

The Affective Communities of Protestantism in North West England,  
c.1660-c.1740

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy  
in the Faculty of Humanities

2017

Michael A. L. Smith

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

## **Contents**

**Abstract | p.3**

### **Introduction | p.7**

Historiography: ‘The Reaction against Enthusiasm’, Protestant Pluralism, Community and Religiosity | p.9

Methodology and Approach | p.21

Structure: Concentric Communities of Devotion | p.33

### **Chapter 1: “Warmth in Secret Duty”; Feeling and Personal Devotional Practice | p.35**

Prayer | p.39

Diary Construction and Affective Sequences | p.48

Reading | p.58

Conclusion | p.70

### **Chapter 2: “A Church in the House”; Feeling and the Corporate Devotions of Protestant Households | p.72**

The Shared Culture of Family Religion | p.74

Community | p.86

Family Religion and Feeling | p.100

Conclusion | p.109

### **Chapter 3: Affections in ‘Public Worship’, Sequential Feeling and Identity | p.111**

Sermon and Sacrament: the Affective Sequences of Public Worship | p.115

At Church, Chapel or in Separation: Attendance and Identity | p.133

Conclusion | p.149

### **Chapter 4: Voluntary Religion; Friendship, Society and Interior Piety | p.152**

Friendship as Devotional Exercise | p.155

Cultivating Piety in Voluntary Associations | p.170

Conclusion | p.194

### **Chapter 5: Cultivating Clerical Communities | p.197**

Formal Offices of Ministry: Funerals, Ordinations and Preaching Tours | p.201

Clerical Family Friendships across the Conformist Divide | p.215

Clerical Sociability and Devotional Friendship | p.226

Conclusion | p.233

### **Conclusion: ‘Myself and Sion’; Affective Piety and the Devotional Nation | p.235**

**Bibliography | p.254**

Word Count: 78,937

## Abstract

This dissertation explores how feeling was of central importance to the religiosity of Protestants in the north west of England between 1660 and 1740. It demonstrates how in their personal, familial, public and voluntary religious practices these Protestants understood the cultivation of emotions, or more precisely ‘affections’, as indispensable for the fulfilment of their devotional exercises. Each of these practices was constructive of communities that were linked by feeling and within which different forms of affective norms were expected. These communities preserved much of that godly culture which had otherwise characterised English Protestantism in the earlier seventeenth century. Moreover, by doing so they frequently minimised in part the importance of conformity to the Church of England. Friendships were maintained between conformists and nonconformists and they shared in a culture of religious feeling, which drew on the same *topoi* in their religious activities.

This thesis will make original contributions to a number of debates. It challenges the prevailing narratives of a ‘reaction against enthusiasm’ dominating the religious discourse of the period. In contrast, it suggests that through the cultivation of feeling, Protestants in the period between the re-establishment of the Church of England and the Evangelical Revival continued to experience a vital religiosity. It thus also questions the suitability of describing some religious movements as inherently more ‘emotional’ than others. A more viable exploration can be found in differing forms of emotionality in different religious cultures. By examining the north west of England the thesis also revises the notion that the region was spiritually impoverished before the rise of Methodism, or that the religion provided by the Church of England and Protestant nonconformity failed to engage its attendants.

The thesis is divided into five chapters which explore the affective communities to which English Protestants of the period and region belonged. These communities were concentric and sequential, in that the individual Protestant might pass between all of them depending upon their devotional practice. Chapter One examines personal religious devotion, conducted mostly alone. It demonstrates the unity between feeling and reason in personal experience of God. Chapter Two examines family religion and how it was defined by a meditative affect and engaged in by a broad spectrum of Protestant affiliation. Chapter Three explores public worship and its central role within the devotional economy; being both the affective crescendo of devotional practice and being a source of pious affections. Chapter Four looks at voluntary religious practices, showing how friendship was defined by its devotional nature and how the various religious societies of the period continued to promote an affective religiosity. Chapter Five considers clerical communities and how these were maintained across lines of conformity and also provided significant spiritual succour to the ministers of conformity and nonconformity in the region.

### **Declaration**

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

## Copyright Statement

- i. The author of this thesis (including any appendices and/or schedules to this thesis) owns certain copyright or related rights in it (the “Copyright”) and s/he has given The University of Manchester certain rights to use such Copyright, including for administrative purposes.
- ii. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts and whether in hard or electronic copy, may be made only in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended) and regulations issued under it or, where appropriate, in accordance with licensing agreements which the University has from time to time. This page must form part of any such copies made.
- iii. The ownership of certain Copyright, patents, designs, trademarks and other intellectual property (the “Intellectual Property”) and any reproductions of copyright works in the thesis, for example graphs and tables (“Reproductions”), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without the prior written permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions.
- iv. Further information on the conditions under which disclosure, publication and commercialisation of this thesis, the Copyright and any Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions described in it may take place is available in the University IP Policy (see <http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/DocuInfo.aspx?DocID=2442> 0), in any relevant Thesis restriction declarations deposited in the University Library, The University Library’s regulations (see <http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/about/regulations/> ) and in The University’s policy on Presentation of Theses

## Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my supervisors Dr. Andrew Crome, Dr. Sasha Handley and Professor Jeremy Gregory for your guidance throughout the creation of the thesis. Your advice has been thorough, thoughtful and understanding, as well as timely, which I am greatly appreciative for given the many calls on your time. You have frequently gone beyond the call of duty to make this work the best it could be. I would also like to thank Professor Stuart Jones for agreeing to taking on the role of Independent Reviewer at short notice and offering important feedback at a crucial stage of the writing process. I am indebted to the University of Manchester whose grants and bursary have made this research possible.

The research community at the University of Manchester has always been greatly rewarding for my own research and personally enriching. I have worked with an impressive group of scholars and among thoughtful research clusters. I have made lifelong friends among the PhD students of the School. Special thanks go to Ben for being a constant source of support and advice; Jess, Hannah, Sarah and Rachel with whom I have shared the highs and difficulties of the process; and to Gwynne and Kathleen for periodic and welcome distraction.

Outside of academia I have been fortunate enough to draw upon a strong support network, for which I am most grateful. To Andrew, Kathleen, Sarah and Timothy Smith as well as Margaret Smith and the late William Lloyd, thank you for the material and loving succour you have offered me over the process. To my friends also, particularly 'the Commune', you have been a much needed fount of fun. Finally to my partner Craig, your patience, love and help in keeping me focussed on the bigger picture have been indispensable.

On 18 June 1713 Edmund Harrold, a wigmaker and resident in Manchester, was on the brink of securing his engagement to his third wife-to-be Ann. He used this moment to reflect on his life and on the death of his second wife Sarah:

Oh my heart is sorrowful for my sin and vanity. Lord, help and direct me for ye best, not yt I heartily desire to settle, however, thy will be done. Sat in this night and reflected on my life past, and find Ive done sadly amiss. I hope its not too late to amend. I pray God I may repent and forsake ye evill thro Gods preventing grace. Dream'd of death and other things this night thro' over tho[ugh]tfullnes on ye loss of my wife ½ year ago, and other changes and chances yt dayly befall me.<sup>1</sup>

Harrold was a relatively conventional conformist, whose preference for the Collegiate Church in Manchester and sympathy for the controversialist Henry Sacheverell might have qualified him as a high-church partisan. Yet, in this strongly confessional diary entry, not dissimilar to many that he penned, he demonstrated the centrality of feeling to his devotional practice. The sorrowful heart that he described and his sad recognition of his previously immoral lifestyle represented Harrold's Christian repentance. This seemingly mundane example of quotidian devotion is the central focus of this thesis, which reveals that feeling was central to, and performative of devotion. Narratives of a 'reaction against enthusiasm', which produced an inert moralistic religiosity, have dominated accounts of the religious history of the period from the restoration of the Church of England in 1662 to the advent of Methodism from the 1730s. Yet in

---

<sup>1</sup> *The Diary of Edmund Harrold, Wigmaker of Manchester 1712-15*, Craig Horner (ed.) (Aldershot, 2008), p.77.

everyday devotional practice feeling was understood as neither opposed to reason, nor was it dispensed with through fear of enthusiasm. A number of contemporary clerics recognised the limitations of reason for Christian understanding.<sup>2</sup> A study of the emotional aspects of faith provides a useful tool to re-examine this relationship between reason and faith, feeling being neither absolutely rational nor irrational. By examining the language of feeling in a series of ‘life-writings’, that is the biographies, diaries, notebooks and letters of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English Protestants, as well as the didactic material they read, the fostering and management of feeling emerges as essential in the religious culture of the period. The role of older, godly forms of practice also remained dominant. Harrold demonstrated the insufficiency of many of the partisan labels of the period. The confessional nature of his diary had godly precedent. Harrold’s dependence upon the grace of God straddled the divide between earlier godly culture and the religious outlook of the Evangelical Revival, often understood as succeeding and overtaking the lacklustre religiosity of the post-Restoration period. His practice and his engagement with feeling were similar to Calvinist contemporaries, though such an entry might read as extolling human effort reflective of an Arminian emphasis. Through this language of feeling, the thesis explores the sequential and concentric ‘communities’ of feeling, which shared a language of devotion, amongst conformist as well as nonconformist groups, which at times served to transgress and perforate the institutional divide of conformity. The following chapters provide a new perspective on the devotional relationships between

---

<sup>2</sup> Religious writers of a various ecclesiological and theological sympathies extolled the need for divine regeneration of man’s fallen reason and the combination of it with feeling as explored by David Zaret, ‘Religion, Science and Printing in the Public Spheres in Seventeenth-Century England’, in Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.213-226; M. Henry, *An Exposition of All the Books of the Old and New Testament... in Six Volumes*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edn. Vol. I (London, 1725), n.p. sig. A2r [Preface p.i]; John Norris, *Practical discourses upon several divine subjects* (London, 1691), ‘To the Reader’, [p.ix-xi], p.288; John Rawlet, *The Christian Monitor containing an earnest exhortation to an holy life, with some directions in order thereto: written in a plain and easie style, for all sorts of people* (London, 1686), p.10.



English Protestants, essentially relegating the issue of conformity to a secondary position in the construction of religious identities in the period. Here, Christian commitment, mediated by the correct and a robust devotional affect, was the principal axis along which the life-writers drew the boundaries of the communities to which they belonged.

