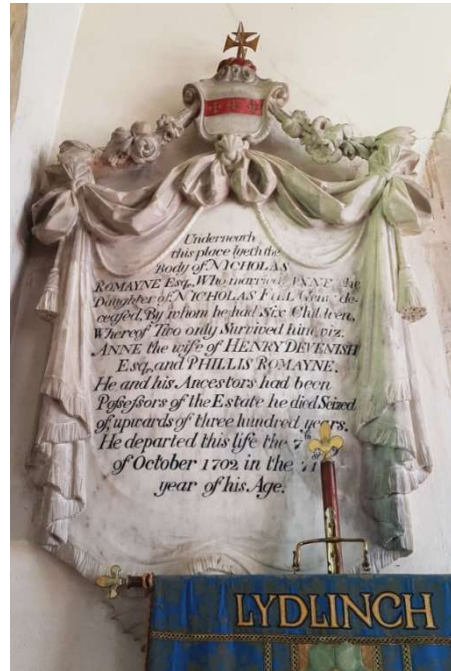


Figure 5.2: Romaine plaque, Lydlinch church⁴⁷⁶

Matthew Romaine was buried at Stock Gaylard on 27 May 1675, just as his son, Thomas was about to receive his MA from Oxford. The latter was ordained deacon on 27 July and priest three days later by the bishop of Bristol, in order to succeed his father as rector of Stock Gaylard.

The families of the other two clerical sons, Edward Criche and Henry Glover, were relative newcomers to Dorset, although both their fathers served cures in Dorset. Criche succeeded his father, Miles as rector of Gussage St Michael at the age of only 21. He was ordained deacon by the bishop of Bristol on 30 January 1675, only ten days after his father's burial and, like Thomas Romaine, rather than waiting the requisite year to be ordained priest, he was ordained by the bishop of Winchester on 17 June, enabling him to take up the incumbency of Gussage St Michael nine days later. His grandfather had been 'of Cassington, Oxon, gent',⁴⁷⁷ and his father had been appointed as an 'intruder' to the rectory of Gussage St Michael in 1654 but had subsequently been confirmed following the Restoration.

⁴⁷⁶ Author's own photograph.

⁴⁷⁷ 'Criche, Miles', in Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp338-365> (accessed 1 November 2017); Fry, 'Augmentation books', p.58; BRO EP/A/3/167 Diocese of Bristol: presentations to Gussage St Michael.

Henry Glover's background was similar to that of Edward Criche. His father, also Henry, had arrived from Mere, Wiltshire and served various cures in Dorset during the 1650s before being admitted to the rectory of Iwerne Courtney in 1657 with a certificate of approbation from three godly ministers. He held onto his living at the Restoration; however, he died in 1668, before his son was old enough to take over from him. Henry Glover junior was ordained at the age of 23 in 1675 and secured the position of curate of Fifehead Neville, but died only five years later and was buried in the family's home church of Mere, Wiltshire. Thus, two of the three 1675 appointments of clerical sons were of individuals whose family roots lay outside Dorset but whose fathers had secured incumbencies in the county during the Interregnum, indicating an increase in mobility during this period.

Mobility is particularly evident in the case of Thomas Bielby. Originally from Yorkshire, he moved in quick succession from a curacy in County Durham, to two successive Dorset appointments at Fifehead Magdalen and North Poorton in 1675, and then on to Almondsbury in Gloucestershire the following year, before finally settling in Sussex. Few English clergymen of the time moved around the country so frequently and widely. However, 1675 also saw the appointment of George Duval Basmesnil to the rectory of Wootton Glanville. He appears to have been a French Protestant exile and was granted dispensation to receive holy orders in 1664. He and his wife Mary did not become naturalised English citizens until 1687, by which time he had moved to London.⁴⁷⁸ The mobility of this cohort of clergymen is also indicated by the fact that half the 1675 appointees subsequently resigned to take up other positions, compared with only one of the 1630 cohort.

Three of the 1675 appointees were from distinguished families. John Fielding, son of the Earl of Desmond, became vicar of Puddletown in 1675. He already held one living in Sussex, gained another the following year, and later became archdeacon of Dorset, chaplain to William III and prebend of Salisbury, before resigning to take up the rectorship of Cotgrave, Nottinghamshire in 1691, shortly after obtaining a doctorate of divinity. He had no family connections with

⁴⁷⁸ W.A. Shaw (ed.), *Letters of Denization and Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland, 1603-1700* (Lymington, 1911), p.194.

Dorset. Two further appointees, Benjamin Gollop and Edmund Strangways, were of gentle status according to their university subscriptions. Gollop was one of the Gollops of North Bowood, near Stoke Abbott in West Dorset, where his great uncle, William was rector until 1670. However, his clerical career was somewhat inferior to that of his great uncle. He was curate of a Somerset parish from 1663 until he secured the vicarage of Shorwell, Isle of Wight in 1672, and was appointed rector of Up Cerne in 1675, where he remained until his death in 1694.⁴⁷⁹ The living of Up Cerne was valued at only £32 per annum in 1650, and only 16 properties were assessed for hearth tax in 1662-4, so Gollop did not enjoy the lifestyle of his gentry relatives. Indeed, there appears to have been a rift in the family, as his father's will, written in 1657 and proved in 1661, asks 'That my family may live in Love and peace' and bequeaths 'unto my Sonne Benjamine five shillings with greife of hearte', whilst providing between £200 and £600 for each of his other six children.⁴⁸⁰ Similarly, Edmund Strangways, although son of a gentleman, was a poor relation of the more eminent branch of the family in Melbury Sampford. His father, Giles held the manor of Charlton Adam in Somerset, and the family had a manor in Winterborne Kingston in Dorset. The latter was a chapelry within the parish of Bere Regis, to which Strangways was appointed vicar in 1675. He died three years later.

The three remaining appointees of 1675 were of lowlier stock and do not appear to have had any previous family connections with Dorset. Lawrence Colborne served as curate to Edward Davenant of Gillingham, who left him £10 and 'my best gowne but one' in 1680. Although appointed rector of Wareham St Peter in 1680, this was a sinecure which he retained on admission to the vicarage of South Tawton, Devon in 1681, when his residence in Dorset ended.⁴⁸¹ James Whitborne's appointment to the vicarage of Fifehead Magdalen in 1675 was his first incumbency. His family was from Somerset, and he died two years later, marking another shortlived association with Dorset. Finally, William Wills subscribed on admission to Oxford as 'pauper' and became curate of Charminster

⁴⁷⁹ 'Gollop, Benjamin', *CCEd* Person ID 159588; 'Gallop, Benjamin', *CCEd* Person ID 50798.

⁴⁸⁰ TNA PROB 11/305/16 Will of John Gollop of Netherbury, Dorset, 2 July 1661.

⁴⁸¹ TNA PROB 11/363/358 Will of Edward Davenant, Doctor in Divinity and Vicar of Gillingham, 9 July 1680; TNA PROB 11/350/134 Will of William Toomer, Clerk of Melcombe, 1 February 1676; 'Colborne, Lawrence' (*CCEd* PersonID 50301).

and the chapel of Stratton in 1675. His family was also from Somerset, though he spent nine years at Charminster before resigning to take up the rectory of Dowlish Wake in Somerset.⁴⁸²

Overall, most of the individuals appointed in 1675 had looser ties with the county than those appointed in 1630, with less indication of upward mobility. Influential local family members might improve clergymen's prospects, although, as in the case of Benjamin Gollop, family rifts might impact detrimentally.

A key part of the family not investigated in detail in this study are wives, who are mentioned tantalisingly seldom in surviving records. Their contributions to family finances became particularly important when their husbands lost their livings as a result of sequestration or ejection. For example, following Timothy Sacheverell's ejection from Tarrant Hinton in 1662, his wife ran a 'Boarding School for young Gentlewomen, which flourish'd so well, that they liv'd very comfortably with their Family', while Thomas Chaplyn's wife allegedly became a maltster following his ejection from Wareham.⁴⁸³ However, having a wife might be detrimental to clergymen's prospects, particularly early in their careers. When John Sweet was recommended for the curacy of Halstock in 1685, the parishioners' main objection was that 'he hath a young woman to his wife and may have children etc.', which would make it difficult for him to survive on the curate's stipend.⁴⁸⁴ Arthur Hearne used his wife's pregnancy as an excuse for not attending a visitation in Bere Regis in 1670, stating that 'I fully designed to be there at the time appointed', but that she was taken ill so 'I thought that my being from home on such an important occasion would be extreamly inexpedient, wherefore I doubt not but my absence at this time will find a favourable interpretation'. Despite being suspected of non-conformity, his non-attendance was excused.⁴⁸⁵

The only period during which clergymen's wives became particularly prominent in Dorset was during the 1640s when they petitioned for awards of fifths of their sequestered husbands' livings. As Fiona McCall has noted, 'Walker correspondents often express admiration for the resilience of clergy wives and

⁴⁸² 'Wills, William' (CCEd PersonID 23865).

⁴⁸³ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, pp.422-3 & 109-10.

⁴⁸⁴ WHSC D5/7/4 f.26 Testimonial for John Sweet by Gregory Alford, 1685.

⁴⁸⁵ WHSC D5/31/1 Letter from Arthur Hearne to dean of Salisbury, 15 May 1670.

daughters' who maintained their families when their husbands/fathers were unable to do so.⁴⁸⁶ Walker was interested in extolling the 'loyal' clergy, whereas a less propagandist account is given in the county committee minutes, which record 27 awards of fifths between 1646 and 1649.⁴⁸⁷ In many cases, the wives are not mentioned by name, suggesting that they played a relatively small role in the petitioning process. However, some of the 16 named women displayed considerable tenacity in appearing repeatedly before the committee. For example, Rose Bartlett, wife of the vicar of Yetminster, initially petitioned the committee in February 1647 and was awarded 'all such small tithes, or the value of them, as are due and payable from the inhabitants of Yetminster, Leigh and Chetnole since her husband's sequestration in lieu of her fifths for maintenance and relief'. She subsequently submitted a further four petitions to enforce payment by 'divers persons' who had refused to do so.⁴⁸⁸

These instances are a reminder that although clerical women were expected to be 'receptive to patriarchal codes of female modesty and deference to male authority', they were relatively literate, and played a more public role when the exceptional circumstances of the 1640s demanded it.⁴⁸⁹

Patrons

Patrons who owned the advowsons, or rights to present to benefices, played a key role in shaping the ministry. Only nine per cent of Dorset advowsons (rectories and vicarages) were held by ecclesiastical patrons, compared with over 50 per cent in the diocese of Canterbury (see Table 5.4).⁴⁹⁰ The archbishop and archdeacon of Canterbury held between 35 and 45 per cent of advowsons in their respective jurisdictions, but the bishop of Bristol held none in Dorset, the archdeacon held only one, and only 11 (five per cent) were held by the bishop or dean and chapter of Salisbury. Ecclesiastical influence over appointments was therefore much lower in Dorset than in Canterbury: only 30 per cent of advowsons were held by non-corporate laity in the latter, compared with 84 per

⁴⁸⁶ McCall, *Baal's Priests*, p.213.

⁴⁸⁷ Mayo, *DSC*.

⁴⁸⁸ *ibid.*, pp.242, 448, 456, 520-1 & 525.

⁴⁸⁹ J. Eales, 'Female literacy and the social identity of the clergy family in the seventeenth century', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 133 (2013), pp.67-81.

⁴⁹⁰ Ignjatijevic, 'Parish clergy in the diocese of Canterbury', p.37; author's own calculations for Dorset.

cent in Dorset. This also offered more opportunity for family members to purchase advowsons in Dorset, as previously mentioned for Walter Newburgh (see p.112), whose mother purchased an advowson for him before he had even been ordained.

Table 5.4: Percentage of advowsons held by patron type⁴⁹¹

Patron	Canterbury pre-1642	Canterbury 1663	Bedford pre-1642	Dorset
Crown/Government	6.99	7.86	16.67	2.16
Ecclesiastical	51.97	58.08	2.50	9.09
Education	2.62	3.06	5.83	2.60
Corporations	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.87
Laity	30.13	29.69	49.17	83.98
Unknown	8.30	1.31	25.83	1.30
	100	100	100	100

Increasing family ownership is confirmed in the two sample years for Dorset explored in the previous section. In one case in 1630 (William Glisson) the patron of the living was a relative of the appointee, whereas in 1675 there were three cases (Henry Glover, Thomas Romaine, Edmund Strangways), and in Gussage St Michael, Edward Criche was appointed by Bridget Vaughan, wife of the incumbent who, on retirement, had appointed Edward's father. The two institutional advowsons in 1630 (Eton College and the Corporation of Poole) may both have been filled as a result of familial influence. As previously mentioned, Thomas Clavering's father is likely to have influenced Eton College's appointment of his son, while Swithin Cleeves was already rector of Lytchett Matravers and had family ties in Poole.

The two ecclesiastical appointments in 1675 were to curacies rather than rectories or vicarages. Gillingham was probably decided locally rather than by the bishop of Salisbury when Lawrence Colborne was appointed to assist Edward Davenant. However, Charminster, which had been vacant for three years when William Wills was appointed curate by a prebendary of Salisbury, illustrates that ecclesiastical patrons were not necessarily any more benevolent than the laity. Three years later, Wills was giving his excuses for non-attendance at the dean of Salisbury's visitation in order to pursue a legal case for tithe payments,

⁴⁹¹ *ibid.*

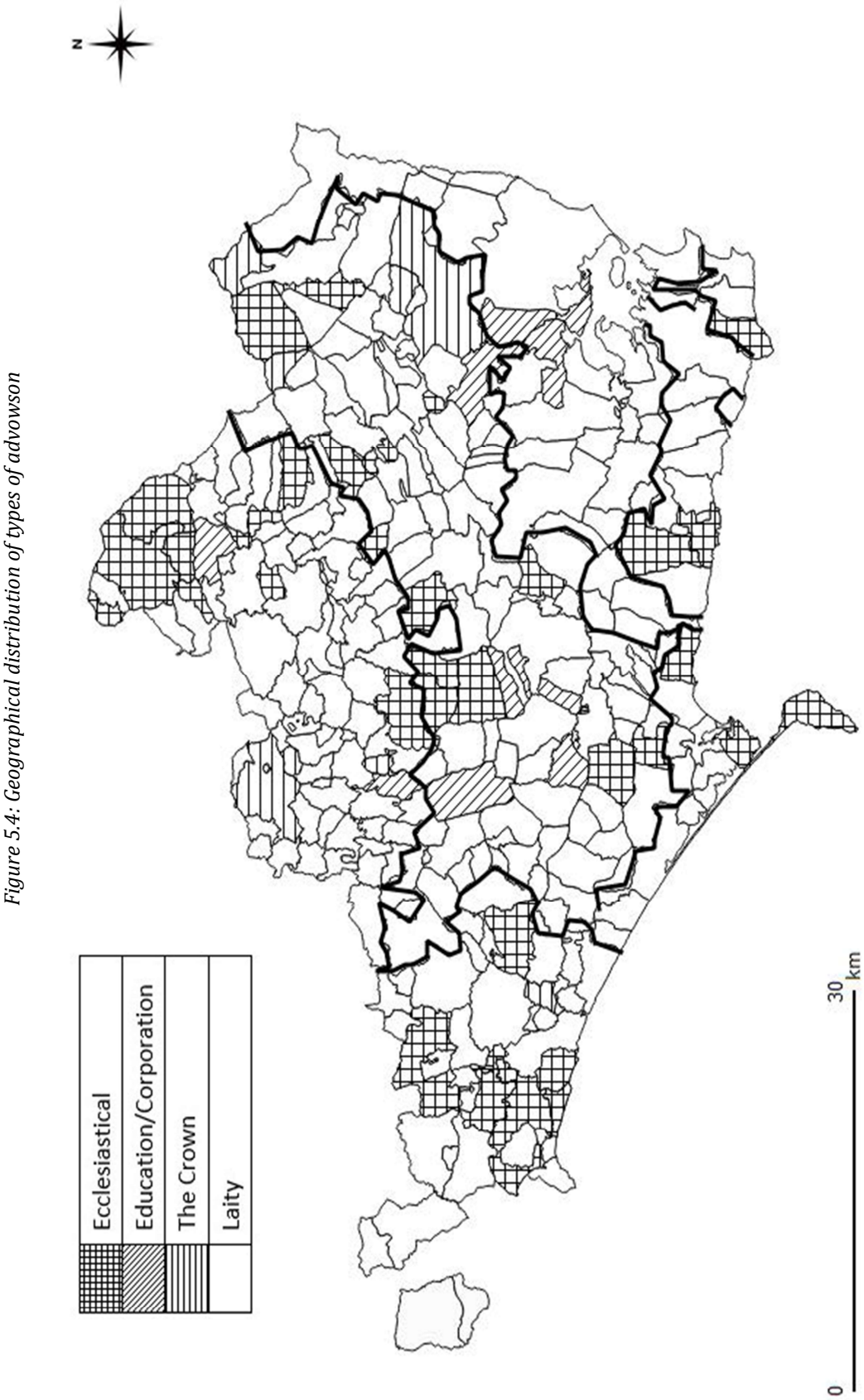
reminding the dean: 'What slender provision is made for a Minister in the Parishes under my Cure, & how unjustly that small remainder is withheld by several Persons, you too well know to need for a recital. I have often complained thereof at the Visitation.'⁴⁹²

Rosemary O'Day has suggested that the type of patronage might also influence the religious tenor of the parish, and that Chichester archdeaconry may have been less puritan-leaning than Lewes archdeaconry owing to the prevalence of lay patronage (79%) in the latter.⁴⁹³ An even higher proportion of advowsons were in lay hands in Dorset than in Sussex, with the lowest proportions in the downland and South Dorset geographical regions although, as shown in Figure 5.4, lay patronage was distributed across the county. Owing to the prevalence of lay ownership, no obvious pattern of association is identifiable between lay ownership and puritanism. For instance, the advowson of downland Dorchester, where John White led the ministry, was held by the town corporation, and in the West Dorset town of Lyme Regis, where John Geare was denounced to Archbishop Laud in 1639 for being a 'puritanicall Professor', the advowson was held by the Ellesdons, a prominent local gentry family.⁴⁹⁴ However, analysis of sequestrations by type of patronage reveals that incumbents of parishes held by corporate patrons, such as town corporations and educational institutions, were much less likely to suffer sequestration. The rate of sequestration was only 12.5 per cent for corporate advowsons, compared with 33.7 per cent for lay-owned benefices, while the rate for ecclesiastical advowsons was 47.6 per cent. This suggests that incumbents who had been appointed to corporate and lay advowsons were generally more acceptable to the puritan regime, whereas ecclesiastical advowsons were more likely to have been awarded to those more conformable with the Laudian regime, thus supporting O'Day's contention that puritanism was stronger under lay patronage.

⁴⁹² WSHC D5/28/56 f.11 Letter from William Wills to Mr Richard Kent, sub-dean of Salisbury, 13 May 1678.

⁴⁹³ O'Day, *English Clergy*, p.91.

⁴⁹⁴ TNA SP 16/412 f.6 Petition of Jonas Viney, sometime of Lyme Regis, co. Dorset, to Archbishop Laud, 1 February 1639.



Overall, the analysis of this section suggests that a high proportion of lay-held advowsons in Dorset enabled family members to purchase the rights to present to benefices, and that this increased over time. Although much deeper analysis would be required to draw firm conclusions on the extent to which patrons influenced the religious tenor of the parish, the data analysed here suggest differences in the likelihood of sequestration, particularly between corporate and ecclesiastical advowsons.

Parishioners

In addition to managing relationships with their patrons and ecclesiastical superiors, parish clergy needed to develop effective relationships with their parishioners, both in order to minister to them, and to collect their tithe payments. Donald Spaeth suggested that although close oversight by a resident local gentleman might reduce levels of parish conflict, 'In practice, lay-clerical conflict could occur virtually anywhere, and it often did', and that social, personal and religious dynamics at the local level, rather than systemic factors, determined the incidence of disputes.⁴⁹⁵

Following the Reformation, the clergy's primary role became more pastoral than intercessory, requiring a deeper level of engagement with parishioners and greater emphasis on clergymen's personal conduct. Where they did manage to establish themselves as 'pivotal members of their community', they might be persecuted not just because of any 'suspect religious inclinations', but because they were moderately wealthy and highly educated, and thus influential in their parishes.⁴⁹⁶ In Wiltshire, Spaeth found that two thirds of parishes 'experienced at least one dispute between the clergy and laity in the years from 1660 to 1740' which, if protracted and unresolved, 'poisoned religious and social life within the parish and could not help but damage the authority of the Church and its clergy.'⁴⁹⁷ Maureen Harris's analysis of post-Restoration disputes in Warwickshire suggests that 'low income had some significance in the likelihood of clerical/lay conflicts', with two-thirds of affected parishes worth less than £60; yet individual clergymen's personalities played an equal part in causing friction

⁴⁹⁵ Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, p.28.

⁴⁹⁶ McCall, *Baal's Priests*, p.267.

⁴⁹⁷ Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, p.22.

with parishioners.⁴⁹⁸ Spaeth also suggested that 'the classic image of the parish gathered to pray together each week was in practice rarely fulfilled' in Restoration Wiltshire.⁴⁹⁹

There is enough material on disputes between clergy and parishioners for a separate study, so this section does no more than highlight some salient aspects of parochial relationships. It draws on churchwardens' presentments and other ecclesiastical records for parishes in the dean of Salisbury's jurisdiction although, owing to the absence of surviving presentments for Bristol diocese, these inevitably provide a partial picture. Another useful source of data are the minutes of the Dorset Standing Committee, but these are limited to a short period in the 1640s.

Clergymen's glebe and tithe entitlements frequently provoked parochial discord. Some glebe terriers indicate the extent of agreement between clergy and parishioners. For example, a terrier for Caundle Marsh in 1605 is signed 'per me Robert Gannet, rector' as well as by two churchwardens, indicating that there was probably agreement on the rector's entitlement in this parish. Gannet had been rector since 1588 and was to remain there until his death in 1652. By 1650, at the age of 87, he was still assisting John Mullet, a minister who had been appointed by the county committee to provide the cure of the parish, and Gannet and Mullet were splitting the parish income apparently amicably between them. However, parish relationships evidently began to deteriorate soon afterwards, as Gannet and Mullet raised a tithe suit against several parishioners in 1650, and Mullet was still pursuing tithes through legal channels in 1662/3.⁵⁰⁰

The dispute at Caundle Marsh may have been symptomatic of increased questioning of the legitimacy of tithes during the 1650s (see p.54). However, tithe collection had always had the potential to create conflict. The most extreme example of the difficulty of tithe collections in Dorset must be that of William Hastings, rector of Burton Bradstock, who died in 1635 while trying to collect tithe lambs. Francis Ashley, justice of the peace and recorder for Dorchester,

⁴⁹⁸ M.E. Harris, "'Schismatical people': Conflict between clergy and laity in Warwickshire, 1660-1720', PhD thesis (University of Leicester, 2014), pp.68 & 70.

⁴⁹⁹ D. Spaeth, 'Common prayer? Popular observance of the Anglican liturgy in Restoration Wiltshire', in S.J. Wright (ed.), *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350-1750* (London, 1988), p.145.

⁵⁰⁰ TNA C 6/108/86 Gannett v. Kiddle: Tithes of Caundle Marsh, 1650; TNA E 134/14Chas2/Mich1 John Mullett, clerk v. Robert Thomas, John Brett, 1662/3.

examined Robert Ryves of Upper Melcombe, gentleman, who stated that he was collecting the portion of tithe lambs due to John Freke esq in Burton, for whom he was steward and agent, and that he had gone into the penfold and collected the lambs for his master into a separate pen. However, Mr Hastings, accompanied by his curate, Mr Milchell and their servants, came and claimed all the tithe lambs for himself. Ryves threatened to let the lambs run loose from the pen if Hastings did not concede that Freke should have his share of tithe lambs, and claimed that as he was about to do so, 'Mr Hastings came behind him this examinant in a violent manner, and thrust him this examinant downe upon the hurdles of the same penns'. A struggle ensued, during which Hastings threw 'a great stone of a pound and a halfe weight', which went past Ryves' ear 'betweene his hat and band and touched both and lighted upon a hurdle behind this examinant and beate the hurdle soe hard against the knee of one Nicholas Gill who stood by the said hurdle that it made the said Nicholas Gill's knee smart'. In order to prevent Hastings from throwing any more stones, Ryves overpowered him until the constable came. Hastings died, although Ryves denied having physically assaulted him.⁵⁰¹

There are many other less violent examples of tithe disputes in early seventeenth-century Dorset. For example, 45 people were hauled before the consistory court of Wimborne Minster peculiar in December 1630; and in April 1639, 61 people appeared before the same court for refusing to meet clerical demands for tithes.⁵⁰² Pre-existing social conflict between clergy and parishioners may have led to a greater likelihood of sequestration when conflict broke out in the 1640s. In her study of ejected clergy in four counties, Fiona McCall found that 'Parochial conflicts ultimately leading to Civil War sequestration often had a surprisingly long history, commonly reaching back to the early 1630s or even earlier.'⁵⁰³ No such cases have been identified for certain in Dorset.

On the other hand, some clergy undoubtedly benefited from changes to the ecclesiastical administration. John Blaxton was appointed to the rectory of

⁵⁰¹ Bettey, *Casebook of Sir Francis Ashley*, p.120.

⁵⁰² C. Hill, *Economic Problems of the Church: From Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament* (2nd edition, Oxford, 1963), p.158.

⁵⁰³ McCall, *Baal's Priests*, p.82.

Osmington in 1622, and in a glebe terrier dated 1634 it was reported that a decade earlier his corn field had been set alight 'by his adversaries in the night time'.⁵⁰⁴ This offers a tantalising glimpse into parish conflict, but unfortunately no further details are given. In 1650, Blaxton was described as 'a painefull minister and orthodox in his divinitie', so he may initially have had some trouble gaining acceptance from his parishioners because of his more puritan views.⁵⁰⁵ These views are confirmed by his two published works, the first of which has an extract from Calvin on its title page.⁵⁰⁶ In the other, he stressed the importance of preaching, 'For preaching comes of *Praeco*, to be a proclaimer in the market place'. He was particularly scathing about cathedral clergy, whom he viewed as inadequate pastors and preachers: 'if you hunt these Foxes to their Dennes, to their Cathedrals, there they preach not above once or twice in a yeare ... but content themselves with Prayers in their Cathedrals'.⁵⁰⁷

The Interregnum threw up numerous conflicts over tithes, as many villagers remained loyal to their sequestered parson and refused to pay tithes to newcomers. In 14 cases between 1646 and 1649, the Dorset Standing Committee heard that parishioners were refusing to pay tithes to their new appointee.⁵⁰⁸ For example, at Whitchurch Canonicorum, John Salway was appointed to the parsonage in 1645 following the sequestration of Samuel Lockett two years previously. Salway refused to pay a fifth of his income to support Lockett's wife and children, as required by the committee, and in turn, seven parishioners refused to pay their tithes to Salway.⁵⁰⁹ At Long Crichel, the parishioners made clear their dislike of the committee's insertion of Edward Wootton following Andrew Brewer's sequestration. Several refused to pay tithes to Wootton, and in their response to the parliamentary surveyors in 1650, they claimed that Wootton 'was never sent by Christe butt by the Committee'.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁴ DHC PE/OSM/IN 3/1 Terrier of the glebe lands of the vicarage of Osmington and the rectory of Ringstead, 1634.

⁵⁰⁵ TNA C 94/2 f.62 *Survey*, Osmington, 1650.

⁵⁰⁶ J. Blaxton, *The English Usurer; or Usury Condemned, by the Most Learned and Famous Divines of the Church of England* (London, 1634), STC 2059:06.

⁵⁰⁷ Blaxton, *Remonstrance*, pp.25 & 16-17.

⁵⁰⁸ Mayo, *DSC*.

⁵⁰⁹ *ibid.*, pp.336, 347, 403, 405-6, 419, 421 & 428.

⁵¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.108; TNA C 94/2, f.18 *Survey*, Long Crichel, 1650.

However, there is evidence of patience and forbearance in particular circumstances, even when the incumbent was clearly incompetent or unsuited to the performance of his duties. This was the case for Roger Abington, who had been appointed to the rectory of Over Compton in 1629, valued at £70 per year. He was a local man, having been baptised in Over Compton in 1580, but this was his first benefice. In November 1646, when he was 66, the county committee ordered that 'the present incumbent of the parish of Over Compton, beeinge decrepet and unable to officiate the Cure there', should pay £30 a year out of his parsonage for a minister to be procured by the parishioners, 'his wife making such agreement with the sayd parishioners in the presence of this Committee' (Abington being apparently too ill to attend the committee meeting).⁵¹¹ The following month, being 'a very weake and insufficyent man for the ministry' and having failed to make arrangements for the cure, he was ordered to pay a fine of £10 for contempt plus arrears of the payment, otherwise his goods and chattels would be distrained.⁵¹² This fine was removed in March 1647 as he was 'conforminge himselfe to such orders for such ministers as shall officiate in the said Cure', and the parishioners were ordered to pay him arrears of tithes.⁵¹³ However, in October 1649 he again appeared before the committee accused of drunkenness and other scandalous living, on the oaths of three parishioners, and this time he was adjudged sequestrable, and therefore ordered to cease officiating.⁵¹⁴

Finally, in April 1650, following Abington's death, the church of Over Compton was void of a minister, and a new minister was presented to serve the cure and receive all the tithes and profits of the parsonage or rectory.⁵¹⁵ This might be seen as an example of toleration and forbearance by the authorities and parishioners in a case stretching over at least three years. However, the name of the 'undoubted patron' of the living who presented the new minister was John Abington esq., and the layout of village and manor house clearly illustrates the power of the family over the village and church of Over Compton (Figure 5.5).

⁵¹¹ Mayo, *DSC*, p.56.

⁵¹² *ibid.*, p.116.

⁵¹³ *ibid.*, p.213.

⁵¹⁴ *ibid.*, pp.554-5.

⁵¹⁵ *ibid.*, pp.570-71.

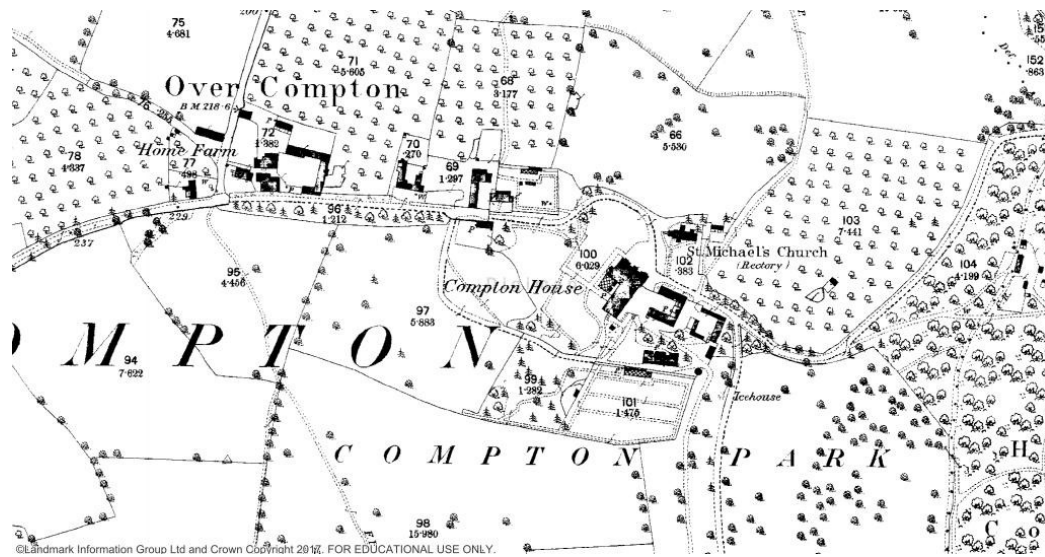


Figure 5.5: 1880s map of Over Compton showing manor house and church⁵¹⁶

Whereas the first half of the seventeenth century was characterised by disagreements over the liturgy and ritual of the national Church, the second half witnessed the development of various forms of nonconformity, making clergymen's relationships with parishioners even more complicated. In extreme circumstances, this could make their incumbencies untenable. For example, at Chardstock, Richard Luce received a certificate of approbation in 1654, but was not admitted. The admission book notes 'the person scandalous and never admitted, papers withdrawn', and he was instead removed to a parish in Devon.⁵¹⁷ Having been ordained by the bishop of Salisbury in 1660, he was re-appointed to Chardstock in 1661, but resigned in 1668 after seven years of parochial conflict.

It appears that Luce was initially uncompromising in seeking to eradicate nonconformity from his parish. For example, in 1663 he presented Benjamin Mills, who had been appointed in his stead in 1655 and ejected in 1660, for preaching contrary to the Act of Uniformity, as well as James Strong who, as previously mentioned (p.73), was a former minister native to Chardstock, for preaching at his father's funeral.⁵¹⁸ Two years later, he presented one woman, amongst many others, for endeavouring to seduce her husband into the Quaker

⁵¹⁶ Downloaded from digimap.edina.ac.uk/ (accessed 11 October 2018).

⁵¹⁷ Fry, 'Augmentation books', pp.56-7.

⁵¹⁸ WSHC D5/28/41 f.39 Dean of Salisbury: Presentment of vicar and churchwardens of Chardstock, 1663.

sect and disaffect the parishioners of Chardstock, but concluded this presentment by stating that ‘I doe really beleeeve all & singular the premisses to be true in every part & that I doe not present all or any of ye persons aforesaid out of envy or malice or any other sinister respect’.⁵¹⁹ According to a joint presentment with the churchwardens the same year, ‘we have five or six hundred communicants, of which six or seven score may at times receive Communion’. Luce appeared to be losing control of the parish, as there were reportedly ‘some disaffected, and three forsake their own parish church and follow conventicles’.⁵²⁰

In 1667, depositions were given by 15 witnesses accusing Luce of ‘vicious and uncivill behaviour’ and neglect of his cure, and the following year his parishioners claimed that ‘for his life & conversation, it hath bynn too notorious debawcht, much given to drunkennes cursing & swearing quarellinge & stirring up discord amongst his neighbors with many other vicious & rude deportments’.⁵²¹ However, five local clergymen testified to the dean of Salisbury that he was ‘*in ministerio sedulum; necnon omnis factionis et seditionis; conjurationis et rebellionis assiduum Antagonistam*’ [diligent in his ministry; yet constantly resisting all faction and sedition; conspiracy and rebellion], and that since his appointment to Chardstock he had been beset by ‘*turmis et turbis Phanaticorum et sacrilegorum*’ [phanatical and sacrilegious companies and crowds].⁵²² In order to resolve the affair in ‘a friendly and equitable manner’, the dean of Salisbury determined on 12 June 1668 that Luce ‘shall quietly and peaceably resign ... at or before the feast of St Michael the Archangel next to come’ (29 September), thus giving him over three months to make alternative arrangements.⁵²³ With at least two young children, one of whom was baptised in August 1668, he submitted his resignation and was shortly afterwards appointed preacher and curate of Lympsham, Somerset.⁵²⁴ The remainder of his ministry

⁵¹⁹ WSHC D5/28/43 f.27 Dean of Salisbury: Presentment of Richard Luce, 1665.

⁵²⁰ WSHC D5/28/43 f.41 Dean of Salisbury: Presentment of vicar and churchwardens of Chardstock, 1665.

⁵²¹ WSHC D5/22/15 & 16 Dean of Salisbury: Deposition books, 1662-70; WSHC D5/28/46 f.39 Dean of Salisbury: Chardstock churchwardens’ presentment, 1668.

⁵²² WSHC D5/28/45 f.22 Letter to dean of Salisbury from Gamaliel Chase, vicar of Yarcombe, Francis Gough, vicar of Stockland, John Chase, rector of Wambrook, Peter Cox, rector of Chaffcombe and Francis Atkins, vicar of Chard.

⁵²³ WSHC D5/7/3 Dean of Salisbury: Administrative records, 12 June 1668.

⁵²⁴ Chardstock parish register, 7 September 1665 & 19 August 1668; CCEd PersonID 159955.

was spent as a licensed preacher and curate in various parishes in Dorset and elsewhere. This case clearly illustrates that ministers risked provoking reprisals when they chose to denounce nonconformists in their parish.

Other clergy

As Patrick Collinson has stressed, the incumbent even of a rural parish was not a 'Robinson Crusoe in a Geneva gown', but met regularly with other clergy at visitations, lectures and funeral sermons.⁵²⁵ Some patterns of inter-clergy contact in Dorset can be discerned from mid-century records. This section focuses on three sets of records that illustrate patterns of association: first, certificates of approbation approving ministers for appointment between 1646 and 1660; second, testimonials for conforming ministers seeking appointment between 1662 and 1666; and third, licences issued to nonconformist ministers following the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence.