### Historiography: 'The Reaction against Enthusiasm', Protestant Pluralism, Community and Religiosity

---

Attempting to minimise the cultural impact of the re-establishment of the Church of England and the effective establishment of a dissenting minority after a period of civil war and sectarian conflict within English Protestantism might seem obtuse. This is even more so the case, given the prevailing ecclesiastical historiography, which has stressed divisions within English Protestantism and posited the ascendancy of a religious culture dominated by a 'reaction against enthusiasm'.<sup>3</sup> The 1662 Act of Uniformity and subsequent failures for comprehension of moderate dissenters within the Church of England, even after 1689, has in part been understood as a victory for the ceremonialist, even Laudian, high-church faction of the established church.<sup>4</sup> Other historians have suggested that schemes for comprehension were inevitably doomed to

---

<sup>3</sup> John Walsh, "Methodism" and the Origins of English-Speaking Evangelicalism' in Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, George A. Rawlyk (eds.), *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990* (Oxford, 1994), p.22; John Spurr "Rational Religion" in Restoration England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1988, p.564; G. Williamson, *Seventeenth-Century Contexts* (London, 1960), ch. ix, and M. Heyd, 'The Reaction to Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of Modern History*, 53 (1981), pp.258-80.

<sup>4</sup> Grant Tapsell, 'Introduction: the Later Stuart church in context', in Tapsell (ed.), *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714* (Manchester, 2012), p.2.

failure; conformist Latitudinarians and moderate nonconformists invariably speaking at cross purposes.<sup>5</sup> Certain authors sought to present dissent as a fundamentally different religion to the Church of England, and as such sought to scupper attempts at comprehension. Increasingly, debates over the respective roles of faith and works were defined as conflicts between conformists and nonconformists.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, projects for uniting Protestant nonconformists have been understood as having limited success. The two parties of the Church of England arguably both rejected godly, or puritan, religiosity. High-churchmen favoured a Caroline- or Laudian-style practice and low-churchmen increasingly embraced rationality in a manner not wholly dissimilar to the deistical ‘cult of reason’. As such, both rejected the ecstatic religious experiences that had defined the dominant religious culture of the Interregnum, but that had also been a feature of a godly culture that had been mainstream within the Church of England from the late Elizabethan period.<sup>7</sup> Even among nonconformists, Presbyterians in particular have been understood as having embraced the role of rationality in religion; a change in tone that saw many congregations fall into heterodoxy and drift into Unitarianism and ‘Rational Dissent’ as the eighteenth century wore on.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> John Spurr, “‘Latitudinarianism’ and the Restoration Church”, *The Historical Journal*, Volume 31, Issue 01. (March 1988), pp 61-82.

<sup>6</sup> Christopher Haigh, “‘Theological Wars’: ‘Socinians’ v. ‘Antinomians’ in Restoration England”, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 67:2 (2016), pp.325-50.

<sup>7</sup> J. Walsh, ‘Origins of the Evangelical Revival’, in G. V. Bennett and J. D. Walsh (eds.), *Essays in Modern English Church History. In Memory of Norman Sykes* (London, 1966), p.142; Isabel Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660-1780*, Vol. I. (Cambridge, 2000), pp.26-7.

<sup>8</sup> Jeremy Goring, ‘The Break-Up of the Old Dissent’, in C. G. Bolam, Jeremy Goring, H. L. Short and Roger Thomas (eds.), *The English Presbyterians, From Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism* (London 1968); Walsh, “‘Methodism’ and the Origins of English-Speaking Evangelicalism”, p.29; G. M. Ditchfield, *the Evangelical Revival* (London, 1998), pp.34-6.

The decline of Dissent has been understood as leaving congregations isolated and essentially dormant until the Evangelical Revival.<sup>9</sup> Phyllis Mack has argued, for example, that this provided an open space for Methodism to flourish. This movement was aided by a lexicological shift from ‘passions’ to ‘sentiments’ in the eighteenth century which redefined ‘the ability to feel and to share another’s feelings... as a sign not of uncontrolled enthusiasm or loss of integrity, but of a refined sympathy’.<sup>10</sup> Mack has argued that though Dissenters shared John Wesley’s belief in spiritual regeneration and of useful activity and reason as ballast to stabilise the individual’s religious impulses, they differed in scope and looked only to their own congregations and not a mass movement.<sup>11</sup> Identity politics of the period was similarly coloured by religious fissures. Yet, this has been overstated, with tensions in the communities of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England being almost universally subsumed within the conformist-nonconformist or high- and low-church party divides. Local tensions could flare and nonconformist minorities faced the brunt of this. Historians such as Jan Albers have demonstrated how party identities, within and without the Church of England, were frequently a pretext for conflict.<sup>12</sup> Certainly at times of crisis such as the Popish Plot of 1678-1681, the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the accession of George I in 1714, the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745, as well as the continental and American wars that spanned the long eighteenth century, confessional badges were a

---

<sup>9</sup> Roger Thomas, ‘Parties in Nonconformity’, in Bolam et al. (eds.), *The English Presbyterians*, pp.96-165; Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: Volume I: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1985), pp.287-291, Walsh, “‘Methodism’ and the Origins of English-Speaking Evangelicalism”, p.29; John D. Walsh, ‘Elie Halévy and the Birth of Methodism’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5<sup>th</sup> ser., 25 (1975): 7; John Coffey ‘Puritanism, Evangelicalism and the Evangelical Protestant Tradition’, in Michael A. G. Haykin and Kenneth J. Stewart (eds.), *The Emergence of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities* (Nottingham, 2008), p.267.

<sup>10</sup> Phyllis Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment; Gender and Emotion in Early Methodism* (Cambridge, 2008), p.16.

<sup>11</sup> Mack, *Heart Religion* pp.45-6.

<sup>12</sup> Jan Albers ‘Seeds of Contention: Society, Politics and the Church of England in Lancashire, 1689-1790’, PhD Dissertation, Yale University (1988); Jan Albers, “Papist Traitors” and “Presbyterian Rogues”: religious identities in eighteenth-century Lancashire’ in John Walsh, Colin Hayden and Stephen Taylor (eds.) *The Church of England c.1689 – 1833, From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.317-33.

source of conflict. Some historians have understood these as representing persistent prejudices and divisions within society, and specifically within the communities of Protestantism, which had lain dormant and found expression at times of crisis and upheaval.<sup>13</sup>

The vigorous religiosity that united English Protestants of the period, which this thesis uncovers, does not deny the existence or importance of such divisions and animosities, though it does question their exact nature and extent. Studies on Jacobitism have, for example, demonstrated that Jacobite sympathy served as a rhetorical tool with which to express dissatisfaction and resistance to the policies of the Hanoverian and perhaps even Williamite governments. It also served a carnivalesque function, where such dissent was an expression of youthful rebellion. Actual support for a Stuart restoration is, from the available evidence, rather harder to gauge.<sup>14</sup> At the other end of the social spectrum, Robert Halley has recorded how

Lady [Ann] Bland had her public days as well as private, when she endeavoured, in her coach of four, to outshine Lady Drake, the leader of the High Church fashionables. As leader of Low Church fashion in the newly-erected Assembly Room, she is said to have been on one occasion so annoyed with the brilliant display of Stuart tartan by the High Church ladies that she led her party in orange ribbons into the street, and danced by moonlight.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> George Southcombe 'Dissent and the Restoration Church of England', in Tapsell (ed.) *Later Stuart Church*, pp.208-210.

<sup>14</sup> Nicholas Rogers, 'Riot and Popular Jacobitism in Early Hanoverian England', in Eveline Cruickshanks, *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism 1689-1759* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp.70-2; Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688 - 1788* (Cambridge, 1989), p.173.

<sup>15</sup> Robert Halley, *Lancashire: its puritanism and nonconformity*, Vol. II. (Manchester, 1869), p.285.

The adoptions of badges of party, both political and religious, here served as much as a means of social competition between fashionable ladies as they did as signs of ardent support for their respective causes. ‘Confessional’ badges of identity such as Presbyterian, Congregationalist and Baptist, likely served a similar function to these low- and high-church affiliations. They expressed political and social opposition and allegiance in a manner that was probably rather less reflective of their religious and devotional lives than has usually been assumed. Moreover, while such designations could be used as a means of self-fashioning, broader terms such as ‘Protestant’ and ‘Christian’ had significant currency in constructing identities. Certainly, commitment to faith and its practice, often expressed by way of ‘earnestness’ was often the mediator of ties of community identification, as revealed by Alec Ryrie.<sup>16</sup> As such, this thesis takes the view that such conflict was not necessarily indicative of ongoing tensions among English Protestants of differing parties. Much of the conflict may well be more fruitfully understood through the lens of commitment. Conformity or nonconformity was less influential upon self- and community-fashioning than Christian dedication. In their diaries, biographies and letters, identification with others was mediated as strongly through a shared religiosity as it was through attendance at the Church of England or nonconformist services.