A 1654 ordinance regulating clerical incumbencies through a national system of Triers and Ejectors meant that subsequent appointments to benefices until the Restoration required certificates of approbation, usually by three approved triers, who were predominantly other clergymen. Edward Fry extracted details of 78 certificates of approbation relating to Dorset ministers from the Augmentation Books of the Trustees for the Maintenance of Preaching Ministers for the period 1650 to 1660, which give details of the proposed incumbent, the person presenting to the living, and the names of the triers approving the appointment.⁵²⁶ Analysis reveals that 80 of these triers held, or had previously held, a Dorset living. However, the Dorset county committee had actually instituted a system of triers, or approved ministers, by 1646, and a further 14 cases of approbation involving 12 triers are recorded in its minutes.⁵²⁷

⁵²⁵ Collinson, 'Shepherds, sheepdogs, and hirelings', p.191.

⁵²⁶ Fry, 'Augmentation books', pp.48-105.

⁵²⁷ Mayo, *DSC*.

Table 5.5: Triers recorded in Dorset Standing Committee minutes⁵²⁸

Name	Period Active	Location	Birth	University
WHITE John	1646-1647	Dorchester Holy Trinity	1575	New College 1595-1601
BURGES Walter	1646-1654	Buckland Ripers & Radipole	1580	Oriel 1600-1608
BUCKLER Edward	1647	Wyke Regis	1610	Oriel 1628 (lit.)
GODWIN John	1647	South Perrott	1612	Wadham 1629-Magdalen 1634
GUNDRY Hugh	1647-1656	Mapperton	1603	St Alban Hall 1621-1625
FORD Simon	1647-1657	Puddletown	1619	Magdalen Hall 1636-1648
BENN William	1647-1658	Dorchester All Saints	1600	Queen's (lit.)
BROMHALL Andrew	1647-1658	Maiden Newton	1608	Balliol 1628-1630
TROTTLER John	1647-1658	Blandford	c.1610	New Inn Hall (lit.)
BLAXTON John	1647-1659	Osmington	c.1593	Emmanuel 1610-1617
HARDY John	1648-1656	Symondsbury	1600	Trinity, Oxf. 1616-1623
TUTCHIN Robert	1648	Bridport & Chideock	c.1605	

Two men, John White and Walter Burges, appear as triers in the earliest surviving minutes of 1646. These two were stalwarts of the puritan movement, but White was by this time aged 71 and died in 1648, while Burges was 66 and died in 1654. Ten further names appear in the committee's minutes, seven of whom continued to act as triers until the late 1650s. As shown in Table 5.5, they ranged in age from their late twenties to mid-fifties. Three had attended university without obtaining degrees, another had not attended university at all, and one held a BA, whereas seven had achieved MA status. It is therefore unlikely that their paths had crossed at university, lending little support to Ann Hughes' suggestion that 'Contacts formed at university were the starting point for the creation of Puritan networks', at least in Dorset.⁵²⁹

Associations between some of these puritan ministers had actually developed decades previously. One enterprise in which many were engaged was the Dorchester Company, for which Sir Walter Erle gained a patent in 1623, allowing the establishment of trade settlements in Massachusetts.⁵³⁰ John White was one of the original 14 members of the Dorchester Company, as were Edward

⁵²⁸ Author's analysis of Mayo, *DSC*.

⁵²⁹ A. Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2004), p.24.

⁵³⁰ F. Rose-Troup, *John White, the Patriarch of Dorchester and the Founder of Massachusetts, 1575-1648* (New York, NY, 1930), p.58.

Clarke, White's assistant at Dorchester, and William Bradish of Puddletown, both of whom had died by 1640 so were uninvolved in the approbation system. The Company's membership rapidly expanded to over 100, including Walter Burges, as well as 12 other Dorset clergymen.⁵³¹ The other members were mainly gentry and merchants from Dorset and Devon, although some were clergymen across the border in Somerset. For example, Richard Alleine, rector of Ditchet, employed several curates who subsequently held livings and acted as triers in Dorset, including Edward Bennett of Morden and Thomas Crane of Rampisham; and at Batcombe, where Richard Bernard was rector, curate Nicholas Paull wrote to White in September 1635 that 'We are not forgettfull of you at Dorchester ... we have bene more sensible of the iniquitie of the times, then heretofore' and asked him to pray that 'we may be delivered from absurd and unreasonable men'.⁵³² Although Bernard, like White, was known as a 'moderate Puritan', White also associated with more zealous men like Ferdinando Nicholls, who began his ministry as White's curate in Dorchester and was a lecturer in Sherborne before leading reforms in Exeter.⁵³³ However, White also maintained friendships with conformists such as Thomas Fuller, rector of Broadwindsor. He thus appears to have been a reforming yet stabilising influence in Dorset, 'broad-minded, tolerant of the views of others, while himself inclined to hold moderate opinions'.⁵³⁴

The system of certificates of approbation illustrates networks of relationships amongst the clergy of the 1640s and 1650s, within Dorset and with neighbouring counties. Furthermore, the biographical data gathered for this study has enabled the subsequent careers of 57 of the 80 Dorset triers to be traced.

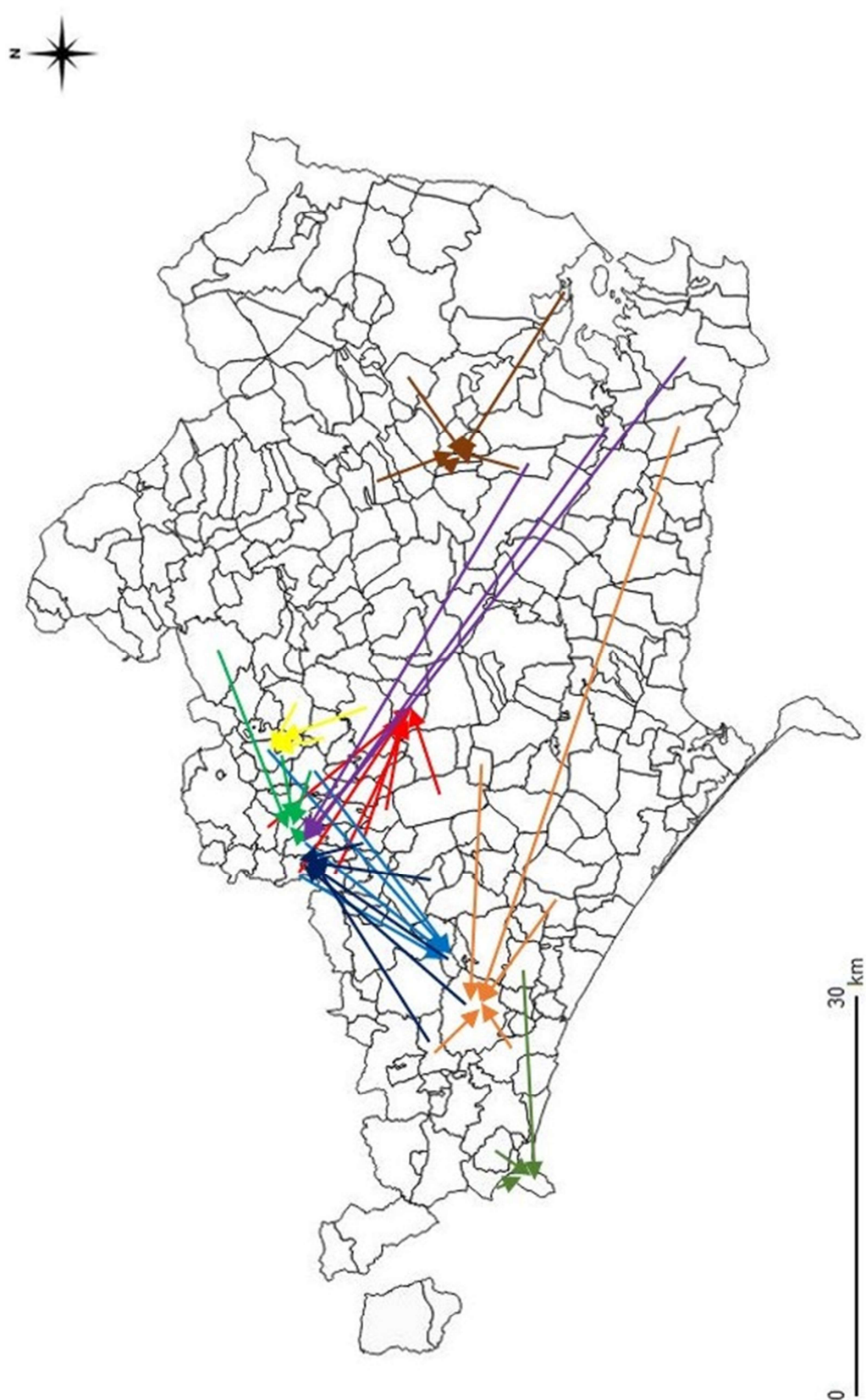
⁵³¹ John Ball (John White's cousin), Miles Bownes, Robert Cheeke, Edward Frencham, John Guy, Nathaniel Highmore, Walter Newburgh and Robert Welsted all died before 1640; Edward Pele and John Sacheverell both served as triers, and only John Galton is not named in certificates of approbation; M. Russell, 'Members of the Dorchester Company 1624-1626' [website], available at: <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~fordingtondorset/Files/FordingtonDorchesterCo2.html> (accessed 25 October 2017).

⁵³² TNA SP 16/297 f.177 N. Paull to John White, preacher of God's word at Dorchester, 8 September 1635.

⁵³³ I.M. Calder, *Activities of the Puritan Faction of the Church of England 1625-33* (London, 1957), p.29.

⁵³⁴ Rose-Troup, *John White*, p.23.

Figure 5.6: Clergy associations from testimonials to the Dean of Salisbury, 1662-66



This was not a 'puritan' network of clergy, but involved men from across the denominational spectrum, including 19 Presbyterians, three Independents, 12 Congregationalists and one who joined the Dutch Church in Norfolk, as well as 21 who subsequently conformed and continued to serve parochial cures.

Following the return of episcopal administration, potential appointees relied on testimonials from other clergy to the bishop or dean. Figure 5.6 shows the distribution of parishes from which testimonials to the dean of Salisbury were obtained by prospective appointees between 1662 and 1666. Some also secured recommendations from clergy outside Dorset (not mapped). Most testimonials were written in a standard Latin *pro forma*, but they occasionally offer a glimpse into the extent to which the clergy listened to each other's preaching. For example, Thomas Sherring was commended for appointment to Alton Pancras by eight other ministers who described him as 'well liked of for his paynes in preaching (whereof most of us also att times have ben both eye and eare witnesses)'.⁵³⁵ Timothy Hallett apologised for the delay in sending his testimonials, owing to 'troublesome diversions' such as the sickness and death of his mother and his own 'indisposition of Body', and hoped that four signatories would be sufficient since 'not more are required for Ordination'.⁵³⁶ Although testimonials were generally sought from neighbouring clergy, as illustrated by the clusters in Figure 5.6, there was quite a wide geographical spread of associations between the conforming clergy, even within this small sample in the period following the Restoration.

Ministers ejected in 1662 also formed the nucleus of an expanding network of nonconformists. These were by no means a homogeneous group, ranging from Presbyterians and Congregationalists to Independents and Baptists. They were not men from more extreme sects like the Quakers, who had never been part of the parochial ministry; they had served their cures and often received continued support from their former parishioners (for further discussion, see Chapter 6).

Following ten years of legislation limiting dissenting preachers' activities, Charles II's Royal Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 prompted thankful letters from nonconformist clergymen across the country, including one signed by 38

⁵³⁵ WHSC D5/7/1 Dean of Salisbury: Presentation deeds and testimonials, 1660-62.

⁵³⁶ WHSC D5/7/2 Dean of Salisbury: Presentations and testimonials, 1663-68.

nonconforming ministers of Dorset in which they 'prostrate ourselves att your Majesties feet, with the most humble and heartie acknowledgement of your Majesties singular Clemencie'.⁵³⁷ Amongst these 38 individuals, 29 had been ejected in 1662, indicating their refusal to take the Oath of Uniformity. Some had been ejected from livings in other counties, and had returned to their native Dorset.

Nonconforming ministers were required to apply for licences to preach, usually in specific houses. Of those who signed the Dorset letter to the king, 26 applied as Presbyterian and 12 as Congregational preachers. Six of the 38 letter-signers applied for licences in other counties (three in Somerset, two in Devon and one in Hampshire). A further 24 men who did not sign the letter to the king were granted licences in Dorset.⁵³⁸ These included 12 more Presbyterians and Congregationalists, many of whom had by this time returned to Dorset from elsewhere, nine Baptists, two Independents and a 'general nonconformist', none of whom appear ever to have held parochial livings, and certainly not in Dorset.

A particularly interesting case was Samuel Ball, who did not sign the letter to the king. His father, John Ball, a cousin of John White of Dorchester and a member of the Dorchester Corporation, had been so strongly influenced by puritanism that he had been ordained by an Irish bishop, allegedly to avoid subscribing to the 39 Articles. However, both father and son appear to have been flexible in their liturgical practices. Despite his puritan leanings, John allegedly 'never utterly condemned any use of the Common Prayer Book, nor allowed Separatism because of some abuses', and subsequently subscribed to the 39 Articles in 1628 when appointed rector of Dorchester All Saints.⁵³⁹ Samuel took up his first appointment as minister of Church Knowle in 1648. However, he lasted there less than 18 months, as in April 1650 the county committee ordered two parishioners to collect the tithes 'Uppon the nullinge of Mr. Balles order for Church Knowle'.⁵⁴⁰ He was ordained and subscribed to the Act of Uniformity only a few days before the deadline for episcopal ordination, on 12 August 1662,

⁵³⁷ G.L. Turner (ed.), *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence* (London, 1911), p.325.

⁵³⁸ F. Bate, *The Declaration of Indulgence 1672: A Study in the Rise of Organised Dissent* (London, 1988), Devon pp.21-24, Dorset pp.24-26, Hampshire pp.45-48, Somerset p.68.

⁵³⁹ Rose-Troup, *John White*; BRO EP/A/10/1/2 Bishop of Bristol's subscription book, 1628.

⁵⁴⁰ Mayo, *DSC*, p.570.

when he was described simply as 'living in the County of Dorset'.⁵⁴¹ Although he appears to have been prepared to minister within the Anglican church, there is no record of any appointment between his ejection from Church Knowle in 1650 and his application for a licence as a Presbyterian preacher in 1672. He may have been disadvantaged by his non-graduate status in seeking a preferment within the established Church, and instead crossed the permeable boundary between conformity and nonconformity.

Figure 5.7 shows the location of Dorset parishes in which either houses or individuals were licensed under the Indulgence of 1672. In the eight parishes marked in Figure 5.7 as 'Mixed', six had at least one Presbyterian; Chideock, Morden and Over Compton also had Congregationalist licensees; Shaftesbury had an Independent; and Wimborne and Winterborne Zelston had Baptists. However, Blandford Forum and Corfe Castle had only Congregationalists and Baptists. Figure 5.7 shows a clear prevalence of Presbyterianism in the north and west of the county, with Congregationalists across the middle and a more mixed picture in the larger parishes in the east of the county, while the Baptists were mainly in small parishes to the north.

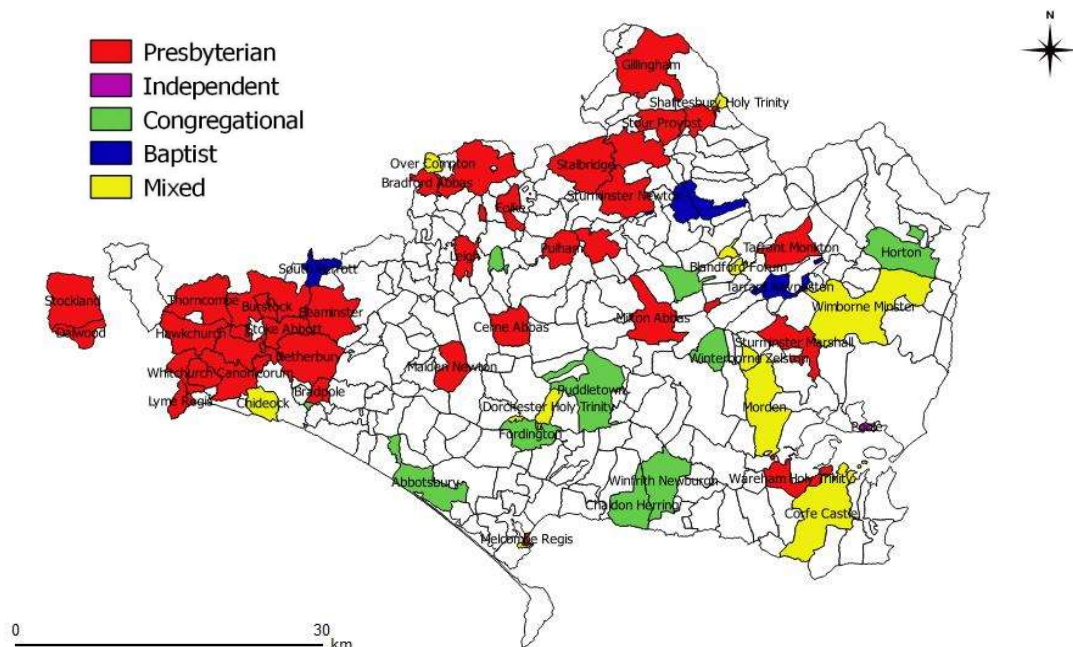


Figure 5.7: Location and types of licences issued in 1672⁵⁴²

⁵⁴¹ BRO EP/A/10/1/4 Bishop of Bristol's subscription book.

⁵⁴² Turner, *Original Records*, with cross-reference to original state papers.

The presence of more than one denomination in the more extensive parishes of Corfe Castle, Morden and Wimborne Minster substantiates Margaret Spufford's finding for Cambridgeshire that dissent was more prevalent in larger parishes that were less easy to control.⁵⁴³

Thirty-nine of the 99 Dorset licences were issued for houses with no associated ministerial licence, indicating the presence of nonconformist communities who were prepared to accept visiting or itinerant preachers. Henry Lancaster found that Presbyterians in Wiltshire attended meetings in a number of neighbouring parishes, as well as the city of Salisbury, and suggested that 'market towns in particular attracted dissenters from surrounding parishes since they were an ideal meeting point for both commerce and religious worship'.⁵⁴⁴ Also, 19 individuals who had ministered in Dorset received licences in neighbouring counties (10 in Somerset, five in Wiltshire and four in Devon), with only four going further afield to Bristol, Cornwall, London and Middlesex. Most therefore remained part of the wider nonconformist community in the area.

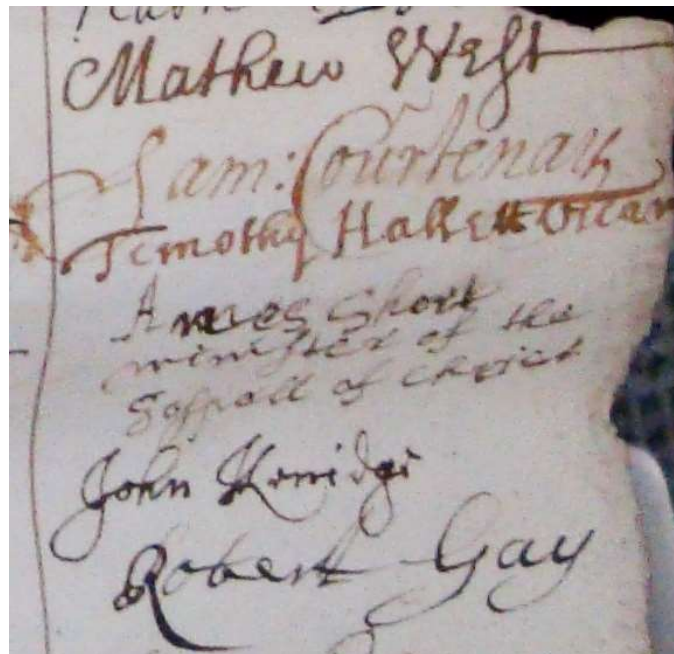


Figure 5.8: Signatories to Association Oath, Lyme Regis, 1696⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴³ M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villages in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1974), pp.313 & 318, cited in H. Lancaster, 'Nonconformity and Anglican dissent in Restoration Wiltshire, 1660-1689', PhD thesis (Bristol University, 1995), p.230.

⁵⁴⁴ Lancaster, 'Nonconformity and Anglican dissent', p.161.

⁵⁴⁵ TNA C 213/98 Association Oath roll for Lyme Regis.

One illustration of continued proximity appears in the Association Oath rolls for Lyme Regis, in which vicar Timothy Hallett, who had gathered his testimonials in 1664 (p.158), appears next to Ames Short (Figure 5.8). Short had been ejected from the vicarage in 1662, yet 34 years later openly declared himself 'minister of the Gospell of Christ'. The evidence presented in this section thus gives some indication of the breadth of association between Dorset clergy of all hues, and of their geographical distribution.

Summary

This chapter has explored some social factors that impacted on Dorset clergymen's prosperity and security. First, detailed analysis of the university qualifications of all known incumbents for each year throughout the seventeenth century has revealed that bishops' determination to appoint better educated clergy resulted in almost 50 per cent of Dorset incumbents having studied to postgraduate level by the end of the century, but that parishioners were not always willing to grant their ministers the higher social status that they sometimes expected. However, reports of disrespect declined after the 1630s, perhaps as parishioners became more accustomed to having educated men in their midst.

Second, comparison of Dorset clergymen's recorded social status on entry to university with data from previous studies has shown that fewer sons succeeded their fathers in the same parish than in Exeter diocese, and that although the number with clerical fathers increased over the century, fewer appointees were native to Dorset, suggesting greater career mobility. Closer analysis of incumbents appointed in two sample years has revealed that they ranged widely in age and social status. Those in the earlier cohort tended to remain in the same parish thereafter, while the later cohort moved around more geographically. There were more clerical sons in the later cohort, which had looser ties with Dorset, and less indication of upward social mobility. Brief mention has also been made of the role of clergymen's wives, who were often critical to the family's survival during times of persecution.

The third theme examined in this chapter is patronage. It has been found that the high proportion of lay-held advowsons in Dorset enabled family

members to purchase the rights to present to benefices. Analysis of types of advowson has revealed differences in the likelihood of sequestration, particularly between corporate and ecclesiastical advowsons, suggesting that patrons influenced the religious tenor of Dorset parishes.

Fourth, relationships between clergy and parishioners have been examined in light of tithe and glebe disputes. Although the incumbent's entitlements were usually recorded in glebe terriers, physically distraining tithe produce could be perilous. Many parishioners remained loyal to their previous ministers during the Interregnum and refused to pay tithes to newcomers. Conversely, familial influence could be exerted to maintain incumbents, like Roger Abington, whom parishioners deemed incompetent. Surviving churchwardens' presentments suggest that the first half of the century was characterised by disagreements over liturgy and ritual, whereas with the rise of nonconformity, clergy-parishioner relationships became more complicated and difficult for ministers to navigate. They were faced with choosing between denouncing non-attendance and nonconformity, and thereby risking reprisals, or turning a blind eye and concentrating on those who did continue to attend the parish church.

The final section has focused on associations between clergymen. Analysis of certificates of approbation issued for clerical appointments between 1646 and 1660 has revealed that the triers were a diverse group who appeared to be largely unlinked through university contacts, although some had had longstanding associations through the Dorchester Company. It has also been established that the triers did not constitute a 'puritan' network, but later ministered across the conformist and nonconformist spectrum. Mapping of clergy linked through testimonials in the post-Restoration period has revealed both clusters of neighbouring associations, as expected, and links with clergy from across the county. Finally, data on nonconforming clergy who applied for licences in 1672 has highlighted the permeability of denominational distinctions and the co-existence of different religious practices, even within families. Mapping the locations of licences issued has revealed a prevalence of Presbyterianism in the north and west of the county, with Congregationalists across the middle and a more mixed picture in the larger parishes in the east of the county, while the Baptists were mainly in small parishes to the north.

Overall, the analysis presented in this chapter has highlighted some of the difficulties of simultaneously adjusting to changes in social status brought about by better education, meeting the expectations of both patrons and parishioners, and managing relationships with parishioners and other ministers holding a diverse range of political and religious views. The next chapter will focus more closely on the impact of religio-political factors on Dorset clergymen's prosperity.

Chapter 6: Impact of Politics

Take away my religion and you take away my life, and not only mine but the life of the whole state and kingdom. For I may boldly say never was there a more near conjunction between matter of religion and matter of state in any kingdom in the world than there is in this kingdom at this day.⁵⁴⁶

With an estate at Charborough, Sir Walter Erle was MP for Dorset and had close ties with John White and other godly ministers in Dorset.⁵⁴⁷ His 1629 parliamentary speech encapsulates the intertwined nature of religion and politics during the early modern period. This chapter does not discuss the precise political and religious configurations that led to war, and consequently to the establishment of nonconformist congregations. Rather, the aim is to complement the previous chapters' examination of the effects of county- and parish-level economic, geographical and social factors by considering how the background of national politics inevitably impinged on Dorset clergymen's lives and prosperity.

The interconnection between religion and politics became particularly prominent following the outbreak of civil war conflict. As Anthony Fletcher observed, the prevalence of political debate about religious matters was reflected in the parliamentary agenda of summer 1642, with 'bills for summoning the assembly of divines, abolishing pluralities, extirpating Arminian innovations and removing scandalous ministers'.⁵⁴⁸ Whether or not one accepts John Morrill's claim that the civil wars were not 'wars of religion' *per se*, people were certainly mobilised by perceived threats from religious 'radicals' on many sides, notably the threats of popery and schismatic anarchy; it was thus 'the force of religion that drove minorities to fight, and forced majorities to make reluctant choices'.⁵⁴⁹ However, although religious archetypes such as anti-popery and anti-puritanism might be powerful political mobilisers, 'their exact meaning was highly variable

⁵⁴⁶ Speech by Sir Walter Erle, in W. Notestein and F. H. Relf (eds), *Commons Debates for 1629* (Minneapolis, MN, 1921), pp.18-19.

⁵⁴⁷ J.P. Ferris and P. Hunneyball, 'EARLE (ERLE), Walter (1586-1665), of Charborough, Dorset and Bindon House, Axmouth, Devon', in A. Thrush and J.P. Ferris (eds), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604-1629* (Cambridge, 2010).

⁵⁴⁸ A. Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London, 1981), p.416.

⁵⁴⁹ J. Morrill, 'Renaming England's wars of religion', in C.W.A. Prior and G. Burgess (eds), *England's Wars of Religion, Revisited* (Farnham, 2011), p.323; Morrill, 'Religious context of the English civil war', p.157.

and situationally determined', and even those who *did* mobilise might be unclear whether the conflict was 'a clash between true and false religion; or a war of liberation from political and ecclesiastical servitude'.⁵⁵⁰ Michael Braddick has argued that, ultimately, 'It was a war about the identity of a single church, of which all should be members, and which should be organically linked to the political order.'⁵⁵¹ In striving for a *via media* or middle way through which the Church (and state) could be united, those at the extremes of the religious spectrum were constructed as 'deviants, actual or potential threats to order and orthodoxy', and thus 'available for excoriation'.⁵⁵² Of course, those who argued for a *via media* did so from their own perspectives on the religious continuum; for instance, puritans might argue that 'true religion' was a middle way between the superstition of popery and the irreligion of Quakerism, whereas others placed puritanism itself at the extreme of the spectrum.⁵⁵³

Many clergymen might have preferred to avoid politics altogether and concentrate on their parochial ministry, but their religious – and hence political – views were revealed in their choices of liturgical practice and their pulpit preaching, as well as in public oath taking. Some clergymen openly declared their opinions and allegiances, while others were inclined to adopt a casuistic approach to avoid direct confrontation with the authorities.

This chapter investigates how the Dorset clergy survived the impact of political changes throughout the seventeenth century. It examines evidence of them speaking publicly, in terms of oath taking, sermons, pamphlet writing and other public involvement, and acting publicly, through military service and other mobilisations. It also considers factors that affected their ability to survive when they chose to speak or act out, and what happened to them when the power of authority came to bear on them, resulting in ejection or sequestration.

⁵⁵⁰ Braddick, 'Prayer book and protestation', p.143; J. Coffey, 'England's Exodus: The civil war as a war of deliverance', in C.W.A. Prior and G. Burgess (eds), *England's Wars of Religion Revisited* (Farnham, 2011), p.255.

⁵⁵¹ Braddick, *God's Fury*, p.452.

⁵⁵² P. Lake, 'Introduction: Puritanism, Arminianism and Nicholas Tyacke', in K. Fincham and P. Lake (eds), *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2006), p.12.

⁵⁵³ E. Shagan, 'Beyond good and evil: Thinking with moderates in early modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, 49 (2010), p.492.

Speaking out: Taking oaths and preaching sermons

It is certain, that no Nation in the World has invented more variety of Oaths, or have they been any where so universally taken, which, in all probability, may be the main Cause why they are so little observ'd or regarded.⁵⁵⁴

This observation of the early eighteenth century commented on the devaluation of public oaths resulting from their frequency over the previous century. However, based on a detailed study of oath taking throughout the seventeenth century, David Jones suggested that 'the increase in the number of oaths did not prevent the majority of subjects taking them seriously ... as a bond of law and conscience'.⁵⁵⁵ Like public officials, clergymen were used to swearing oaths. They were sworn into their benefices, both orally and by subscription into the ordinary's record book; and since the sixteenth century, they had usually been required to subscribe to the Oath of Canonical Obedience, the Oath of Supremacy and the Oath against Simony, as well as to three articles in the 36th Canon relating to the king's supremacy (spiritual and temporal), use of the Book of Common Prayer and the 39 Articles of Religion of 1562. These were set out at the beginning of the ordinary's subscription book, and on ordination or appointment to a benefice, appointees were required to copy and sign the relevant statements (see Figure 6.1).

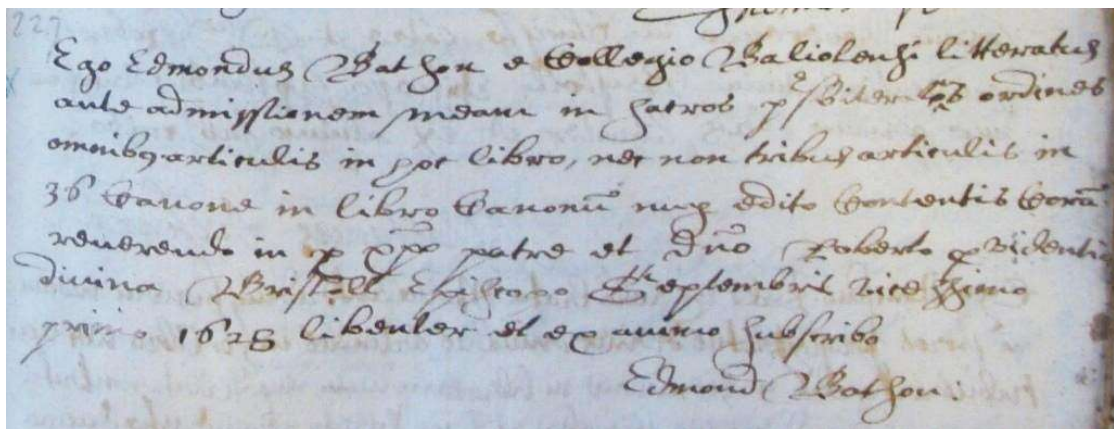


Figure 6.1: Subscription by Edmund Batson on ordination by bishop of Bristol, 1628⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁴ Anon., *The History of Publick and Solemn State Oaths* (London, 1716), p.6.

⁵⁵⁵ D.M. Jones, *Conscience and Allegiance in Seventeenth Century England: The Political Significance of Oaths and Engagements* (Rochester, NY, 1999), p.168.

⁵⁵⁶ BRO EP/A/10/1/2 Bishop of Bristol's subscription book, 21 September 1628.

The Etcetera Oath, 1640

During the turmoil of the 1640s and 1650s, subscribing to state oaths became potentially perilous as their legitimacy and consequences were questioned. This was particularly the case for the 'Etcetera Oath' in 1640, so-called because it required the subscriber to swear never to 'give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archeacons, &c'. The aim was to enforce established Church doctrine, and the penalty for failing to subscribe was to be immediate suspension, with deprivation of one's living after two months. Richard Baxter referred to this oath as 'the first thing that threatened me', and queries about it were raised with the king by clergy in Kent, Devon and Norfolk.⁵⁵⁷

Clergymen in Dorset were also troubled by the lax drafting of the oath. In September 1640, the bishop of Bristol received a letter regarding a petition by ministers and others required to sign the oath in Dorset. This letter reproduced the wording of the petition, and suggested which members of the Dorset clergy might have been involved in drafting and circulating it.⁵⁵⁸ According to the informant (signing only as 'Your Lordship's most devoted servant'), the petition, addressed to the Lords of the Privy Council, began with a statement that the undersigned 'have hitherto submitted themselves unto the Government Ecclesiasticall by ArchBishops, Bishops etc established within this Realme, and intend to doe no otherwise for time to come', and claimed that 'the sayd Oath is conceived in ambiguous termes, and subject to doubtfull construction'. It allegedly contradicted the Oath of Supremacy to which all clergy had subscribed, and implied that they 'must by this Oath sweare never to consent to the alteration of things in their owne nature alterable, and which may upon just case bee altered by that Supream Power wherewith your Majestie is by the Laws of this Realme invested in matters Ecclesiasticall'.⁵⁵⁹

The informant, writing in response to a query by the bishop of Bristol, professed to being surprised because 'I was a stranger utterly to the being of any petition whatever'. In his visitation sermon at Dorchester in 1637, Bishop

⁵⁵⁷ J. Lloyd Thomas (ed.), *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter* (London, 1931), p.21.

⁵⁵⁸ TNA SP 16/467/63 and 63II, ff.131-2 A petition by the ministers, schoolmasters and practitioners of physick in the county of Dorset and diocess of Bristoll, 1640.

⁵⁵⁹ *ibid.*

Skinner had preached on adherence ‘not only to Unity of Doctrine in the xxxix Articles, but also to Uniformity of Discipline in our publick Liturgy and Canons of the Church’, and would therefore have been receptive to reports of resistance to the oath.⁵⁶⁰ Interestingly, ‘Archdeacon Rives’ was also said to be unaware of the petition’s existence. John Ryves, rector of Manston, was archdeacon not of Dorset but of Berkshire, part of the diocese of Salisbury. He had obviously been questioned because his curate, Daniel Curry, ‘a forward Curat here in your Lordships Diocese’, had been the only name on the draft petition when Richard Swayne of Sturminster Newton had seen it. Having sought intelligence on the matter, the informant stated that the petition had been passed around the clergy of five parishes, but none had agreed to subscribe to it, ‘so that as farr as I can learne, the Petition stirs very coldly in these parts, though about Sherborne side, as I have heard only at large, they are it seemes there more Active in it’.⁵⁶¹

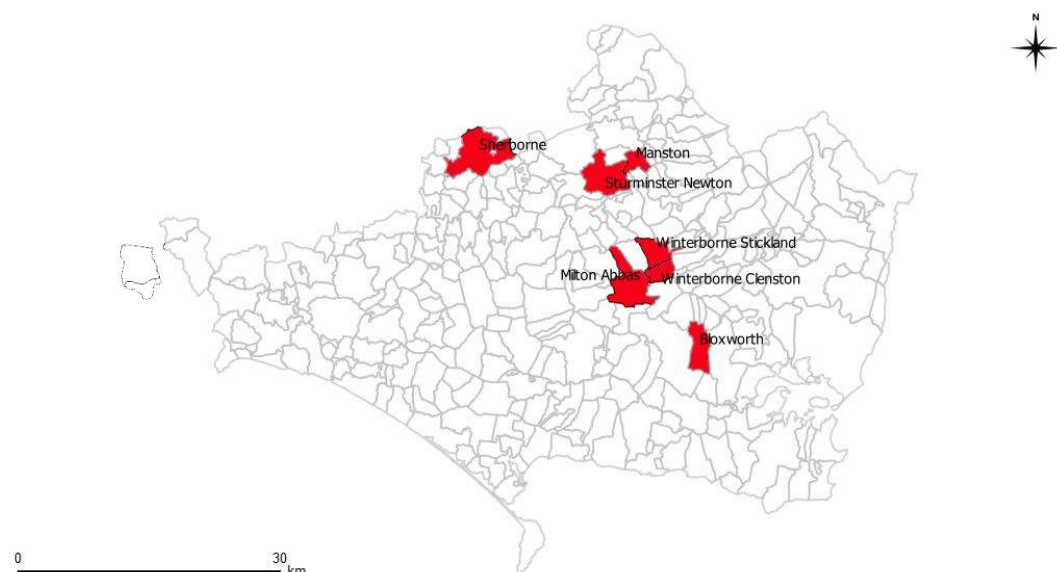


Figure 6.2: Parishes mentioned in connection with *Etcetera Oath petition*⁵⁶²

Figure 6.2 maps the locations mentioned in the letter. Sturminster Newton and Manston are parishes in Blackmore Vale, whereas the other parishes mentioned are downland and heathland parishes further south. The letter’s intimation that clergymen were more politically active further north-west

⁵⁶⁰ R. Skinner, *Speech of Dr Skinner, Lord Bishop of Bristol at the Visitation of Dorchester, 1637* (London, 1744), p.25.

⁵⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁵⁶² TNA SP 16/467/63 and 63II, ff.131-2.

toward Sherborne, at the head of the Blackmore Vale, suggests that geographical factors may have played a part. This was the area closest to the Somerset border where, according to David Underdown, opposition to Laudian reforms was more vocal than in Dorset and Wiltshire, partly because bishop William Piers was a more zealous supporter.⁵⁶³ Robert Welstead, the incumbent of downland Bloxworth, had been presented by his churchwardens as early as 1610 because he did not 'sign children or baptise with the sign of the cross', suggesting puritan sentiments. On the other hand, John Talbot of Milton Abbas was later arrested as a ringleader of the clubmen at Hambledon Hill, apparently placing him at the opposite end of the religio-political spectrum from Daniel Curry.⁵⁶⁴ Curry may thus have been seeking to galvanise action as a matter of principle against the oath's poor wording rather than its underlying intention.

The Protestation Oath, 1641-2

The Etcetera Oath was dropped before the deadline for swearing it in October 1640. However, this was to be the first of a series of state oaths that continued to trouble clergymen's consciences throughout the century. The Protestation, issued by Parliament in July 1641, required all men aged 18 and upwards to 'promise, vow, and protest' to maintain the 'true Reformed Protestant Religion ... against all Poperie and Popish Innovations ... and according to the dutie of my Allegiance his Ma'ties Royall person, honor, and estate'. David Cressy has argued that the Protestation 'significantly widened the arena for political and religious involvement' as it 'brought discussion of the constitution, politics, religion, and law from Westminster, to county assemblies, and into every church and parish'.⁵⁶⁵ Similarly, John Walter suggested that, 'the experience of taking the oath promoted the politics of conscience'.⁵⁶⁶ It appeared to be anti-Laudian in abjuring 'popish innovations', and led to the dismantling of altar rails and other iconoclastic action in some places. However, it had been signed by at least 17 of the 23 bishops (the sees of Norwich and Salisbury were vacant, and the

⁵⁶³ Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, p.78.

⁵⁶⁴ WSHC D5/28/1 f.9 Bloxworth churchwardens' presentment, 1610; J. Sprigg, *Anglia Rediviva* (London, 1647), Wing S5070, p.89.

⁵⁶⁵ D. Cressy, 'The Protestation protested, 1641 and 1642', *The Historical Journal*, 45 (2002), pp.251-2.

⁵⁶⁶ J. Walter, *Covenanting Citizens: The Protestation Oath and Popular Political Culture in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2016), p.81.

archbishops of Canterbury and York were both imprisoned at that time) and was therefore also viewed with suspicion by those with Presbyterian leanings.⁵⁶⁷

Of the 262 lists of those who took the Protestation in Dorset, 71 are dated, and in all but one it was administered between 18 February and 6 March 1642, as it was in most parishes throughout the country.⁵⁶⁸ However, those in Daniel Curry's parish of Manston subscribed much earlier, in July 1641, giving another indication of Curry's propensity for activism (see Figure 6.3).

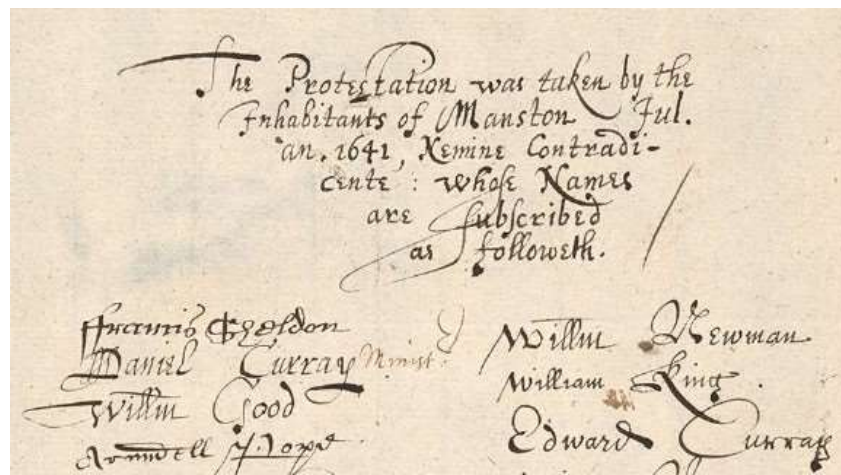


Figure 6.3: Extract from Protestation return for Manston⁵⁶⁹

John Walter suggested that 'Committed parliamentarians ... were clearly responsible for promoting the early taking of the Protestation in areas where they had influence as landowners and magistrates.'⁵⁷⁰ There is no evidence that Francis Sheldon, Curry's patron, took an active role in politics; rather, following his objection to the Etcetera Oath, Curry appears to have taken the initiative to ensure that his parishioners took the Protestation almost as soon as it had been printed and distributed by Parliament. Unfortunately, little is known about Curry's background. The Manston parish register records baptisms for Daniel and Mary Curry's children in 1635 and 1639, as well as those of Edward Curry, who also took the Protestation, which suggests the presence of extended family

⁵⁶⁷ *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 4, 1629-42* (London, 1767-1830), pp. 233-236. Available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol4/pp233-234> (accessed 29 November 2018).

⁵⁶⁸ HL/PO/JO/10/1/88 Protestation returns, Dorset A; HL/PO/JO/10/1/89 Protestation returns, Dorset B; E.A. Fry (ed.), *The Dorset Protestation Returns Preserved in the House of Lords, 1641-2* (Dorchester, 1912).

⁵⁶⁹ HL/PO/JO/10/1/88/108 Protestation returns, Dorset A: Manston.

⁵⁷⁰ Walter, *Covenanting Citizens*, p.131.

in Manston.⁵⁷¹ The register makes no mention of Curry's status as curate, so the first known reference to him as such is the 1640 Etcetera letter. He may have been appointed by John Ryves, who became rector in 1635 but was already rector of Tarrant Gunville, prebend of Salisbury and archdeacon of Berkshire. Ryves was brother of George Ryves of Randleston in Iwerne Courtney, another parish in the shadow of Hambledon Hill in Blackmore Vale, and Curry seems an odd appointment for a clergyman with no apparent puritan leanings.⁵⁷² Ryves was sequestered in 1645, and although another incumbent was initially appointed to Manston by the county committee, Curry had been awarded the living by November 1646.⁵⁷³

The common procedure was for the minister and parish officers to take the Protestation before one or more justices of the peace, and then to administer it to their parishioners. Ten incumbents failed to take the oath, two of whom were simply listed as absent and one sick.⁵⁷⁴ Six of the remaining seven were in Blackmore Vale parishes. John Dennett of Okeford Fitzpaine gave the most lengthy reasons for his refusal to take the oath as prescribed, writing that he promised, vowed and protested to maintain and defend the 'True Reformed Protestant Religion ... against all Popery & Popish Innovations' according to the doctrine of the Church of England and his duty of allegiance to the king, as well as the 'Lawfull Power and Priveledges of Parliament (which I at this present am, or hereafter shall be informed truly soe to be)'.⁵⁷⁵ He was son-in-law of John Estmond of Iwerne Courtney who, along with his curate Thomas Bould, also refused to take the Protestation, so there appears to have been some family influence in this case. Two ministers in Sherborne also refused, as did William Lyford, curate of Shillingstone, who was later arrested with the aforementioned John Talbot following the clubmen rising at Hambledon Hill. Although Lyford stated that he was prepared to maintain the reformed religion against popery and endeavour to preserve the union of the three kingdoms, he stated that 'Some other things in ye oath I understand not, & I dare not take an implicate vow or

⁵⁷¹ PE/MAN/RE 1/1 Manston parish register, ff.5 & 9.

⁵⁷² Rylands, *Visitation of Dorset*, p.81; CCEd PersonID 15206.

⁵⁷³ Mayo, *DSC*, p.72.

⁵⁷⁴ Fry, *Dorset Protestation Returns*.

⁵⁷⁵ HL/PO/JO/10/1/88/98 Protestation returns, Dorset A: Okeford Fitzpaine.

swear to that I do not understand: I judge noe man yt hath taken this vow, Neither wold I be judged by others.'⁵⁷⁶ Another fellow clubman, Richard Rock of Chettle, did not take the oath in the presence of the justices, but allegedly took it later, 'as it is certified by the Overseers of the Parish'. William Oates also took it later amongst his parishioners, 'with certain additions thereunto', and Richard Lewes of Wimborne Minster 'answered that when time shold serve he wolde take it as farr as a good consciens wolde goe', which he appears subsequently to have done. Robert Arnold of Melcombe Bingham summed up many clergymen's qualms of conscience by stating that he was taking the oath 'as farr as lawfully I may, that is (as I conceive) as ffarr as it may stand with God's word, the standing lawes of his kingdome, the oath of aleagiance and oath of supremacie which I have allreadie taken to the king and his successors'.⁵⁷⁷ The pattern of refusals to take the Protestation foreshadows later involvement in the clubmen rising in Dorset, suggesting that those who were prepared to speak up at this stage were more likely to take action a few years later.

In the 254 parishes where clergymen signed the parochial Protestation lists, 110 of them styled themselves using their formal status (90 as 'vicar' or 'rector' and 20 as 'curate'), 36 as 'clerk' and 96 as 'minister'. Four described themselves as 'parson', suggesting an element of old-style patriarchy. Among these were Brune Cockram, who owned the advowson of Swanage, Ralph Ironside of Longbredy, who was later imprisoned for reading the Book of Common Prayer in church, and Robert Baskett, who was sequestered from Bryanston.⁵⁷⁸

Most interestingly, five – John Bernard, Walter Burges, Daniel Curry, Matthew Osborne and James Rawson – signed themselves 'pastor'. John Walter has suggested a correlation between those who self-identified as 'pastor' and 'the description of the Protestation as a covenant signalling the presence of a Puritan ministry'.⁵⁷⁹ Daniel Curry has already been mentioned as the drafter of the Etcetera Oath petition, and John Bernard was one of those with whom he shared that document. James Rawson was at this time a firm royalist and had preceded

⁵⁷⁶ HL/PO/JO/10/1/88/81a Protestation returns, Dorset A: William Lyford.

⁵⁷⁷ Fry, *Dorset Protestation Returns*.

⁵⁷⁸ The fourth, Edmund Gifford, was described on entry to Oxford as a Dorset clergyman's son, but his family background has not been traced and he had gone from his parish of Bettiscombe a year later.

⁵⁷⁹ Walter, *Covenanting Citizens*, p.134.

John Talbot, another man connected with the Etcetera Oath petition, at Milton Abbas. He was a litigious individual, as evidenced by three causes raised in the Court of Arches in 1635 relating to the tithes of Witherstone, a sinecure to which he had been appointed in 1630. By 1638, he was a royal chaplain and was petitioning the king with a claim that John Tregonwell, the inappropriate parson of Milton Abbas, was not paying him enough for carrying out his duties as vicar. This claim was subsequently dropped after Tregonwell made a counter-claim that Rawson's son had assaulted Tregonwell's son during divine service 'in the most inhumane and barbarous fashion'.⁵⁸⁰ Yet in 1666, Tregonwell bequeathed £50 each to Rawson and his daughter, Jane, 'which sums the said James Rawson now owes and is indebted to me'.⁵⁸¹ It appears, therefore, that although Rawson was outspoken and prepared to contest his rights, he did not entirely alienate his patrons.

The remaining two who signed as 'pastor' were Matthew Osborne, a staunch royalist who entertained Charles I at his rectory and in 1645 was sequestered for deserting his cure to live in royal quarters, and Walter Burges, rector of Buckland Rippers, who had been an early member of the Dorchester Company with John White (see p.156), and who was reprimanded by the county committee in 1647 for allowing an unordained minister to preach at Radipole, 'to the great disturbance and hazzard of the garryson of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, through the flockeinge of the officers and souldiers out of the towne'.⁵⁸² These five men seem to have had little in common, other than a willingness to voice their opinions. They certainly fail to substantiate Walter's claim that signing as 'pastor' indicated puritan leanings. Overall, the evidence of the Protestation returns hints at emerging 'religious and political hotspots' of networks of clergy, related by family or geographical location; however, these were not simply a 'nexus of Puritan ministers', as Walter suggested, but spanned the religious and political spectrum.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸⁰ TNA SP 16/395 f.151 Acknowledgment made by James Rawson, vicar of Milton Abbas, in the presence of Lord Chief Justice Finch, in open court at the assizes at Dorchester that his petition to the King was based on false grievances with John Tregonwell, 25 July 1638.

⁵⁸¹ TNA PROB 11/326/445 Codicil to will of John Tregonwell of Milton Abbas, 1666.

⁵⁸² Mayo, *DSC*, pp.130-1.

⁵⁸³ Walter, *Covenanting Citizens*, p.120.

Solemn League and Covenant, 1644

Three years after the Protestation, on 5 February 1644, parliament passed an ordinance for taking the Solemn League and Covenant, which called on people to swear to:

...endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, that is, Church-Government, by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commisaries, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy, Superstition, Heresy, Schism, Profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the Power of Godliness...⁵⁸⁴

This was endorsed by the Assembly of Divines as a means for ‘putting an End to the present Miseries, and for saving both of King and Kingdom from utter Ruin, now so strongly and openly labour’d by the Popish Faction’.⁵⁸⁵ In response to clergymen who balked at taking the new oath because they had previously sworn, in the Protestation, to obey the bishops, the Assembly of Divines claimed that they had actually sworn obedience to the ‘Laws of the Land’, which ought to be abolished if they proved inconvenient or mischievous.

In Dorset, Thomas Fuller had been vicar of Broadwindsor since 1634. He was also a lecturer at the Savoy Chapel in London from 1640, but nevertheless signed the Protestation in 1642 as clerk of Broadwindsor. On the outbreak of war, he avoided taking the Solemn League and Covenant by serving with Hopton’s army in the west.⁵⁸⁶ Nevertheless, between 1648 and 1660, while his Broadwindsor living was sequestered, he secured relatively good livings in Essex and Middlesex, and simultaneously maintained connections with ministers at Sion College, who were mainly Presbyterians. Ian Green found that around 42 per cent of the clergy who were sequestered or harassed ‘were prepared to continue serving in the church’, and that 400 ejected clergy obtained new livings, so Fuller was not particularly unusual in being able to find alternative clerical employment.⁵⁸⁷ However, his resistance to oath taking was exhibited again in February 1660, when he published a pamphlet in response to a parliamentary

⁵⁸⁴ ‘Ordinance enjoining the taking the Covenant’, 5 February 1644, in *Journal of the House of Lords*, Vol. 6, (London, 1767-1830), pp.411-12, available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol6/pp408-412> (accessed 30 May 2019).

⁵⁸⁵ Anon., *Publick and Solemn State Oaths*, p.61.

⁵⁸⁶ Patterson, ‘Thomas Fuller’, p.302.

⁵⁸⁷ Green, ‘Persecution’, p.525.

petition by Praise-God Barebone which would require all officers of the state, church or school to 'take an oath of abjuration of the king, and of all his family'.⁵⁸⁸ According to Fuller, the remedy for the country's present economic troubles was a parliament free from such oaths:

Let them take heed of renouncing any thing, save what is simply sinfull in it selfe ... The Oath of *Supremacy* (not to mention the Covenant) is the eldest Brother to whom the inheritance of our Consciences doth belong. ... This Age hath the least reason of any to meddle with the edge-tools of such Oathes which in a short (but thick) time hath seen so many *strange things*, that now nothing is *strange* to us.⁵⁸⁹

He died in 1661, shortly after ceding Broadwindsor to John Pinney, who had been appointed during his sequestration and whom he called 'a charming preacher'.⁵⁹⁰

Four other Dorset clergymen are known to have suffered as a result of refusing to take the Solemn League and Covenant. Like Fuller, Roger Clark alias Kelway joined Hopton's army at the outbreak of war. According to Walker's account, his twin sons narrowly escaped being roasted alive in a dripping pan when his house in Ashmore was plundered by parliamentary soldiers, and the family took refuge with Hopton's aunt in Herefordshire, where Kelway was imprisoned twice, for complicity in the Penruddock rising of 1655 and the Booth rising of 1659.⁵⁹¹ He suffered for his unfaltering royalism, but did regain his Ashmore rectory at the Restoration.

Nicholas Gibbon, born in Poole, was sequestered from the rectory of Sevenoaks, Kent in 1645. He was presented to Corfe Castle the same year, but was prevented from taking up this appointment, and was 'obliged to rent a piece of land of £4 per annum, and drive the plough himself'. When brought before the Kent county committee, 'they tendered him the covenant, and his living, which he rejected'.⁵⁹² As a result of his refusal to take the oath, he was not admitted to Corfe Castle until the Restoration.

⁵⁸⁸ Hyde, *History of the Rebellion*, p.406.

⁵⁸⁹ T. Fuller, *An Alarum to the Counties of England and Wales, with the Oath of Abjuration, For Ever to be Abjur'd* (London, 1660), pp.6-7.

⁵⁹⁰ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, pp.390-1.

⁵⁹¹ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p.130; Hutchins, *History and Antiquities*, II, p.135.

⁵⁹² Hutchins, *History and Antiquities*, I, pp.189-91.

Richard Marwell had succeeded his father at Radipole and Melcombe Regis in 1617, but was sequestered in 1645 for refusing the Covenant, and declined to go quietly. He was initially imprisoned in Melcombe, and then, because he 'doth by his interest in the people of that towne give just offence to divers well affected therein by his words and carriage', was ordered to be removed to Poole, although in the end he was kept in close confinement in Melcombe, and died in 1656 aged 65.⁵⁹³ Marwell was much older than the others who refused the Covenant, so his age, as well as his family ties in Radipole, may have deterred him from moving elsewhere to escape persecution. Family ties appear also to have affected John Chase, the final individual known to have refused the Covenant, whose father, Gamaliel had been sequestered from the rectory of Wambrook. In December 1648, John was examined by three ministers and adjudged 'competently qualified for the ministry', even though he appears then to have been unordained – at the Dean of Salisbury's visitation in 1662, he exhibited his papers of ordination by Robert Maxwell, bishop of Kilmore, Ireland dated 29 October 1649.⁵⁹⁴ He was ordered to officiate in Wambrook, provided he take the 'Nacionall Covenant'. Within nine months, he was charged with delinquency and required to desist, possibly as a result of failing to take the required oath, although lack of experience may also have been a contributory factor.⁵⁹⁵

In summary, the Dorset incumbents who refused to take the Covenant appear to have had varying motives. Staunch support for the king led Fuller and Kelway to join the royalist army. For Kelway, this meant suspension of his ministry for the duration of the Interregnum, whereas Fuller, a mainstream Calvinist conformist who cooperated with both Laudians in the 1630s and puritans in the 1650s, secured relatively well-paid appointments during the Interregnum. Gibbon was another royalist, and was called to the Isle of Wight for consultation by Charles I in 1647, but he too appears to have had ecumenical tendencies. During the Interregnum, he allegedly espoused 'prayinge by the spiritt' and raising a 'separate church', thereby 'scandalising conservative parishioners', and as early as 1646 he was calling for reconciliation between

⁵⁹³ Mayo, *DSC*, p.60.

⁵⁹⁴ WSHC D5/29/2 f.14 Dean of Salisbury's visitation book, 1662-1666.

⁵⁹⁵ Mayo, *DSC*, pp.476-7 & 542-3.

episcopalians, Presbyterians and other 'dissenting Brethren of all sorts'.⁵⁹⁶ Fuller, Kelway and Gibbon all moved around the country, and even abroad, in their attempts to survive the persecution resulting from their failure to take the Covenant, whereas Marwell and Chase chose to remain in Dorset where they had strong family ties. Economic factors may also have narrowed their options. When Marwell was sequestered by the county committee, he compounded for 42 sheep worth £16, and spent the proceeds in Weymouth prison.⁵⁹⁷ Chase's father had already been sequestered from Wambrook when he was appointed in 1648, and his loss of the rectory the following year would have been a significant blow to the family's financial status.

The Engagement, 1650

The next major oath was the Engagement, enacted in January 1650, which required all office holders to 'declare and promise, That I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now Established, without a King or House of Lords'.⁵⁹⁸ This caused consternation for clergy across the religious and political spectrum because it appeared to contradict both the Solemn League and Covenant, which had required those taking it to swear to protect king and monarchy, and the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy promising support for the king and his heirs and successors. It was thus 'as much a dispute over the nature of oaths as it was about the legitimacy of the powers that imposed them'.⁵⁹⁹

Edward Bennett had been curate at Batcombe, Somerset under Richard Barnard and Richard Alleine, who were noted Presbyterians. While rector of Bratton Seymour, Somerset, he refused to take the Engagement, yet was admitted to the Dorset parish of Charborough and Morden in 1654. He was ejected in 1662 and returned to South Petherton in Somerset as a nonconformist preacher, for which he suffered imprisonment. It is somewhat surprising that he managed to secure a certificate of approbation for his appointment in Dorset,

⁵⁹⁶ McCall, *Baal's Priests*, p.257, citing Walker Manuscripts C1.163 & 4.97; N. Gibbon, *The Reconciler, Earnestly Endeavoring to unite in sincere affection, the Presbyters and their dissenting Brethren of all Sorts* (London, 1646), Wing (2nd ed.) G654.

⁵⁹⁷ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p.135.

⁵⁹⁸ 'January 1650: An act for subscribing the Engagement', in C.H Firth and R.S Rait (eds), *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (London, 1911), p.324, available from: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/pp325-329> (accessed 12 June 2019).

⁵⁹⁹ E. Vallance, 'Oaths, casuistry, and equivocation: Anglican responses to the Engagement controversy', *The Historical Journal*, 44 (2001), p.60; A. Craven, "'For the better uniting of this nation": The 1649 Oath of Engagement and the people of Lancashire', *Historical Research*, 83 (2010), pp.1-2.

having been ejected from his parish in Somerset, but his cross-county movement may have aided this. Furthermore, among the seven signatories to his certificate of approbation was Christopher Lawrence, who had also been ejected from a parish in Somerset for refusing the Engagement, yet had recently been admitted to Langton Matravers.⁶⁰⁰ Similarly, John Haddesley had been appointed curate of Poole in 1647 but was imprisoned in 1649 for refusing to observe a stipulated thanksgiving day. An order of the Council in November 1650 required him to take the Engagement and 'if he refuse to see that he leave Poole and keep 5 miles distant'. He did move away for a while to live in the household of Sir Thomas Trenchard, but had returned to Poole by February 1653 and was approved as curate on 20 May 1654.⁶⁰¹ Further investigation might reveal whether the appointments of those who refused to take the Engagement were necessitated by a lack of available ministers, or whether some leniency was being applied in Dorset at this time in the mid-1650s.

Constantine Jessop was initially a staunch parliamentarian, even lending £20 'in plate, gold rings, and money' to that cause in 1642.⁶⁰² He preached a sermon in support of presbyters at the Assembly of Divines in 1644, in which he referred to the suffering of his father (a clergyman in Wales) at the hands of the prelates and the burning of his own papers by royalist soldiers who rifled his house in Reading. In his view, the bishops had made the Church 'but a cloak-bag to carry the Diocesans titles of honour after him', drawing parallels with the position of the Pope in the Catholic Church. His hope was that a Presbyterian Church would 'heale the breaches of our Land, Kingdome, and Nation, which are exceedingly shaken'.⁶⁰³ Many Presbyterians were very wary of the Engagement because it was a product of the Independent regime and was at odds with the Solemn League and Covenant, and in November 1650 Jessop was banned from Bristol for preaching a sermon 'against the Government'. On 14 December he was allowed to preach again, having apparently taken the Engagement, provided that he did not return to Bristol. He remained 'well-affected to the government in his

⁶⁰⁰ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, pp.47-8; Fry, 'Augmentation books', p.60.

⁶⁰¹ Densham and Ogle, *Congregational Churches*, p.182; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, pp.240-1.

⁶⁰² J.M.J. Fletcher, 'Constantine Jessop, intruded minister of Wimborne Minster', *Somerset and Dorset Notes & Queries*, 17 (1923), p.251

⁶⁰³ C. Jessop, *The Angel of the Church of Ephesus, no Bishop of Ephesus Distinguished in Order from, and Superior in Power to a Presbyter* (London, 1644), pp.A3v & 30.

sermons', but the following month was in trouble again and was banished from the city. Nevertheless, in 1652 he became sole minister of Wimborne Minster on a salary of £120 per annum.⁶⁰⁴ By this time, the Interregnum Church may have been seeking to draw in mainstream orthodox ministers to combat a perceived menace from more extreme religious sects.

Equivocation over taking the Engagement thus seems not to have been a bar to obtaining further appointments in Dorset, and indeed, some statesmen also equivocated, including Thomas, Lord Fairfax.⁶⁰⁵ However, Simon Ford, appointed minister of Puddletown in 1645, was unable to reconcile his ministry with the requirement to take the Engagement. In 1650 he was reportedly 'proprietor of the vicarage', yet 'Mr John Hobson, an able and constant preacher, is the present possessor and receiver of the whole profits to his own use for the current year'.⁶⁰⁶ The reason for his absence is revealed in the preface to his sermon in 1660, in which he referred to 'both refusing to subscribe, and also bearing publick Testimony from the Pulpit against the subscription of that accursed Engagement'.⁶⁰⁷

Oath of Uniformity, 1662

Following the Restoration, from May 1662, all ministers were required by the Act of Uniformity to declare an oath of 'unfeign'd Assent' to using the Book of Common Prayer, to swear not to take up arms against the king and to formally reject any obligation under the Solemn League and Covenant. Many individuals were ousted when the previous incumbent returned from sequestration in 1660 and 1661, so their departures were not necessarily a result of aversion to the new regime, although only four or five in Dorset (Joseph Crabbe, John Galpin, William Hussey, Richard Shute, and possibly John Blaxton) are known to have conformed subsequently.

Crabbe was ejected from the vicarage of Netherbury in 1661, following a petition from Ralph Ironside stating that he was 'not in Holy Orders, nor

⁶⁰⁴ Vallance, 'Oaths, casuistry, and equivocation', p.71, citing *CSPD*, 1650, pp.440 & 470 and 1651, pp.5 & 22.

⁶⁰⁵ R. Tanner, 'An Appleton psalter: The shared devotions of Thomas Fairfax and Andrew Marvell', in A. Hopper and P. Major (eds), *England's Fortress: New Perspectives on Thomas, 3rd Lord Fairfax* (Farnham, 2014), p.234.

⁶⁰⁶ TNA C 94/2 f.67 *Survey*, Puddletown, 1650.

⁶⁰⁷ S. Ford, *Paralella Dysparallela, or the Loyal Subject's Indignation for his Royal Sovereign's Decollation* (London, 1661), Wing F1491, epistle dedicatory.

conformable to the doctrine & discipline of the Church of England & disaffected still supposing himselfe obliged by the Covenant'.⁶⁰⁸ In fact, Crabbe had been ordained by the 4th London Classis in 1647, and had been minister of Beaminster when nine curates had been ordained by a presbytery.⁶⁰⁹ His conscience apparently did not at this point permit him to sign an oath contradicting one he had already taken, yet in November 1662 he subscribed to the necessary oaths on appointment to the vicarage of Axminster, Devon.⁶¹⁰ According to Calamy:

Though he was in the Established Church, yet in his Principles and Way of Preaching and Praying, he so resembled the Nonconforming Ministers, that he was still look'd upon as one of them. He visited some of his ejected Brethren when persecuted and imprisoned, shelter'd and did good Offices to others, and shew'd on all Occasions that his Heart was with them.⁶¹¹

On the other hand, for Timothy Sacheverell, ejected from Tarrant Hinton in 1662, 'The renouncing the *Covenant*, was a main Thing he stuck at in Conformity', and according to Calamy's informants he might have conformed when the requirement to renounce the Covenant was removed from the Oath of Uniformity in 1682, but he had died two years previously.⁶¹² As concluded in Chapter 5, evidence relating to oath taking suggests that the line between conformity and nonconformity was blurred, and that conscience and other factors affected ministers' decisions on whether or not to remain within the established Church.

Those remaining in 1662 were required to take the Oath of Uniformity by St Bartholomew's Day (24 August) or face removal, and as a result, 29 Dorset clergymen were ejected from Dorset parishes, as well as John Haddesley, Robert Tutchin and Nathaniel Webb, who were by this time in neighbouring counties (for details, see Appendix 3). For example, John Pinney, to whom Thomas Fuller had ceded Broadwindsor, was himself ejected for nonconformity. He wrote that he had come close to conforming for fear of putting his family into debt, of sectaries triumphing over his ousting, of the bishop of Salisbury ousting him, of

⁶⁰⁸ TNA SP 29/49 f.233 Petition of Ralph Ironside, MA, to the King.

⁶⁰⁹ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, pp.139-40; Densham and Ogle, *Congregational Churches*, pp.5-6.

⁶¹⁰ Devon Heritage Centre DEX/5/f/1/3 Bishop of Exeter Subscription Book, 1662-1679.

⁶¹¹ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, pp.139-40.

⁶¹² Calamy, *Continuation*, Vol. 1, p.426.

‘future distrusting God’ and of further parliamentary persecution of nonconformists.⁶¹³ He had even been ordained by the bishop of Bristol, though ‘politically not intentionally to conform’. As Neil Keeble suggested, his case provides ‘a curt and telling enumeration of pressures material, ecclesiastic and spiritual’ in deciding whether or not to conform.⁶¹⁴

Political pamphlets during this turbulent time told of the sad fates alleged to have befallen those who chose not to conform, turning the tables on the providentialism characteristic of puritan circles.⁶¹⁵ William Benn of Dorchester was said to be suffering from a ‘monstrous chin-cough’, which was his just dessert for ‘subscribing to the kings tryall’ and for inserting his son-in-law, Theophilus Polwhele, who had been ejected from Langton Long Blandford, into the cure of Tiverton. Stanley Gower, the other minister of Dorchester, died ‘within few dayes after his coming up to London, with the Petition of many associated non-conformists, intruders, &c. of those parts’. Meanwhile, Francis Bampfield of Sherborne allegedly suffered a ‘sudden and dangerous rupture of body’, and he and his assistant both experienced ‘The sudden death of both of their horses, on which they were wont to ride to associations, unlawfull fasts and ordinations’.⁶¹⁶

Others who decided to take the oath clearly did not do so lightly, and some subsequently regretted their decisions. An impression of their plagues of conscience is given by an anonymous pamphlet on the ‘many remarkable Accidents, and signal Judgments which have befel divers Persons who have Apostatized from the Truth’.⁶¹⁷ The author alleged that several Dorset ministers who had recently conformed had met with sad endings. John Palmer of Kington Magna, ‘a very strict & rigid Presbyterian’, having ‘newly read a newesbook’ about the passage of the Act of Uniformity, ‘immediately went from Dinner and in

⁶¹³ G.F. Nuttall (ed.), *Letters of John Pinney, 1679-1699* (London, 1939), p.125.

⁶¹⁴ N.H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Leicester, 1987), p.48.

⁶¹⁵ A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), pp.32 & 66.

⁶¹⁶ Anon., *An Anti-Brekekekex-Coax-Coax, or, A Throat-hapse for the Frogges and Toades that Lately Crept Abroad, Croaking against the Common-prayer Book and Episcopacy* (London, 1660), Wing (2nd ed.) A3483A, pp.4-6.

⁶¹⁷ Anon., *Mirabilis Annus Secundus, or, The Second Part of the Second Years Prodigies* (London, 1662), Wing M2205.

his own Bedchamber with a little Girdle ... hangd himselfe'.⁶¹⁸ He allegedly, 'through the importunity of some of his Acquaintance and Relations, was prevailed with to read the Common-Prayer-Book', but was afterwards 'filled with much horreur of Conscience for it'. Furthermore, the wife of William Oake of Clifton Maybank, 'a New Conformist', leapt into a pool and drowned herself, while Christopher Taylor of Witchampton:

had taken the Covenant, and was a Friend to Reformation; but he was drawn by some carnal Reasons and Motives, to Conform, wherein he proceeded gradually, till at last he arrived at Cathedral Conformity, reading Second Service at the Altar, in all postures.

He later had a change of heart and 'totally laid the Book aside', and 'about the 13th of July 1662 ... being in great horrors of Conscience, he cast himself into his Well, with his head foremost, and was immediately drown'd'. Finally, Onesephorus Toup of Bradford Peverell:

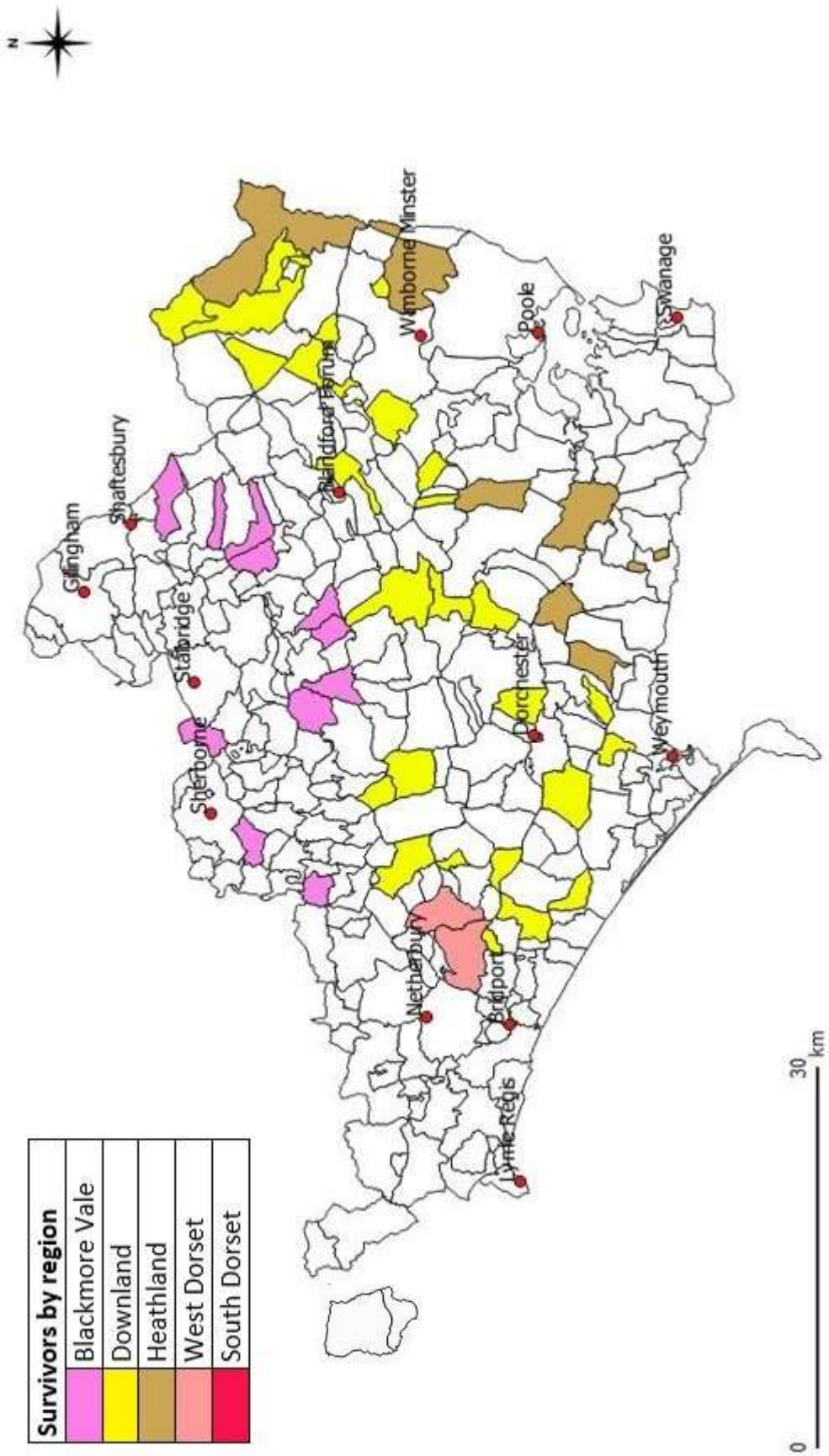
was a man much for Reformation; but of late was strangely overcome to read the Service-Book, and to practice some other Canonical Conformity against his present Light, and former Professions: which, the Lord did with a severe hand visit upon him, for immediately after his Parts did visibly decline and wither; at length, he grew altogether sottish, and was not able to Preach at all; and about the 25th of June 1662, was taken away by death.⁶¹⁹

Although these stories were written to keep the godly constant in their cause by warning what had happened to backsliders, the events to which they refer are corroborated by other sources, and they reveal how seriously ministers took decisions on whether or not to conform with prevailing legislation. A total of 42 men appointed to parishes during the Interregnum continued in the same parish after the Restoration (for details, see Appendix 4), and Samuel Bragge served the cure of Tolpuddle for 54 years from 1655 until his death in 1719.