Historians have often, implicitly and explicitly, understood the fault-line between committed Christians and less committed Christians in England as congruent with the nonconformist-conformist split. On the whole, nonconformists have been

---

<sup>16</sup> Alec Ryrie, eschewing the terms ‘godly’ or ‘godliness’, has understood ‘earnestness’ as the mediating axis around which the faith of his subjects turned. He defined this as ‘any attempt to practice Protestantism which is, or which appears to be, intended seriously - as opposed to practices engaged in cynically, for form’s sake or from habit. Earnestness often tended towards puritanism, but there were other ways of being earnest about Protestantism, and they were not usually in tension with one another’ further noting that ‘Puritan and Arminian zeal had more in common with each other than either did with mere conformity’, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford, 2013), p.9.

understood as inheriting that godly desire to police not only their own faith but that of others and often finding the latter lacking.<sup>17</sup> Certainly attendance at nonconformist services and attachment to this identity implied some greater commitment, given that it carried a certain amount of social opprobrium. Many of the nonconformists explored here, however, merely followed their families on Sundays in a similar way that conformists might. Moreover, mixed conformist-nonconformist families were not uncommon. While the necessity of certain ceremonies or even aspects of theological understanding could be questioned, on the whole the life-writers demonstrated considerable respect, even affection, for the ministries of their counterparts on the opposite side of conformity. This was perhaps more pronounced among the nonconformists, particularly the Presbyterians, who had the most to prove in defending what was otherwise easily characterised as petulant schism. It was incumbent upon moderate nonconformists to downplay the implication and jeopardy of their separatism. While denominations would become more cemented over the period and beyond, this was not inevitable. The life-writings explored here demonstrate the porous and contested nature of conformity in the period. Moreover, printed schemes for

---

<sup>17</sup> Amanda E. Herbert has understood Sarah Savage's social relations as being dictated in this manner, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (London, 2014), pp.170, 168-198; similarly Patricia Crawford has made the point that the "creation and keeping of records was important for the [Henry] family's sense of identity. The outside world could not be changed, but through their letters and diaries the Henry family attempted to define and order a world for themselves." These written records she suggests, "were to bear witness to the truth of nonconforming Christianity", Patricia Crawford, *Blood, Bodies and Families in early Modern England* (Harlow, 2004), pp.177-78; Jeremy Schildt, 'Reading the Bible in Seventeenth-Century England: A Nonconformist Case-Study', *Bunyan Studies*, Vol. 15 (2011), p.56.

comprehension continued well into the eighteenth century and were attested in life-writings.<sup>18</sup>

The confused nature of the ecclesiastical settlement, a continued commitment to Protestant unity and recognition of the value of ministry across lines of conformity, meant that some mediation was necessary. There was some *de facto* latitude in the conduct of the liturgy of the established church. Such a finding is perhaps not surprising given John Spurr's characterisation of 'post-1714 Anglicanism as a pragmatic and less formal body of theological beliefs and devotional practices'.<sup>19</sup> Many nonconformists held onto chapels of ease into the eighteenth century and certain ceremonies seem to have been disposed of when desired. Nicholas Stratford, Bishop of Chester complained in 1692 that the vicar of Preston was 'disaffected to the liturgy... of the Church of England' and that the chapel of ease at Wattenhall, Cheshire had been registered as a meeting house for dissenters.<sup>20</sup> Sarah Savage, daughter of the eminent ejected minister Philip Henry and one of the diarists considered here, attended many conformist services but presumably failed to bow at the name of Jesus for example.

Attachment to the Book of Common Prayer, the liturgy and the ceremonies of the

---

<sup>18</sup> B. A., *Reasons for uniting the church and dissenters: wherein the objections of those people against the Form of Baptism, Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Burial of the Dead, and other rights and ceremonies of the Church of England, are deliberately and impartially consider'd. To which is annex'd, a liturgy: Composed for the Use as well of the Church, as of Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, &c. In order to reduce those People to one Communion, for the Glory of God, and the Advancement and Promotion of Religion. Dedicated to Her Majesty* (London, [1730?]); George Illidge to J[ohn]. Tilston 30 April 1726: 'I last week at Wrenbury Wood found a paper much of the same nature that I have bin inquiring many years for: I sought many of them near 40 years ago: it is called the conformists reasons for hearing and joining with the nonconformists I believe I new the conformist minister that wrote it: it is now bound up with many other things: I was very glad to find it; if moar wr printed and read by many it might do good: it amazed me that many can go so ...', London, British Library (henceforth BL) Add MS 42849: 1661-1805, *Papers, Mainly of Philip Henry (1631-1696), nonconformist divine, his family and descendants 1661-1805* (henceforth: *Henry Papers*), ff.41; Anon., *The Conformists reasons for hearing and joining with the Nonconformists* ([London], 1691).

<sup>19</sup> Spurr, "Latitudinarianism" and the Restoration Church', 61-82; Sasha Handley, 'Apparitions and Anglicanism in 1750s Warwickshire', in Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon (eds.) *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul*, Studies in Church History (henceforth SCH) Vol.45 (Woodbridge, 2009), p.319.

<sup>20</sup> A. T. Thacker, 'The Diocese of Chester - 1660-1726', in B. E. Harris, (ed.), *A History of the County of Chester*, Volume III. (Oxford, 1980), p.47.

established church undoubtedly ran deep with many conformists. They maintained with their nonconformist brethren, however, extra-liturgical godly forms of religious devotion. In this regard, there has been a welcome increased interest in post-1660 studies amongst historians. Much of the godly habitus of the earlier Reformation and post-Reformation periods, that is preoccupations and world-views which coloured how faith was performed, persisted into the eighteenth century engendering significant cultural continuity.<sup>21</sup> An artificial periodisation of English religious culture formerly dominated, with 1660 or 1689 understood as a political and cultural watershed.<sup>22</sup> Yet, as has been shown more recently, despite attacks on godly culture under the rubric of the ‘reaction against enthusiasm’ by both low- and high-church partisans, there was significant continuity with this earlier culture after 1660. Jeremy Gregory has, for example, demonstrated the continued commitment to sermon-gadding among Georgian conformists.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the sabbatarianism inherent in John Rawlet’s *Christian Monitor*, circulated by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in the region, was something of a defeat for the Laudian/Caroline appeal to permissible sports and recreations.<sup>24</sup> A conformist clergyman and poet, Rawlet’s text (aimed at the poor) maintained a stricter Sunday-observance, which would have been recognised among his godly forbears. Such an approach was apparently endorsed by high-church clerics like Thomas Bray who founded the SPCK which circulated Rawlet’s text. Similarly, reading

---

<sup>21</sup> Andrew Cambers’ *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580–1720* (Cambridge, 2011) and Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham, 2012) are good examples of this.

<sup>22</sup> Brent Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730* (London, 2014); John Spurr, *English Puritanism, 1603-1689* (Basingstoke, 1998); J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1660-1832*, Second Edition (Cambridge 2000); Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660-1760* (Cambridge, 2007); Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000), p.61; John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (London, 1991); Tapsell (ed.), *Later Stuart Church*.

<sup>23</sup> Jeremy Gregory, “‘For all sorts and conditions of men’: the social life of the Book of Common Prayer during the long eighteenth century: or, bringing the history of religion and social history together”, *Social History*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (February 2009), p.40.

<sup>24</sup> ‘When you come from Church, spend not the remainder of the day in sports and idleness, much less in drinking and gaming, as too many do’, Rawlet, *Christian Monitor*, p.39.



practices, as explored by Andrew Cambers, were also maintained across the divide of conformity. While Cambers recognised that the reading practices he explored were not exclusive to the godly, he nonetheless understood them as sitting uneasily with the conformist establishment after 1662 and the reestablishment of the Church of England on narrow liturgical grounds.<sup>25</sup> In contrast, the life-writers explored here show how such practices were as consistent with conformity as nonconformity.

Again, this does not contest the notion that within the religiosity of the period, there was considerable championing of ‘moderation’. It does, however, call for a greater appreciation of the nature of that moderation. Undoubtedly, there was an effort to assuage the hot tempers, which had otherwise divided English Protestants from the civil wars onwards. This was not, however, generative of a decisive break with the past nor a rejection of the forms of religious practice which had otherwise dominated in the Elizabethan to the Interregnum period. The life-writers explored here reveal, in contrast to the assessment of many historians, an engagement with ‘a vital, experiential religion, for the assurance of sins personally forgiven, and of salvation presently granted’. As such, this gives pause to the suggestion that this ‘was not catered for by either of the two dominant theological systems, the Latitudinarian and the High-Church, and was actively discouraged by contemporary prejudice against “enthusiasm”’.<sup>26</sup> The writings of the English Protestants with which this thesis engages exhibited a desire to cultivate a highly individualised relationship with God, which has otherwise been understood as a novel characteristic of the Pietism adopted by the Methodist movement.<sup>27</sup> This, in turn, also challenges those characterisations of Protestantism in the period, which have otherwise been tied to a narrative of secularisation, whereby a preoccupation with

---

<sup>25</sup> Cambers, *Godly Reading*, pp.39-51, 112-130, 182-186.

<sup>26</sup> J. Walsh, ‘Origins of the Evangelical Revival’, p.142.

<sup>27</sup> Ditchfield, *Evangelical Revival*, p.11.

moderation and rationality laid the foundations for a polite and civil society, which would eventually shed the religious baggage. This is the view taken by Brent Sirota who argued, regarding the increased focus on charitable enterprises by conformist clergymen, that

The soteriological imperatives that accompanied the initial burst of dynamic Anglican establishmentarianism became increasingly confined within a framework of immanence. Projects and institutions that might have expressly embodied a salvation agenda at the beginning of the century increasingly articulated their objectives in the language of improvement and social utility, or at the very least, a more denominationally inclusive language of virtue and benevolence, even when their identity with the established church and its sacramental functions remained pronounced.<sup>28</sup>

Such an assessment is given added succour by John Spurr's notion that the providences of God were increasingly seen as benevolent in nature, particularly around the turn of the eighteenth century.<sup>29</sup> In this regard, however, J. C. D. Clark's claim that a declining belief in miracles nevertheless 'left largely intact a widespread belief in the actions of Providence' demands some attention.<sup>30</sup> The life-writers explored here continued to exhibit that godly practice, identified by Alexandra Walsham, of interrogating the everyday for the special or particular providences of God.<sup>31</sup> In this sense, the continued immanence of experiences of God conformed to that revisionism conducted by Jonathan Barry, Willem de Blécourt, Owen Davies, Sasha Handley and Peter Marshall.

---

<sup>28</sup> Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, p.9.

<sup>29</sup> John Spurr, 'From Puritanism to Dissent, 1660 – 1700', in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds.) *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), p.264.

<sup>30</sup> Clark, *English Society*, p.30.

<sup>31</sup> Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), pp.10-18, 167-218.

These historians have extended the challenge to the disenchantment narrative, one that also affected perceptions of more orthodox religious faith, well into the eighteenth century.<sup>32</sup> This might have been merely partial, in the case of Handley's conformist minister in mid eighteenth-century Warwickshire, who 'subdued his own scepticism about the existence of real apparitions for the sake of the spiritual welfare of his parishioners'.<sup>33</sup> The 'wonders and judgments of the divine were no longer to be discerned in dramatic outbreaks of plague or in monstrous births'; rather the natural world reflected God's wonders.<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, Handley draws upon evidence including: James Rambles' account of his travels in northern England and the conformist clergymen he found there exorcising restless spirits; Lancashire curate Richard Dean's belief in ghosts and his broadcasting of his providential ideas in 1767; and even Benjamin Caulfield's vindication of a watchmaker God intervening sporadically in the world.<sup>35</sup> Such accounts demonstrate that among the laity and the clergy, within and without the Church of England, scepticism and rational (materialist/naturalist/mechanist) worldviews only extended so far. Religious faith was bound up with cultures of belief that continued to value the role of providence and personal experience with the supernatural. Godly habitus was maintained through these beliefs.

---

<sup>32</sup> J. Barry, 'Public Infidelity and Private Belief? The Discourse of Spirits in Enlightenment Bristol, 1640-1714', in W. de Blécourt and O. Davies (eds.), *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe* (Manchester, 2004), pp.117-43; Owen Davies, *Witchcraft, Magic and Culture, 1736-1951* (Manchester, 1999); Peter Marshall, *Mother Leakey and the Bishop: A Ghost Story* (Oxford, 2007); Sasha Handley, 'Apparitions and Anglicanism in 1750s Warwickshire', in Clarke and Claydon, *Church, the Afterlife*, p.312.

<sup>33</sup> Handley, 'Apparitions', p.318.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p.317.

<sup>35</sup> E. Kimber, *The Life and Adventures of James Ramble* 2 vols. (London, 1755), I: p.29; R. Dean *On the future life of brutes, introduced with observations upon evil, its nature and origin* (London, 1767), pp.81, 91-99; B. Caulfield, *essay on the immateriality and immortality of the soul* (London 1778), p.6; Sasha Handley, 'Apparitions', pp.319-320.

It is also important to note that the apparently ‘civilizing’ effects of Protestantism have been observed by historians from as early as the sixteenth century.<sup>36</sup> There has been a concerted attempt by historians to distinguish that piety which was constructive of sociability and the development of the liberal public sphere from that which was not. The former is often read as dispassionate, reasonable, worldly and progressive, perhaps even as formalistic or divested of spirituality. The latter is often read as highly emotional, dependent upon personal revelation, ascetic and perhaps as more authentically spiritual.<sup>37</sup> Yet, in the experiences of religiosity explored here such a distinction breaks down. There was not the same perception of a vigorous religiosity as inhibitive of social interaction or as being wholly destructive of civil order. Certainly this was an aspect of contemporary polemical discourse, as the spectre of civil war radicalism was employed, particularly by the church party, as a stick with which to beat nonconformity.<sup>38</sup> Yet historians have perhaps coloured their understandings of post-Restoration religion through this paradigm too thoroughly. Few authors of didactic texts would have sought to instil in their audiences anything less than a strong, experiential religious faith. Of course, how this was represented was contested. Enthusiasm was deplored as much for its lack of sincerity as anything else. Nonetheless, a vigorous spiritual life was not understood as wholly destructive of a civil one. The opposite was often true. A firm foundation in Christianity marked by personal experience of God was understood as a foundation stone of social order. The close association between the SPCK and the Societies for the Reformation of Manners

---

<sup>36</sup> Patrick Collinson noted that these observations were often done in reverse. He critiqued the fact that an enthusiasm for civic culture and/or attempts to ‘civilise’ the populace (through policing of behaviour, rioting, public display etc.) were often understood as markers of Protestant or puritan commitment, rather than demonstrating that influence flowed the other way. ‘Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture’, in Durston and Eales, *English Puritanism*, pp.32-57.

<sup>37</sup> Isabel Rivers perhaps made this distinction most firmly in *Reason, Grace and Sentiment*: The sentiments were nonetheless implicit in much of the historiography explored above.

<sup>38</sup> George Lavington, *A Sermon preach’d before the House of Lords* (London 1747), pp.23,24; Colin Haydon, ‘Bishop George Lavington of Exeter (1684–1762) and *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists, Compar’d*, *Southern History*, Vol.37 (2015),p.63.

(SRMs), explored in the fourth chapter of this thesis demonstrated this well. Godliness was presented in the life-writings as mediating social interaction. Performance of personal and family duties and experience of God in these influenced public comportment.

## Methodology and Approach

---

An appreciation of the continued vitality of religion in the period in part requires historians to take seriously faith that has been marked both by contemporaries and subsequent historians as ‘moderate’. Phyllis Mack has argued that in Methodist thought the ‘Christian does not seek mere happiness or contentment; she seeks knowledge, a conviction of God’s presence and of her own moral restoration’. She however also recognised that quiet emotions were the image of a sanctified Christian.<sup>39</sup> Further, Lauren Winner has argued that her subjects, eighteenth-century Virginian conformists, were ‘comfortable’ both in the modern sense of ‘at ease’ or ‘cosy’, while also reflecting a sixteenth-century exegesis, as in Archbishop Cranmer’s Book of Common Prayer, meaning ‘solacing’, ‘cheering’ and ‘comfort-giving’.<sup>40</sup> Winner argues that these Virginian Anglicans were no ‘less “religious”’ than their revivalist Baptist and Quaker counterparts, ‘just religious in a different key’.<sup>41</sup> ‘Cheerfulness’, and the feelings which surrounded it, was a strong feature within the discourses of religious life in the period. As such, it represented a common ‘affective script’, that is the common forms and

---

<sup>39</sup> Mack, *Heart Religion*, pp.34, 35.

<sup>40</sup> Lauren F. Winner, *A Cheerful and Comfortable Faith: Anglican Religious practice in the Elite Households of Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (London, 2010) p.3.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4.

expressions of feeling which English Protestants were socialised to feel.<sup>42</sup> Expressions of such feeling served a social purpose. More dedicated Christians were of course concerned with the authenticity of their feelings. Nonetheless, they used similar modes of expression when reflecting on how they felt during devotional exercise. Helen Yallop has demonstrated that it 'connoted calmness, freedom from passionate turmoil, closeness to God, humanistic appreciation, civic virtue, sociability and self-control.'<sup>43</sup> Despite these apparently secular, civil advantages of cheerfulness, it was still constructed as inherently pious. Despite an apparent disdain for unbridled outward exuberance, the life-writers explored in this thesis exhibited an intense, internal spirituality.

This then leads to the principal methodological framework of this thesis, the history of emotions. Using this approach, the thesis demonstrates the vitality of religiosity in the period. In part this is a response to Thomas Dixon's call to arms to more closely understand the linguistic construction of feeling in the pre-modern period. Reflecting on works such as Susan James's *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*, Dixon argued that the use of the term 'emotion' was anachronistic for the experience of feeling in the pre-modern period. This has, he contends, generated an image of pre-modern societies as being stoically hostile to feeling, particularly where the 'passions' have been understood by historians as a pre-modern synonym for 'emotion'. In contrast he argues for multiple categories of feeling in pre-modern discourse, wherein 'emotion' failed to feature heavily outside of Cartesian works. He observed two broad categories, which were influenced by the Christian tradition and particularly by Augustinian and Thomist thought, the 'passions' and the

---

<sup>42</sup> Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', *Passions in Context: Journal of the History and Philosophy of the Emotions*, Vol.1. (2010), p.20.

<sup>43</sup> Helen Yallop, 'Representing Aged Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century England; The "Old Man" of Medical Advice', *Cultural and Social History*, Volume 10, Issue 2, p.197; Yallop 'The Idea of Aging in Eighteenth-Century England', unpublished PhD dissertation, King's College London, 2009, esp. ch. 4.

'affections'. The latter, understood (broadly) as feelings of the higher appetites of the soul, were understood positively as a form of godly emotion, while the former were mostly understood as disruptive.<sup>44</sup> There are certainly problems with Dixon's broad categories, which he recognises himself. Yet, this thesis reveals a multiplicity of discourses of feeling within the period and, by consequence, provides a more positive assessment of the role of feeling (or 'emotions') within religious culture otherwise overlooked. Moreover, this in turn serves to reveal the vitality of religiosity from the restoration of the Church of England in 1662 to the advent of Methodism from the 1730s. Implicit within the 'reaction against enthusiasm' narrative of post-Restoration religion is an anti-emotional narrative. Dixon has argued that historians have often erroneously understood the reason-passion dichotomy of pre-modern and early modern discourses as a reason-emotion dichotomy.<sup>45</sup> As such, historians such as Phyllis Mack have emphasised the novelty of Methodism's engagement with emotion, implicitly and explicitly understanding religion c.1660-c.1740 as valuing reason at the expense of feeling.<sup>46</sup> Quotidian devotions of the period, however, demonstrate the centrality of feeling to religious practice. This was done in a manner that did not present reason as oppositional to feeling through fear of enthusiasm, or made no reference to such a dichotomy. The thesis in part demonstrates how an earnest, committed religiosity was constructed after a period of apparent extremism. Godly affections were at the heart of this, as validation of correct devotional affect was sought in sermons and diaries.

---

<sup>44</sup> Thomas Dixon, *From Passion to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge, 2006), pp.13-19, 26-56.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., pp.53-4.

<sup>46</sup> Mack, *Heart Religion*, p.16.

Overall this thesis situates itself between the extremes of social constructivism on the one hand and ahistorical biological determinism on the other.<sup>47</sup> In validating the vitality of religiosity in the period through the paradigm of emotional engagement, the thesis goes further than merely the linguistic construction of feeling. As such, it responds in part to that call by Lyndal Roper to advance from discourse theory towards a theory of subjectivity.<sup>48</sup> It is concerned not merely with the linguistic construction of feeling but its role in constructing the habitus of Protestantism of the period. Issues of place, community and embodiment are employed here as evidence suggestive of lived experience and analysed to provide a rationale for their organisation as found. The texts explored, largely life-writings in the form of diaries, notebooks, biographies, autobiographies, letters and account books, as well as didactic material, means that these sources demonstrate high levels of artifice. Sarah Savage's record of her difficulty, during the early years of her marriage, to carry children to term is a good example of this. An entry for 14 July 1687 recorded the visits of a number of friends to visit her ailing mother-in-law. Savage continued that she had hoped all week God would bestow on her a child 'but if hee so order it yt. there must bee Abortion I acquiesc quietly in his dispose wth [me, as] hee pleases shall satisfy mee, I wd. be ready for disappoint'.<sup>49</sup> Such a passage certainly does not contain within it the gamut of feeling Savage experienced. It does however show how Savage sought to organise her experiences and manage her affections. She subsumed her hopes of successful pregnancy within a godly *topos* of covenant theology; it bore close allusion to earlier

---

<sup>47</sup> Jan Plamper is probably the latest to attempt a balance between these competing views of the emotions in a comprehensive way, though critiques of his *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford, 2015) have suggested that there is a large space carved out for culture and a rejection of Paul Ekman's universalism in particular, Rob Boddice, review of *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, (review no. 1752) (DOI: 10.14296/RiH/2014/175), <<http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1752>>, [last accessed: 24/01/2017].