⁶¹⁸ TNA SP 29/52 f.96 Henry Chapman to Mr Muddiman, 12 March 1662.

⁶¹⁹ Anon., *Mirabilis Annus Secundus, or, The Second Part of the Second Years Prodigies* (London, 1662), pp.28, 30, 40 & 44.

Figure 6.4: Parishes in which Interregnum appointees survived the Restoration



Of the 22 for whom ordination dates are known, half had already been ordained between 1623 and 1644 (three as deacons), and the rest received their orders between 16 August 1660 and 21 August 1662. Last-minute ordinations do not necessarily indicate reluctance to conform, as they may simply have been awaiting the bishop's availability.

A map of the parishes where incumbents survived the Restoration (Figure 6.4) highlights that there were no survivals in major towns, nor in any South Dorset or coastal parish. There were also few survivors in parishes adjacent to coastal towns. This suggests that although greater leniency may have been applied to appointments during the Interregnum, strategically important and populous parishes may have been reserved for strict clerical conformists who left or were ousted at the Restoration.

Oath of Allegiance, 1689

Another major state oath of the seventeenth century, which again provoked schisms in the Church, was the Oath of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary in 1689. Non-jurors stated that they could not swear allegiance to the new monarchs because James II had not actually abdicated, whereas others claimed that James had forfeited any claim to allegiance by his flight to France. John Martin had been ejected from his living in Wiltshire for refusing to take the Solemn League and Covenant in 1647. Having secured the living of Melcombe Bingham in 1661, he was ejected for refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance in 1689.⁶²⁰

Arthur Squibb was another Dorset incumbent ordered to be deprived 'by reason of his not having taken the oaths prescribed by the Act of Parliament, of 1689'.⁶²¹ He had been appointed to Netherbury in 1674, but in 1688 the churchwardens presented him 'for his non Residence for the space off six months last past'.⁶²² Certificates were provided to the dean of Salisbury, testifying that he had been 'Mustered Chaplain to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk's Regiment of Foot

⁶²⁰ H. Adlington, 'Restoration, religion, and law: Assize sermons, 1660-1685', in P. McCullough, H. Adlington and E. Rhatigan (eds), *The Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011), p.435.

⁶²¹ TNA SP 44/150 f.121 Order by Crown to prepare a bill presenting Robert Farrow to the vicarage of Netherbury and Beaminster with chapel of Mangerton, 25 January 1692.

⁶²² WSHC D5/28/67 f.20 Churchwardens' presentment, Netherbury, 1688.

now commanded by Sir Henry Bellasis in Ireland'.⁶²³ Perhaps this was another case of a clergyman using army service to escape oath taking. In 1692, bills were twice prepared to present successors to the vicarage of Netherbury, 'void by the deprivation of Arthur Squibb'.⁶²⁴ Nevertheless, he remained vicar between 1690 and 1696, during which time his income was twice sequestered to recover debts, and he excused himself from the dean of Salisbury's visitation in 1695, sending his curate in his place.⁶²⁵ Squibb died in London in 1697, and it is not known whether he ever took the prescribed oath.

Robert Frampton had left Oxford in 1641 and had initially been a schoolmaster in Gillingham. It was apparently 'well known that Mr. Frampton and his four brothers had been in the engagement at Hambleton Hill, his brothers all wounded, and he with them some time a prisoner in a church from whence he contrived an escape and was obliged to fly and abscond for the same'. In the late 1640s he had sought ordination from one of the few bishops still ordaining at that time.⁶²⁶ As previously mentioned (see p.78), he was chaplain to the Earl of Elgin for a while, 'but in 1655 he judged it prudent to become chaplain to the Levant Company at Aleppo in Syria', where he remained until 1666.⁶²⁷ On returning to England, he continued his Oxford studies, gaining a BD and DD, and around 1672-3 became rector of Fontmell Magna, canon of Salisbury and dean of Gloucester.⁶²⁸ In 1681 he was appointed bishop of Gloucester, but was deprived in 1691 for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.⁶²⁹ As a resolute royalist, he had taken a stand on Hambleton Hill, and had avoided having to take the Commonwealth oaths of the 1650s, but ultimately fell foul of the Oath of Allegiance to William and Mary.

⁶²³ WSHC D5/21/1/39 Dean of Salisbury citation, 11 February 1690.

⁶²⁴ SP 44/150 f.121; TNA SP 44/150 f.123 Order by Crown to prepare a bill presenting Roger Royston to the vicarage of Netherbury and Beaminster with the chapel of Mangerton, void by the deprivation of Arthur Squibb, 29 Mar 1692.

⁶²⁵ WSHC D5/25/1 Dean of Salisbury sequestrations, 1690 and 1696; WSHC D5/29/9 f.50v Dean of Salisbury's visitation book, 1695.

⁶²⁶ Evans, *Life of Robert Frampton*, p.10; Fincham and Taylor, 'Vital statistics', p.333.

⁶²⁷ H. Adlington, T. Lockwood and G. Wright (eds), *Chaplains in Early Modern England: Patronage, Literature and Religion* (Manchester, 2013), p.26; J.B. Pearson, *A Biographical Sketch of the Chaplains to the Levant Company, Maintained at Constantinople, Aleppo and Smyrna, 1611-1706* (Cambridge, 1883), pp.56-7.

⁶²⁸ CCED PersonID 35528.

⁶²⁹ R. Cornwall, 'Frampton, Robert', *ODNB*, available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10061> (accessed 22 February 2018).

Similarly to Frampton, Philip Traheron had previously been chaplain to the Levant Company in Smyrna for five years, but had resigned in 1674 at the age of 32 owing to ill health.⁶³⁰ In a letter to Archbishop Sancroft in 1680, he alluded to his recovery from a recent serious illness, and asked for a 'timely release from the uncomfortable neighbourhood, before I be as well literally as well as figuratively buried out of your Grace's sight'.⁶³¹ However, in contrast to Frampton, he seems to have been an informer against local clergy: in his letter of 1680, and again in 1681, he sought the archbishop's assistance in dealing with the disorderly practices of Samuel Hardy at Poole (who was shortly thereafter deprived for nonconformity), and in 1688 he revealed that several local clergy had ceased praying for the Prince of Wales since the Prince of Orange had passed through Dorset. He asked for the archbishop's advice because, 'supposing it unreasonable to follow the Dictates of a Private Judgment in opposition to the Publick Orders of Lawful Authority', he intended to continue to pray for the said prince 'till I receive such express Directions from your Grace as may end the Controversy'.⁶³² He appears to have had no qualms of conscience about taking any required oaths, as long as he obeyed the dictates of his ordinary. As a result, he prospered. He had become rector of Hinton Martell in 1676, and in 1684 was elected one of the three ministers of Wimborne Minster. He retained these two incumbencies until his death in 1723.

Solemn Association Oath, 1696

The final major oath of the seventeenth century was the 1696 Solemn Association, swearing defence of the king and support for the succession. In the surviving Association Oath rolls, 143 Dorset clergymen can be identified as having signed, while no record has been found of another 58 known incumbents. Some non-signatories were in ill health and were excused from attendance at visitations in the same year. Only two appear to have left their livings in 1696 without a subsequent appointment (John Sweet of Halstock and John Page of

⁶³⁰ Pearson, *Biographical Sketch*, pp.32-3.

⁶³¹ J.M.J. Fletcher, 'A Dorset rector and the non-jurors', *Somerset and Dorset Notes & Queries*, 17 (1922), pp.183-5.

⁶³² Tanner MS 28, no. 511, cited in Fletcher, 'A Dorset rector and the non-jurors', p.184.

Winterborne Farringdon), but there is no evidence that this was because they failed to take the oath.⁶³³

In summary, the Dorset ministers' record of oath taking reveals the difficulty of remaining true to their political consciences and religious convictions while attempting to survive and prosper in their ministries. Those who sided openly with the king in the early 1640s could not have imagined the extent to which their fortunes would be affected within a few years, whereas those who 'conformed' with the prevailing political regime of the 1650s may not have expected their later persecution. Nevertheless, the number of ministers in Dorset known to have refused to take required oaths represents only a small proportion of the total, meaning that many either bent with the prevailing political wind, or managed to avoid the attention of the political authorities.

Pulpit preaching

Oath taking was one way in which individuals' political views were made public. For parochial clergy, the pulpit was also a very public platform through which their political and religious views were broadcast. Several Dorset clergymen were prosecuted for preaching contrary to prevailing political sentiments throughout the century. In most cases, these amounted to no more than churchwardens' presentments to the visiting ordinary, but occasionally the complaints were escalated.

For example, in the early part of the century, the churchwardens of Beaminster drafted a letter to the king regarding Anthony Harford's alleged abuse of the Book of Common Prayer and preaching of seditious sermons, and at Shaftesbury, the churchwardens wrote to Archbishop Laud denouncing Edward Williams for a long string of liturgical misdemeanours. These included preaching against the Book of Common Sports 'in a most high kind of "terrification", as if it were a most dreadful thing, and near damnable, if not absolutely damnation, to use any recreations on the Sabbath or Lord's day'. According to the churchwardens and ten parishioners, 'noe minister in our country ... hath done such iniury to Religion in withdrawing the people from the reverent esteeming of

⁶³³ TNA C 213/93-104, 422 & 450 Association Oath rolls for Dorset, and for Bristol and Salisbury clergy.

the book of common prayer'. However, the churchwardens' action appears to have been sparked by Williams refusing to administer communion to a group of parishioners who had vetoed the appointment of his nominee, John Garrett, as parish clerk. According to the deponents, Garrett was a 'schismatically given and maintayned tenente of Anabaptisme & puritanisme and a troublesome person'.⁶³⁴ These petitions at Beaminster and Shaftesbury were both addressed not to the ordinary (the bishop of Bristol for Shaftesbury, and a prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral for Beaminster) but to a higher authority (the archbishop in the case of the Shaftesbury parishioners, and the king in the case of Beaminster), suggesting that they did not feel that their concerns were being addressed at a local level.

During the Interregnum, sermons of all flavours were preached from the pulpit, but many suffered for their outspokenness later. For example, Joseph Crabbe, mentioned earlier (p.180), was accused in 1662 of poisoning the inhabitants of Beaminster with his 'factious & schismaticall sermons & discourses' since being placed there by the 'late usurped Powers'.⁶³⁵ It was claimed that, 'since the happy restauration of his Sacred Majestie', he had declared that anyone in favour of the Book of Common Prayer 'was noe more qualifeyed for the Ministry then his horse', and that he had often 'given thanks in his prayers for the late Kings death & prayed for the success of the then Parliament, & hath alsoe prayed that the Usurper Oliver Cromwell & his Army might still prevaile'.⁶³⁶

Several other Dorset incumbents got into trouble for preaching against the king. As early as 1626, Nicholas Day was alleged to have said in his sermon that:

the land was not governed by justice, but by bribery and extortion and that Kings could not containe themselves in theire own Kingdomes, and that they seek to make invasions of other countreys and to sacke their goods, ravish their wives deflower their daughters, and all other villainy what not.⁶³⁷

⁶³⁴ WSHC D5/21/5/11 Draft petition to the king from the churchwardens of Beaminster, 1631; TNA SP 16/267 f.21 Presentment of churchwardens and sidesmen of Holy Trinity, Shaftesbury to Archbishop Laud against their minister, Edward Williams, 1 May 1633.

⁶³⁵ TNA SP 29/49 f.233 Petition of Ralph Ironside to the king, January 1662.

⁶³⁶ TNA SP 29/446 f.112 Information that Joan Strode, widow has the right of presentation to Netherbury vicarage, with Beaminster chapel, 1661.

⁶³⁷ Bettey, *Casebook of Sir Francis Ashley*, p.91.

He denied saying either this or that God had shown his displeasure 'in the late Repulse', referring to the defeat at Cadiz. Hugh Gundry had been curate at Ottery St Mary, Devon in the 1630s before being appointed rector of Mapperton in 1640, and was among many clergymen who 'spoke rashly or disparagingly of royal authority' at that time.⁶³⁸ Parishioners in Ottery St Mary later remembered him as having said, 'There is a nation called Cavaliers and they hope, hope, hope for a time but before the time come, I hope their eyes will drop out of their heads'. James Rawson at Hazelbury Bryan was ejected from his living in 1660 for having said in a sermon 'That the Queen Mother was a whore and all her Childeren Bastards ... That God would root out the Royall Family Roote and Branche.'⁶³⁹ Rawson, referred to above in connection with the Protestation, had initially been a royalist and religious conformist and had been sequestered from Witherstone in 1647. However, he 'thought the terms of Conformity, after the Restoration, too rigorous'.⁶⁴⁰ He was self-confessedly outspoken. In a pamphlet published in 1658, he claimed that, 'I could not do less in justice and conscience, then to shew my self in publique, both for the vindication of the cause of God, that it may not suffer by my silence, and that I may in some measure undeceive the light-headed, tottering and unstable people.'⁶⁴¹ He also acknowledged that the patronage of the Earl of Northumberland, a noted Presbyterian supporter, had been invaluable in 'hereby freeing me from many of those snares, wherein many of our coat are (in these corrupt times) very much intangled'. At this time, he had been moved to speak out in the face of a perceived threat from a Baptist preacher, Thomas Tazwell, who had:

...a meeting-place in the parish of Whitchurch commonly called Cuckolds-pit, where most Lords dayes divers of that Parish and of other places adjacent came to hear his teachings: He had then Proselyted divers of Milton Abbis, (where, amongst others I was one of their weekly Lecturers) to the receiving of his crude dictates, and many were dipt by him, who having suckt in and digested that venom

⁶³⁸ D. Cressy, *Dangerous Talk: Scandalous, Seditious, and Treasonable Speech in Pre-Modern England* (Oxford, 2010), p.177.

⁶³⁹ I. Gowers, 'The clergy in Devon, 1641-62', in T. Gray, M. Rowe and A. Erskine (eds), *Tudor and Stuart Britain* (Exeter, 1992), p.213; Walker Manuscript C3.310, cited in McCall, *Baal's Priests*, p.254.

⁶⁴⁰ Densham and Ogle *Congregational Churches*, p.414.

⁶⁴¹ J. Rawson, *Gerizim and Ebal (Election and Reprobation), or, The Absolute Good Pleasure of Gods Most Holy Will to All the Sons of Adam, Speciflicated* (London, 1658).

of re-baptization, easily then might he perswade with them to ingurgitate any of his other principles.⁶⁴²

No further reference has been found to the interestingly-named Cuckold's Pit, which was presumably a natural amphitheatre in one of the quarries in Winterborne Whitechurch. In 1647 Thomas Tazwell 'of Whitchurch' had been ordered to appear before a committee of the House of Commons for preaching contrary to Parliament, and he had registered the births of three children in the parish between 1648 and 1652.⁶⁴³ Rawson stated that Tazwell had started preaching in 1656, by which time there were already Baptist meeting houses in Dalwood (see p.121) and Lyme Regis in West Dorset, whereas Winterborne Whitechurch and Milton Abbas are downland villages. After originally handwriting some notes to enable a 'wel-wisher to Religion' to refute Tazwell's claims, allegedly with some success, Rawson felt compelled to follow this up with a 208-page publication. He was very unusual in having progressed from being royal chaplain in 1638, sequestered in 1647, and then ejected from the rectory of Hazelbury Bryan for allegedly slandering the royal family in 1660. He was licensed as a Presbyterian preacher at his house in Hazelbury in 1672, and died in 1674.

Two Dorset clergymen are known to have been prosecuted for preaching against parliament rather than against the king. Constantine Jessop, mentioned earlier, was banned from preaching in Bristol but gained a wealthy living in Wimborne, while John Potter allegedly preached an invective sermon against Cromwell and was imprisoned in Weymouth for several months, even though he sought to prove that he was in London when he was supposed to be preaching in Dorset. He avoided sequestration from Fontmell Magna, perhaps partly because his family owned the advowson.

Another man prosecuted for preaching against parliament was Jeremiah French, who had moved from Dorset to become minister of Newport, Isle of Wight in 1648. He had only been there for a few months when he preached a sermon condemning the parliamentarians' treatment of the king at his trial. He was confined in Carisbrooke Castle for three months, and was then taken to the

⁶⁴² Rawson, *Gerizim and Ebal*, epistle to the reader.

⁶⁴³ Mayo, *DSC*, p.139; DHC PE/WWH:RE1/1 Winterborne Whitechurch parish register.

Tower of London to be tried for his life, but was acquitted and secured the parish of South Perrott in Dorset in 1650. However, he was one of several Dorset incumbents who were later drawn into religio-political debate when sectaries, and particularly Quakers, became active in their parishes.

Tom Webster has identified over 350 instances of Quakers disturbing public worship between 1654 and 1659.⁶⁴⁴ In South Perrott, Quakers were repeatedly prosecuted for disturbing French's sermons. French himself swore to a justice of the peace that one John Gundry had caused a disturbance in church in 1657 (Gundry counterclaimed that 'the Priest ran violently against him and struck him') and two years later, French appeared at the quarter sessions to accuse Elizabeth Atkins of the same offence.⁶⁴⁵ Similarly, John Hodder, minister of Hawkchurch, prosecuted two Quakers, Humphrey Smith and Dewens Morry, in 1657, both of whom were whipped, and in 1660 a Quaker meeting in Hawkchurch was broken up, and those arrested were taken before a justice of the peace, 'with whom was the priest of Hawkchurch, who rudely insulted them, calling them ill names, etc.'. In August later that year, a group of Quakers was stoned by a rabble at Hawkchurch.⁶⁴⁶ French and Hodder allegedly used physical and verbal abuse against the Quakers, but they in turn were to suffer ejection in 1662.

The churchwardens' accounts of Milton Abbas, a downland parish, record 'the purchase of a horse' in 1659 to carry 'George White the quaker ... to Whitchurch before Justice Squibb', yet Quakerism appears to have taken hold most strongly in West Dorset, where French and Hodder were located.⁶⁴⁷ Just as parish ministers in the post-Restoration Church, like Richard Luce, faced a dilemma over whether or not to denounce nonconformists (see p.152), ministers in the Interregnum Church also faced the challenge of calling for greater religious tolerance while struggling to maintain order against more extreme views. The Hawkchurch Quakers' register book records births as early as 1648, but the names of those prosecuted for causing disturbances do not appear in the

⁶⁴⁴ T. Webster, 'Preaching and parliament, 1640-1659', in P. McCullough, H. Adlington and E. Rhatigan (eds), *The Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011), p.416.

⁶⁴⁵ S. Curtis, *The Lamentable Sufferings of the Church of God in Dorset* (London, 1659), p.20; J. Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers* (London, 1753), p.166.

⁶⁴⁶ Besse, *Sufferings of the Quakers*, pp.166-8.

⁶⁴⁷ DHC PE-MIL/CW/1/1 f.44 Milton Abbas churchwardens' accounts, 15 April 1662.

register. Tolerance thus seems to have been exercised only as long as divergent religious views and practices did not impinge on the parochial ministry.⁶⁴⁸ The Quakers themselves were aware of which JPs and other individuals were more or less likely to persecute them. A list written in 1657 named John Fitzjames of Sherborne as ‘continually a great persecutor of friends’, being the worst among 12 JPs who had brought prosecutions, although 15 others in Dorset were listed as moderate and against persecution.⁶⁴⁹

This pattern of bounded tolerance was also exhibited by Richard Wine, William Benn’s replacement at Dorchester. In 1686, he was similarly vexed by the direction in which religion and politics were heading, as fears of Roman Catholicism re-intensified. On 21 May, the bishop of Bristol wrote to the earl of Sunderland on his return from a visitation of Dorset, where allegations against 12 people accused of being Roman Catholics had been dismissed. He related that, ‘At Dorchester I had the misfortune of a very impudent sermon with innuendoes that though we were not in any certain fears of popery, yet we were not wholly free from some apprehensions of it’ and, having ‘severely reprimanded the preacher’, he told the assembled clergy that:

whilst they preached that the Papists were cruel, oppressing and such as could not keep their word with heretiques, they did insinuate to the ignorant people that the King being a Papist he ought to be dreaded under all those characters ... Therefore I did assure them where I heard of any excess in that railing way too usual of late I would be certain to punish not only with suspension but silence.⁶⁵⁰

According to Calamy’s account, Wine had already been reprimanded by the bishop two years earlier for opinions ‘that tended to ye encouragement of ye Phanatiqs’. He moved from Dorchester to the less valuable living of Clifton Maybank in 1688, but left the Anglican Church shortly thereafter, and was buried in 1701 in Bunhill Fields in London, a nonconformist burial ground. This was another instance of a nonconformist taking the Oath of Uniformity but ultimately recanting. Since he had preached against ‘popery’, he might have been expected

⁶⁴⁸ TNA RG 6/1032 Society of Friends registers: Quarterly meeting of Dorset.

⁶⁴⁹ TNA SP 18/130 f.69 A list of names of such men in commission for justices of the peace in Dorsetshire as have persecuted friends.

⁶⁵⁰ TNA SP 31/3 f.70 The bishop of Bristol to [the earl of Sunderland], Lord President re preachers in Cerne and Dorchester, 21 May 1686.

to support the new Protestant monarchs, but failed to do so, illustrating once again the non-binary nature of religion and politics.⁶⁵¹

Overall, early cases of ministers speaking out or being prosecuted by their parishioners tended to relate to resistance to the prescribed liturgy and religious ritual, whereas in the latter half of the century, ministers were more likely to speak out against perceived extremists (Baptists, Quakers and Catholics).

Published sermons

Most of the political views mentioned so far were unpublished. However, the ejections of 1662 prompted the publication of many 'farewell' sermons, two of which survive by Dorset clergymen, Philip Lamb of Bere Regis and George Thorne of Weymouth. Thorne's sermon explains:

You know what is required of me if I will continue a publick Minister in this Kingdom: I hope no sober persons can think me such a humerous perverse Phanatick as to throw away my Maintenance, much lesse my Ministerial Capacity (which is much more dear to me than Livelihood, yea than Life) out of a proud humor and vain-glorious fancy.⁶⁵²

Rather than going against his conscience and signing the required oath, he was prepared to lose both his income and his parochial ministry. Similarly, Lamb's sermon states:

*For now I must tell you, That (perhaps) you may not see my face, or hear my voice any more in this place; yet not out of any peevish humour, or disaffection to the present Authority of the Kingdom (I call God and Man to witness this day) it being my own Practice and Counsel to you all, To Fear GOD, and Honour the KING; but rather a real dissatisfaction in some particulars imposed, to which, (notwithstanding all endeavours to that purpose) my conscience cannot yet be espoused.*⁶⁵³

Both men were clearly loved by their parishioners. Lamb said 'though I cannot have you in my eye, yet I shall lodge you in my heart', while Thorne addressed his congregation similarly: 'here Beloved, I shall take occasion to open my heart sincerely to you'. As David Appleby has observed, the preface to Lamb's sermon

⁶⁵¹ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p.538.

⁶⁵² G. Thorne, *The Saints Great Duty in Time of the Dangerous Afflictions, Persecutions, and Oppressions* (London, 1664), pp.54-5.

⁶⁵³ P. Lamb, *The Royal Presence, or, Gods Tabernacle with Men* (London, 1662), italics in original.

'bears all the hallmarks of a community petition', the parishioners 'having received much Benefit and Comfort by his Ministry'.⁶⁵⁴ Neither man was opposed to the monarchy, but neither could bring himself to swear the oath. Both were subsequently licensed as Congregational preachers in 1672.

In addition to these two publications, 35 other Dorset clergymen had works published either during their lifetimes or posthumously. Both Thomas Fuller and Nicholas Gibbon, mentioned previously as having refused the Covenant, published extensive works. Gibbon wrote to parliament in 1645 proposing 'both an expedite and a certaine way, for the composing of all Differences in matter of Religion', and in a second publication shortly afterwards expressed his hope that, despite 'so much slighnesse and partiality in the Readers, of these times' making it difficult to have 'free discourse', some ecumenical reconciliation might yet be possible, desiring that 'all quiet, consciencious people ... may find equall defence & protection from all just authority, without respect to persons or opinions'.⁶⁵⁵ Similarly, Fuller expressed concern that 'controversiall writing (sounding somewhat of Drums and Trumpets,) doe but make the wound the wider', so in 1647 he chose to write some meditations instead, as 'the most innocent and inoffensive manner of writeing'.⁶⁵⁶ In these, he suggested that 'I would have men not hear fewer Sermons, but heare more in hearing fewer Sermons. Lesse Preaching better heard ... would make a wiser and stronger Christian'. He stated that 'I have indeavoured in these distemperate times, to hold up my spirits, and to steere them steddily', suggesting that he was quietly weathering the storm rather than becoming involved in acrimonious political debate.⁶⁵⁷ During the Interregnum, he became increasingly concerned about a shortage of able ministers entering the Church as a result of 'the interstitium betwixt two Disciplines ... Episcopacy put off, and another Government not as yet close buckled on', but he did not argue that episcopacy should be restored.⁶⁵⁸ Rather, both men exhibited flexibility in their ministry and were seeking to establish a moderate middle ground that would reunite the Church.

⁶⁵⁴ Appleby, *Black Bartholomew's Day*, p.38; Lamb, *The Royal Presence*, p.A2.

⁶⁵⁵ N. Gibbon, *The Tender of Doctor Gibbon unto the Christian Church, for the Reconciliation of Differences* (London, 1645), Wing (2nd ed.) G657a; Gibbon, *The Reconciler*, pp.A2 & 16.

⁶⁵⁶ T. Fuller, *Good Thoughts in Worse Times* (London, 1647), preface.

⁶⁵⁷ Fuller, *Good Thoughts*, pp. 143-4 & 38.

⁶⁵⁸ T. Fuller, *Abel Redivivus* (London, 1652), preface.

Apart from Robert Gomershall, who published a poem as a preface to Fuller's *Historie of the Holy Warre*, the remaining publications by Dorset clergymen during the seventeenth century were sermons preached on various occasions.⁶⁵⁹ Some were purely theological, and others more overtly political. Charles Cornish-Dale suggested that sermons in Dorchester, such as those by John Mayo, rector of Cattistock from 1614, betrayed a 'godly' leaning even before the arrival of John White.⁶⁶⁰ However, Mayo's preoccupation was not with the orthodox clergy, but with the 'few currish & cursed schismatikes' peddling 'Romish trumperies' that 'have disturbed our quiet state and government, and troubled not a little many godly and learned men',⁶⁶¹ and Cornish-Dale admitted that Mayo's later sermons advocated practices by no means popular among puritans.⁶⁶² By the mid-1630s, Thomas Laurence and Thomas Drant were both preaching against schisms in the Church. In a 1634 sermon, Laurence tied the prosperity of the Church to the safety of king and state:

Know therefore that Satan assaults not this body, while it is healthy and strong ... but like a wily enemy, takes advantage by some dangerous breach, & enters through the disbanded troupes of our armies: nor staies this evill here, but ascends from a neglect of the rochet, to a contempt of the Scepter; and a Schisme against the Church, leads usually to a disturbance of the state.⁶⁶³

Religion was for him intimately bound up with politics: 'Let the Priests mouth never want a prayer for the safety of the King, nor the Kings hand a sword for the defence of the Priest.'⁶⁶⁴ Similarly, Drant called for unity in the Church in order to avoid anarchy in the state:

there is a Spirit of giddinesse ... this Spirit, whether in a Church-parlour at Amsterdam, abroad there, or an uncharitable conventicle of our Zelots, at home

⁶⁵⁹ T. Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre* (Cambridge, 1640).

⁶⁶⁰ C. Cornish-Dale, 'Kindling the fire from heaven: Protestantism in Dorchester before the great fire', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History & Archaeological Society*, 138 (2017), p.40, citing J. Mayo, *The Pope's Parliament* (London, 1591).

⁶⁶¹ Mayo, *Pope's Parliament*, preface.

⁶⁶² Cornish-Dale, 'Kindling the fire', p.40; J. M[ayo], *A Sermon of Fasting, and of Lent, and of the Antiquitie, Dignitie, and Great Necessitie thereof Preached upon the 14. of Februarie, anno 1607 at Shaftesbury* (London, 1609), STC (2nd ed.) 17755; J. M[ayo], *The Anatomie of Pope Ioane* (London, 1624), STC (2nd ed.) 17754.

⁶⁶³ T. Laurence, *Two Sermons: The Duty of the Laity and the Priviledge of the Priest; and Of Schismes in the Church of God* (Oxford, 1635), Sermon 2, p.20.

⁶⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p.21.

here, is as farre from grace, as unity, it at once rents into Schismes ... & opens a sluice for Anarchy, disorder, irreligion.⁶⁶⁵

Both men were preaching several years before the beginning of the civil wars but had already identified the pitfalls of emerging differences in religious practice. Their personal circumstances differed considerably. Drant had become curate of Cann near Shaftesbury in 1623 immediately after graduating with a BA from Oxford. In contrast, Laurence had been presented to Compton Abbas in 1628 through the patronage of his father, and in 1633 had gained a doctorate in divinity from Oxford and been presented to the rich Wiltshire rectory of Bemerton with Fugglestone by the earl of Pembroke, only resigning Compton Abbas in 1637.⁶⁶⁶ However, although Drant criticised separatists for 'so hot a contention about Ceremonies', he appeared to regard Church unity as more important than ritual, and he continued to be employed to minister in Shaftesbury during the Interregnum, and in Melbury Osmond from 1658 until his death ten years later. In contrast, Laurence advised his fellow clergy not to pander to factions, 'nor encourage a peevish Schismaticke by christning his babe without the crosse or the Surplesse', indicating a less adaptable attitude which resulted in his sequestration and exclusion from the ministry until his death in 1657.

Simon Ford was admitted in 1645 to the vicarage of Puddletown, under the patronage of the earl of Huntingdon, but his preface to a sermon preached in London in 1646 reveals his indebtedness to Sir William Waller, whose religious and political views accorded closely with his own. Despite being a staunch Presbyterian, Ford upheld the legitimacy of those ordained by bishops and presbyters alike, who were 'faithful, Orthodox, able, and conscientious Pastors', while calling for the ejection of those belonging to 'whatever Sects are enemies to a regular Ministry'.⁶⁶⁷ Ford was one of few Dorset clergymen who continued to publish during the 1650s. In his 1655 disputation on infant baptism, dedicated to Sir William Waller, he expressed his opinion that, while so many were standing

⁶⁶⁵ T. Drant, *The Royall Guest* (London, 1637), pp.30-31.

⁶⁶⁶ A.J. Hegarty, 'Laurence, Thomas', *ODNB*, available at: <https://doi-org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/16131> (accessed 3 January 2018).

⁶⁶⁷ S. Ford, *The Great Interest of States & Kingdomes* (London, 1646), Thomason E.356[1].

by awaiting resolutions to ecclesiastical disputes, it was important to engage in debate:

Thus disputes about the *Ministry*, have made the *wayes of Zion mourn*, for the fewness of those that come to the *solemn Assemblies*: the contests about the *Sabbath*, have turned it (in the esteem of most people) to a meer *idle day*, wherein the State gives them liberty to shut up shops, and sit by the *fire*, or tipple in the *Alehouse*, or walk in the *fields*: so concerning *singing of Psalmes*, and the *Sacrament of the Lords Supper*, you know better then I can tell you, how many sinfully suspend their practise upon occasion of the controversies raised concerning them.⁶⁶⁸

As previously mentioned, Ford had already lost his Puddletown living for his refusal to subscribe to the Engagement, and on the evidence of surviving publications, it appears that few Dorset ministers engaged in public debate over liturgical practices during the Interregnum. Apart from an uncontroversial sermon preached in 1649 by Christopher Massey at the funeral of Spencer Lucy of Charlecote, Warwickshire, the father of his subsequent patron, the only other sermon published by a Dorset incumbent between 1640 and 1660 was by John Straight in 1643, who apparently did so reluctantly to avoid false copies being distributed. Straight claimed that the sermon had been ‘extorted from me at Abington, where I was taken up as a Spie, and detained by the space of five dayes in the nature of a prisoner’.⁶⁶⁹ The circumstances of his imprisonment are unclear, but he subsequently continued unmolested as vicar of Stourpaine until 1677 and of Turnworth until 1680. He published no further political commentary until 1670, when he again professed his reluctance to publish an assize sermon preached at Dorchester the previous year: ‘I had even almost protested against Printing in such times as these are, in which that ingenious invention is so much abused with contentious and useless, I might add pernicious and seditious Pamphlets.’⁶⁷⁰ However, amid advice to his readers to ‘Let not your Talent which God hath lent you lye rusting in a napkin ... Socrates I remember, reports of one, that quenched his ardent desires of going to see the olympick Games, with the

⁶⁶⁸ S. Ford, *A Dialogue, Concerning the Practicall Use of Infant-Baptisme* (London, 1655), Wing 2443:18, p.A4.

⁶⁶⁹ J. Straight, *A Sermon Preached at Abington in the County of Berks, 19 February 1642* (Oxford, 1643), Wing S5807, preface.

⁶⁷⁰ J. Straight, *A Sermon Preached at the Assizes held at Dorchester in the County of Dorset, upon the Fourth Day of March in the Year of our Lord 1669* (London, 1670), Wing S5808A, preface.

thought of the tedious travaille thither', and despite the fact that 'I expect not to escape the lash of censure', he went on to make an impassioned plea to galvanise the justices into quelling schismatics:

Town and Country are sick of separation, and swarm with scismaticks, that in things but ceremonial peevishly spurn at the grave authority of the Church; and out of a needless nicety are thieves to themselves of those benefits which God hath allowed them, Good Laws there are to reclaim them, to suppress their Conventicles, to retrain their seditious spirits, but there is but little or no execution of them.⁶⁷¹

His final publication was in 1671 (when he wrongly thought he was near death), addressed to 'his loving Parishioners and good Neighbours, the Inhabitants of Stourepaine' because:

There are too many pluckt away with the Errours of these Seditious and Schismatical Times: How much it hath been my care to keep you from Schism, Faction and SeapARATION, you cannot chuse but witness for me. I am now grown old, and ready to go the way of all Flesh.⁶⁷²

1660 produced a rash of published sermons celebrating the king's restoration. William Walwyn (not the Leveller leader), John Whynnell and John Martin all seized the opportunity to condemn nonconformists of all hues, and although John Douch acknowledged that 'the sword of justice, must be furbished with the oyle of mercy', he preached nevertheless that 'There are cases wherein severity ought to cast the scale. 'Tis the duty of Kings to execute justice and judgement.'⁶⁷³ Gilbert Ironside, by now aged 72, described himself as 'an old man much decayed in strength, Lungs, Parts, plundered of Abilities as well as Books, by the Discouragements and Distractions of our late Confusions'. Having been sequestered and imprisoned in Dorchester for eight years, the tone of his sermon is more of relief than a desire for retribution.⁶⁷⁴ John Sacheverell, on the other hand, who was native to Dorset and had been rector of Langton Matravers in the

⁶⁷¹ Straight, *Sermon Preached at the Assizes*, p.23.

⁶⁷² J. Straight, *The Rule of Rejoycing; or a Direction for Mirth* (London, 1671), Wing S5806, p.A2.

⁶⁷³ W. Walwyn, *God Save the King* (London, 1660), Wing (2nd ed.) W696B; J. Martin, *Hosannah: A Thanksgiving-Sermon, June 28th 1660* (Oxford, 1660), Wing M842; J. Douch, *England's Jubilee: or, Her Happy Return from Captivity* (London, 1660), Wing (2nd ed.) D1958A, p.21.

⁶⁷⁴ G. Ironside, *A Sermon Preached at Dorchester ... at the Proclaiming of His Sacred Majesty Charles the II* (London, 1660), Wing (2nd ed.) I1048, preface; Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p.134.

1640s, was dragged through the streets on a hurdle by the parishioners of Wincanton, Somerset for preaching on *Samuel* 12 at the time of the coronation in April 1661.⁶⁷⁵ He was subsequently ejected, retired to Stalbridge and in 1663 was imprisoned at Dorchester for 18 months for preaching at Shaftesbury. He died soon afterwards.⁶⁷⁶

As the ejections of 1662 drew near, Henry Glover appealed for a return to a united Church, 'that if we cannot come fully up to the Primitive temper of minding and speaking all the same things, yet at least small differences in Judgement, may not (being heightened with animosities) make eternal breaches in the Affections of Christians'. He also warned against pulpit politics: 'Will a Sarcasm do our work? or, are a few Satirical flashes, or Jerks of Wit likely to heal our Breaches?' Two years later, he was still pleading for vengeance to be left to the magistrates and not preached from the pulpit: 'This ugly sin many times creeps in the Church, and sometimes it crawles up into the pulpit.'⁶⁷⁷ John Martin published another sermon preached at the 1664 Dorchester assizes, which Hugh Adlington has noted as being almost unmatched nationally in its 'vituperative appeal to judges to discipline nonconformists'.⁶⁷⁸ 1662 also saw the posthumous publication of a sermon preached by William Sherley at Blandford in 1640, upholding the church hierarchy and the Book of Common Prayer, without which the clergy would be 'so much confused Rubbish, or like a multitude of Stones lying in an heap together', whereas in conformity they would be 'a good serviceable piece of Building'.⁶⁷⁹ This warning against schism must have seemed even more timely in 1662 than it had in 1640, and Adlington has suggested that it may have been sparked by the tolerationist stance of the bishops of Salisbury in the early 1660s.⁶⁸⁰

The Dorset clergymen published little between 1662 and the next period of religio-political agitation in the early 1670s, when Richard West and Hamnet

⁶⁷⁵ *Samuel* 12 v.25: 'But if ye shall still do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both ye and your king.'

⁶⁷⁶ P.J. Norrey, 'The relationship between central and local government in Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire, 1660-1688', PhD thesis (Bristol University, 1988), p.92; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p.422.

⁶⁷⁷ H. Glover, *An Exhortation to Prayer for Jerusalems Peace* (London, 1663), Wing G890, p.12; Glover, *Ekdikesis*, p.16.

⁶⁷⁸ J. Martin, *Lex Pacifica: or, Gods own Law of Determining Controversies Explain'd and Asserted* (London, 1664), Wing M843; Adlington, 'Restoration, religion, and law', p.436.

⁶⁷⁹ W. Sherley, *The Excellence of the Order of the Church of England, under Episcopal Government, Set Forth in a Sermon at the Visitation of Blandford, Anno 1640* (London, 1662), Wing S3240.

⁶⁸⁰ Adlington, 'Restoration, religion, and law', p.436.

Ward called for an end to disunity and upheld episcopal authority.⁶⁸¹ West, who was rector of Shillingstone, went further in his assize sermon of 1671 in calling for the justices to

be as forward to Exhibite Bills against the Breaches of the Sabbath, as of the Peace; and be as careful to have the Downfalls of Churches repaired, as they are about decays of Bridges; and once more, lastly, if they would be as earnest to have Laws put in Execution against a Grand Atheistical or Papistical Recusant, as they are to prosecute a poor sneaking Anabaptistical Separatist.⁶⁸²

This sermon overtly linked religion and politics. West was particularly criticising separatists who broke the peace and resisted lawful powers, yet he was equally concerned with more general immorality, particularly excessive drinking: 'But alas! how is the old English Hospitality turned into a Dutch Debauchery; Variety of Liquors is now the chiefest Entertainment.'⁶⁸³

While West complained about the proliferation of sects, 'which have been as numerous and busie almost as Insects', the only published Dorset voice in support of toleration was that of William Eastman, who published anonymously as 'W.E.' in 1673. He claimed that 'it ill becomes men to cast slaunders on any, especially when they have been instruments of forcing men to private places', since 'it was their great grief, and the grief of those that had benefit by their Ministry, that their mouthes were stopt'.⁶⁸⁴ Eastman had been granted a licence to preach in Shaftesbury in 1672, and he became the first pastor of a Presbyterian meeting house erected there in the 1670s, '44 ft by 36 ft, with a front gallery'. He was thus vindicated in his claim that nonconformists were not 'house-creepers' preaching only in private houses, but that they had been prevented from ministering openly because their consciences would not allow them to conform with the conditions imposed on them.⁶⁸⁵

Several more sermons were published in the early 1680s. Once again, two clergymen, Richard Roderick and Benjamin Bird, called for a curb on schismatics

⁶⁸¹ Ward, *Sermon Preacht at Shaftsbury*; R. West, *The Profitableness of Piety, Opened in an Assize Sermon Preach'd at Dorchester, March 24, 1671* (London, 1671), Wing W1380.

⁶⁸² West, *Profitableness of Piety*, p.27.

⁶⁸³ *ibid.*, pp.6 & 7.

⁶⁸⁴ W. E[astman], *A Vindication of the Ministers of Christ from that Slander Cast on Them, That They are House-Creepers, because They Sometimes Preach in Private Houses* (London, 1673), Wing E44, p.18.

⁶⁸⁵ Hutchins, *History and Antiquities*, III, p.39.

and nonconformists, 'though God be praised their number decreases', and entreated the justices 'to convince Dissenters, that it is their Duty to obey the Magistrate in lawful things'.⁶⁸⁶ On the other hand, Samuel Bold believed that much greater strictures had been placed on nonconformists than public order necessitated, and that they were no less law-abiding than their conformist brethren. Rather, he had found them to be pious, and 'have neither been Haunters of Taverns, nor obscene and loose in their Discourse, nor have they been guilty of sitting Days and Nights at Cards and Dice'.⁶⁸⁷ He suggested that a major cause of disunity was that too much emphasis was placed on 'Unnecessary Rites and Ceremonies', and not enough on 'strictness of practice' and 'holiness of conversation'.⁶⁸⁸ He therefore cited Edward Stillingfleet in hoping that 'God will one day convince men that the Union of the Church lies more in the unity of Faith and Affection, than in uniformity of doubtful Rites and Ceremonies'.⁶⁸⁹

Both Bold and Stillingfleet had so-called latitudinarian views, and Bold is among only seven Anglican clerics whom John Spurr identified as having 'publicly supported a comprehension during the Restoration', in terms of relaxing the liturgical rites in order to enable separatists to return to the Church.⁶⁹⁰ The only other Dorset clergyman whom Spurr considered a latitudinarian was Nathaniel Ingelo, who followed a very different path from Bold. He had been minister of two parish churches, and of an incipient Baptist congregation in Bristol in the 1640s, but had fallen out of favour 'over his elegant dress and his love of music', and had eventually been appointed rector of Piddleshinton in 1671.⁶⁹¹ His musical activities and literary works certainly align with Spurr's suggestion that 'the most obvious affinity between our "latitudinarians" was pastoral and theological, a shared distaste for the puritan doctrine of salvation and its implications', and he also gained a doctorate in

⁶⁸⁶ R. Roderick, *A Sermon Preached at Blandford-forum in Dorset-shire, December the 19th, 1682* (London, 1683), Wing R1770; B. Bird, *Humble Advice to Protestant Dissenters, in a Sermon Preached at Wotton-Fits-Paine, in the County of Dorset, June 25th, 1682* (London, 1682), Wing B2948.

⁶⁸⁷ S. Bold, *A Sermon against Persecution, Preached March 26, 1682* (London, 1682), Wing B3488, preface to the reader.

⁶⁸⁸ S. Bold, *A Plea for Moderation towards Dissenters* (London, 1682), Wing B3484, p.1.

⁶⁸⁹ Bold, *Plea for Moderation*, p.7, citing E. Stillingfleet, *The Irenicum* (London, 1659), p.121.

⁶⁹⁰ J. Spurr, "'Latitudinarianism" and the Restoration Church', *The Historical Journal*, 31 (1988), p.78.

⁶⁹¹ I. McLellan, 'Ingelo, Nathaniel (1620/21–1683), author', *ODNB*, available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odn-b-9780198614128-e-14385> (accessed 4 March 2019); J. Harlow, *Religious Ministry in Bristol 1603-1689: Uniformity to Dissent* (Bristol, 2017), p.5.

divinity from Queens' College, Cambridge in 1658, which was strongly influenced by Platonist views at that time.⁶⁹² Rationalists Robert Boyle and Robert Hooke were both related to Dorset incumbents, illustrating the quiet co-existence of a range of religious views and persuasions within the county.⁶⁹³

A major stimulus to renewed calls for Protestant unity in the 1680s was the perceived threat of popery, particularly following failure to exclude the Catholic James, duke of York, from the succession. Samuel Bold was no exception in claiming a particular need for unity in the face of the threat from Rome: 'it is deplorably apparent, that now in our days, they who appear most vigorous and active in Prosecuting those Protestants who differ from others in some accidental Matters, have a great affection for Popery, and are hastening towards Rome as fast as they can'.⁶⁹⁴ Unfortunately, Bold had gone too far, and was first presented to the secular authority at the assizes in Sherborne in August 1682, resulting in a seven-week imprisonment until he paid the fines imposed, and then to the ecclesiastical authority of the bishop of Bristol, from which he escaped only because the bishop died soon afterwards.⁶⁹⁵ This was still insufficient to deter him from further pleas for Protestant unity in 1688, when he again preached against the Roman faith whose clergy were allegedly characterised by 'prodigious Ignorance, Sloth, and Beastly Sensuality and Debauchery'.⁶⁹⁶

Bold's is one of the last politically-orientated sermons published by a Dorset minister in the seventeenth century. For the remainder of the century, their publications became more strictly theological. One notable exception was John Ollyffe, rector of Almer, who delivered a thanksgiving sermon for delivery from popery in 1689, and then in 1694 preached in defence of infant baptism, following this up with a treatise on the matter for his parishioners, 'to put them in remembrance thereof, and that they may have something still by them to oppose to the restless and importunate Insinuations of those that are of the other

⁶⁹² Spurr, 'Latitudinarianism', p.69.

⁶⁹³ B. Coward, *The Stuart Age: England 1603-1714* (3rd edition, Harlow, 2003), p.466.

⁶⁹⁴ Bold, *Sermon against Persecution*, p.6.

⁶⁹⁵ B.W. Ball, 'Bold, Samuel (1648x52-1737), Church of England clergyman', *ODNB*, available at: <https://doi-org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/2791> (accessed 2 February 2018).

⁶⁹⁶ S. Bold, *A Brief Account of the First Rise of the Name Protestant* (London, 1688), Wing B3477, p.5.

Perswasion'.⁶⁹⁷ Although two Quakers had been prosecuted in 1660 by John Dore, rector of the parish at that time, no evidence has been found of Baptist activity relating specifically to Almer when Ollyffe was writing in 1694, although in 1672 Thomas Miller had been licensed as a Baptist preacher in Winterborne Zelston, only a mile and a half away.⁶⁹⁸ Ollyffe proposed to his parishioners that 'A right practical Improvement of our Infant-Baptism by our selves, and a Religious Care taken in the Education of our Children sutably to the Obligations thereof, will be a better Vindication of the Usefulness of Infant-Baptism' than any amount of preaching or persecution of the Baptists.⁶⁹⁹

In summary, the views of only a very small proportion of Dorset ministers were published, so the extent to which these can be generalised to other clergy of the time is necessarily limited. However, these publications do reveal several important points. First, Dorset was not a political backwater, sheltered from the political controversies of the century. Second, several of the county's clergy were very well educated and politically informed, and although some expressed reluctance for their opinions to appear in print, they nevertheless used their pulpits to convey political rather than strictly theological views; this was, in fact, normal practice. Finally, most publications were by clergy who held parochial benefices, as nonconformists ejected from their livings no longer had legitimate pulpits from which to deliver and publish their sermons. However, this did not mean that nonconformists were entirely silenced; indeed, some published a great deal, and evidence of their involvement in local and national politics is examined in the next section.

Acting out: Tax payments, mobilisation and military involvement

Having examined Dorset clergymen's oral and written political involvement, this section looks at more practical actions in which they engaged.

⁶⁹⁷ J. Ollyffe, *England's Call to Thankfulness for her Great Deliverance from Popery and Arbitrary Power...* (London, 1689), Wing O288; J. Ollyffe, *A Brief Defence of Infant Baptism* (London, 1694), Wing O287, p.3.

⁶⁹⁸ Besse, *Sufferings of the Quakers*; 'Notes of licences to the following persons for the following places', in F. H. B. Daniell (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles II, 1672-1673*, Vol. 14 (London, 1901), p.426.

⁶⁹⁹ Ollyffe, *Brief Defence*, p.56.

Taxes and subsidies

One simple form of political action was refusal to pay taxes. In 1636, eight ministers reportedly failed to pay their ship money, although their reasons are not stated, and it may have been a result of administrative maladministration, small-scale defiance or quibbling over the rate, rather than outright political opposition.⁷⁰⁰ Ministers might also betray their political leanings in the amounts they contributed to clerical subsidies, as evidenced by George Turner's analysis of the amounts paid toward the clerical subsidy of 1661.⁷⁰¹ This was described as a 'free and voluntary present to his Majesty', but Turner found that ministers who had been sequestered and had already been reinstated to their livings tended to donate the largest sums, whereas those ejected for nonconformity a year later gave more modestly. Even amongst those subsequently ejected, ministers who later applied for licences as Presbyterian preachers contributed relatively generously, whereas Independents and Congregationalists, 'who had little love for monarchy', gave much less. Thus, their subsidy payments hint at their religio-political adherence, even before their subsequent ejection and application for licences.⁷⁰²

The clerical subsidy list for Dorset records that a total of £512 12s 5d was given by 145 clergymen.⁷⁰³ This list provides an interesting snapshot of a cadre of clergymen who had survived two decades of upheaval. Some were now safe in their livings, while others would face ejection the following year. Three out of the four donors who were without a parish living in 1661 had been sequestered and had yet to regain their previous livings, while the fourth had been ejected on the return of the previous incumbent but was a conforming minister and was about to be appointed to Wareham Holy Trinity.

Confirming Turner's observation that those who had been restored to sequestered livings donated most generously, two of the three men who paid the

⁷⁰⁰ TNA SP 16/319 f.195 List signed by Sir Thomas Trenchard, late sheriff of Dorset, of persons in that country who had not paid their ship-money, April 1636. This includes eight ministers (John Ball, William Hurdacre, John Bernard, Richard Filliol, Robert Highmore, Mr Browne, Gilbert Ironside and William Higgins).

⁷⁰¹ Turner, *Original Records*.

⁷⁰² G.L. Turner, 'The clerical subsidy, 1661', *Transactions of the Congregational History Society*, 7 (1916-18), pp.16-33.

⁷⁰³ TNA E 179/7/87/M1-M3 list of clergy who subscribed to the free and voluntary present granted to Charles II in 1661, for the diocese of Bristol [clerical subsidy].

second-largest sum of £10 had indeed been sequestered and reinstated. The third, Richard West, had been placed in the rectory of Shillingstone by the county committee in 1648, but in 1650 it was reported that he ‘serveth the Cure him selfe when he is at home but being absent now at present we have sometimes one sometimes another at Mr West charge’.⁷⁰⁴ As the living was worth £155 per annum, West could well afford to appoint a curate, and it appears that he was cultivating prospects elsewhere, since he was awarded a doctorate from Oxford University in 1660, and in 1664 was appointed to the additional living of Durweston, less than three miles from Shillingstone and worth £120 per annum, as well as a canonry at Wells cathedral. Son of a Northampton clergyman, his brother, Edward was ejected for nonconformity from a living in Berkshire in 1662 and built a meeting house in Moorfields, London where he preached until his death in 1675.⁷⁰⁵ The two brothers’ university experiences had been quite different: although both had gained their bachelor’s degrees from Christ Church, Oxford, Richard had been ejected by the parliamentary visitors and had gained his MA from Cambridge, whereas the younger Edward was awarded his MA by St Mary Hall in 1657.⁷⁰⁶ The impact of these differing trajectories unfolded dramatically in the early 1660s, as one brother was ejected and the other secured valuable preferments.

Only one man paid more than £10 toward the subsidy. John Palmer, who had been rector of Kington Magna since 1633, paid £20, which was a fifth of the annual value of his living.⁷⁰⁷ As previously mentioned, he allegedly suffered a crisis of conscience for his conformity and committed suicide in 1662, as did another contributor, Christopher Taylor of Witchampton, who only gave £5.

Of the 26 donors subsequently ejected, 14 are known to have been Presbyterians and six Congregationalists. Only one Congregationalist gave over £1, with a median payment of 15s, whereas nine Presbyterians did so, the maximum payment being £5 by John Hodder of Hawkchurch, with a median of £1 10s. In contrast, the median contribution of the 27 individuals who had been

⁷⁰⁴ TNA C 94/2 f.29 *Survey*, Shillingstone.

⁷⁰⁵ E. Calamy, *An Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges and Schoolmasters who were Ejected or Silenced after the Restoration in 1660*, Vol. 2 (London, 1713). p.100.

⁷⁰⁶ ‘West, Edward’, in Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, p.1600.

⁷⁰⁷ TNA E 179/7/87/M1-M3; TNA 94/2 f.113 *Survey*, Kington Magna.

sequestered and restored was £2, and only seven contributed less than £1, two of whom had no current living. This confirms Turner's contention that those who had regained their livings after sequestration were inclined to give more, and that those subsequently ejected were less generous, with Congregationalists giving less than Presbyterians. Twenty-two of the donors had been appointed to their living within the last year since the Restoration, and 49 had been appointed during the Interregnum (1649-1659). Only 44 had been appointed prior to the outbreak of the civil wars, although this cohort had, of course, been depleted by a number of deaths in the intervening period. Nevertheless, 84 of the donors had remained in the same livings with no interruption to their ministry and would also survive the ejections of 1662. Of the 20 who had been in post without sequestration since before the civil wars, the longest-serving was Percival Meech, who had been appointed to West Knighton in 1609.

There are no records of donations from 90 rectories and vicarages in Dorset. These include 18 where the incumbents had been sequestered or not permitted to take up their appointment and 15 where the incumbents were about to be ejected or resign, as well as seven parishes that appear to have been experiencing a period without a minister.

Military service

More active involvement is evidenced in clergymen's service as army chaplains. Chapter 3 examined chaplaincies from an economic perspective as an alternative source of income, either to supplement parochial benefices or to earn money during the disruptions of war. Having subsequently examined the geographical and social context of the county, this section reviews such activities in light of the political context, since joining an army was obviously a very public political gesture.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, five Dorset clergymen are known to have served as chaplains to royalist regiments: Thomas Fuller, William Stone, James Crouch, Humphrey Henchman and Richard Hyde. Fuller took the Protestation as rector of Broadwindsor, but was said subsequently to have been at the sieges of Basing House and Exeter. When the former siege was broken by Cromwell's forces in October 1645, 'six of the ten priests in the house were slain, and the four others reserved for the knife and the gallows'. Fuller appears to have been serving with

Hopton's army in the West and was chaplain to the infant princess Henrietta in Exeter, which was already under siege by that time.⁷⁰⁸ His living of Broadwindsor was sequestered around the same time, but it is unclear whether this was prompted by his service in the king's army, or whether he sought army service because his living was endangered. By 1646, his active service was over and he stated that 'until such time, as I shall by Gods providence, and the Authority of my Superiours, be restored to the open Exercise of my profession, on termes consisting with my Conscience ... it is my intent (God willing) to spend the remnant of my dayes in reading and writing'.⁷⁰⁹ The same publication reveals why he was perhaps prepared to take an active role in military service, as he relates that, on the approach of Andronicus (a thinly-disguised caricature of Cromwell) with a powerful army, many hoped 'in a private fly-boat of Neutrality to waft their owne Adventure safe to the Shore'.⁷¹⁰ Unlike Immanuel Bourne in Derbyshire, who initially adopted a neutralist position but suffered demands and deprivations by both sides,⁷¹¹ Fuller was scathing of neutrality, and hence played an active role in the royalist army. Nevertheless, two years later he secured £100 per year as minister of Waltham Abbey.⁷¹²

A second royalist army chaplain, William Stone, was son of the headmaster of Wimborne grammar school and had been appointed presbyter of Wimborne Minster in 1641. Like Fuller, he was a very learned man who had allegedly even had to postpone his university matriculation, 'not being as yet capable in age for taking the oath'.⁷¹³ As a local man, he commanded the loyalty of his parishioners, and they had pressed for his election to the minster as soon as he was ordained. In 1642 he appeared on the list for Wimborne Minster of 'those persons that have not taken the Oathe of protestation as farr as we knoweth', his answer being that 'he had given in satisfaction to the Justices'.⁷¹⁴ Three years later, one 'Mr. Ford the fighting Preacher', a captain under the parliamentary Colonel

⁷⁰⁸ Gardiner, *History*, pp.343 & 465.

⁷⁰⁹ T. Fuller, *Andronicus, or, The Unfortunate Politician* (London, 1646), p.A3.

⁷¹⁰ *ibid.*, pp.29-30.

⁷¹¹ O'Day, *English Clergy*, p.215.

⁷¹² W.B. Patterson, 'Fuller, Thomas (1607/8-1661)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2008), available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10236> (accessed 8 June 2019).

⁷¹³ Translation of transcription on his monument in St Michael's church, Oxford, in Fletcher, 'A Dorset worthy', p.26.

⁷¹⁴ Fry, *Dorset Protestation Returns*, p.129.

Bingham, attempted to usurp the pulpit of Wimborne, and an account relates that, 'missing of Common Prayer, the parishioners first gaze and then cry out for their Doctor and the old service of God'.⁷¹⁵ However, this was insufficient to save Stone from sequestration, at which point he is said to have fled to the royalist army, and later abroad to Padua University.⁷¹⁶ He was restored to Wimborne in 1661.

Humphrey Henchman was sequestered from Portland and Wyke Regis in 1643 for joining the royalist army.⁷¹⁷ He remained particularly loyal to the royal family, assisting in Charles II's escape after the Battle of Worcester in 1651 and then being implicated in the Penruddock rising in 1655 whilst chaplain to the Marquis of Hertford.⁷¹⁸ He was rewarded by being restored to both livings and appointed bishop of Salisbury in 1660, and then bishop of London in 1663.

The fourth royalist activist was James Crouch who, as mentioned in Chapter 3, escaped imprisonment in Weymouth and served for a while in the king's army, before surviving under the patronage of a gentry family in Somerset. However, unlike Stone and Fuller, the parishioners of Wareham did not support him when he was first accused of speaking out against parliament, and even petitioned for a replacement. Crouch was rated 'for his abilities very weake' while ministering in Wiltshire, and at the Restoration had to fight to gain admittance to the rectory of Hinton Martell to which he had been presented but barred from entering in 1644.⁷¹⁹ He was examined by ten commissioners of the peace before being restored on the basis of evidence that William Hussey had 'usurped his right 16 yeares', being a 'meere lay man' because he was 'ordayned at London by certayne ministers called a Classes'.⁷²⁰ In contrast, Stone was welcomed back to Wimborne Minster, and Fuller, whose preaching in Dorchester had been admired by William

⁷¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.19, citing *Mercurius Academicus*, 2 March 1645, pp.109-10.

⁷¹⁶ R.S. Boshier, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (London, 1951), p.293, citing Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p.137.

⁷¹⁷ *Journal of the House of Commons*, Vol. 3 (London, 1802), pp. 153-155 (4 July 1643), available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol3/pp153-155> (accessed 4 April 2015); Mayo, *DSC*, p.264.

⁷¹⁸ W.W. Ravenhill, *Records of the Rising in the West, A.D. 1655* (Devizes, 1875), p.31; R.L. Ollard, *The Escape of Charles II after the Battle of Worcester* (London, 1966), p.102.

⁷¹⁹ Fry, *Hannington*, p.118.

⁷²⁰ Hinton Martell parish register, 1661.

Whiteway in 1634, was restored to Broadwindsor, although he chose to cede the living to John Pinney.⁷²¹

Thus, when those who openly joined the royalist cause found themselves on the losing side of the wars, some with proven clerical ability were able to command the support of their parishioners, while weaker men like Crouch did not. More able clergymen also had more options at the Restoration: Fuller chose not to return to Broadwindsor and in 1661 had already returned to his prebend at Salisbury and was preaching at the Savoy; Stone left Wimborne to become principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford in 1663, as well as holding livings in Northamptonshire and Flintshire; and Henchman received episcopal appointments. In contrast, there is no evidence that the parishioners of Hinton Martell favoured Crouch, who had never been their minister, over William Hussey, who was a native of Pentridge ten miles north, had settled in the village, had several young children born there, and was an able minister, one of six chosen for the Wednesday lectures in Shaftesbury.⁷²²

Ministers who joined the parliamentary army faced different obstacles and challenges. Six Dorset clergymen are known to have served as chaplains to garrisons.⁷²³ Anne Laurence suggested that garrisons were normally served by 'local clergy who supplemented their incomes by occasional duties as a chaplain'.⁷²⁴ Nicholas Watts was native to Dorset. Although he matriculated at Oxford in 1634, he was appointed curate of Donhead St Andrew, Wiltshire in the same year and was still curate when he was ordained priest in 1638 and on marrying Dorothy Ringe of Sherborne in 1639.⁷²⁵ However, he is likely to have been the Nicholas Watts who was paid for chaplaincy services to the garrison at Great Chalfield, Wiltshire in May and June 1645, and in November 1646 he was appointed by the Dorset county committee to be minister of Chettle.⁷²⁶ In 1650, he moved to Moor Crichel, and was confirmed as rector there in 1662 on

⁷²¹ Underdown, *Whiteway of Dorchester*, p.148; cession letter reproduced in Nuttall, *Letters of John Pinney*, frontispiece.

⁷²² Mayo, *DSC*, p.204.

⁷²³ Edward Dammer, Peter Ince, John Salway, James Strong, John Tutchin and Nicholas Watts.

⁷²⁴ A. Laurence, 'Parliamentary army chaplains: Pay and preaching', in R. O'Day and F. Heal (eds), *Princes and Paupers in the English Church, 1500-1800* (Leicester, 1981), p.158.

⁷²⁵ WSHC D1/2/18 Bishop of Salisbury's subscription book, 20 May 1638; E.R. Nevill, 'Peculiarities of the Dean and Chapter of Sarum', *Wiltshire Notes & Queries*, 6 (1908-10), p.124.

⁷²⁶ Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, p.185; Mayo, *DSC*, pp.47-8.

subscribing to the Act of Uniformity.⁷²⁷ Thus, serving as a garrison chaplain for a short period enabled Watts to gain a permanent benefice. Only two of the six garrison chaplains had had a parochial appointment prior to the civil wars, and these were curacies rather than permanent positions. Watts was the only one who subsequently remained within the established Church.

John Salway, the other individual who had held a parochial appointment, was ordained in 1635 but by 1640, as a non-graduate, was still only curate of Shute, Devon. Shute is only eight miles from Lyme Regis, and in September 1644, Salway was paid for his services as chaplain to Colonel John Were. The latter had been sent to Lyme Regis in 1643 and was a senior officer during the town's siege in 1644.⁷²⁸ On 21 April 1645, Salway was sent with a letter from governor Thomas Ceely to Speaker Lenthall, described as 'a godly minister, who hath byn in the guarrison before, in, and since the siege as lecturer in the guarrison'.⁷²⁹ A week after the date of this letter, Salway became minister of Whitchurch Canonorum and, despite his unpopularity with some parishioners who refused to pay tithes to the intruded minister, he remained there until his ejection in 1660. He returned to Devon, but died in 1672 so never obtained a licence to preach.

Edward Dammer was also born in Dorset, and his garrison service may have resulted from connections with Colonel John Bingham of Melcombe Bingham, which was used as the headquarters of the local parliamentary forces. Bingham was governor of the garrison in Guernsey, and Dammer's appointment as chaplain there in 1657 was a stepping stone to his first clerical appointment as minister of Wyke Regis in 1658. However, he was ejected in 1660 and was subsequently licensed as a Congregational preacher in John Bingham's house in Winterborne Stickland. Another minister, James Strong, matriculated at Oxford in 1636 but did not graduate, and next appears in the records in 1646, on appointment as preacher in Melcombe Regis and chaplain to the garrison there. As in the cases of Dammer and Watts, this led to his first benefice, the rectory of

⁷²⁷ BRO EP A/10/1/4 Diocese of Bristol subscription book, 12 August 1662.

⁷²⁸ 'Were [Wear, Weare], John', in S.K. Roberts (ed.), *The Cromwell Association Online Directory of Parliamentarian Army Officers* (2017), available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/cromwell-army-officers/surnames-w> (accessed 21 February 2018).

⁷²⁹ Tanner MS 50, f.107, cited in Bayley, *Great Civil War in Dorset*, p.252.

Bettiscombe in 1648. He moved to a living in Somerset in 1654, from which he was ejected, and was subsequently licensed as a Presbyterian preacher in that county. Another native of Dorset, John Tutchin, was tutor to the earl of Kent's son after graduating in 1641, and then 'was ingag'd in the Wars'.⁷³⁰ He seems to have been chaplain to the garrison of Farnham, Surrey for at least two years until 1645, and did not obtain a curacy until 1654.⁷³¹ Two years later he became vicar of Fowey, Cornwall, but was ejected in 1662 and was licensed as a Presbyterian preacher there in 1672.⁷³² For him, serving the garrison appears to have been more of a stop-gap than an opportunity for subsequent preferment.

These five clergymen, all native to Dorset, used garrison chaplaincies to further their clerical careers. This worked reasonably well for all but Tutchin, who did not gain his first parochial appointment until 1654. In contrast to these five, Peter Ince was from Chester and had no family connections in the south-west. Having served as chaplain to Sir Thomas Myddleton's army and in the garrison at Harwarden Castle between 1643 and 1644, he probably arrived in Weymouth when infantry forces being sent by sea to join Myddleton made a detour there.⁷³³ He was chaplain of Weymouth garrison and the town of Melcombe Regis for two years but, despite a petition from the town to persuade him to stay since he had been 'very instrumentall in the preservation of the place' during the siege of 1645, he accepted the rectorship of Donhead St Mary, Wiltshire and a weekly lectureship at Shaftesbury in 1647. He was ejected in 1660 and was ultimately licensed as a Presbyterian preacher near Stalbridge.

In addition to the six garrison chaplains, five clergymen are known to have served as chaplains to provincial parliamentary regiments between 1642 and 1649, and in 1659 John Trottle and John Duperier both served in the Dorset militia under Colonel John Bingham.⁷³⁴ Laurence suggested that most army chaplains served for less than a year, with temporary absence from their benefices, and that there seems to have been 'a definite preference for chaplains

⁷³⁰ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p.498.

⁷³¹ Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, p.182.

⁷³² Turner, *Original Records*, p.306.

⁷³³ 'Surnames beginning "I"', in Roberts, *Cromwell Association Online Directory*, available from: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/cromwell-army-officers/surnames-i> (accessed 20 February 2018).

⁷³⁴ Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, pp.180-81.

who were not wildly unorthodox'.⁷³⁵ This was true of William Benn, who served with the Earl of Bedford's horse from late July 1642 but was back in Dorchester by spring 1643. Bedford defected to the king in August 1643, the same month that Dorchester surrendered to the royalists, when Benn removed himself to assist John White at Lambeth where the latter had also fled the fighting.⁷³⁶ However, the army appears also to have been a refuge for some wilder individuals. For example, Thomas Larkham, born in Lyme Regis, had been perpetual vicar of a Devonshire parish for 14 years before emigrating to New England in 1640. He remained there for only two years, during which time he quarrelled with Hanserd Knollys and allegedly left behind an illegitimate child.⁷³⁷ By 1647 he was serving in Colonel Hardress Waller's regiment in Devon, but in 1649 was court martialled and found guilty of inciting insubordination. The parishioners of Tavistock, where he had been appointed minister, were discontented with his ministry, and following the Restoration, he gave up the ministry and became an apothecary.⁷³⁸ Joseph Crabbe was another apparently wayward individual, mentioned above for his schismatical sermons resulting in his ejection from Netherbury.⁷³⁹ In 1661, when Mrs Joan Strode was seeking to reassert her right to present to the vicarage of Netherbury, she claimed that 'Joseph Crabb was a chaplaine to a Regiment under the Commaunde of the late usurped Powers & a violent stickler for them'. This military service is uncorroborated, and despite his ejection from Netherbury, he was appointed vicar of Axminster, Devon in 1662, where he maintained contact with nonconformist ministers. He must have retained his links with Dorset after his ejection, since he was buried in Beaminster.

John Turner was also associated with Beaminster. He was from Cricket Malherbie, Somerset and had succeeded his father as rector there in 1641 but was ejected in 1662. During the civil wars he had served as chaplain to the regiment of Sir John Fitzjames of Leweston, who apparently urged him to conform, but he objected that he had taken the Covenant and could not therefore

⁷³⁵ Laurence, 'Parliamentary army chaplains', p.161.

⁷³⁶ Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, p.99.

⁷³⁷ Hardman Moore, *Diary of Thomas Larkham*.

⁷³⁸ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*.

⁷³⁹ TNA SP 29/446 f.112 Information that Joan Strode, widow has the right of presentation to Netherbury vicarage, with Beaminster chapel, 1661.

subscribe to the Oath of Uniformity.⁷⁴⁰ According to Calamy's account, he was imprisoned several times before arriving to preach in Beaminster and Netherbury, but he subsequently returned to Somerset. Turner's time in the army was not motivated by a desire for clerical advancement.

John Tucker had been born in Dorset and graduated in 1634. He signed the Protestation as curate of Powerstock in 1642, from which the rector, Henry Browne was sequestered in October 1646.⁷⁴¹ In 1650, the Dorset county committee ordered that he be paid £120 2s due to him as chaplain of Colonel Townsend's regiment, 'by vertue of Lord Fayrfax, his commission unto him directed for that place, wherein hee did officiate from 20th day of Aprill, 1646, unto the 15th day of Aprill, 1647, at the rate of 8s per diem'.⁷⁴² Tucker may have been motivated to join the army by the imminent loss of his living on Browne's sequestration, or conversely, Browne may have come to the attention of the county committee following Tucker's departure. After his military service, Tucker secured the rectory of Cheselbourne in 1651, where in 1654 the parishioners exhibited articles of scandal and insufficiency against him, and in 1656 he was appointed to the vicarage of Horton, from which he was ejected in 1660. He was licensed as a Presbyterian preacher in Marnhull in 1672.

In summary, almost all the clergymen who served in military garrisons and regiments on the parliamentary side, and even some on the royalist side, managed to secure a parochial living during the Interregnum. However, the majority did not, as Laurence suggested, take temporary absence from their benefices to serve in the military. Only one of those who served on the parliamentary side subsequently conformed and held a parochial benefice.

Non-military action

In addition to those who engaged in active military service, 14 Dorset clergymen are known to have been involved in the clubmen rising of August 1645. They were all ministers in parishes toward the north-east of the county (see Figure 6.5), although they did not form a contiguous block around Hambledon Hill, which lies between Childe Okeford and Iwerne Courtney.

⁷⁴⁰ Calamy, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, Vol. 2, p.357.

⁷⁴¹ Fry, *Dorset Protestation Returns*.

⁷⁴² Mayo, *DSC*, p.568.

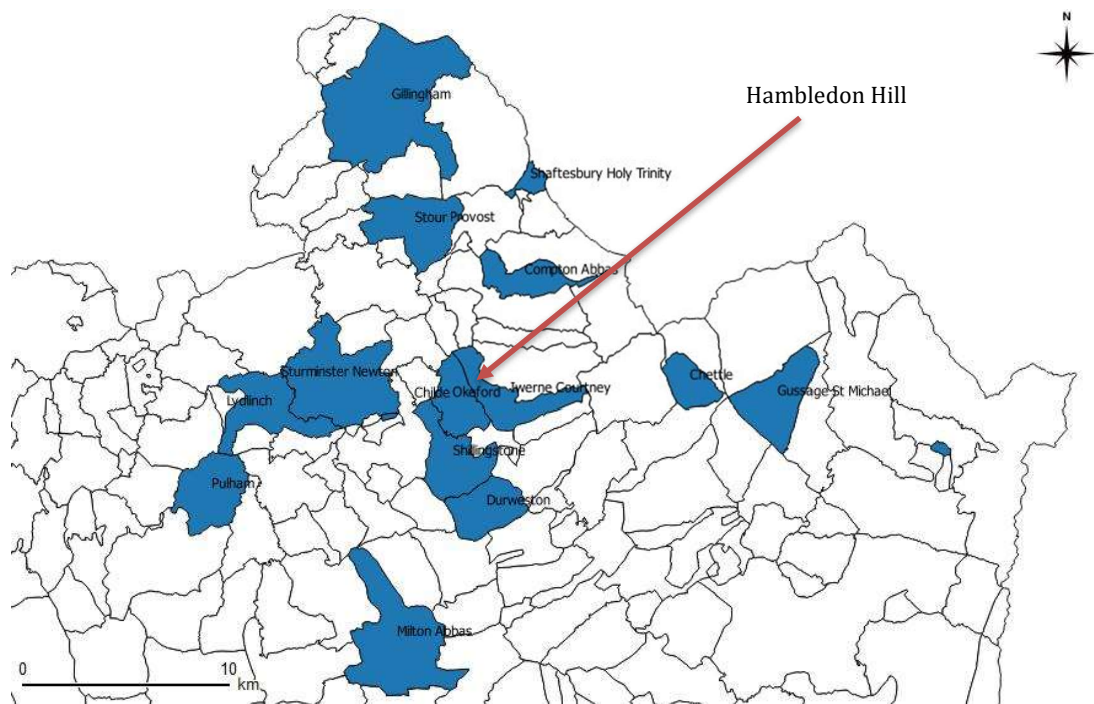


Figure 6.5: Parishes with clubmen involvement

The action had begun three months earlier when, according to a parliamentary pamphlet, some inhabitants of Dorset and Wiltshire had clubbed together to agree on articles of association to protect themselves from the ravages of war and to prevent plunder by rival royalist and parliamentary garrisons.⁷⁴³ A petition was then taken to both the king and the two houses of parliament for ‘an accommodation of the present differences, without further effusion of Christian blood’.⁷⁴⁴ Henry Gooch, rector of Pulham and Thomas Bravell, rector of Compton Abbas were among those sent with the petition to the king, and Melchisedec Waltham and Richard Hooke, rectors of Lydlinch and Durweston respectively, took the petition to parliament.⁷⁴⁵ On 2 August, a group of 51 ‘Countrey Gentlemen called the Leaders of the Club-men’ were arrested by Colonel Fleetwood’s parliamentary troops as they met in Shaftesbury to discuss their next action, amid concern that they might interfere with the siege of Sherborne Castle then under way. Those arrested included Henry Gooch, as well as four other Dorset clergymen: John Estmond, rector of Iwerne Courtney,

⁷⁴³ R. Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort, 1642-1646* (London, 1982), p.181.