<sup>48</sup> Lyndal Roper, 'Beyond Discourse Theory', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 19, No.2 (2010) pp.307-319.

<sup>49</sup> Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies (henceforth C.C.A.L.S.), Duke Street, Chester, *Diary of Sarah Savage, daughter of Philip Henry, with notes added in the front in 1729, 1741, 1743* (August, 1686-87), DBASTEN/8, n.p. [fol.4r.] [fol.40r.] 14 July 1687.



passages where her fruitfulness referred to the estate of her soul. Moreover, she demonstrated an affective journey, one perhaps not yet complete, where the process of diary-writing was a means for her to attain her quiet affective state of acquiescence and humble acceptance of God's will. Feeling was instructive here and performative of devotion.

Historians of Protestant life-writings have noted the highly-constructed nature of these texts. They were not simply a recollection of events, rather more a means to make sense of sequences of events; evidenced above in Sarah Savage's own organisation of her experience. The elision of biblical, fictional and 'real' events would not, however, have been deemed inauthentic.<sup>50</sup> Such composition illuminated their spiritual experience, though it almost certainly distorted the 'true' or actual progression of events. While this might appear to prejudice the representation of feeling within these texts, as Barbara Rosenwein argues, all emotions are restricted by language in one form or another and so this does not represent an insurmountable problem.<sup>51</sup> Here two models are instructive. The first is Rosenwein's own. Her notion of a multiplicity of emotional experience and of overlapping emotional communities is adapted in this

---

<sup>50</sup> Henk Dragstra, Sheila Ottway and Helen Wilcox, 'Introduction', in Dragstra, Ottway and Wilcox, (eds.), *Betraying Our Selves: Forms of Self-Representation in Early Modern English Texts* (London, 2000), pp.2-11; Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), pp.2-12; Ronald Bedford, Lloyd Davis and Philippa Kelly, *Early Modern English Lives: Autobiography and Self-Representation, 1550-1660* (Aldershot, 2007) pp.2-5, 30-5; Carolyn Steedman 'A woman writing a letter', in Rebecca Earle, (ed.), *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1660-1945* (Aldershot, 1999), p.118; Deborah Shuger, 'Life-writing in seventeenth-century England' in P. Coleman, J. Lewis & J. Kowalik, *Representations of the Self from the Renaissance to Romanticism* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.63-5; Peter Happé 'The Vocacyon of John Bale: Protestant Rhetoric and the Self', in Dragstra, Ottway and Wilcox, (eds.), *Betraying Our Selves*, pp.45-6; Patrick Coleman, 'Introduction: life-writing and the legitimation of the modern self', in Coleman, Lewis & Kowalik, *Representations of the Self*, pp.2-3; Wilcox, "'Her Own life, Her Own Living?"; Text and Materiality in Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Autobiographical Writings', in Dragstra, Ottway and Wilcox (eds.), *Betraying Our Selves*, esp. pp.112-6; Roger Chartier, *Cultural History Between Practices and Representation* (Cambridge, 1988), p.11, taken from Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (London, 2000), p.11.

<sup>51</sup> Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods', p.27; Rosenwein, 'History of Emotions: Religious Emotions across the Medieval/Early Modern Divide - Barbara Rosenwein' video lecture University of Warsaw, 20 October 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CqeQFbjTSgw> [last accessed: 28/11/2014].

thesis to explore the different layers of devotional practice used by post-Restoration Protestants.<sup>52</sup> It examines consecutive communities charting the successive influence of: personal devotional practice, family religion, public worship, voluntary religion, clerical communities and the national communion. This effect was rather more comprehensive than envisioned by Rosenwein and each type of devotional practice is understood as engendering an ‘affective community’. These ‘affective communities’ were defined by the shared vocabularies of feeling that placed expectations on these Protestants on how they were to feel in different devotional practices. They were similar, as Rosenwein states, to ‘Bourdieu’s notion of “habitus”: internalized norms that determine how we think and act and that may be different in different groups.’<sup>53</sup> These norms of affectivity demonstrate how Protestants of the period expected all of the religious associations that they belonged to, to involve shared, felt experiences. Rosenwein’s model is also employed polemically, as a model through which to understand the continued unity among Protestants of the period. The ability to move between communities of conformity and nonconformity is understood here as mediated by a common language of feeling. The second instructive model is that provided by Monique Scheer. Her notion of emotion as practice is useful not least because of her attempt to break down the cognitivist dichotomy between body and mind, otherwise drawn upon by historians. This model, emphasising the close relationship between bodily and mental experiences of feeling fits more closely with its representation in the texts examined by this thesis. It also provides a useful paradigm through which to understand devotional practice itself. Scheer’s notion of emotion as a form of practice gives weight to the argument, maintained throughout the thesis, that feeling was

---

<sup>52</sup> Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Bristol, 2007), pp.20-26.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p.25.

performative of devotion. To this end, the actions of devotional practice and feeling were a single practice.<sup>54</sup>

This thesis draws upon 20 diaries and notebooks, two autobiographies, two memoranda books, letters by 35 different authors (21 of whom penned those communications from the north west which were written up in the abstract books of the SPCK), four biographies or accounts of lives drawn from their subjects' papers, two registers of nonconformist chapels and the minutes of the Cheshire (Presbyterian) Classis. It also draws from 40 didactic texts as well as the Book of Common Prayer and the Directory of Public Worship. Within the life-writings nonconformists are overrepresented, with 27 of the sources being penned by nonconformists (broadly defined). So too are those of conformist and nonconformist ministers, penning 43 of the life-writings (and most of the didactic material). Ministers' households also dominate with the family and acquaintances of Philip Henry, the eminent ejected minister, featuring strongly. These distortions are as much the result of survival as indicative of any great divide between the religious cultures of nonconformity and conformity, or ministry and laity. Their survival was a result of the desire to make denominational histories and the preference for the exceptional over the commonplace. Such documents were also prone to disposal. We have only a few years of the diary of Henry Newcome (minister to the nonconformist congregation that would become Cross Street Chapel in Manchester in the late seventeenth century) though we know from his autobiography that he kept many more. Such diaries were, as is supposed in Edmund Harrold's case, often kept at times of spiritual crisis and then perhaps abandoned, or fell victim to the passage of time, when no longer of immediate

---

<sup>54</sup> Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory*, Vol. 51, 2 (May 2012), pp.193–220.

necessity. The creation of such documents was not, however, specific to any one of the parties of English Protestantism. The maintenance of the labels, 'conformist', 'nonconformist', 'high-church' and 'low-church' by this thesis is in part a rhetorical device to show how limited such divisions are. The Henry family practiced partial-conformity well into the eighteenth century and not, apparently, for entry into political office. Attendance at conformist services was as strong a part of the devotional economy of Philip Henry, who continued to attend the services and sermons preached by his successor at Whitewell chapel, as it was for his son Matthew Henry and his daughter Sarah Savage. Matthew Henry was perhaps more conscious of his separatism than his father, though he often sought to associate himself and his congregations with conformist ones. Explorations of these texts in depth allow comparison between the approaches of English Protestants of differing parties. The added weight to nonconformist testimony is rather less significant than the shared culture demonstrated through comparisons made with those, otherwise thought to be of opposing religious traditions. Drawing, as they do, on a common language of and references to feeling in quotidian devotions, they demonstrate divisions within Protestantism of the period to be more politic and superficial and rather less reflective on the development of this religious culture than has otherwise been argued.

These texts are certainly the records of the more conscientious and those with some means and education. Despite the relative wealth of the Henry family in particular, Edmund Harrold was likely of middling means and still able to produce a diary and exchange devotional books, despite running a less than lucrative wig business and his struggle with alcohol addiction. Moreover, Timothy Cragg of Chappelhouse in Wyresdale, Cheshire was able to produce a spiritual autobiography despite his humble upbringing by a widowed mother. Robert Bulkeley, a farmer and resident in the village

of Bulkeley, Cheshire, seldom referenced more than church attendance in his diary. Entries such as that of '24. [October 1714]' where he recorded 'I att Church & wife in morn' or on '14 November' of the same year where he was 'Att Church in morne, J. Astkins shaved me att Gulbanke. Wife att church in afternoon', were typical.<sup>55</sup> Bulkeley was a churchwarden and ministered to the poor in this role. Moreover, he would record who preached and appeared to avoid church when there was no preaching, demonstrating in part then the strength of this culture.<sup>56</sup> Yet, his diary recorded little of his personal relationship with God. Some of this is undoubtedly due to genre. The diary functioned more as a record of his movements, the progress of the farm and what he owed and was owed. Bulkeley may have, therefore, been more religiously engaged than this record suggests. Nonetheless, his scantily detailed diary contrasts with those more fulsome accounts with which this thesis engages. Bulkeley's apparently social and communal approach to religion and his near silence on his personal experience of God should not necessarily be read as indicative of spiritual malaise on his part. The contrast here merely serves to prove that a vigorous, affective piety was engaged in by those who sought it. Moreover, by engaging with the subjects of weekly sermons in the third chapter, the thesis demonstrates the centrality of feeling in this aspect of devotional practice, which would have been a part of even the most formalistically enacted devotions.