⁷⁴⁴ Young (Mr), *The Desires and Resolutions of the Clubmen of the Counties of Dorset and Wilts with the Articles of their Covenant* (London, 1645), Thomason E.292[24], p.2.

⁷⁴⁵ Sprigg, *Anglia Rediviva*, p.59.

Samuel Forward, curate of Gillingham, Edmond Clarke, 'intruded' minister of Stour Provost and Richard Rocke, rector of Chettle. However, two days later, 4,000 men allegedly gathered on Hambledon Hill and clashed with Oliver Cromwell's troops, resulting in the capture of Thomas Bravell and at least four other Dorset clergy: William Lyford, John Talbot, William White and Edward Williams.⁷⁴⁶

Two other clergymen who are not mentioned as having been either at the meeting in Shaftesbury or in the gathering at Hambledon Hill were suspected of involvement. Richard Swayne, vicar of Sturminster Newton, was particularly vulnerable because of the parliamentary garrison there, and Frederick Vaughan was William White's superior at Gussage St Michael. The latter claimed that, since he had been blind from birth and had not been away from his parish, he had certainly not been involved in the clubmen business, but he was nevertheless suspected by the county committee and technically sequestered, although he was allowed to continue to officiate in the parish with assistance from an approved minister.

Table 6.1 summarises the experiences of the 14 Dorset clergymen implicated in the clubmen rising. Of the five known to have continued to serve as parochial ministers during the 1650s, two died before the Restoration, but the remaining three survived the ejections of 1660-2. Three other ministers had to wait until the Restoration to regain their cures after being sequestered, and three others died before having an opportunity to do so, while two never returned to parochial ministry. There was thus no pattern to their prosperity following their involvement in this political activity.

⁷⁴⁶ Anon., *Two Great Victories* (London, 1645), p.5.

Table 6.1: Dorset clergy involved in clubmen rising, 1645

Name	Location	Status	Involvement	Penalty	Reinstatement	Death
Thomas Bravell	Compton Abbas	Rector	Took petition to king; arrested at Hambledon Hill.	Suspended 1645	Reinstated 1647	1655
Edmond Clarke	Stour Provost	Minister	Arrested at Shaftesbury	Forbidden to officiate where he had intruded in 1647	Curate of Buckhorn Weston 1650; rector of Kington Magna 1662.	
John Estmond	Iwerne Courtney	Rector	Arrested at Shaftesbury	Son William died after abuse for using Book of Common Prayer while helping in his ministry.		1647
Samuel Forward	Gillingham	Curate	Arrested at Shaftesbury	Removed Jan 1648, reinstated Apr 1658, ejected 1650	Minister of Fisherton Anger, Wilts 1654, removed within a year	1657
Henry Gooch	Pullham	Rector	Took petition to king; arrested at Shaftesbury	Sequestered 1646		bef. 1660
Richard Hooke	Durweston	Rector	Took petition to parliament.	Sequestered 1645	Restored 1660	1666
William Layford	Shillingstone	Curate	Arrested at Hambledon Hill.	Unknown	Unknown	
Richard Locke	Chettle	Rector	Arrested at Shaftesbury	Sequestered 1646	Not reinstated	bef. 1675
Richard Swayne	Sturminster Newton	Vicar	Suspected of involvement.	Sequestered 1645	Restored 1660	1668
John Talbot	Milton Abbas	Vicar	Arrested at Hambledon Hill.	Sequestered 1646	Restored 1654, gone by 1656; rector of Winterborne Clenston 1660	1684
Frederick Vaughan	Gussage St Michael	Rector	Suspected of involvement.	Sequestered 1645, but blind and allowed to continue with assistance		1663
Melchisedec Waltham	Lydlinch	Rector	Took petition to parliament.	None		1685
William White	Gussage St Michael	Curate	Arrested at Hambledon Hill.		Vicar of Piddletrenthide 1663	1678
Edward Williams	Shaftesbury	Rector	Arrested at Hambledon Hill.	Ordered to cease officiating 1646 'by reason of his old age, natural defects and scandalous conversacon'	Not reinstated	

Dorset clergymen were also involved in Penruddock's 'rising' in the West. Roger Clark alias Kelway has already been mentioned as being staunchly royalist and living with Hopton's aunt, so his involvement is unsurprising. Kelway's father, also Roger, was rector of Todber. He was not sequestered even though he continued to use the Book of Common Prayer, but was imprisoned at Sturminster Newton by parliamentary troops looking for another son, Hancock, who was implicated in Penruddock's plot but had escaped. John Martin, another individual already mentioned in connection with his refusal to take either the Solemn League and Covenant or the 1689 Oath of Allegiance, was more closely associated with the Penruddock rising because he had been presented to the vicarage of Compton Chamberlayne, Wiltshire by Sir John Penruddock. In 1655, he had already been sequestered for refusing the Covenant and was living as a grazier, but was imprisoned for assisting Penruddock's son in the uprising.⁷⁴⁷ Humphrey Henchman was similarly involved through his patron. By the mid 1650s, he was chaplain to the marquis of Hertford in Salisbury, and an informer later testified to Thurloe:

That the Chaplain of the Marquis of Hertford had been oftentimes at Mr. Penruddock's of late, and Mr. Penruddock told him, that he had had much correspondence with him about the rising; and that his chaplain was to be with him upon the Saturday night before the rising; and by him was to learn from the Marquess of Hertford, what strength he would bring, and how the business was to be managed.⁷⁴⁸

Henchman acted as a go-between, reporting from the royalist camp to Penruddock on strength of support for the rising. However, Penruddock was disappointed because Hertford never appeared in Salisbury to join them.⁷⁴⁹ Although the rebels marched through Blandford, Shaftesbury and Sherborne on their way to Yeovil, and even raided Dorchester gaol for recruits, they failed to attract much support. Indeed, William Benn and Stanley Gower, the two ministers in Dorchester, preached before the commissioners prosecuting the insurgents on 15 April 1655. According to the attorney general's report to

⁷⁴⁷ Ravenhill, *Rising in the West*, pp.135-8, citing Aubrey, *Natural History of Wiltshire*.

⁷⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p.31.

⁷⁴⁹ A.H. Woolrych, *Penruddock's Rising 1655* (London, 1955), p.18.

Thurloe, Gower 'blessed God for suppressing those people' and Benn 'blessed the Lord, that nothing came to execution but the traitors'.⁷⁵⁰ The previous sequestrations, particularly of those associated with the Clubmen, appear to have resulted in a more quiescent body of clergymen with less propensity to take action.

Summary

This chapter has provided some insights into how clergymen's public behaviour, in words and deeds, impacted on their parochial survival. Some individuals with a greater propensity to voice their religio-political opinions appear repeatedly in the historical record. For example, a few who refused the Protestation had already raised their voices against the Etcetera Oath. They may have felt a certain safety in numbers, as analysis of the Protestation refusals reveals hotspots not simply of puritan clergy, but of ministers of all religious complexions, some of whom were related by birth or intermarriage. However, the Covenant raised the political stakes, as anyone refusing to swear it was liable to be ousted from public or clerical office, and taking the Covenant and the Negative Oath (swearing not to take up arms against Parliament again) were usually preconditions for compounding for one's sequestered estates.

For some, close family ties in Dorset became a hindrance to survival, making it more difficult for individuals, like Richard Marwell and John Chase, to move elsewhere to escape persecution. Financial issues also appear to have been a factor deterring their removal to new parishes. Incumbents who were not native to Dorset seem to have been more willing to seek alternative employment elsewhere, as did Thomas Fuller and Nicholas Gibbon. The Covenant also spurred some individuals into action, such as Thomas Fuller and Roger Kelway who joined the royalist army.

At least four individuals were appointed to Dorset parishes in the mid-1650s despite refusing to take the Engagement oath. The reasons for the county committee's apparent leniency at this stage are unclear and warrant further investigation.

⁷⁵⁰ Ravenhill, *Rising in the West*, p.63.

With regard to public sermons, some clergy were given confidence to speak out by the backing of supportive patrons. For example, James Rawson acknowledged that the earl of Northumberland's patronage had enabled him to escape censure. Where the family owned the advowson of the living, the incumbent might also escape some of the severity of persecution, like John Potter at Fontmell Magna.

Additional challenges were posed by the activities of religious factions in Dorset, including Baptists and Quakers. This made it more difficult to maintain order against more extreme views while calling for greater religious tolerance. Overall, early cases of ministers speaking out or being prosecuted by their parishioners tended to relate to resistance to the prescribed liturgy and religious ritual, whereas in the latter half of the century, ministers were more likely to speak out against perceived extremists (Baptists, Quakers and Catholics).

Almost all the clergymen who served in military garrisons and regiments during the 1640s managed to secure a parochial living shortly afterwards, but following the Restoration, unsurprisingly, only one of those who had served on the parliamentary side subsequently conformed and held a parochial benefice.

Clubmen uprisings occurred mainly in Blackmore Vale. By the time of the Penruddock uprising, the previous sequestrations, particularly of those associated with the clubmen, seem to have produced a more quiescent body of clergymen who did not take part in any further mobilisation.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

This study has examined the impacts of changing economic, geographical, social and political contexts on the livelihoods of Dorset clergymen in the seventeenth century, aiming to answer two broad research questions:

1. What economic, geographical, social and political factors helped or hindered Dorset clergymen's prosperity, and how did these change during the course of the century?
2. How were clergymen's career options and choices shaped by contextual factors such as their location, education, local allegiances and social movements, loyalty to patrons or parishioners, religious conviction or economic necessity?

The first question has focused on the broad economic, social and political background to clergymen's everyday working lives, while the second has examined individual approaches to their survival as parochial ministers.

Chapter 3 investigated the impact of ecclesiastical jurisdictions and associated income and expenditure. It was found that although the two main ecclesiastical superiors (the bishop of Bristol and the dean of Salisbury) had some preference for appointing locally ordained men from Dorset or surrounding counties, appointments to the richest livings tended to be influenced by university connections. The nature as well as the value of parochial incomes affected clerical prosperity, as incumbents had greater control over glebe income than over tithe payments by parishioners. Commuting tithes into monetary payments or moduses made collection easier, but exposed clerical income to the effects of inflation. Clerical taxes based on notional valuations in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* became lighter as true values increased, whereas non-clerical taxes such as hearth taxes might be more burdensome for individuals in poor parishes who nevertheless had large parsonage houses to maintain. In order to augment their livings, some individuals served more than one parochial cure, while others derived income from non-parochial sources, acting as chaplains to local elite households and, during the civil wars, to armies and garrisons.

Chapter 4 presented analysis of Dorset's different landscape regions and examined how these affected clergymen's livelihoods, and the availability of non-

ecclesiastical sources of income. Analysis of glebe terriers confirmed differences in yield and land usage in the five landscape regions. Enclosed glebe land in West Dorset and Blackmore would have been easier to farm or let out, compared with scattered rights of common pasture in the downlands. Heathland glebe was more mixed, but yields on heath, common and downland were generally much lower than on arable, pasture and meadow lands. Tithe values were also affected by yields on a wide range of produce. Where tithes had been commuted into moduses, the monetary income may have been more convenient, but agreed rates became less advantageous with inflation and were subject to disagreement and renegotiation. Evidence from wills and inventories indicates that incumbents of downland parishes tended to have influential patrons or wealthy family, enabling them to invest in property and other activities, and were less involved in farming owing to smaller glebe entitlements. The survival of a larger number of wills and inventories from the Blackmore Vale suggests that a greater proportion of incumbents in this region were sufficiently wealthy to have property to bequeath, and self-sufficiency was perhaps easier in this region, given the enclosed nature of the glebe land. In contrast, incumbents of heathland parishes derived little income from the land.

Chapter 4 also presented patterns of persecution in the different landscape regions. Incumbents in South and West Dorset were much more likely to be sequestered during the 1640s and 1650s, perhaps because of their proximity to garrisons, whereas three incumbents in Blackmore Vale were successful in having their sequestrations overturned. Furthermore, following the Restoration, the preponderance of clerical ejections was much higher in West and South Dorset, suggesting that ministers who had been ‘intruded’ into parishes were quickly ousted when the regime changed. In contrast, Blackmore Vale experienced fewer ejections, since replacement incumbents had sometimes been nominated by the patrons of the living rather than being inserted by the county committee, confirming that Blackmore tended to be more isolated and independent than other parts of the county.

Chapter 5 examined how relationships with family, patrons, parishioners and other clergymen impacted on Dorset incumbents’ livelihoods. In line with other rural ecclesiastical jurisdictions, Dorset clergymen became much better

educated over the first four decades of the seventeenth century. Improved education potentially afforded better social standing in the parish, yet set ministers apart from their parishioners and in some cases exposed them to jibes and insults. Such disrespectful behaviour diminished in the second half of the century as dissenting parishioners withdrew from engaging with their parish churches. Based on a sample of individuals appointed to Dorset livings in 1630 and 1675, the later cohort had looser ties with the county, with less indication of upward mobility. However, more of the later cohort were related to the patrons of their livings, and the fact that a high proportion of advowsons were in lay rather than Crown or ecclesiastical hands may have encouraged familial influence in Dorset.

With regard to relationships with parishioners, whereas the first half of the seventeenth century was characterised by disagreements over the liturgy and ritual of the national Church, the second half witnessed the development of various forms of nonconformity, making clergymen's relationships with parishioners even more complicated. In extreme circumstances, this could make their incumbencies untenable. Relationships with other clergy became a matter of survival during the Interregnum, and particularly after the 1654 ordinance regulating clerical incumbencies through a national system of Triers and Ejectors.

Chapter 6 investigated the impact of the changing political context on Dorset clergymen, and their engagement through taking oaths, preaching, publishing and military involvement. Some individuals repeatedly voiced their religio-political opinions, for instance by opposing the Etcetera Oath and refusing the Protestation. Analysis of the Protestation refusals has revealed hotspots not simply of puritan clergy, but of ministers of all religious complexions, some of whom were related by birth or intermarriage. For some, close family ties in Dorset made it more difficult to move elsewhere to escape persecution, and incumbents who were not native to Dorset may have been more willing to seek alternative employment elsewhere. The Covenant also spurred some individuals into action in the royalist army. In some cases, supportive patrons encouraged their ministers to preach and publish on political issues, and might also shield them from persecution. Early cases of ministers speaking out or being

prosecuted by their parishioners tended to relate to resistance to the prescribed liturgy and religious ritual, whereas in the latter half of the century, ministers tended to speak out against nonconformists to preserve their preferred form of liturgy.

In summary, this study has addressed the existing historiography in a number of areas. It has extended David Underdown's regional 'chalk' and 'cheese' distinctions to more detailed parish-level analysis, and has also challenged his claim that the civil wars were characterised by 'a sea of neutralism and apathy' amongst the non-gentry through evidence of oral, written and physical engagement by a significant number of Dorset clergymen.⁷⁵¹ It has addressed Braddick's issue of 'mobilisation' rather than 'allegiance' in examining the range of motives that prompted individuals to take political action, for example in the clubmen movement and through preaching, while consciously avoiding 'mono-causal explanations'.⁷⁵² In relation to Rosemary O'Day's contention that patrons influenced the religious tenor of the parish, the data analysed here suggest differences in the likelihood of sequestration, particularly between corporate and ecclesiastical advowsons.⁷⁵³

In addition, the data gathered on over 2,500 individuals and 289 parochial livings have enabled comparative analysis of relevance to previous studies. For example, comparison of Donald Spaeth's clerical income levels for Wiltshire with those for Dorset suggests that the latter were somewhat lower, and comparison of lay ownership of advowsons with Gillian Ignjatijevic's figures has revealed that this factor played a role in the development of familial clerical links.⁷⁵⁴ The data gathered on sequestrations and ejections generally support claims by Ian Green and Fiona McCall that persecution was greater in the vicinity of garrisons, although more detailed analysis of underlying reasons might confirm whether, as McCall has suggested, parishioners' denunciations of ministers tended to result from longstanding grudges.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵¹ Underdown, 'Problem of popular allegiance', p.90.

⁷⁵² Braddick, 'Prayer book and protestation', p.143; Adamson, 'High roads and blind alleys', p.35.

⁷⁵³ O'Day, *English Clergy*, p.91.

⁷⁵⁴ Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, p.40; Ignjatijevic, 'Parish clergy in the diocese of Canterbury'.

⁷⁵⁵ McCall, *Baal's Priests*, pp.131-3.

This study lays a foundation for numerous interesting avenues of future research. The extensive biographical database established in this study will also facilitate the identification of individuals in non-ecclesiastical records such as quarter sessions minutes and order books, and the estate papers of local gentry. Analysis of witnesses and legatees named in wills might provide more detailed evidence of interdenominational clerical networks, and wills and inventories might also be interrogated to determine the extent of shared book ownership amongst the clergy and in their wider social networks. Several wills mention musical instruments, pointing to leisure pastimes that might also have encouraged social interactions, and further research might provide interesting insights into musical networks in Dorset. The role of wives and the benefits of favourable marriages have been only briefly examined in this study, and would contribute to a better understanding of clergymen's social and economic circumstances. With regard to geographical issues, GIS mapping of seventeenth-century road networks based on Ogilby's strip maps, currently being undertaken by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, might be used for more detailed examination of the effect of garrisons and major routes on the distribution of mid-century sequestrations and ejections.⁷⁵⁶ Extending geographical analysis of patterns of sequestration and ejection into neighbouring Devon, Somerset, Wiltshire and Hampshire might provide a better understanding of clerical mobility and the impact of different jurisdictions, particularly as there appears to have been much less mobility between Dorset and Hampshire than between other neighbouring counties. Further research might also examine evidence of travel and communications between parishes in terms of Charles Phythian-Adams' 'cultural provinces', in order to capture general patterns of movement around the county and further afield, rather than static snapshots of parishes at particular points in time.⁷⁵⁷

In summary, generalisation is difficult because each individual faced his own unique combination of circumstances. The study has shown how economic, geographical, social and political factors impacted in various ways at different

⁷⁵⁶ For example, see <https://www.campop.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/transport/roads/ogilby/> (accessed 24 June 2019).

⁷⁵⁷ C. Phythian-Adams, (ed.), *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580-1850: Cultural Provinces and English Local History* (Leicester, 1993).

times. In particular, boundaries between parochial and non-parochial clerical activities were fluid, and nonconformist ministers continued to associate with conformist clergy even after leaving the established Church. This study has presented a broad picture of the diverse contexts in which Dorset clergymen lived and worked over the course of a turbulent century, and has revealed both change and continuity in the lives of parochial clergy.

Appendix 1: List of Parishes by Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction

Bishop of Bristol

Rectories

Almer	Hawkchurch	Stock Gaylard
Ashmore	Hazelbury Bryan	Stoke Abbott
Askerswell	Hinton Martell	Stoke Wake
Athelhampton	Hinton Parva	Stour Provost
Batcombe	Holwell	Studland
Belchalwell	Hooke	Sutton Waldron
Bettiscombe	Ibberton	Swanage
Bincombe	Iwerne Courtney	Swyre
Blandford St Mary	Iwerne Steepleton	Symondsbury
Bradford Peverell	Kington Magna	Tarrant Gunville
Bridport	Langton Herring	Tarrant Hinton
Broadmayne	Langton Long Blandford	Tarrant Keyneston
Broadwey	Langton Matravers	Tarrant Rawston
Bryanston	Litton Cheney	Tarrant Rushton
Buckhorn Weston	Long Crichel	Todber
Buckland Ripers	Longbredy	Turnworth
Burleston	Lydlinch	Tyneham
Burton Bradstock	Lytchett Matravers	UpCerne
Cann	Maiden Newton	Upwey
Catherston Leweston	Manston	Wareham Holy Trinity
Cattistock	Mappowder	Wareham Lady St Mary
Caundle Bishop	Marnhull	Wareham St Martin
Chalbury	Melbury Abbas	Wareham St Michael
Charborough	Melbury Bubb	Wareham St Peter
Charmouth	Melbury Osmond	Warmwell
Chedington	Melbury Sampford	West Chelborough
Cheselbourne	Melcombe Bingham	West Compton
Chettle	Melcombe Regis	West Knighton
Chickerell	Minterne Magna	West Parley
Chilcombe	Moor Crichel	West Stafford
Childe Okeford	Moreton	Whitcombe
Chilfrome	North Poorton	Wimborne All Saints
Church Knowle	Okeford Fitzpaine	Wimborne St Giles
Compton Abbas	Owermoigne	Winfrith Newburgh
Compton Valence	Pentridge	Winterborne Came
Corscombe	Piddlehinton	Winterborne Clenston
Dorchester All Saints	Pilsdon	Winterborne Farringdon
Dorchester Holy Trinity	Pimperne	Winterborne Houghton
Dorchester St Peter	Portland	Winterborne Monkton
Durweston	Poxwell	Winterborne Stickland
East Chelborough	Pulham	Winterborne Zelston
East Stoke	Puncknowle	Winterbourne Abbas
Edmondsham	Purse Caundle	Winterbourne Steepleton
Farnham	Radipole	Witchampton
Fifehead Neville	Rampisham	Witherstone
Fontmell Magna	Shaftesbury Holy Trinity	Woodsford
Frome St Quintin	Shillingstone	Wootton Fitzpaine
Frome Vauchurch	Silton	Wootton Glanville
Godmanstone	South Perrott	Wraxall
Gussage St Michael	Spetisbury	Wyke Regis
Hammoon	Stalbridge	
Hampreston	Steeple	

Appendix 1 (cont'd)

Vicarages

Abbotsbury
Affpuddle
Blandford Forum
Bradford Abbas
Bradpole
Broadwindsor
Buckland Newton
Burstock
Cerne Abbas
Chaldon Herring
Coombe Keynes
Cranborne
East Lulworth
Fifehead Magdalen
Fleet

Frampton
Gussage All Saints
Hilton
Horton
Iwerne Minster
Loders
Milborne St Andrew
Morden
Osmington
Piddletrenthide
Portesham
Powerstock
Puddletown
Shaftesbury St James
Shaftesbury St Peter

Shapwick
Stinsford
Stockland
Sturminster Newton
Sydling St Nicholas
Tarrant Monkton
Toller Fratrum
Toller Porcorum
Tolpuddle
Whitchurch Canonicorum
Winterborne St Martin
Winterborne Whitechurch
Worth Matravers

Chapels

Allington
Arne
Bothenhampton
Charlton Marshall
Chideock
Dalwood
Dewlish
East Holme
East Orchard
EastStour
Evershot
Fifehead St Quintin
Gussage St Andrew

Hanford
Hilfield
Hinton St Mary
Kimmeridge
Kingston Russell
Knowlton
Leweston
Little Bredy
Margaret Marsh
Marshwood
Mosterton
Nether Cerne
Plush

Shipton Gorge
Sixpenny Handley
Stanton St Gabriel
Stourton Caundle
Tarrant Crawford
Tincleton
Walditch
West Lulworth
West Milton
West Orchard
West Stour
Wool
Wynford Eagle

Dean of Salisbury

Rectories

Beer Hackett
Bloxworth
Caundle Marsh
Clifton Maybank
Folke

Lillington
Mapperton
Nether Compton
Over Compton
Ryme Intrinseca

Stockwood
Thornford
Turner's Puddle
Winterborne Anderson
Winterborne Tomson

Vicarages

Alton Pancras
Bere Regis

Haydon
Longburton

Oborne
Sherborne

Chapels

Castleton
Charminster
Hermitage

Holnest
North Wootton
Stratton

Winterborne Kingston

Appendix 1 (cont'd)

Other

	Rectory	Vicarage	Chapel
Dean and Chapter of Salisbury		Stourpaine	
Prebend of Chardstock	Wambrook	Chardstock	
Prebend of Fordington and Writhlington		Fordington	
Prebend of Lyme and Halstock		Lyme Regis	Halstock
Prebend of Netherbury in Ecclesia		Netherbury	Beaminster
Prebend of Preston		Preston & Sutton	
		Poyntz	
Prebend of Yetminster and Grimstone		Yetminster	Chetnole
			Leigh
Royal peculiars	Corfe Castle	Canford Magna Gillingham Sturminster Marshall	Corfe Mullen Hamworthy Kingston Lythcett Minster Motcombe Poole Wimborne Minster
Other peculiars		Milton Abbas	Woolland

Appendix 2: Parishes by Landscape Region

Blackmore Vale

Batcombe	Hermitage	Oborne
Beer Hackett	Hilfield	Okeford Fitzpaine
Belchalwell	Hinton St Mary	Over Compton
Bradford Abbas	Holnest	Pulham
Buckhorn Weston	Holwell	Purse Caundle
Buckland Newton	Ibberton	Ryme Intrinseca
Cann	Iwerne Courtney	Shaftesbury Holy Trinity
Castleton	Iwerne Minster	Shaftesbury St James
Caundle Bishop	Kington Magna	Shaftesbury St Peter
Caundle Marsh	Leigh	Sherborne
Chetnole	Leweston	Shillingstone
Childe Okeford	Lillington	Silton
Clifton Maybank	Longburton	Stalbridge
Compton Abbas	Lydlinch	Stock Gaylard
East Chelborough	Manston	Stockwood
East Orchard	Mapperton	Stoke Wake
East Stour	Mappowder	Stour Provost
Fifehead Magdalen	Margaret Marsh	Stourton Caundle
Fifehead Neville	Marnhull	Sturminster Newton
Fifehead St Quintin	Melbury Abbas	Sutton Waldron
Folke	Melbury Bubb	Thornford
Fontmell Magna	Melbury Osmond	Todber
Gillingham	Melbury Sampford	West Chelborough
Halstock	Melcombe Bingham	West Orchard
Hammoon	Minterne Magna	West Stour
Hanford	Motcombe	Woolland
Haydon	Nether Compton	Wootton Glanville
Hazelbury Bryan	North Wootton	Yetminster

Appendix 2 (cont'd)

Downland

Affpuddle	Frome Vauchurch	Tarrant Crawford
Almer	Godmanstone	Tarrant Gunville
Alton Pancras	Gussage All Saints	Tarrant Hinton
Ashmore	Gussage St Andrew	Tarrant Keyneston
Askerswell	Gussage St Michael	Tarrant Monkton
Athelhampton	Hilton	Tarrant Rawston
Bincombe	Hinton Martell	Tarrant Rushton
Blandford Forum	Hinton Parva	Tincton
Blandford St Mary	Horton	Toller Fratrum
Bradford Peverell	Iwerne Steepleton	Tolpuddle
Broadmayne	Kingston Russell	Turnworth
Bryanston	Knowlton	Tyneham
Burleston	Langton Long Blandford	Up Cerne
Cattistock	Little Bredy	Upwey
Cerne Abbas	Litton Cheney	West Compton
Chalbury	Long Crichel	West Knighton
Chaldon Herring	Longbredy	West Lulworth
Charborough	Maiden Newton	West Stafford
Charlton Marshall	Milborne St Andrew	Whitcombe
Charminster	Milton Abbas	Wimborne All Saints
Cheselbourne	Moor Crichel	Wimborne Minster
Chettle	Nether Cerne	Wimborne St Giles
Chilfrome	Pentridge	Winfrith Newburgh
Church Knowle	Piddlehinton	Winterborne Anderson
Compton Valence	Piddletrenthide	Winterborne Came
Coombe Keynes	Pimperne	Winterborne Clenston
Corfe Castle	Plush	Winterborne Farringdon
Corscombe	Portesham	Winterborne Houghton
Dewlish	Poxwell	Winterborne Kingston
Dorchester All Saints	Puddletown	Winterborne Monkton
Dorchester Holy Trinity	Rampisham	Winterborne St Martin
Dorchester St Peter	Shapwick	Winterborne Stickland
Durweston	Sixpenny Handley	Winterborne Tomson
East Lulworth	Spetisbury	Winterborne Whitechurch
Edmondsham	Steeple	Winterborne Zelston
Evershot	Stinsford	Winterbourne Abbas
Farnham	Stourpaine	Winterbourne Steepleton
Fordington	Stratton	Witchampton
Frampton	Sturminster Marshall	Wraxall
Frome St Quintin	Sydling St Nicholas	Wynford Eagle

Appendix 2 (cont'd)

Heathland

Arne	Hamworthy	Wareham Holy Trinity
Bere Regis	Lytchett Matravers	Wareham Lady St Mary
Bloxworth	Lytchett Minster	Wareham St Martin
Canford Magna	Morden	Wareham St Michael
Corfe Mullen	Moreton	Wareham St Peter
Cranborne	Owermoigne	Warmwell
East Holme	Poole	West Parley
East Stoke	Studland	Woodsford
Hampreston	Turner's Puddle	Wool

South Dorset

Abbotsbury	Langton Herring	Radipole
Broadway	Langton Matravers	Swanage
Buckland Ripers	Melcombe Regis	Swyre
Chickerell	Osmington	Worth Matravers
Fleet	Portland	Wyke Regis
Kimmeridge	Preston and Sutton Poyntz	
Kingston (Purbeck)	Puncknowle	

West Dorset

Allington	Chideock	Shipton Gorge
Beaminster	Chilcombe	South Perrott
Bettiscombe	Dalwood	Stanton St Gabriel
Bothenhampton	Hawkchurch	Stockland
Bradpole	Hooke	Stoke Abbott
Bridport	Loders	Symondsburry
Broadwindsor	Lyme Regis	Toller Porcorum
Burstock	Marshwood	Walditch
Burton Bradstock	Mosterton	Wambrook
Catherston Leweston	Netherbury	West Milton
Chardstock	North Poorton	Whitchurch Canonicorum
Charmouth	Pilsdon	Witherstone
Chedington	Powerstock	Wootton Fitzpaine

Appendix 3: Names and Locations of Clergy Ejected and/or Licensed in Dorset

Name	Dorset Parish(es)	Dorset appt.	Ejected	Death	Signed 1672 letter to king	Denomination	1672 licence location	Licence date	Notes
Brigidius A VIANEN	Stoke Abbott	1646	1660	1663		Congregational			
Henry BACKALLER	Marshwood	1658	1660	1704	✓	Presbyterian	House of Sarah Kerridge, Wootton Fitzpaine; house of Mr Edward MARKS, Broadwindsor	08-May	
Francis BAMPFIELD	Sherborne	1639	1662	1684		General nonconformist	Any	29-Jun	Ejected from Broadhenbury, Devon; preached in Lillington and Hermitage
BANGER Josiah			1662	1691	✓	Presbyterian	House of William WHEADON, Winsham, Somerset	22-May	
Robert BARTLETT	Over Compton	1656	1660	1710	✓	Congregational	House of James Hanne, Over Compton	08-May	
William BENN	Dorchester All Saints	1629	1662	1680	✓	Congregational	House of Philip Stansby, Dorchester	01-May	
Edward BENNETT	Charborough & Morden	1654	1662	1673		Presbyterian	House of William Stroud, Shepton Mallet; his house, Brewham, Somerset	25-Jul	
John BLAXTON	Poxwell	1657	1660	1684		Conformed?			May have conformed, ordained 1664, rector of West Stafford and Compton Abbas
Thomas BRANKER	Sturminster Newton	1646	1660	c.1677					Ejected from Trent, Somerset; taught in Thorncombe, Som.

Appendix 3 (cont'd)

Name	Dorset Parish(es)	Dorset appt.	Ejected	Death	Signed 1672 letter to king	Denomination	1672 licence location	Licence date	Notes
John BRICE	Chickerell & Marshwood	1659	1662	1717	✓	Presbyterian	House of Eleanor Floyer, Whitchurch Canoniconum; a new house belonging to Henry Henly esq, Mr John Goddard & others, Marshwood	15-Jun	
Andrew BROMHALL	Maiden Newton	1645	1660	1662					
Edward BUCKLER	Wyke Regis	1646-1654	1662	1693	✓	Presbyterian	Bradford Abbas	02-May	Ejected from Calbourn, Isle of Wight
Daniel BULL	Wyke Regis	1655	1660	1698		Presbyterian	His house and that of Mr Stock, Stoke Newington, Middlesex	19-Apr	
Thomas CHAPLYN	Wareham Holy Trinity, St Peter, St Michael & St Martin, & Shillingstone	1648	1660	1667		Presbyterian			Wife Dorothy licensed premises in Wareham
Joshua CHURCHILL	Fordington	1656	1662	1689	✓	Congregational	His house at Dorchester and that of Benjamin Devenish, Fordington	17-Apr	
William CLARK				1722	✓	Congregational	House of Rebecca Hastings, Winfrith Newburgh	15-Jun	Born 1649 (no parochial benefice)
Isaac CLIFFORD	Bettiscombe	1657	1661	c.1666					
Joseph CRABBE	Netherbury	1657	1661	1699		Conformed			Vicar of Axminster, Devon

Appendix 3 (cont'd)

Name	Dorset Parish(es)	Dorset appt.	Ejected	Death	Signed 1672 letter to king	Denomination	1672 licence location	Licence date	Notes
Thomas CRANE	Rampisham	1658	1662	1714	✓	Presbyterian	Of Beaminstre, any allowed place	08-May	
Edward DAMMER	Wyke Regis	1658	1660	1701	✓	Congregational	House of John Bingham esq, Quarleston, Winterborne Stickland	22-Apr	
Baldwin DEACON	Wimbome Minster	1660	1661	1712		Presbyterian	House of Philip Cornish, & own house, Kingston, Somerset	10-Aug	
John DEVENISH	Shaftesbury Holy Trinity, Stalbridge	1646-1654	1661	c.1694	✓	Presbyterian	His house, Pulham Somerset	05-Sep	Ejected from Weston, Somerset
Richard DOWNE	Winterborne Monkton	1658	1662	1687	✓	Congregational	House of John Golding, Bridport	01-May	
John EATON	Bridport, Wynford Eagle	1650	1661		✓	Congregational	House of James White, Templecombe, Somerset	16-Apr	
John FORWARD	Melbury Bubb	1646	1660						Not found after ejection
Jeremiah FRENCH	South Perrott, Pulham, Over Compton, Nether Compton	1650	1660	1685	✓	Presbyterian	His house called the Court Barn, Bradford Abbas	08-May	
John GALPIN	Portesham, Durweston	1646	1660	1681		Conformed			Reappointed to Portesham, 1660; may have become nonconformist in 1669
William GILBERT					✓	Presbyterian	His house at Bothenwood (Wimbome)	08-May	
John GILL		1656	1662	1688	✓	Presbyterian	His house at Hawkechurch	08-May	Ejected from Shute & Colyton, Devon

Appendix 3 (cont'd)

Name	Dorset Parish(es)	Dorset appt	Ejected	Death	Signed 1672 letter to king	Denomination	1672 licence location	Licence date	Notes
Hugh GUNDRY	Mapperton	1640	1662	1676					Preached in Devon
John HADDESLEY	Poole	1647-1658	1662	1699		Presbyterian	House of Anthony Cooke and Stephen Haskett, Salisbury	20-Apr	Ejected from Rockbourne, Hamps hire
James HALLETT	Shaftesbury St Peter	1642	1662		✓	Congregational	House of Richard Woolfryes, Winterbourne Kingston	15-Jun	
Joseph HALLETT			1660	1689	✓	Presbyterian	Exeter, Devon		Ejected from Chiselborough, Somerset; preached in Bridport and Bradpole
Thomas HALLETT	Mappowder, Shaftesbury St Peter	1646	1662						Not found after ejection
George HAMMOND	Dorchester Holy Trinity	1660	1662	1705	✓	Presbyterian	Houses of John West and John Marsh, Dorchester, and in any allowed place	11-Apr	
John HARDY	Symondsbury	1645	1660	1667			Will as of Beaminster		Moved to Southwick, Hamps hire; partial conformist according to Calamy
John HODDER	Hawkchurch	1647	1662	1679	✓	Presbyterian	His house in Thorncombe, and that of Thomas Moore esq, Hawkchurch	08-May	
Richard HUNT	Corfe Castle	1650	1660			Presbyterian	Salisbury	30-Sep	
William HUNT	Wimbome Minster	1648	1662	1684		Presbyterian	Any allowed place, Salisbury	02-May	
William HUSSEY	Hinton Martell	1646	1660			Conformed?			Rector of West Tytherley, Hants 1662

Appendix 3 (cont'd)

Name	Dorset Parish(es)	Dorset appt.	Ejected	Death	Signed 1672 letter to king	Denomination	1672 licence location	Licence date	Notes
Peter INCE	Melcombe Regis & Radipole, Cheselbourne	1644	1660	1683		Presbyterian	His house at Thornhill, Stalbridge	01-May	Ejected from Donhead St Mary, Wiltshire
John KERRIDGE	Wootton Fitzpaine, Abbotsbury	1643	1662	c.1665					
John KERRIDGE	Lyme Regis (schoolteacher)	1661	1662	1705	✓	Presbyterian	Lyme Regis	08-May	
John KNIGHT	Melcombe Regis	1657	1660	1714		Presbyterian	Crediton, Devon	11-Apr	
Philip LAMB	Alton Pancras, Bere Regis & Winterborne Kingston	1648	1662	1689	✓	Congregational	His house at East Morden	01-May	
Christopher LAWRENCE	Winterborne Came & Winterborne Faringdon, Langton Matravers	1657	1662	1667					Lived in Frampton after ejection and died in Dorchester
John LIGHT	Preston and Sutton Poyntz	1658	1660			Congregational	His house in Thames Street, London	13-Apr	
John LODER	Fordington	1649-1656	1660	1673		Congregational	Garden of his house, Cherry Tree Alley, Bunhill, London	15-Apr	Ejected from St Bartholomew Exchange, London
Henry MARTIN	Tarrant Monkton	1627	1662		✓	Presbyterian	His house at Tarrant Monkton	08-May	
Zachariah MAYNE				1694	✓	Presbyterian	His house at Dalwood	23-Dec	Ejected from Appleton, Berkshire
Benjamin MILLS	Chardstock	1655	1660	1689	✓	Presbyterian	Chard, Somerset	02-May	
John MITCHEL	Langton Matravers	1659	1660	1669					

Appendix 3 (cont'd)

Name	Dorset Parish(es)	Dorset appt.	Ejected	Death	Signed 1672 letter to king	Denomination	1672 licence location	Licence date	Notes
Thomas MOORE	Chettle and Hammoon	1650	1667	1699	✓	Presbyterian	House of Robert Alford, Sturminster Newton; His house, Milton Abbas	16 May, 30 Sep, 28 Oct	
John MORGAN	Iwerne Minster	1657	1660						Not found after ejection
Ferdinando NICOLLS	Sherborne	1624-1631	1662	1662					Ejected from St Mary Arches, Exeter
John NORMAN	Frampton	1645-1651	1660	1669					Ejected from Bridgwater, Somerset
James OWSLEY			1660	1681	✓	Presbyterian	His house at Wootton Fitzpaine	08-May	Ejected from Littleham with Exmouth, Devon
Henry PARSONS	Burstock	1661	1662	1717	✓	Presbyterian	House of Robert Dalliver, called Swillcots, Stoke Abbot	18-Nov	
Humphrey PHILIPS	Sherborne	1658	1662	1707		Presbyterian	House of Catherine Chafe, Sherborne	10-Aug	
John PINNEY	Broadwindsor	1649	1661	1706	✓	Presbyterian	His house in Bettiscombe, and that of John Brice, Marshwood	30-Apr	
Theophilus POLWHELE	Langton Long Blandford	1649-1651	1660	1689		Congregational	House of Peter Bere, Tiverton, Devon	02-Apr	Ejected from Tiverton, Devon
William RANDELL	Wambrook	1650	1660			Baptist	House of Richard Eggerdon, Whatley, Somerset	22-Jul	
James RAWSON	Hazelbury Bryan	1658	1660	1674	✓	Presbyterian	His house, Hazelbury Bryan	18-Nov	

Appendix 3 (cont'd)

Name	Dorset Parish(es)	Dorset appt.	Ejected	Death	Signed 1672 letter to king	Denomination	1672 licence location	Licence date	Notes
Thomas ROWE	Lytchett Matravers	1658	1662	1680	✓	Presbyterian	His house at Wimborne, and any allowed place	08-May	
Timothy SACHEVERELL	Gussage St Michael & Tarrant Hinton	1646	1662	1680	✓	Presbyterian	His house at Winterborne Zelston	08-May	
John SALWAY	Whitchurch Canonorum	1645	1660	1672					
William SAMPSON	Bradpole	1646	1662	1687		Presbyterian	A large room in Chard, Somerset belonging to William Atkins, Nathaniel Pitts & others	25-Jul	
Ames SHORT	Lyme Regis	1650	1662	1697	✓	Presbyterian	His house, Lyme Regis	13-Apr	
Richard SHUTE	Stalbridge	1656	1660	1686		Conformed			Ordained 1668; rector of Stowmarket, Suffolk
John SPRINT	Portland, Gussage All Saints	1647	1660	1693					Not found after ejection
Zachariah SPRINT					✓				No evidence for ministry
James STRONG	Betiscombe	1648-1654	1660	1694		Presbyterian	House of John Mayne, Broadway, Somerset	08-May	Ejected from Ilminster, Somerset
George THORNE	Melcombe Regis	1650	1662	1679	✓	Congregational	House of James Bud, Weymouth	01-May	
Matthew TOOGOOD	Stour Provost	1646-1647	1660	Prob. bef. 1672					Ejected from Hilperton, Wiltshire
John TROTTLER	Spetisbury & Charlton Marshall	1646	1660	1667					Will as of Frome Vauchurch

Appendix 3 (cont'd)

Name	Dorset Parish(es)	Dorset appt.	Ejected	Death	Signed 1672 letter to king	Denomination	1672 licence location	Licence date	Notes
Thomas TROYTE	Owermoigne	1654	1660	1670					Doctor of physic
John TUCKER	Cheselbourne, Horton	1651	1660			Presbyterian	His house, Marnhull	05-Sep	
Robert TUTCHIN	Charminster & Fordington, Bridport & Chideock	1643-1654	1662	1671					Ejected from Newport, Isle of Wight
Benjamin WALTER	Longburton, Piddletrenthide	1646-1649		1686	✓	Presbyterian	His house, Bradford Abbas	10-Jun 1672	Location unclear 1649-1672
Benjamin WAY	West Stafford	1661	1662	1680	✓	Congregational	House of William Hayden, Dorchester	01-May	
Nathaniel WEBB	Shaftesbury St Peter	1655-1656	1662	1678		Presbyterian	His house, Bromham, Wiltshire		Ejected from Yatesbury, Wiltshire
John WEEKES	Buckland Newton	1657	1662	1698		Presbyterian	House of John Loyde, St James Back, Bristol	19-Apr	
Bartholomew WESLEY	Lyme Regis, Charmouth, Catherston Leweston & Allington	1647	1662	1670					Medical practitioner
John WESLEY	Winterborne Whitechurch	1658	1662	1670		Congregational			Preached around Dorset
John WHITE	Pimpene	1646	1660	1678	✓	Presbyterian	Morden	08-May	

Appendix 4: Clergy Appointed during the Interregnum who Survived the Restoration

Name	Parish	Incumbency	Birth	Death	Ordained	Oath of Uniformity	Notes
ANSTY Thomas	Cranborne	1654-1668	1623	1668	1660	12 Aug 1662	BA 1642; MA 1660; certificate of approbation 1654; ordained 21 Aug 1660
BOUND Cuthbert	Warmwell	1656-1701		1701		13 Aug 1662	adm. Warmwell 1656; certificate of approbation 1659
BRAAG Samuel	Tolpuddle	1655-1719		1719	1662	12 Jul 1662	certificate of approbation 1655; ordained 12 Jul 1662; will as clerk of Tolpuddle 1713
BUCKLAND Robert	Woolland	1650-1671	1595	1671	1624?		Robert Buckland, curate of Woolland buried at Ibberton 1671; no records for donative chapel
CHADWELL John	Mappowder	1656-1673		1673	1660	4 Aug 1662	Certificate of approbation for Farnham 1654 and Mappowder 1656; ordained 16 Aug 1660; MA 1663; will as clerk of Mappowder 1673
CHEEKE Robert	Cattistock	1650-1677		1677			BA 1648, MA 1650; appears owing arrears of first fruits of £9 4s 9d for Cattistock, by three payments, Jan 1652 (TNA E 341/11 f.35); named in quarter sessions 1665
COLLEY John	Hampreston	1658-1697		1697		12 Aug 1662	Poss. matric 1654; certificate of approbation 1658; bur. Hampreston 18 Mar 1697
COMBE Henry	Sutton Waldron	1650-1671	c.1616	1671	1644		BA 1637, MA 1640; Curate of Gussage All Saints 1642; ordained 1644; described in 1650 as an able minister; no further evidence of his continuation at Sutton Waldron
COVENTRY John	Shapwick	1657-1673	1624	1681			BA 1650, MA 1652; no information thereafter
CRABB William	Childe Okeford	1655-1670		1670		4 Mar 1663	BA 1648; certificate of approbation 1655; appt. 8 Feb 1661
CRICHE Miles	Gussage St Michael	1654-1675	1617	1675		13 Jun 1662	BA 1636, MA 1639; certificate of approbation 1654
CRUMPE Walter	Toller Porcorum	1650-1670	1601	1670	1624	6 Aug 1662	Described in 1650 as an 'able and painful preacher'

Appendix 4 (cont'd)

Name	Parish	Incumbency	Birth	Death	Ordained	Oath of Uniformity	Notes
DORE John	Almer	1658-1671		1671	1662	21 Aug 1662	BA 1655; certificate of approbation 1658 ordained 21 Aug 1662; successor appointed 1671
DRANT Thomas	Melbury Osmond	1658-1668	1602	1668	1623		BA 1623; ordained 1623; Dibden, Hants 1641; Shaftesbury 1646; Lillington 1648; certificate of approbation for Melbury Osmond & Sampford 1658; bur. Melbury Sampford, 1668
DUNCOMBE John	Thornford	1656-1690	c.1615	1690	1642	5 Jan 1663	BA 1636, MA 1639; ordained 1642; will of Edward Stride of Thornford, 15 Dec 1656 appoints John Duncombe, present minister of Thornford one of his overseers (TNA PROB 11/264/352)
ERNLE William	Edmondsham	1654-1672	1621	1672	1660	12 Aug 1662	BA 1640, MA 1642; certificate of approbation 1654; ordained 22 Dec 1660
FRAMPTON Francis	Milton Abbas	1658-1669	1638	1669	1660		BA 1657; Milton Abbas 1658; ordained 13 Dec 1660
FYLER John	Litton Cheney	bef. 1650-1680		1680			BA 1628; 1650 'a very able preaching minister'; succeeded by his son in 1680
GIBBONS Thomas	Pulham	1657-1688		1688			BA 1640, MA 1651; certificate of approbation 1657; will 1688 as clerk of Pulham
GLOVER Henry	Iwerne Courtney	1657-1668	1624	1668		20 Aug 1662	Matric 1647; poss. Wynford Eagle 1653; certificate of approbation 1657; BD 1665
GOLDESBOROUGH Giles	Stinsford	1652-1668	1615	1668		5 Aug 1662	BA 1636; Fordington 1643, sequestered 1645 for malignancy & scandal; in Stinsford in 1650 assisting his blind father, William who died in 1652, when Giles presented to living
HARDY Joseph	Frome Vauchurch	1650-1705			1662	21 Aug 1662	Poss. BA 1640; ordained 21 Aug 1662
HAYSOM Robert	Winterborne Anderson	1650-1685	1605	1685	1643	18 Aug 1662	BCL 1631; ordained 1643; 1650 described as a 'preaching minister'
HIGHMORE John	Winterborne St Giles	1658-1684		1684		12 Aug 1662	Matric 1652; certificate of approbation 1658

Appendix 4 (cont'd)

Name	Parish	Incumbency	Birth	Death	Ordained	Oath of Uniformity	Notes
HIGHMORE Richard	Purse Caundle	1650-1693	1621	1693			BA 1643, MA 1646, removed from Oxford by the visitors 1648; unbroken line of Highmores from 1603 to 1731
JACKSON James	Moreton	1651-1684	1622			5 Aug 1662	BA 1640, MA 1644, expelled by parliamentary visitors 1648
KING Thomas	Milborne St Andrew	1654-1680		1680			Thomas King, clerk bur. Milborne St Andrew 26 Oct 1680
LLOYD Richard	Pentridge	1658-1688		1688		12 Aug 1662	BA 1629, MA 1632; Tibberton, Glos 1638; certificate of approbation 1658
LOADES Thomas	Bincombe	1658-1663	1627	1674		19 Aug 1662	BA 1650, MA 1653; certificate of approbation 1658
LOCKE Robert	Broadmayne	1655-1663		1663	1662	12 Jul 1662	Matric 1650; certificate of approbation 1655; ordained 12 Jul 1662
NELSON Zachary	East Stoke	1651-1667	1600			20 Aug 1662	BA 1623, MA 1625; Frampton 1637-1650; East Stoke 1651
PAVIOT Jonas	Powerstock	1655-1689	1618	1689	1642(D)		BA 1638, MA 1641; ordained deacon 1642; certificate of approbation 1655; will as clerk of Powerstock 1685
PELHAM Thomas	Compton Valence	1658-1690		1690	1661		BA 1649, MA 1652; certificate of approbation 1658; ordained 10 Mar 1661; buried at Compton Valence 1690
POPE James	Melbury Abbas	1655-1687	1620	1687	1660	5 Aug 1662	BA 1641, BMed 1642; certificate of approbation 1655; ordained 21 Aug 1660
SAVAGE John	Bloxworth	1651-1697	c.1617	1697	1644		BA 1638, MA 1641, ordained 1644; presented papers to bishop 1662
SUTTON William	Ibberton	1656-1682	1608	1682	1633(D)	6 Aug 1667	BA 1628, MA 1631, BD 1638; certification of approbation 1656; subscribed to Act of Uniformity on adm. to Winterborne Stickland
SYMONDS Nicholas	Up Cerne	1650-1675		1675		23 Aug 1662	
WAAD John	Winterborne St Martin	1648-1670	1619	1670	1642(D)	20 Aug 1662	Appointed by Dorset Standing Committee 6 Jan 1648 on petition of inhabitants

Appendix 4 (cont'd)

Name	Parish	Incumbency	Birth	Death	Ordained	Oath of Uniformity	Notes
WATSON Samuel	Cerne Abbas	1654-1672	1623	1672	1662	12 Jul 1662	BA 1647; V. Tisbury, Wilts 1652; certificate of approbation 1654; ordained 12 Jul 1662
WATTS Nicholas	Moor Criche	1650-1669	1615	1670	1638	12 Aug 1662	Chettle 1646; approved by Westminster Assembly for Moor Criche 1650
WELLS John	Chalbury	1654-1670		1670			Continued to sign parish register, and death reported in May 1670 on presentation of his successor to Chalbury
WODENOTH Theophilus	Langton Long Blandford	1657-1701		1701		19 Aug 1662	Matric 1652; certificate of approbation 1657

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TNA PROB 11/138/161 Will of Josias Clarke, clerk of Gillingham, 14 September 1621.

TNA PROB 11/138/428 Will of Robert Gibbes, clerk of Charmouth, 18 November 1621.

TNA PROB 11/139/181 Will of William Clarke, clerk of Ashmore, 15 February 1622.

TNA PROB 11/140/175 Will of George Jeffrey of Catherston, 6 August 1622.

TNA PROB 11/140/344 Will of Henry Coker, gentleman of Wareham, 26 October 1622.

TNA PROB 11/140/461 Will of Robert Paine, gentleman of West Knighton, 22 November 1622.

TNA PROB 11/141/490 Will of Robert Smith, parson of Symonds bury, 15 May 1623.

TNA PROB 11/144/181 Will of Sir Robert Meller of Up-Cerne, 24 September 1624.

TNA PROB 11/145/294 Will of John Maber, yeoman of Bradford Peverell, 18 February 1625.

TNA PROB 11/145/349 Will of Sir John Ryves of Damery Court Blandford, 5 March 1625.

TNA PROB 11/145/534 Will of John Clement, clerk of Stoke Abbot, 29 April 1625.

TNA PROB 11/145/584 Will of Robert Coker of Mappowder, 10 May 1625.

TNA PROB 11/145/749 Will of John Swayne, gentleman of Tarrant Gunville, 28 May 1625.

TNA PROB 11/146/181 Will of Sir John FitzJames of Leweston, 7 July 1625.

TNA PROB 11/148/544 Will of John Jesop, parson of Gillingham, 22 March 1626.

TNA PROB 11/152/99 Will of Richard Tynes, clerk of Canford, 12 June 1627.

TNA PROB 11/152/140 Will of Thomas Scutt, clerk of Osmington, 16 June 1627.

TNA PROB 11/152/418 Will of Richard White, Master of Arts and vicar of Chardstock, 2 October 1627.

TNA PROB 11/152/460 Will of Robert Hassard, gentleman of Lyme Regis, 12 October 1627.

TNA PROB 11/152/719 Will of Sir John Browne of Frampton, 24 November 1627.

TNA PROB 11/153/540 Will of Thomas Lawrence, clerk of Compton Abbas, 16 May 1628.

TNA PROB 11/153/547 Will of Christopher Davidge, clerk of Haselbury Bryan, 16 May 1628.

TNA PROB 11/153/737 Will of Ralph Ironside, clerk of Longbredy, 25 June 1628.

TNA PROB 11/154/533 Will of William Smith, clerk of Tarrant Rawston, 5 December 1628.

TNA PROB 11/155/450 Will of William Simcocks, gentleman of Durweston, 29 April 1629.

TNA PROB 11/157/193 Will of Thomas White, clerk of Langton Long Blandford, 12 February 1630.

TNA PROB 11/157/217 Will of Roger Colemer, gentleman of Whitchurch, 16 February 1630.

TNA PROB 11/158/108 Will of John Hardy, gentleman of Stalbridge, 26 August 1630.

TNA PROB 11/158/429 Will of Miles Bownes, parson of Hampreston, 17 November 1630.

TNA PROB 11/158/497 Will of John Symcocks, gentleman of Durweston, 26 November 1630.

TNA PROB 11/159/32 Will of Peter Barker, clerk of Stourpaine, 14 January 1631.

TNA PROB 11/159/220 Will of Thomas Stone, gentleman of Yetminster, 12 February 1631.

TNA PROB 11/159/236 Will of William Turberville, gentleman of Winfrith Newburgh, 15 February 1631.

TNA PROB 11/159/458 Will of Edward Clarke, clerk, vicar of Taunton, Somerset, 21 December 1630.

TNA PROB 11/160/276 Will of Richard Ryves, gentleman of Child Okeford, 23 July 1631.

TNA PROB 11/160/309 Will of Henry Braffeld, clerk of Winterbourne Thompson, 5 August 1631.

TNA PROB 11/161/363 Will of William Lockett, rector of Corscombe, 24 March 1632.

TNA PROB 11/162/111 Will of Francis Scarlett, clerk of Sherborne, 21 June 1632.

TNA PROB 11/162/512 Will of Walter Newburgh, clerk of Symondsbury, 7 November 1632.

TNA PROB 11/162/625 Will of Edward Cleeves, clerk of Lytchett Matravers, 26 November 1632.

TNA PROB 11/162/658 Will of William Sutton, clerk of Saint Mary Blandford, 1 December 1632.

TNA PROB 11/163/577 Will of John Bond, gentleman of Steeple in the Isle of Purbeck, 24 May 1633.

TNA PROB 11/163/602 Will of Nicholas Weare, clerk of Shapwick, 28 May 1633.

TNA PROB 11/164/520 Will of Thomas Freke of Iwerne Courtney, 5 November 1633.

TNA PROB 11/165/664 Will of Richard Scovell, gentleman of Witchampton, 18 June 1634.

TNA PROB 11/166/107 Will of Gilbert Hawthorne, clerk of Bishop Caundle, 11 August 1634.

TNA PROB 11/166/258 Will of Thomas Knott, clerk of Bridport, 23 September 1634.

TNA PROB 11/167/79 Will of Richard Rives, gentleman of Shaston, 30 January 1635.

TNA PROB 11/167/101 Will of Richard Squibbe, gentleman of Iwerne Minster, 4 February 1635.

TNA PROB 11/167/358 Will of John Mayo, clerk of Cattistock, 1 April 1635.

TNA PROB 11/169/9 Will of Katherine Simcocke, singlewoman of Durweston, 3 September 1635.

TNA PROB 11/169/31 Will of William Mullens, rector of Tarrant Keynston, 14 September 1635.

TNA PROB 11/169/177 Will of Andrew Kelway, gentleman of Wyke Regis, 20 October 1635.

TNA PROB 11/170/40 Will of Robert Jones, clerk of Compton Abbas, 16 January 1636.

TNA PROB 11/170/97 Will of Sir Nathaniel Napper of Moor Crichell, 1 February 1636.

TNA PROB 11/171/409 Will of Humfrie Symcocke, late rector of Durweston, 30 June 1636.

TNA PROB 11/174/13 Will of John Cole, gentleman of Witchampton, 3 May 1637.

TNA PROB 11/174/125 Will of John Younge, clerk of Wareham, 15 May 1637.

TNA PROB 11/174/392 Will of Patrick Kinnynmond, clerk of Edmondsham, 23 June 1637.

TNA PROB 11/174/471 Will of William Bond of Steeple, 1 July 1637.

TNA PROB 11/174/688 Will of Gervase Russell, clerk of Corfe Castle, 31 August 1637.

TNA PROB 11/176/420 Will of William Jones, clerk of Winterbourne Saint Martin, 10 April 1638.

TNA PROB 11/176/531 Will of John Rogers, gentleman of Winterbourne Kingston, 24 April 1638.

TNA PROB 11/177/105 Will of Leweston FitzJames of Leweston, 16 May 1638.

TNA PROB 11/177/148 Will of John Pinney, yeoman of Broadwindsor, 26 May 1638.

TNA PROB 11/178/354 Will of George Savage, gentleman of Bloxworth, 13 November 1638.

TNA PROB 11/178/546 Will of Richard Henninge of Poxwell, 26 November 1638.

TNA PROB 11/178/549 Will of John Clarke, parson of Ashmore, 26 November 1638.

TNA PROB 11/180/196 Will of Thomas Fry, gentleman of Wareham, 20 May 1639.

TNA PROB 11/180/718 Will of Thomas Browne, clerk of Moore Critchell, 22 July 1639.

TNA PROB 11/182/579 Will of John Ball, clerk of Langton within the Isle of Purbeck, 29 April 1640.

TNA PROB 11/183/139 Will of Ellis Swayne of Pimperne, 15 May 1640.

TNA PROB 11/183/396 Will of Robert Lane, clerk of Hermitage, 20 June 1640.

TNA PROB 11/183/470 Will of James Ford, clerk of Hawkchurch, 27 June 1640.

TNA PROB 11/184/377 Will of John Tulse, clerk, rector of Thompson, 20 November 1640.

TNA PROB 11/184/360 Will of Jasper Meller of Little Bredy, 20 November 1640.

TNA PROB 11/184/376 Will of Matthewe Turbervile, gentleman of Winfrith, 20 November 1640.

TNA PROB 11/185/232 Will of Agnes Keynell, widow of Poole, 12 February 1641.

TNA PROB 11/185/282 Will of Dame Elizabeth Freke, widow of Iwerne Courtney, 17 February 1641.

TNA PROB 11/188/91 Will of John Freke of Cerne Abbas, 1 February 1642.

TNA PROB 11/189/398 Will of Anne Mohun, widow of Fleet, 22 June 1642.

TNA PROB 11/193/166 Will of Josiah White, rector of Langton, 15 May 1645.

TNA PROB 11/193/396 Will of Ralph Henvell, yeoman of Abbotsbury, 7 July 1645.

TNA PROB 11/194/108 Will of Jonathan Penny, clothier of Bradford Abbas, 4 October 1645.

TNA PROB 11/194/412 Will of John Napper, gentleman of Swyre, 1 December 1645.

TNA PROB 11/195/363 Will of William Kerridge, merchant of Lyme Regis, 13 March 1646.

TNA PROB 11/196/262 Will of Thomas Wyne, gentleman of Lyme Regis, 2 June 1646.

TNA PROB 11/196/335 Will of John Brune of Athelhampton, 10 June 1646.

TNA PROB 11/196/379 Will of George Lawrence, gentleman of Netherbury, 15 June 1646.

TNA PROB 11/196/442 Will of Sir William Uvedale of Horton, 19 June 1646.

TNA PROB 11/197/174 Will of John Geare, clerk of Lyme Regis, 31 July 1646.

TNA PROB 11/198/201 Will of William Glisson, gentleman of Marnhull, 20 November 1646.

TNA PROB 11/198/264 Will of William Glisson of Marnhull, 24 November 1646.

TNA PROB 11/198/539 Will of Robert Smarte, gentleman of Wyke Regis, 29 December 1646.

TNA PROB 11/199/284 Will of Thomas Griffin, clerk of Stower Provost, 9 February 1647.

TNA PROB 11/200/270 Will of John Estmond, Bachelor of Divinity of Iwerne Courtney, 10 May 1647.

TNA PROB 11/201/203 Sentence of Josiah White, rector of Langton, 10 Jul 1647.

TNA PROB 11/202/145 Will of Dorcas Bradstocke, widow of Witchampton, 30 October 1647.

TNA PROB 11/202/649 Will of Robert Coker, gentleman of Mappowder, 23 December 1647.

TNA PROB 11/202/93 Will of William Frampton of Moreton, 20 October 1647.

TNA PROB 11/202/94 Will of John Frampton of Moreton, 20 October 1647.

TNA PROB 11/203/136 Will of Christopher Pitt of Pimperne, 22 January 1648.

TNA PROB 11/207/76 Will of William Bisson, clerk of Okeford Shilling, 10 January 1649.

TNA PROB 11/207/77 Will of Edward Peale, clerk of East Compton, 10 January 1649.

TNA PROB 11/207/244 Will of Ezra Sherley of Blandford Forum, 31 October 1648.

TNA PROB 11/208/24 Will of William Banks, clerk of Ryme Intrinseca, 1 May 1649.

TNA PROB 11/210/284 Will of Edmond Keileway alias Clarke, clerk of Weston Buckhorn, 26 November 1649.

TNA PROB 11/213/465 Will of Ellinor Fitzjames, widow of Leweston, 29 August 1650.

TNA PROB 11/214/177 Will of William Larder, gentleman of Lodders, 4 November 1650.

TNA PROB 11/214/341 Will of Sir John Meller of Little Bredy, 19 November 1650.

TNA PROB 11/215/426 Will of William Savage of Bloxworth, 14 February 1651.

TNA PROB 11/216/269 Will of John Hoskins, gentleman of Caundle Purse, 21 April 1651.

TNA PROB 11/217/387 Will of Robert Arnold, rector of Bingham Melcombe, 23 June 1651.

TNA PROB 11/219/356 Will of Thomas Parker, gentleman of Yetminster, 24 November 1651.

TNA PROB 11/220/183 Will of Katherine Tregonwell, widow of Milton Abbas, 24 January 1652.

TNA PROB 11/220/480 Will of Robert Welsted, clerk of Bloxworth, 12 February 1652.

TNA PROB 11/220/581 Will of Robert Gannett, clerk of Caundle Marsh, 17 February 1652.

TNA PROB 11/224/308 Will of Robert Freke, gentleman of Iwerne Courtney, 27 July 1652.

TNA PROB 11/224/411 Will of Hugh Boyland, minister of Compton Abbas, 13 August 1652.

TNA PROB 11/228/389 Will of Lady Alice Laurence of Affpuddle, 22 July 1653.

TNA PROB 11/236/129 Will of Elizabeth Romaine, widow of Lydlinch, February 1654.

TNA PROB 11/239/264 Will of Joane Brancker, widow of Marnhull, 2 February 1654.

TNA PROB 11/239/507 Will of William Lyford, clerk of Sherborne, 20 February 1654.

TNA PROB 11/240/651 Will of Thomas Clarke, clerk of Edmondsham, 14 July 1654.

TNA PROB 11/241/111 Will of Rodolph Gough, rector of Owermoigne, 26 September 1654.

TNA PROB 11/241/127 Will of Sir William Uvedale of Horton, 30 September 1654.

TNA PROB 11/241/205 Will of Elizabeth Coker of Mappowder, 20 October 1654.

TNA PROB 11/243/23 Will of Elizabeth Coker of Mappowder, 20 October 1654.

TNA PROB 11/244/97 Will of Roger Wood, clerk of Saint James, Shaftesbury, 4 July 1655.

TNA PROB 11/245/335 Will of William Hallett, School Master of Bridport, 21 May 1655.

TNA PROB 11/248/63 Will of Thomas Chafin of Chettle, 6 June 1655.

TNA PROB 11/248/389 Will of Thomas Ridout, clerk of Buckland Newton, 30 June 1655.

TNA PROB 11/251/461 Will of Richard Hooper, clerk of Beaminster, 22 November 1655.

TNA PROB 11/251/465 Will of Richard Martyn, gentleman of Wyke Regis, 22 November 1655.

TNA PROB 11/251/490 Will of Thomas Brunker, gentleman of Donheads Lodge within Motcombe and Gillingham, 23 November 1655.

TNA PROB 11/254/495 Will of Anthony Ellesdon, gentleman of Lyme Regis, 15 May 1656.

TNA PROB 11/254/522 Will of William Coker of Mappowder, 17 May 1656.

TNA PROB 11/256/201 Will of Robert Meller of Little Bredy, 14 June 1656.

TNA PROB 11/256/620 Will of Richard Marwell, clerk of Radipole, 28 June 1656.

TNA PROB 11/259/204 Will of Nicholas Whetcombe of Lyme Regis, 14 November 1656.

TNA PROB 11/260/608 Will of Richard Uvedale of Horton, 31 December 1656.

TNA PROB 11/261/548 Will of Thomas Abington, gentleman of Stoke Abbott, 18 February 1657.

TNA PROB 11/263/146 Will of John Jessop, husbandman of Broadwindsor, 2 April 1657.

TNA PROB 11/263/289 Will of John Coke, clerk of Bere Regis, 14 April 1657.

TNA PROB 11/263/486 Will of Thomas Clarke, clerk of Haselbury Bryan, 28 April 1657.

TNA PROB 11/264/190 Will of William Williams, gentleman of Wootton Glanville, 7 May 1657.

TNA PROB 11/264/418 Will of Robert Criche, gentleman of Witchampton, 14 May 1657.

TNA PROB 11/267/189 Will of John Freke of Iwerne Courtney, 28 August 1657.

TNA PROB 11/270/283 Will of Frances Meller, widow of Little Bredy, 24 November 1657.

TNA PROB 11/270/284 Will of Jerome Turner, clerk of Netherbury, 24 November 1657.

TNA PROB 11/270/425 Will of Daniel Yard, rector of Sutton Waldron, 28 November 1657.

TNA PROB 11/271/353 Will of Sir Robert Willoughbie of Turnerspuddle, 11 December 1657.

TNA PROB 11/273/632 Will of Thomas Hall, clerk of Buckland, 27 February 1658.

TNA PROB 11/278/14 Will of John Freke, gentleman of Winterborne Stickland, 3 April 1658.

TNA PROB 11/279/494 Will of William Mills, clerk of Burstock, 27 July 1658.

TNA PROB 11/279/699 Will of George Frampton, gentleman of Buckland Newton, 27 November 1658.

TNA PROB 11/281/223 Will of Etheldred Rives of Shaston Saint James, 25 June 1658.

TNA PROB 11/282/117 Will of Dennis Bond of Steeple, 14 September 1658.

TNA PROB 11/284/392 Will of Henry Davidge, yeoman of Buckhorn Weston, 26 November 1658.

TNA PROB 11/284/553 Will of Peter King, gentleman of Shaftesbury, 9 December 1658.

TNA PROB 11/292/157 Will of John Stoodley, rector of Winterborne Abbas, 8 June 1659.

TNA PROB 11/292/418 Will of William Estmond, gentleman of Wambrook, 22 June 1659.

TNA PROB 11/292/630 Will of George Strangeways, gentleman of Winterborne Muston, 28 June 1659.

TNA PROB 11/293/233 Will of Peter Blanchard, clerk of East Stour, 18 June 1659.

TNA PROB 11/294/340 Will of Anthony Pelham, clerk of Fordington, 27 July 1659.

TNA PROB 11/294/641 Will of John Keynell, gentleman of Belchalwell, 24 August 1659.

TNA PROB 11/295/711 Will of Leonard Clotworthy, minister of Tarrant Keynston, 8 October 1659.

TNA PROB 11/297/425 Will of Elianor Everard, widow of Charlton Marshall, 14 April 1660.

TNA PROB 11/298/160 Will of Thomas Joyliffe, gentleman of East Stour, 16 April 1660.

TNA PROB 11/298/302 Will of Nicholas Way of Bridport, 26 April 1660.

TNA PROB 11/300/501 Will of Helen Cleeves, widow of Lytchett Minster, 5 November 1660.

TNA PROB 11/302/246 Will of Richard Russell, clerk of West Stafford, 22 November 1660.

TNA PROB 11/302/525 Will of Henry Clapcott, gentleman of Winterborne Abbas, 8 December 1660.

TNA PROB 11/302/533 Will of Thomas Samways, merchant of Bincombe, 8 December 1660.

TNA PROB 11/303/64 Will of Thomas Sherring, yeoman of Charminster, 12 January 1661.

TNA PROB 11/305/16 Will of John Gollop of Netherbury, Dorset, 2 July 1661.

TNA PROB 11/305/76 Will of Catherine Bradrepp, widow of South Mapperton, 8 July 1661.

TNA PROB 11/305/98 Will of John Minterne of Batcombe, 10 July 1661.

TNA PROB 11/306/175 Will of John Bankes of Corfe Castle, Isle of Purbeck, 8 November 1661.

TNA PROB 11/306/56 Will of Thomas Hooper, gentleman of Sixpenny Handley, 15 October 1661.

TNA PROB 11/307/10 Will of John Lea, gentleman of Charmouth, 2 January 1662.

TNA PROB 11/307/140 Will of George Williams, gentleman of Wootton Glanville, 28 January 1662.

TNA PROB 11/308/342 Will of George Barber, gentleman of Ashmore, 13 June 1662.

TNA PROB 11/309/270 Will of Edmund Uvedale of Horton, 24 October 1662.

TNA PROB 11/311/140 Will of Benjamin Bridger, gentleman of Wraxall, 16 May 1663.

TNA PROB 11/311/506 Will of Sir Hugh Windham of Pilsdon, 18 July 1663.

TNA PROB 11/312/400 Will of Mary Chafin, widow of Folke, 23 November 1663.

TNA PROB 11/313/452 Will of Robert Turner, yeoman of Chardstock, 22 April 1664.

TNA PROB 11/313/524 Will of Edmund Batson, clerk of Lillington, 25 May 1664.

TNA PROB 11/317/140 Will of Mary Godwyn or Godwin, widow of Lyme Regis, 26 June 1665.

TNA PROB 11/319/15 Will of Thomas Clavering, clerk of Piddlehinton, 4 January 1666.

TNA PROB 11/321/488 Will of Richard Bragg, clerk of Milborne Saint Andrew, 1 September 1666.

TNA PROB 11/322/328 Will of Sir Walter Earle of Charborough, 20 November 1666.

TNA PROB 11/323/237 Will of Sir John Strangways of Melbury Sampford, 12 February 1667.

TNA PROB 11/324/30 Will of William Hayter, clerk of Tincleton, 4 May 1667.

TNA PROB 11/326/173 Will of John Trottle, clerk of Fanchurch, 6 February 1668.

TNA PROB 11/326/407 Will of Ambrose Randall, gentleman of Sturminster Newton Castle, 24 March 1668.

TNA PROB 11/326/445 Will of John Tregonwell of Milton Abbas, 2 April 1668.

TNA PROB 11/326/604 Will of Edward Bannister, clerk of Motcombe, 28 April 1668.

TNA PROB 11/327/384 Will of John Hardy, clerk of Beaminster, 29 June 1668.

TNA PROB 11/328/316 Will of John Saintloe of Child Okeford, 18 November 1668.

TNA PROB 11/329/113 Will of Francis Mercer, rector of Godmanstone, 31 January 1669.

TNA PROB 11/331/257 Will of Thomas Anstye, clerk of Wimborne Minster, 2 November 1669.