The other guiding organisational principle of this thesis is its focus on the north west of England. Studies of historical religious cultures with a geographical focus, such as Margaret Spufford's, *The World of Rural Dissenters* which focussed on Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire, permit in-depth interrogation of

---

<sup>55</sup> C.C.A.L.S., MS. 201342, *The Diary of Robert Bulkeley of Bulkeley 30 August 1714 – 7 December 1729*, transcribed by C. E. Welch, pp.6, 7.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p.306.

key sources and meaningful observations about the structure of communities in these areas, as well as offering some models and conclusions about them overall. Their employment does, however, bring with it the problem of applicability. Certainly the situation in Spufford's Home Counties was, despite some overlap in period, significantly different to that in the counties of Cheshire, Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmorland, which made up the north west of England. This contrast, however, is significant for the conclusions of the thesis. Arguably the larger parish sizes and the threat from Roman Catholicism (and later Quakerism) generated a greater sense of community across the boundary of conformity. The thesis, though far from unique in exploring the religiosity of the north west of England, engages more closely with culture and personal experience, rather than with structures and institutions as has otherwise been the focus of historical inquiry for the region. Such local histories of the Church of England in particular, have shed much light on the state of religion in the country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>57</sup> Michael Snape's work on the Whalley parish in Lancashire largely found the established church wanting. His focus upon issues such as church buildings, clerical poverty and frequency of communion represents, however, only one measure of the religiosity of the period.<sup>58</sup> This, not least given that John Spurr holds, 'it is doubtful that the entire community had ever participated fully in the religion of the parish church'.<sup>59</sup> By looking at the religion that was practiced a more optimistic view of the fortunes of both the Church of England and nonconformity can be asserted.

---

<sup>57</sup> Jeremy Gregory and Jeffrey S. Chamberlain (eds.), *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660-1800* (Woodbridge, 2003).

<sup>58</sup> M. F. Snape, *The Church of England in Industrialising Society: The Lancashire Parish of Whalley in the Eighteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2003); Snape, 'Poverty and the Northern Clergy in the Eighteenth Century: The Parish of Whalley, 1689-1789', *Northern History*, 36 (2000), pp.83-97.

<sup>59</sup> Spurr, *Restoration Church*, p.5.

Relationships between the established church and nonconformity have also often been the focus of such studies of the north west. Jan Albers understood the religious landscape as inherently conflictual in Lancashire.<sup>60</sup> Her focus on the political nature of religious identity was, however, likely to lead to such a conclusion. Other studies have found how relationships with nonconformity varied by region. In areas such as Durham the established church came to some peace with nonconformity prior to the Toleration Act, in others hostility rolled on into the eighteenth century.<sup>61</sup> This thesis goes further and argues that the relations between conformity and nonconformity varied over time and by ministry, with cooperation being as common as conflict. In the north west some bishops such as Nicholas Stratford saw nonconformists as allies against sin and irreligion, while others such as Thomas Brockbank, vicar of Cartmel in Furness, believed they were an enemy whose threat was comparable to that of Roman Catholicism. The often idiosyncratic relationship with nonconformity might more fruitfully be seen as driven by crises. Consensus was as common as conflict. In part this can be attributed to a history, observed by James Mawdesley, of toleration of nonconformity within the region.<sup>62</sup> At least on a clerical level, there was a more tolerant attitude even into the 1630s where the presence of Catholic recusancy made godly ministers useful. In response these godly clergymen have been understood as more ‘conformable’, taking positions in the administrative mechanisms of the diocese of Chester even after some ‘puritan’ ministers were presented at the 1633 metropolitan visitation.<sup>63</sup> Mawdesley has also demonstrated how opposition to Laudian innovations

---

<sup>60</sup> Jan Albers, ‘Seeds of Contention’; the partisan nature of the Cheshire clergy has also been observed, S. W. Baskerville, ‘The Political Behaviour of the Cheshire Clergy, 1705-1752, *Northern History*, Vol. 23 (1987), pp.74-97.

<sup>61</sup> Françoise Deconinck-Brossard, “‘We live so far North’: the Church in the North-East of England”, in Gregory and Chamberlain (eds.), *The National Church*, p.228.

<sup>62</sup> James Mawdesley, ‘Laudianism in the Diocese of Chester: Revisiting the Episcopate of John Bridgeman’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, clxii (2013), pp.222-3.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.225-6

came from erstwhile fulsome conformists, who saw them as a divisive exercise.<sup>64</sup> The godly clergy of the north west also seem to have been rather less politicised than elsewhere, focussing on personal piety as opposed to reform of the Church hierarchy along classical lines. It was only in the 1630s that issues began to arise in the diocese of Chester, over the narrow interpretation of conformity promoted by Laudian clerics. Conforming clerics defended their more zealous congregants from accusations of schism, heresy and puritanism.<sup>65</sup> The large size of many of the parishes, which has been understood as the principal weakness of the established church in the region, perhaps also accustomed the northern regions to the notion of multiple sites of worship within one parish. When nonconformity within the Church of England was no longer possible and was replaced by separatism after 1660 it was perhaps understood as rather less threatening. Given the history of indulging nonconformity, it was arguably easier for north-western clergy and laity to identify with their counterparts across the divide of conformity into the eighteenth century. This history and the complex ecclesiastical structure perhaps mark the region's distinctiveness. This thesis does allow, however, for a demonstration of the varied experiences of community building, in the face of the conformist-nonconformist split, within England. It offers a revision of the current historiography concerning the region. Moreover, it offers a new perspective on the relationship between conformists and nonconformists, and the state of religiosity that might be instructive for further study in different parts of the country.

---

<sup>64</sup> Mawdesley 'Laudianism', p.227.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., pp.226-7.



The thesis is divided into six chapters, including a conclusion that addresses the formation of an imagined national communion. The first chapter examines personal devotions, focussing on prayer, reading and diary-keeping as the primary examples of this practice. It demonstrates the immanence of experiences of God in these practices and the central role of feeling. The opening chapter thus sets the agenda for the rest of the thesis. The relationship between personal devotions and family and public religion in particular is highlighted. It will also, however, outline how feeling was central to the cultivation of a personal piety. This piety was defined by its affective experience of God and was something of a blueprint for the cultivation of piety in collective frameworks such as the family, public worship and voluntary religious practice. The second chapter addresses family religion. Drawing upon life-writings as well as didactic materials it examines the notion that feeling was a devotional practice its own right. It also demonstrates how, through its construction as a practice of preparation for public worship, family religion diluted the stigma that was at times attached to extra-parochial exercises. By this means, it was inherently constructive of community which transgressed the lines of conformity and involved a broader spectrum of English Protestants than has otherwise been appreciated. The third chapter introduces public worship and uncovers a regional ministry that focussed primarily on moving the affections of its audience. These ministers showed little complacency about the religious vigour of their charges and sought acceptance of the Christian faith and renewed commitment on a weekly basis. The centrality of these discourses transgressed boundaries of conformity and party. Moreover, the continued practice of partial-conformity among moderate nonconformists continued to construct communities wider than the emerging denominations of English Protestantism. Chapter four

examines the role of voluntary religion in constructing affective communities of faith. It takes a broad view of voluntary religion, including informal ties of friendship as well as more formal societies such as the SPCK and SRMs. Friendship groups were central to the faith of many and supported a number of practices, including personal devotional practices, with an affective element. The formal societies constructed communities of affective piety, spreading devotional material, the primary purpose of which was to engender godly feeling among their readers. The fifth chapter explores the clerical communities of the period and how through family connections these often transgressed the boundary of conformity. This has not always been highlighted by historians and demonstrates the strong connections between conformists and nonconformists via ties of family and friendship. The chapter also demonstrates how, within the developing denominations, ministers constructed communities of faith through personal friendships and more formal preaching missions. The final, concluding chapter draws this material together through the prism of the national communion. The concept of the nation was used in many of the other devotional practices and communities and it was constructed as an object of devotion in itself. Providential narratives fed an affective, immanent and experiential piety through the covenanted nation, an ideal which continued within conformist as much as nonconformist discourse. While the nation could occasionally be used in exclusionist discourses, this was far from its principal use. The final chapter explores how the devotional trope of the nation sought to instil an affective and cross-conformist piety within post-Restoration English Protestantism.

Sarah Savage (1664-1752), daughter of the eminent ejected minister Philip Henry, recorded on 5 November 1686 that she ‘did not rise Early in ye morning, was straitned in secret duty, ye Ld affect mee wth his mercys – Publick Family Personel’.<sup>1</sup> The ‘secret duties’ of which she spoke here were those devotional practices that she and her fellow Protestants practiced on their own, or as singularly as they could. These included prayer, the reading of devotional material (the scriptures as well as works of practical divinity and theology) and diary keeping. It is these practices, and their relation to a wider culture of devotional forms with which this chapter is concerned. Richard Kay (1716-1751), a physician resident in Baldingstone near Bury in Lancashire, referred to them as his ‘Closet Duties’.<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps likely that as the head of a household in his own right he had a greater opportunity than Savage to retreat to a room of his own. Savage’s ability to seclude herself was perhaps dependent upon time of day. The narrative of her diary often contrasted with the solitary nature of her own initial morning duties with those conducted slightly later within her family. Yet, as Andrew Cambers has noted, ‘secret’ duties were not necessarily wholly private, or secluded. He associated the ‘closet’ closely with godly women, whose voices carried and provided an example for family members.<sup>3</sup> While the gendered aspect did not hold in Kay’s case, it offers some pause for consideration of the connections between personal duty and broader cultures of devotion. Savage’s list of mercies to be considered reflected the relationship between private, family and public devotion. In light of Cambers’ assertion it appears that such

---

<sup>1</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [fol.4r.].

<sup>2</sup> *The Diary of Richard Kay, 1716-51, of Baldingstone, near bury, a Lancashire Doctor*, W. Brockbank and F. Kenworthy (eds.), Chetham Society, Third Series, Vol. 16 (Manchester, 1968), p.18, 7 January 1738 (N.S.).

<sup>3</sup> Cambers *Godly Reading*, pp. 43-46.

Christians intended these practices to influence one another. Nonetheless, the testimony of Savage and Kay spoke to those activities that were undertaken alone, or at least singularly, rather than as part of a group. The exploration of their nature in this chapter, principally concerned with the role of the affections, provides a suitable background to introduce the issue of feeling and devotion more generally. The personal devotions of these Protestants represent the first concentric circle of affective communities to which these authors belonged. The material explored here will help illuminate the conduct of communal religious duties in later chapters.