TNA PROB 11/333/152 Will of William Gollop, clerk of Stoke Abbott, 16 June 1670.

TNA PROB 11/333/274 Will of Henry Harbin, gentleman of Wareham, 1 July 1670.

TNA PROB 11/333/568 Will of Sir John Fitzjames of Leweston, 19 September 1670.

TNA PROB 11/334/408 Will of William Ernley, gentleman of Chalbury, 28 November 1670.

TNA PROB 11/335/36 Will of Sir George Morton of Milborne St Andrew, 9 January 1671.

TNA PROB 11/335/70 Will of John Sherrin, clerk of West Parley, 16 January 1671.

TNA PROB 11/335/236 Will of Mary Hallett, spinster of Lyme Regis, 13 February 1671.

TNA PROB 11/335/495 Will of Henry Beriewe, clerk of Swyre, 8 April 1671.

TNA PROB 11/336/417 Will of John Henbery, gentleman of East Orchard, 12 July 1671.

TNA PROB 11/336/398 Will of Henry Hartwell, clerk of Holwell, 10 July 1671.

TNA PROB 11/337/599 Will of John Potter, clerk of Fontmell, 15 December 1671.

TNA PROB 11/339/308 Will of John Pitt, clerk of Blandford Saint Mary, 1 July 1672.

TNA PROB 11/341/361 Will of John Chadwell, clerk of Mappowder, 10 March 1673.

TNA PROB 11/342/363 Will of Robert Toope, gentleman of Great Canford, 28 June 1673.

TNA PROB 11/343/161 Will of James Mewe, gentleman of Purse Caundle, 17 October 1673.

TNA PROB 11/343/180 Will of Sir Gerrard Napper of Moore Critchell, 21 October 1673.

TNA PROB 11/344/336 Will of Lucy Barber, widow of Ashmore, 13 March 1674.

TNA PROB 11/345/157 Will of Alexander Jones, vicar of Puddletown, 30 May 1674.

TNA PROB 11/347/140 Will of Miles Criche, clerk of Gussage Saint Michael, 6 February 1675.

TNA PROB 11/347/174 Will of Frances Hartwell, widow of Holwell, 12 February 1675.

TNA PROB 11/347/245 Will of John Hodder, gentleman of Netherbury, 25 February 1675.

TNA PROB 11/348/207 Will of George Savage, gentleman of East Bloxworth, 28 June 1675.

TNA PROB 11/348/462 Will of Suzanna Drant, widow of Melbury Osmond, 27 September 1675.

TNA PROB 11/349/77 Will of Giles Strangways of Melbury Sampford, 2 November 1675.

TNA PROB 11/350/134 Will of William Toomer, clerk of Melcombe, 1 February 1676.

TNA PROB 11/350/278 Will of Robert Strode of Netherbury, 19 February 1676.

TNA PROB 11/350/560 Will of William Beamont, clerk of Canford Magna, 8 May 1676.

TNA PROB 11/351/160 Will of Elinor Floyer, widow of Charmouth, 12 June 1676.

TNA PROB 11/351/448 Will of James Frampton, gentleman of Buckland Ripers, 4 August 1676.

TNA PROB 11/351/514 Will of Giles Ivy, gentleman of Lyme Regis, 22 August 1676.

TNA PROB 11/354/361 Will of William Macy, gentleman of Winterborne Stickland, 12 July 1677.

TNA PROB 11/355/317 Will of John Glisson, clerk of Marnhull, 29 November 1677.

TNA PROB 11/356/157 Will of Robert Cheeke, clerk of Cattistock, 9 February 1678.

TNA PROB 11/359/250 Will of Margery Stoodley, widow of Marshwood, 18 February 1679.

TNA PROB 11/359/417 Will of Giles Hooper, gentleman of Sixpenny Handley, 29 March 1679.

TNA PROB 11/360/208 Will of Ferdinando Burleigh, gentleman of Wareham, 4 July 1679.

TNA PROB 11/360/433 Will of Richard Butler, gentleman of Almer, 11 August 1679.

TNA PROB 11/361/93 Will of William Zouch, clerk of Spetisbury, 16 October 1679.

TNA PROB 11/361/251 Will of William Uvedale of Horton, 14 November 1679.

TNA PROB 11/361/328 Will of Lawrence Higden, clerk of Yetminster, 26 November 1679.

TNA PROB 11/362/270 Will of Tobias Walton, gentleman of Winterbourne Whitchurch, 17 February 1680.

TNA PROB 11/363/159 Will of John Galpine, gentleman of Lytchett Minster, 8 June 1680.

TNA PROB 11/363/358 Will of Edward Davenant, Doctor in Divinity and vicar of Gillingham, 9 July 1680.

TNA PROB 11/363/378 Will of John Straight, clerk of Turnworth, 14 July 1680.

TNA PROB 11/364/557 Will of Thomas Browne of Frampton, 16 December 1680.

TNA PROB 11/364/572 Will of George Thorne, clerk of Compton Valence, 18 December 1680.

TNA PROB 11/365/283 Will of Richard Gillingham of Wimborne Minster, 19 February 1681.

TNA PROB 11/366/162 Will of John Tregonwell of Milton Abbas, 23 April 1681.

TNA PROB 11/367/18 Will of John Strangways, gentleman of Marnhull, 3 June 1681.

TNA PROB 11/367/31 Will of John Sweet, Rector of Bettiscombe, 8 June 1681.

TNA PROB 11/368/193 Will of Benjamin Way, minister of Bristol, 1681.

TNA PROB 11/369/110 Will of Dorothy Chaplyn, widow of Priory House near Wareham, 23 January 1682.

TNA PROB 11/370/13 Will of Elizabeth Crouch of Hinton Martell, 3 May 1682.

TNA PROB 11/370/31 Will of Elizabeth Way, widow of Bridport, 5 May 1682.

TNA PROB 11/370/342 Will of John Churchill of Steeple, 12 July 1682.

TNA PROB 11/371/458 Will of Andrew Ettricke, gentleman of Sturminster Marshall, 1 December 1682.

TNA PROB 11/375/179 Will of William Huish, clerk of Maiden Newton, 11 February 1684.

TNA PROB 11/375/359 Will of Joan Savage, widow of Bloxworth, 12 March 1684.

TNA PROB 11/376/434 Will of Robert Chilcott, gentleman of Bridport, 3 July 1684.

TNA PROB 11/377/263 Will of Sir George Savage of Bloxworth, 15 September 1684.

TNA PROB 11/378/264 Will of Joseph Allen, clerk of Melbury Osmond, 3 December 1684.

TNA PROB 11/379/260 Will of Robert Bishop, apothecary of Bridport, 16 February 1685.

TNA PROB 11/380/13 Will of Thomas Phillipps, clerk of Corfe Mullen, 2 May 1685.

TNA PROB 11/380/246 Will of Edith Bishop, widow of Bridport, 12 June 1685.

TNA PROB 11/380/423 Will of Nathaniel Ingele, Master of Arts and rector of Piddlehinton, 13 July 1685.

TNA PROB 11/380/441 Will of William Harvey, gentleman of Wyke, 18 July 1685.

TNA PROB 11/380/483 Will of William Stone, clerk of Oxford, 12 May 1685.

TNA PROB 11/381/534 Will of Doctor Nathaniel Highmore, Doctor of Medicine of Sherborne, 7 December 1685.

TNA PROB 11/381/70 Will of Wadham Strangways of Stinsford, 4 August 1685.

TNA PROB 11/383/178 Will of Richard Farnham, gentleman of South Perrott, 15 May 1686.

TNA PROB 11/385/348 Will of Robert Naper of Puncknowle, 4 December 1686.

TNA PROB 11/386/71 Will of Robert Jones, gentleman of Lyme Regis, 17 January 1687.

TNA PROB 11/389/145 Will of Joane Way, widow of Bridport, 14 November 1687.

TNA PROB 11/390/45 Will of Robert Haysome, clerk of Anderston, 14 January 1688.

TNA PROB 11/390/347 Will of Henry Bowdich, gentleman of Chardstock, 17 March 1688.

TNA PROB 11/392/62 Will of John Moyle, clerk of Wimborne, 5 July 1688.

TNA PROB 11/391/125 Will of James Gaitch, mariner of Lyme Regis, 4 May 1688.

TNA PROB 11/392/181 Will of Sir Winston Churchill of Minterne Magna, 28 July 1688.

TNA PROB 11/393/59 Will of Walter Mohun, gentleman of Sutton Waldron, 2 October 1688.

TNA PROB 11/393/100 Will of John Adams, clerk of Broadwindsor, 9 October 1688.

TNA PROB 11/393/190 Will of John Meller, gentleman of Little Bredy, 3 November 1688.

TNA PROB 11/394/324 Will of Thomas Gibbons, clerk of Pulham, 7 March 1689.

TNA PROB 11/394/342 Will of Robert Pitt, gentleman of Blandford Forum, 11 March 1689.

TNA PROB 11/395/399 Will of Jonathan Style, clerk of Sherborne Lodge, 18 June 1689.

TNA PROB 11/396/173 Will of Robert Wiseheart, rector of Wyke Regis, 30 July 1689.

TNA PROB 11/399/2 Will of Robert Stevens, gentleman of Winterborne Whitchurch, 1 March 1690.

TNA PROB 11/399/141 Will of William Frampton of Moreton, 10 April 1690.

TNA PROB 11/403/477 Will of Josiah Banger, clerk of Lillington, 29 August 1691.

TNA PROB 11/405/64 Will of Ralph Lax of Evershot, 12 June 1691.

TNA PROB 11/406/445 Will of William Rose, clerk of Sandwich, Isle of Purbeck, 20 October 1691.

TNA PROB 11/408/169 Will of Robert Boyle of Stalbridge, 26 January 1692.

TNA PROB 11/409/332 Will of Richard Henvill, gentleman of Abbotsbury, 3 May 1692.

TNA PROB 11/412/373 Will of Anne Clavell, spinster of Kimmeridge in the Isle of Purbeck, 7 December 1692.

TNA PROB 11/412/59 Will of Ann Huish, widow of Maiden Newton, 2 November 1692.

TNA PROB 11/413/165 Will of Thomas Grove, gentleman of Studland Isle of Purbeck, 26 January 1693.

TNA PROB 11/413/350 Will of Edward Buckler, clerk of Bradford Abbas, 18 February 1693.

TNA PROB 11/419/30 Will of John Napier, gentleman of Minterne Magna, 3 March 1694.

TNA PROB 11/420/330 Will of Edward St Loe of Child Okeford, 15 June 1694.

TNA PROB 11/420/344 Will of William Cox, clerk of Maiden Newton, 19 June 1694.

TNA PROB 11/423/57 Will of Andrew Bowerman, clerk of Gillingham, 2 November 1694.

TNA PROB 11/423/263 Will of Henry Trenchard of Bloxworth, 3 December 1694.

TNA PROB 11/432/325 Will of Joachim Frederick Sagittary, doctor of physic of Blandford Forum, 8 July 1696.

TNA PROB 11/437/55 Will of John Swayne, gentleman of West Knighton, 6 March 1697.

TNA PROB 11/441/404 Will of William Glasbrooke, mariner of Broadmayne, 20 November 1697.

TNA PROB 11/442/187 Will of Edward Henvill, gentleman of Abbotsbury, 4 December 1697.

TNA PROB 11/444/242 Will of Henry Clarke, clerk of Stockland, 12 March 1698.

TNA PROB 11/448/161 Will of Joseph Gaich of Lyme Regis, 14 November 1698.

TNA PROB 11/448/198 Will of Joseph Bateman, rector of Came Winterbourn, 18 November 1698.

TNA PROB 11/449/300 Will of John Savage, clerk of Bloxworth, 16 February 1699.

TNA PROB 11/451/308 Will of John Haddesley of Salisbury, 8 June 1699.

TNA PROB 11/453/29 Will of Sir John Morton of Milborne St Andrew, 20 May 1699.

Records of the General Register Office

TNA RG 6/1032 Society of Friends registers: Quarterly meeting of Dorset.

State Papers Domestic of the Reign of Charles I

TNA SP 16/12 f.118 Sir Walter Erle to Secretary Conway re recusant traffic in Dorset and arms held by Arundel at Chideock, 28 December 1625.

TNA SP 16/12 f.120 Note from Sir Walter Erle re list of recusant houses and traffic in the night, and proposal to arm, 28 December 1625.

- TNA SP 16/67 f.109 Richard Fitzherbert, on behalf of the clergy of Dorset, to Archbishop Abbot, 20 June 1627.
- TNA SP 16/159 f.81 Brief on the part of Thomas Pope against Dr Bradish re tithes of Athelhampton, in the parish of Piddletown, Dorset, January 1630.
- TNA SP 16/202 f.42 Petition of Anthony Harford, curate of Beaminster for charges against him to be heard speedily, 21 October 1631.
- TNA SP 16/222 f.54 Sir Walter Erle to John White, preacher of God's word at Dorchester, re vacancy at Seaton, 8 August 1632.
- TNA SP 16/267 f.21 Presentment of churchwardens and sidesmen of Holy Trinity, Shaftesbury to Archbishop Laud against their minister, Edward Williams, 1 May 1633.
- TNA SP 16/267 f.83 Petition of inhabitants of Sherborne to the King re augmentation of living, 4 May 1634.
- TNA SP 16/273 f.26 John Browne to Dr [John] Stoughton, preacher of God's Word in Aldermanbury re John Dike in Charminster, 1634.
- TNA SP 16/297 f.177 N. Paull to John White, preacher of God's word at Dorchester, 8 September 1635.
- TNA SP 16/300/2 Suspicions that money being channelled out of Dorset into London, by John White among others, to support deprived ministers and their dependents, 30 October 1630.
- TNA SP 16/309 f.78 Brief in a cause in the Court of Arches, wherein James Rawson, rector of Witherstone seeks to recover tithes from John Brown, c.1635.
- TNA SP 16/319 f.195 List signed by Sir Thomas Trenchard, late sheriff of Dorset, of persons in that country who had not paid their ship-money, April 1636.
- TNA SP 16/355 f.342 Petition of James Rawson, rector of Witherstone, to Archbishop Laud, 10 May 1637.
- TNA SP 16/362 f.103 Petition by James Rawson, clerk, MA and rector of Witherstone, Dorset, to Archbishop Laud, 26 June 1637.
- TNA SP 16/389 f.24 Petition of James Rawson, clerk, vicar of Milton Abbas, Dorset, and one of his Majesty's chaplains, to the King, 2 May 1638.
- TNA SP 16/392 f.167 Petition of Henry Gooche, DD to the King re permission to hold Pulham as well as Cheadle, Staffs, 14 June 1638.
- TNA SP 16/395 f.124 Sir Francis Fulford, Sir Walter Erle, and Thomas Clarke, to the King re a petition of James Rawson, vicar of Milton Abbas, 19 July 1638.
- TNA SP 16/395 f.151 Acknowledgment made by James Rawson, vicar of Milton Abbas, in the presence of Lord Chief Justice Finch, in open court at the assizes at Dorchester that his petition to the King was based on false grievances with John Tregonwell, 25 July 1638.
- TNA SP 16/397 f.153a Petition of James Rawson, clerk, vicar of Milton Abbas, Dorset, to the King, 30 August 1638.

TNA SP 16/403 f.53 Petition of William Hussey, clerk, to the King, 6 September 1639.

TNA SP 16/410 f.166 Order of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Keeper, as referees appointed by his Majesty of the petition of James Rawson clerk, vicar of Milton Abbas, co. Dorset, against John Tregonwell, 30 January 1639.

TNA SP 16/412 f.6 Petition of Jonas Viney, sometime of Lyme Regis, co. Dorset, to Archbishop Laud, 1 February 1639.

TNA SP 16/412 f.292 Acknowledgment of James Rawson, of Milton Abbas, Dorset, clerk, 15 February 1639.

TNA SP 16/420 f.94 Order of Council re the petition of James Lukin, clerk and the master of Emanuel College, Cambridge touching the right of presentation to the vicarage of Puddletown, 3 May 1639.

TNA SP 16/429 f.151 Henry Earl of Huntingdon to Archbishop Laud, Lord Keeper Coventry, Henry Earl of Manchester, and Bishop Wren of Ely re confirmation of his chaplain James Lukin to the vicarage of Puddletown, September 1639.

TNA SP 16/467/63 and 63II Dorset petition of clergy, schoolmasters and practitioners of physick against signing the etcetera oath, 1640.

State Papers of the Interregnum

TNA SP 18/3 f.58 Thos. Elford to John Eaton, minister, Bridport, 4 November 1649.

TNA SP 18/73 f.56 Petition of the bailiffs, burgesses etc. of Bridport to the Protector re augmentation of their minister, John Eaton's maintenance, 11 July 1654.

TNA SP 18/97 f.204 Petition of the inhabitants of Motcombe, Dorset to the Protector to be separated from Gillingham and that Thomas Andrewes, who has been with them since 1646, be appointed minister, 31 May 1655.

TNA SP 18/126 f.179 Petition of Frederick Vaughan of Edmondsham, Dorset, clerk, to the Protector, for an order to the Commissioners for the county to exempt him from tax because he never acted against Parliament or left his house during the wars, being blind from birth, 15 April 1656.

TNA SP 18/129 f.180 Petition of Thomas Sampson for the inhabitants of Sherborne to the Protector.

TNA SP 18/180 f.81 Petition of William Wake of Blandford, Dorset to the Protector for restoration of his wife's property, 25 March 1658.

Records of the Committee of Both Kingdoms

TNA SP 21/24 f.27 Committee of both Houses to the Committee of Dorset re William Wake, 25 March 1648.

Council of State: Books and Accounts

TNA SP 25/75 f.425 Order in Council that £80 a year be paid to Mr Eaton out of the overplus of the impropriate rectory of Whitchurch, Dorset, 11 July 1654.

State Papers Domestic of the Reign of Charles II

TNA SP 29/6 f.7 Petition of Richard Meredith for Archdeaconry of Dorset, June 1660.

TNA SP 29/12 f.148 Petition to the King by John Whynell seeking corroboration of presentation to vicarage of Netherbury, 1660.

TNA SP 29/12 f.161 Petition of John Thornbury for a grant of the rectory of Owermoigne, to which he was presented by Lord Stourton and Humphrey Weld but is molested by an intruder, August 1660.

TNA SP 29/30 f.64 Information against John Wesley, vicar of Winterbourne Whitchurch for diabolically railing in the pulpit against the late King, praising Cromwell, riding with pistols, etc., 5 February 1661.

TNA SP 29/33 f.30 Humphrey, Bishop of Salisbury, to Secretary John Nicholas re difficulty of appointing to curacies because of raised expectations, 23 March 1661.

TNA SP 29/43 f.122 Humphrey, Bishop of Salisbury, to Secretary John Nicholas re troublesome ministers within his diocese, 17 October 1661.

TNA SP 29/49 f.21 Petition of Ralph Ironside to the King for presentation to the vicarage of Netherbury with the chapel of Beaminster, 3 January 1662.

TNA SP 29/49 f.233 Petition of Ralph Ironside, MA, to the King, to revoke a previous grant of the vicarage of Netherbury with the chapel of Beaminster to Joseph Crabb, January 1662.

TNA SP 29/52 f.96 Henry Chapman to Mr Muddiman, 12 March 1662.

TNA SP 29/69 f.23 Warrant for a dispensation to Richard Russell, chaplain to Denzil Lord Holles, to hold his present rectory of Brixton, diocese of Winchester, with that of Frome Billet and West Stafford, 3 March 1663.

TNA SP 29/248 f.54 Petition of Dr Hamnet Ward, chaplain of Walter, Bishop of Oxford, to the King for a dispensation to hold with his rectory of Porlock, Somerset, the vicarage of Sturminster Newton, 23 October 1668.

TNA SP 29/321 f.27 Jeremiah French, Presbyterian minister, and others to the King for licence for him to preach at his own house, the Court Baron house at Milton Abbas, 1672.

TNA SP 29/321 f.174 Licence for Thomas Moore at his own house in Milton Abbas, 18 May 1672.

TNA SP 29/321 f.269 Request by John Warr for a licence for Benjamin Walters at his own house in Bradford Abbas, 1672.

TNA SP 29/321 f.278 Memorandum of licences desired in Dorset, June 1672.

TNA SP 29/376 f.33 Nicholas Taylour to Sir Joseph Williamson requesting assistance in presentation to Hinton Martell, 18 December 1675.

TNA SP 29/427 f.262 Bishop of Bristol to Secretary Jenkins re breaking up of conventicles in Lyme Regis, Bridport and Charmouth, 7 July 1683.

TNA SP 29/446 f.112 Information that Joan Strode has the right of presentation to Netherbury vicarage with Beaminster chapel, and articles against Joseph Crabb, May 1661.

State Papers Domestic of the Reign of James II

TNA SP 31/3 f.70 The Bishop of Bristol to [the Earl of Sunderland], Lord President re preachers in Cerne and Dorchester, 21 May 1686.

State Papers Domestic: Entry Books

TNA SP 44/6 f.15 Warrant for corroboration of presentation of Ralph Ironside to the vicarage of Netherbury with the chapel of Beaminster, 6 January 1662.

TNA SP 44/6 f.19 Warrant for corroboration of presentation of Ralph Ironside to the vicarage of Netherbury and chapel of Beaminster, with revocation of any former warrant in favour of Joseph Crabb, 8 February 1662.

TNA SP 44/27 f.1 Order of the King to Bishops, Deans, and Chapters to make no leases of appropriate rectories or parsonages until every vicarage or curacy be endowed to the amount of £80 per annum, 7 August 1660.

TNA SP 44/27 f.115 Dispensation to John Jones, chaplain to the King, to accept and hold the rectory of Holy Trinity Wareham with the vicarage of Winkfield, Berkshire which he now holds, 21 June 1678.

TNA SP 44/53 f.53 Warrant for a commission to the bishops of Salisbury and Bristol, Sir George Savage and six others to carry out a visitation of the royal peculiar of Canford Magna with the chapel of Poole, 16 June 1681.

TNA SP 44/57 f.237 Warrant to the dean and chapter of Canterbury to grant dispensation to Thomas Dent, chaplain in ordinary and vicar of the parish church of Lenton, Lincs to hold the rectory of Stalbridge, notwithstanding their distance, 17 February 1690.

TNA SP 44/73 f.7 Caveat that no pardon pass the seal or be granted to Samuel Rich, rector of Stalbridge, till notice be given to the Bishop of Exeter, as he stands prosecuted for adultery, July 1689.

TNA SP 44/150 f.121 Order by Crown to prepare a bill presenting Robert Farrow to the vicarage of Netherbury and Beaminster with chapel of Mangerton, 25 January 1692.

TNA SP 44/150 f.123 Order by Crown to prepare a bill presenting Roger Royston to the vicarage of Netherbury and Beaminster with the chapel of Mangerton, void by the deprivation of Arthur Squibb, 29 March 1692.

State Papers Domestic: Supplementary

TNA SP 46/42 f.15 Complaint of Henry Twichener, archdeacon of Dorset, regarding attempted sequestration by Bishop of Salisbury, 27 February 1600.

TNA SP 46/69 f.168 Bishop of Bristol to Fanshaw, explaining his failure to certify to the Exchequer as ordered, Turner's Puddle, 10 February 1611.

TNA SP 46/78 f.153 Samuel Norrington, Charmouth to Henry Hutchens at the Six Clerks' Office, requesting help in his legal business against Lymbry, 25 April 1630.

State Papers Office: Adventurers for Land in Ireland

TNA SP 63/297 f.34 Certificate by George Cole, Mayor of Dorchester, 13 August 1653.

Court of Star Chamber Proceedings

TNA STAC 8/94/17 Conditt v. Chubb.

Parliamentary Archives

HL/PO/J0/10/1/88 Protestation returns, Dorset A

HL/PO/J0/10/1/89 Protestation returns, Dorset B

Somerset Record Office (SRO)

SRO DD\BK/5/12 Indenture of agreement declaring the uses of a fine, 1649.

SRO DD\WM/1/111 Agreement for appointment of curate and lease of rectory of Manston (Dorset), 1660.

Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre (WSHC)

WSHC D1/2/18 Bishop of Salisbury: Administrative records, 1591-1596.

WSHC D1/27/1/1 Bishop of Salisbury: Liber Notitiae Generalis.

WSHC D5/1/2 Dean of Salisbury: Register of institutions, 1549-1632 and 1660-1846.

WSHC D5/7/1 Dean of Salisbury: Presentation deeds and testimonials, 1575, 1660-62.

WSHC D5/7/2 Dean of Salisbury: Presentations and testimonials, 1663-68.

WSHC D5/7/3 Dean of Salisbury: Presentations and testimonials etc., 1668-76.

WSHC D5/7/4 Dean of Salisbury: Presentations, testimonials, bonds of indemnity, 1677-84.

WSHC D5/7/5 Dean of Salisbury: Presentations, testimonials, nominations to cures, 1685-91.

WSHC D5/7/6 Dean of Salisbury: Presentations etc., 1692-99.

WSHC D5/9/1 Dean of Salisbury: Subscription book, 1599-1673.

WSHC D5/9/2 Dean of Salisbury: Subscription book, 1674-1731.

WSHC D5/9/4 Dean of Salisbury: Subscription books, 1662-1706, containing declarations by ministers and schoolmasters under the Act of Uniformity of 1662.

WSHC D5/10/1/1 Glebe terrier for Alton Pancras, with a petition to the dean to enforce restitution of some tithes detained by a parishioner, 1674.

WSHC D5/10/1/2 Glebe terrier for Anderson parsonage or rectory, 1634.

WSHC D5/10/1/5 Glebe terrier for Bloxworth parsonage, 1613.

WSHC D5/10/1/8 Glebe terrier for Caundle Marsh parsonage, 1605, copy made 1699.

WSHC D5/10/1/10 Glebe terrier for Folke parsonage, 1634.

WSHC D5/10/1/11 Glebe terrier for Fordington prebend, parsonage and vicarage, 1623.

WSHC D5/10/1/12 Glebe terrier for Halstock, 1629.

WSHC D5/10/2/2 Glebe terrier for Nether Compton parsonage, 1622

WSHC D5/10/2/3 Glebe terrier for Osborne vicarage, 1631.

WSHC D5/10/2/6 Glebe terrier for Over Compton parsonage, 1634.

WSHC D5/10/2/9 Glebe terrier for Sherborne vicarage, 1634.

WSHC D5/10/2/10 Glebe terrier for South Mapperton rectory, 1628.

WSHC D5/10/2/12 Glebe terrier for Thornford parsonage, 19thC copy of 1612 terrier.

WSHC D5/10/2/15 Glebe terrier for Winterborne Thompson parsonage, 1634.

WSHC D5/10/2/16 Glebe terrier for Yetminster vicarage with Leigh and Chetnole, c.1635.

WSHC D5/16/1 Letter about charges against Mr Hartford, curate of Beaminster, 1630.

WSHC D5/17/1/2 Petition of the chief inhabitants of Winterborne Kingston, Dorset, that a separate curate shall be provided for them by the vicar of Bere Regis, as formerly, c.1700.

WSHC D5/17/1/2 Petition for divine service in the chapels of Leigh and Chetnole, 1751, with a document by which Dean Pierce enjoined the vicar of Yetminster to provide for divine service in Leigh and Chetnole, 1684.

WSHC D5/17/1/3 Papers relating to John Cupper, minister of Bere Regis, Dorset: Certificates of parishioners and neighbouring clergy that he has now amended his life, and his acknowledgements of penance 1672; answers of Francis Scarlett, vicar of Sherborne, Dorset, to visitation articles, early seventeenth century.

WSHC D5/19/18 Dean of Salisbury: Act Books, 1600-01.

WSHC D5/19/21 Dean of Salisbury Act Books, including triennial visitation of Dorset, 1613.

WSHC D5/19/41 Dean of Salisbury: Act Book, 1637-1645, 1661-62.

WSHC D5/19/42 Dean of Salisbury: Act Book, 17thC.

WSHC D5/19/44 Dean of Salisbury Act Book, 1671-74.

WSHC D5/21/1/25 Dean of Salisbury: Citations, 1675.

WSHC D5/21/1/39 Dean of Salisbury: Citations, 1688-90.

WSHC D5/21/3/9 Dean of Salisbury: Libels, 1626-29.

WSHC D5/21/3/12 Dean of Salisbury: Libels, 1635-37.

WSHC D5/21/5/2 Dean of Salisbury: Miscellaneous court papers, 1634-37.

WSHC D5/21/5/8 Knapton v. Johnson: Cause re tithes of Fordington, Dorset, 1638.

WSHC D5/21/5/11 Dean of Salisbury: Miscellaneous court papers, early 17thC.

WSHC D5/21/5/37 Dean of Salisbury court papers: Church rates for Holnest, 1626, Bere Regis, 1682 and 1685, and Winterborne Kingston, 1663.

WSHC D5/21/5/38 Report that repairs to Haydon seating have been made, c.1630.

WSHC D5/21/5/38 f.20 Report from carpenters on dilapidations to chancel and parsonage house with outbuildings of Over Compton, 1628.

WSHC D5/22/15 Dean of Salisbury: Deposition book, 1662-70.

WSHC D5/22/19 Dean of Salisbury: Deposition book, 1682-94.

WSHC D5/25/1 Dean of Salisbury sequestrations, 1579-1715.

WSHC D5/28/1-67 Dean of Salisbury: Presentments, 1600-1688.

WSHC D5/29/1 Dean of Salisbury visitation book, 1610.

WSHC D5/29/2-9 Dean of Salisbury visitation books, 1662-1699.

WSHC D15/3/1 Prebend of Fordington and Writhlington: Churchwardens' presentments, 1663-1700.

WSHC D16/2/3 Prebend of Lyme and Halstock: Citations, visitation mandates, presentments, and other court and visitation records, 1663-74 and a presentment for Lyme Regis, 1696.

WSHC D17/1/2 Prebend of Netherbury in Ecclesia: Acts of court, presentments, visitation mandates and other papers, 1661-65.

WSHC D17/1/3 Prebend of Netherbury in Ecclesia: Presentments, visitation mandates and a few court papers, 1669-73.

WSHC D24/4/2 Terrier for Stourpaine, 1634.

WSHC D28/1/1 Clergy Papers: Resignation of Daniel Blith, 1676 and institution of Theophilus Wodenoth, 1657.

WSHC D28/10/2 Terrier for Allington, 1784

WSHC D28/10/5 Terrier for Askerswell, 1612.

WSHC D28/10/6 Terrier for Batcombe, early 17thC.

WSHC D28/10/7 Terrier for Beer Hackett, 1612.

WSHC D28/10/8 Terrier for Bettiscombe, 1612.

WSHC D28/10/9 Terrier for Bincombe (fragment only), 17th century.

WSHC D28/10/14 Terrier for Bradford Peverell, 1634.

WSHC D28/10/19 Terriers for Buckhorn Weston, 1631, 1682 and 1757.

WSHC D28/10/22 Terrier for Burstock, 1612.

WSHC D28/10/24 Terriers for Cattistock, 1612, 1663 and 1784

WSHC D28/10/25 Terriers for Caundle Bishop, 1612, 1634 and 1784.

WSHC D28/10/26 Terrier for Caundle Purse, 1612.

WSHC D28/10/28 Terrier for Cerne Abbas, 1612.

WSHC D28/10/29 Terrier for Up Cerne, 17th century.

WSHC D28/10/31 Terrier for Charmouth, early 17th century.

WSHC D28/10/34 Terriers for West Chelborough, 1612 and 1784.

WSHC D28/10/35 Terrier for Chesilborne, 1634.

WSHC D28/10/43 Terrier for Corfe Castle, 1634.

WSHC D28/10/48 Terriers for Dorchester All Saints, 1634 and 1785.
 WSHC D28/10/51 Terriers for Edmondsham, 1612, 1634 and 1785.
 WSHC D28/10/54 Terriers for Fifehead Magdalen, 1612, 1634 and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/56 Terriers for Frampton, 1634, 1757 and 1782.
 WSHC D28/10/58 Terriers for Frome Vauchurch, 17th century and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/67 Terriers for Hinton Martell, 1612 and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/68 Terrier for Hinton Parva, 1634.
 WSHC D28/10/72 Terrier for Ibberton, 1612.
 WSHC D28/10/75 Terrier for Langton Herring, 17th century.
 WSHC D28/10/76 Terriers for Langton Long Blandford, 1633 and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/78 Terrier for Lillington, 1612.
 WSHC D28/10/84 Terrier for Marnhull, 1613.
 WSHC D28/10/85 Terriers for Melbury Bubb, 1612 and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/86 Terriers for Melbury Osmond and Melbury Sampford, 1612 and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/89 Terrier for Morden, 1631.
 WSHC D28/10/91 Terriers for More Crichel, 1612 and 1633.
 WSHC D28/10/93 Terrier for Osborne, 1612.
 WSHC D28/10/95 Terriers for Osmington with Ringstead, 1634 and 1757.
 WSHC D28/10/98 Terriers for Pentridge, early 17th century and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/99 Terriers for South Perrott, early 17th century and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/100 Terriers for Piddletrenthide, early 17th century and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/101 Terriers for Pilsdon, 1612, 1634 and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/103 Terriers for Poorton, 1634 and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/105 Terriers for Portland, 1612, 1626 and 1634.
 WSHC D28/10/106 Terriers for Poxwell, 1612, 1634 and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/111 Terriers for Shaftesbury Holy Trinity, early 17th century and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/113 Terrier for Shaftesbury St Peter, 1634.
 WSHC D28/10/114 Terriers for Shaftesbury St Rumbold (alias Cann), 1635 and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/117 Terriers for Silton, 1612, 1637 and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/120 Terriers for Steeple, 1634, 1757, 1784 and 1788.
 WSHC D28/10/123 Terrier for Stockwood, 1612.
 WSHC D28/10/124 Terriers for Stoke Abbott, 1640 and 1785.
 WSHC D28/10/127 Terriers for Studland, 1634, 1784 and 1785.

WSHC D28/10/129 Terriers for Sutton Waldron, 1634 and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/130 Terriers for Swanage, 1634, 1637 and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/131 Terriers for Swyre, 1612 and 1634.
 WSHC D28/10/132 Terriers for Sydling St Thomas, 1634 and 1771.
 WSHC D28/10/133a Terrier for Tarrant Monkton, 1634.
 WSHC D28/10/135 Terriers for Toller Porcorum, 1612 and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/136 Terrier for Turnworth, 1634.
 WSHC D28/10/137 Terriers for Tyneham, 1634, 1757 and 1788.
 WSHC D28/10/139 Terrier for Wambrook, 1612.
 WSHC D28/10/144 Terriers for Winfrith Newburgh with West Lulworth, 1612 and 1634.
 WSHC D28/10/145 Terriers for Winterborne Abbas, early 17th century and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/150 Terriers for Winterborne Steepleton, 1612 and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/151 Terriers for Winterborne Stickland, 1634, 1784 and 1785.
 WSHC D28/10/152 Terriers for Witchampton, 1612, 1634 and 1784.
 WSHC D28/10/155 Terriers for Wootton Glanville, 1634 and 1785.
 WSHC D28/10/156 Terriers for Wraxall, 17th century and 1785.
 WSHC D28/10/157 Terriers for Wyke Regis, 1634 and 1785.
 WSHC D/28/14/1 Bishop of Bristol court papers, early 17th century.
 WSHC P5/10Reg/151 Will of Robert Ringe, minister and parson of Thornford, 1623.
 WSHC P5/1608/18 Administration bond, inventory and will of William Henman, vicar of Netherbury, 1608.
 WSHC P5/1618/3 Administration bond and inventory of Thomas Bastard, clerk of Bere Regis, 1618.
 WSHC P5/1622/64 Inventory and will of Robert Ringe, minister and parson of Thornford, 1623.
 WSHC P5/1626/14 Commission, inventory and will of John Downton, clerk of Beer Hackett, 1626.
 WSHC P5/1628/111 Administration bond and inventory of Thomas Whitlock, parson of Ryme Intrinseca, 1628.
 WSHC P5/1629/48 Inventory and will of Richard Pyke, rector of Over Compton, 1629.
 WSHC P5/1631/34 Administration bond and renunciation of John Clarke, clerk of Nether Compton, 1631.
 WSHC P5/1632/23 Account, administration bond, inventory and will of Richard Gyles, clerk of Stockwood, 1632.
 WSHC P5/1633/12 Inventory of John Clarke, clerk of Nether Compton, 1633.

WSHC P5/1635/41 Inventory and will of Thomas French, clerk of Haydon, 1635.

WSHC P5/1636/35 Account, administration bond, commission and inventory of Nicholas Jeffries, clerk of Beer Hackett, 1636.

WSHC P5/1637/3 Administration bond and inventory of William Browne, clerk of Nether Compton, 1637.

WSHC P5/1638/115 Administration bond, account and inventory of Nicholas Trevett, clerk of Netherbury, 1638.

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