This chapter studies a number of differing practices under the broad umbrella of ‘personal devotions’. It looks at diary-keeping in particular, as a form of prayer. The chapter first explores prayer as it was recorded in the diaries. Secondly, it explores diary-writing as a form of prayer, following a pattern of feeling itself. It finally looks at the role of reading in fostering godly feelings, with many of the texts understanding feeling as constituting the performance of devotion. These activities are here, and by other historians, perhaps artificially separated. They influenced one another, with prayer and spiritual reflection being inspired by things they read. The earnestness and appropriateness of their prayers were judged by the precepts of prescriptive literature. Similarly diary-keeping was a way of managing prayer, and crucially feeling in prayer. The record of how they felt when they conducted these and other duties helped Christians to situate themselves within those parameters of godly devotional practice articulated by reading matter and exhortations. Diaries were a medium of prayer. Their construction was devotional, with some entries representing discrete prayers. The record of providence in the diaries at once influenced devotional affect in prayer and was an act of devotion itself. The particular providences that they witnessed within

their own lives were the spur to prayers; moreover, they often gave pause to reflect on the manner in which they had been able to conduct their personal devotions.

The source base of the chapter is subject to the same qualifications as outlined in the introduction in that nonconformists are overrepresented and women underrepresented in absolute numerical terms. This is in part mitigated by the fact (examined in chapter 3) that many of the nonconformists explored here also attended conformist services. Moreover, women's testimony in the form of Sarah Savage's diary and that of her sisters provides much of the material explored, next to conformists such as Edmund Harrold (1678-1721). The inclusion of Harrold's testimony, as well as that of the sometimes rather venal Henry Prescott (1649-1719), extends Andrew Cambers's notion that 'diary keeping and memoir writing were integral features of the evangelical family religion that spanned the seventeenth century and church divides' to those whose religious sympathies have otherwise been identified as 'high church'.<sup>4</sup> The inclusion of Richard Kay and his evidence from the 1740s demonstrates how this culture was maintained even among Presbyterian congregations, which like Kay's, were most susceptible to the apparently 'rationalising' forces of the age and the progress towards Rational Dissent and Unitarianism. Even here, affective piety remained a strong feature of Kay's diary. Cambers has most recently cautioned against understanding such texts as representative of unmediated personal witness. The family undoubtedly mediated such texts; they provided examples for other family members in their devotional practice and senior family members, friends and others who might have been sought out as sources of spiritual advice, likely influenced their narrative arc.<sup>5</sup> As such, they are problematic sources for accessing interiority. The social nature of these texts, however, does not

---

<sup>4</sup> Cambers, 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580-1720', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 46, 4 (October 2007), p. 812.

<sup>5</sup> Cambers, 'Reading' pp. 798-802.

negate their function in cultivating an internal piety. The point of such mediation was ultimately for these Protestants to better understand their spiritual estate and relationship with God. As Alec Ryrie has noted, earnestness and sincerity were essential concerns in godly culture.<sup>6</sup> Such collaborative efforts, in which the management and cultivation of feeling was central, were not understood as inconsistent with sincere reflection on and recollection of the devotee's experiences. Much as other historians have noted, such composite texts also introduced material from biblical and didactic sources as well as a modification of chronology. This was not (or at least not merely) an exercise in virtue-signalling, but a means of effectively expressing and making sense of their experiences.<sup>7</sup> The use of such texts to generate a representation of these Protestants' interior emotional lives might, however, be perceived as at a further remove from the investigation of historians. Yet, scholars of the history of emotions, particularly Barbara Rosenwein, have argued that emotion is always mediated, except perhaps in the very initial experience. The experience of emotions is frequently mixed and it is only through their expression that feeling can be identified.<sup>8</sup> Such texts then, represent little more mediation than the immediate expression of emotion. Language itself limits any formulation of emotional expression, as do the codes and constructions that might be expected to be understood by others. Socialisation impacts upon our understanding of our experience of emotion in both their immediate experience and their subsequent communication. The construction of these texts worked as a vehicle for Protestants to understand the feelings that they were presented with and experienced (even sought to experience). The current study then accesses *topoi* of felt experiences, rather than the feelings themselves. The evidence presented here that these experiences were understood as informing, validating, even functioning as

---

<sup>6</sup> Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p.9.

<sup>7</sup> See 'Introduction', n.49.

<sup>8</sup> Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods', pp.19-21; Rosenwein, 'History of Emotions'.

devotional practice is of considerable significance; against a historiographical background which has often downplayed this element in English Protestant religion of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries.

## Prayer

---

Feeling, in all of its forms, was not embraced as an unalloyed good by the Protestants explored here, but it was understood as essential in completing devotional duties. Sarah Savage recorded on 26 November 1699 that she found ‘my affections unruly Espec: yt of Love – apt to exceed bounds – I have oft lately prayd. Heavenly Fath. keep me fm. Idols – from giving yt to ys [sic] Creatures wch. is due to thy self alone – for here I am oft Tripping’.<sup>9</sup> In this extract, Savage prayed that God help her manage and subdue unruly feeling. Here her affections were too focussed upon worldly objects, likely her family members, and not as focussed upon God and the next life as they should be. Protestants such as Savage might proscribe some exuberant or fervent feeling, particularly where it was misdirected. Yet, affective exuberance itself was not wholly censured, merely reserved for the divine. Savage’s testimony otherwise demonstrated a commitment to affective piety and a concern that she was not able to cultivate it appropriately. In this, she demonstrated that this was not a battle between feeling or unfeeling, or necessarily between feeling and too much feeling; but the right direction of feeling, in the right moment and of the right amount. In an entry for 1 July 1688 she noted that she had missed church on account of a troublesome cold. Nonetheless she

---

<sup>9</sup> BL Add. MS 42849, ‘Sarah Savage, née Henry, daughter of Philip Henry nonconformist divine: Devotional journal: 1694-1703 extracts’, *Henry Papers*, ff.88v.

‘poured out my soul to God in a short Prayer & he was right unto mee’. The following day, however, was an ‘ill day I had little oppor. for secret communion or rather indeed I wanted a [heart]’.<sup>10</sup> In a similar entry for 15 July of the same year when she missed her father preaching at Nantwich she

retired into a secret corner my soul had some enlargemt. but alas how many cold dry drowsie duties do I perform of wch. I take no notice for one such as this [...] I see pride is yet very strong in mee my body is somt. very much dull & drowsie & is a great clog to my Devotion.<sup>11</sup>

In both of these extracts her own illness and poor state of body prevented her completing her personal prayers (here substitutes for public worship). This lack of completion is also defined by a lack of feeling.

‘Enlargement’ was employed by godly devotional writers, such as Isaac Ambrose (*bap.* 1604-1664, vicar of Garstang in Lancashire until his ejection in 1662; his works were known to Philip Henry, Savage’s father), as an affective experience. Writing on meditation, Ambrose called his audience to ‘roul up thy affections; awake, awake, be enlarged, *love, joy, desire*’.<sup>12</sup> Savage’s lack of a ‘heart’ for personal prayer was also lamented. Given the close association between the will and the affections, this demonstrated as much a lack of feeling as it did a lack of intellectual disposition to

---

<sup>10</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f. 39v.].

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, n.p. [ff. 40r.-v].

<sup>12</sup> Isaac Ambrose, *The compleat works of that eminent minister of Gods word Mr. Isaac Ambrose* (London, 1674), p.131; Ambrose retired to Preston after ejection and died in 1664. Philip Henry recorded on 8 February 1658 ‘a book sent (Ambrose Prima) and a time appointed’ apparently referring to the courtship and marriage proposal made to his wife-to-be Katherine (née Matthews). It is therefore likely that he and his family consumed Ambrose’s works: *Diaries and letters of Philip Henry, M.A: of Broad Oak, Flintshire, A.D. 1631-1696*, Matthew Henry Lee (ed.) (London : K. Paul, Trench 1882), p.67.



prayer. Her coldness and dryness, as well as her dullness and drowsiness, showed the close interaction between bodies and feeling.<sup>13</sup> In sum, they bore witness to Savage's melancholy. This produced an affect unsuitable for and inhibitive of devotion. Where she reflected positively upon her performance she spoke, in contrast, of warmth. On 11 October 1687 for example she recorded 'some life and warmth in secret duty more yn ordinary' accounting that she often found 'ye more solemn preparac[i]on I make for such duties – by reading, Considerac[i]on Meditac[i]on, or ye like – ye more I am inlarged in ye duty'.<sup>14</sup> Savage's testimony exhibited the central role of feeling in personal prayer. While some feelings were undesirable, this was not true of all feeling. Reflecting contemporary writers of practical divinity, Savage demonstrated that exuberant feeling, when allied to a sanguine complexion (rather than a melancholic one), was essential to the correct conduct of religious duties. Such feeling thus constituted devotion.

Ann Hulton (née Henry, 1668-1697), sister to Sarah Savage, kept a diary with similar concerns. A lack of feeling in the performance of personal duty concerned her greatly. For an entry on 30 May 1686, prior to her being married, Hulton wrote '...O my Adamt. [heart] yt such sins as mine will not melt It's a bad sign o wt. sh: I do wt. will become of me'. She continued, 'I desire to mourn yt I cannt. mourn, I find some true Love to Xt. I hope he sh: have the preeminence wth me he is ... altogether lovely'.<sup>15</sup> Inability to feel, or at least inability to feel the correct devotional affect was of concern in her everyday devotions. Feeling was the principal measure of Hulton's success in any of her religious endeavours. This minimised the difference between them and as a

---

<sup>13</sup> Angus Gowland, 'Melancholy, Passions and Identity in the Renaissance' in Brian Cummings and Freya Sierhuis (eds.), *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture* (Farham, 2013), pp.78-80.

<sup>14</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.3v.].

<sup>15</sup> BL Add. MS 42849, 'Ann Henry, afterwards Hulton; daughter of Philip Henry devotional journal: 1686-1687.: extracts', *Henry Papers*, f.79r.

result feeling acted as a devotional exercise. On 3 June 1686 she noted how despite good sermons she spent little time in subsequent contemplation of them: 'I am very Ignort. in ye ths. of God forgetfull dull I rejoyce in Xt. Jesus he is the strength of my heart'.<sup>16</sup> Here, too an inability to move feeling was castigated in contrast with Christ's power to instil, through the heart, affective appreciation of the divine. The passive-active dynamic, which Phyllis Mack has argued was a central aspect of Methodist engagement with the emotions, is also evident here with God being the ultimate and perhaps most dependable source of pious affections.<sup>17</sup> Katherine Tylston (née Henry, 1665-1747), Ann and Sarah's sister, was also frequently concerned about a lack of feeling. When reflecting upon the death of her child and on her own mortality, she declared a strong belief in 'a God yt Judgeth in ye Earth' though wished she 'could say yt I feel it is so but I do believe there is a Reality in Religion'. Tylston lamented her inability to move her affections. Her lack of affective appreciation of religion made it defective, arguing that her example to her family was less than that of her father's to her as 'he felt I only see'.<sup>18</sup> In an extract of 4 January 1718, her daughter, also Katherine Tylston, recorded her personal devotions of that day. Despite saying in her 'heart wth. tears Lord thy poor Creature is here', she nonetheless laid before God 'a heart as hard & frozen as ye weather seal'd up'. She turned to the agency of God, 'thou canst soften it, those dull hearts canst raise & I found some stirrings of gracious affections.'<sup>19</sup>

Edmund Harrold had a similar perception of melancholy and low affections to the Henry sisters. Falling into an episode of drunkenness following the death of his

---

<sup>16</sup> 'A. Henry, devotional journal', f.79r.

<sup>17</sup> Mack, *Heart Religion*, pp.25-30.

<sup>18</sup> BL Add. MS 42849, 'Katherine Tylston, née Henry; daughter of Philip Henry, nonconformist divine: Notes on the death of a daughter', *Henry Papers*, f.93r.

<sup>19</sup> BL Add. MS 42849, 'Katherine Tylston, daughter of Katherine Tylston née Henry: Devotional journal of 1718-1720', *Henry Papers*, f.114r.

daughter (only four months after that of his second wife) Harrold recorded on 10 April 1713 'I was dun'd and driven very melancholy, and work'd close. I hartly desire I may reform.' The following day he wrote similarly 'Dull business. I pray God turn my heart' and on 20 April 'Im very ill, both in body and mind. I pray God, mend now in both'.<sup>20</sup> It is clear that Harrold also viewed bodily defection, here as a result of his drinking habits, as interfering with his devotional practice. On 30 April he resolved to be sober and on 1 May he 'work[ed] close [and] alone, and at night I retired to my chamber in order for the sacrament'.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, despite drinking with some friends on 4 May, he managed to avoid the 'high pa[s]sions and words' that two of his friends exchanged, thanking 'God yt I kept temper, had duty and to bed'.<sup>22</sup> In these brief sketches we see a similar pattern to that of the nonconformist women above. Harrold certainly rejected extremes of feeling and seems to have closely associated religion with moral comportment consistent with the conventional historiographical depiction of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English Protestantism. Yet, much like the Henry sisters this was not a dichotomy between feeling and unfeeling (or too much feeling). He lacked sufficient heartfelt religious experience at the start of the sketch explored here. In this more feeling was needed and impaired by his alcoholism and attendant melancholy. This is not surprising given that in Christian thinking the rational appetites, as explored by Thomas Dixon, fell within what might be constructed in the modern period as the gamut of emotional experience.<sup>23</sup> There was no dichotomy then between rationality and moral action and feeling. Immoral, ungodly action was in Harrold's testimony the result of a lack of feeling.

---

<sup>20</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.68.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p.69.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p.70.

<sup>23</sup> Dixon, *From Passion*, pp.28-56.

Richard Kay's diary demonstrated the continuation of this approach to feeling, with the moderation of low feelings and extremes, when inappropriately directed, persisting into the mid-eighteenth century. On 5 January 1738 he noted that he had helped his father in 'some little in his Business at Home, but have been bad of my Head, Teeth and Stomach. Lord ever help me to govern my Passions and Affections aright.'<sup>24</sup> Here much like the Henry sisters and Edmund Harrold, there is a significant impact of the body over feeling. Bodily imposition interferes with his management of his feeling, which he subsumes to a spiritual schema. Guiding his feeling properly is thus a devotional, or at least a religious, act. Kay's membership of a Presbyterian congregation, which made the transition to Unitarianism over the eighteenth century might colour reception of some of the extracts which extolled the role of reason.<sup>25</sup> This was not, however, to the exclusion of feeling and rather represented conventional Christian understandings of the role of reason in relation to feeling. On 26 June 1742 for example, he prayed: 'Lord, May my Passion ever be in due Subjection to my Reason.'<sup>26</sup> Dixon has explored how in Thomist thought such feeling was only understood as potentially sinful where it was not under rational control. Aquinas included hope, fear, joy and sorrow among his passions. Where rationally controlled by the more active part of man, the intellectual appetite, the passions could be part of a virtuous life.<sup>27</sup> As such, Kay's subordination of passions and affections to his own reason was the medium through which he could use feeling more properly in the worship of God, rather than for earthly or carnal ends. Certainly this finds some support in an entry for 15 June 1739 when Kay prayed 'Lord, help me now to put away childish Things, and to set my Thoughts

---

<sup>24</sup> *Diary of Richard Kay*, p.18.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.4-5.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p.52.

<sup>27</sup> Dixon, *From Passion*, pp.35-52 quotation at p.43.

and Affections on Things above, and not on Things below.<sup>28</sup> Drawing on Colossians 3:2, Kay sought the ability to guide his feeling properly. The subjection of feeling to reason was not to neuter the former but to employ it to its greatest spiritual effect. Affective exercise was in fact essential to Kay's notion of devotional and religious conduct. Elsewhere in the diary personal prayer was defined in affective terms. On 9 January 1740, Kay prayed 'Lord, May I now give thee my Heart, set my self in Order before thee, and put my Affections and my Affairs into the best posture I can.'<sup>29</sup> The order of his affections performed the act of devotion; it was no less heartfelt for it.

Such regulation of the affections was common to those who have otherwise been characterised by scholars such as Isabel Rivers as the remnant of godly culture. That is, those who were the more robust and authentic defenders of godly orthodoxy and religious practice against a perceived creeping rationalism of latitudinarian orthodoxy.<sup>30</sup> Henry Maurice (c.1636-1682), an itinerant congregationalist preacher and Thomas Jolly (1629-1703) a minister to a nonconformist congregation in Lancashire, demonstrated a similar relationship with feeling. Maurice in his missionary journey of July 1672 recorded that he had in personal prayer

found that some pride of heart, & self-conceite growing & preuayling, which stirred me vp to pray earnestly against it, & I had but little sense or encouragement in this duty. I find that when any lust is stirring & working vp

---

<sup>28</sup> *Diary of Richard Kay*, p.28.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.29-30.

<sup>30</sup> Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment*, pp.1-37.

in my soul, it takes away all sauour of spirit, and the ready way is to cry out & to fall to earnest prayer to allay & coniure downe these cursed Ghosts.<sup>31</sup>

Maurice demonstrated here how the godly were to choose between feelings in their personal prayers. Pride and self-conceit are combatted here with repression on behalf of other feeling, notably earnestness. Jolly's style of religiosity might, from the perspective of the narrative of a 'reaction against enthusiasm', seem like exactly the sort of approach that was increasingly being rejected. He, for example, fell into disputation with a Church of England clergyman over a case of alleged demonic possession. Jolly was accused of superstition and fanaticism in print. In response, he defended his beliefs along the same lines as Richard Baxter's *World of Spirits*.<sup>32</sup> Yet, he shared in the affective norms of our other diarists. His notebook demonstrated the intense relationship with God he had through prayer. He often opened each entry with the subject upon which he had conducted his personal prayers that month. His

retiring in the 5th m. [July 1671] was for a research of my ways and of repentance upon sensible dealings; also as to my dear relation whose fondness and frowardness upon that account was in danger to bee some temptation to mee.

---

<sup>31</sup> B Cottle and M. J. Crossley Evans, 'A Nonconformist Missionary Journey to Lancashire and Cheshire in July 1672', in J. I. Kermode and C. B. Philips (eds.), *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, for the Year 1987*, Vol. 137. (Liverpool, 1988), p.85.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Jolly, *The Surey Demoniack: or, An Account of Satan's Strange and Dreadful Actings in and about the Body of Richard Dugdale of Surey, near Lancashire* (London, 1697); Zachary Taylor, *The Surey Impostor, being an Answer to a Late Fanatical Pamphlet intituled The Surey Demoniack* (London, 1697); Jolly, *A Vindication of the Surey Demoniack* (London, 1698); Taylor, *Popery, Superstition Ignorance and Knavery Confess'd and fully Prov'd on the Surey Dissenters* (London, 1699); Richard Baxter, *The Certainty of the World of Spirits* (London, 1691); Brian P. Levack, *The Devil Within: Possession and Exorcism in the Christian West* (London, 2013), pp.72-75.

Here in direct comparison with Savage but reflecting also the Christian conception of feeling exhibited by all of the Protestants explored here, he sought to repress feeling where it was misdirected. Continuing, however, he recorded also the occasion to ‘bewayle restraint upon my spirit as to publique concernments, and to stir up myself on that behalf.’<sup>33</sup> In his ministerial occupation, more of which will be explored in chapters 3 and 5, Jolly was keen that God might assist him in being more affective. Much as in Thomist thought, it was the object of feeling which was determinative of its spiritual, perhaps even soteriological, value. Certainly, much like the Henry sisters it was a lack of feeling that often concerned Jolly. ‘My retireing in the 11<sup>th</sup> m. [1676]’ Jolly recorded ‘was on account of sensible declining of my heart from god ...’<sup>34</sup> Feeling was the primary medium here through which Jolly determined his sense of godliness. His heart, exhibited his spiritual condition. The potentially highly intense nature of these singular devotions was also witnessed.

The approach to personal prayer of these Protestants displayed a significant commitment to feeling, heartfelt, devotional practice. It conformed to Christian philosophical understandings of the role of feeling, which was in need of some subjugation to reason so that it might be more properly directed in religious duty. This, however, did not diminish the role of feeling to these Protestants, who exhibited a commitment to fulsome affective piety. Such was the role of feeling that it was performative of the devotional act, an element without which the performance of personal duty would have been deficient, if not failing to be effected at all. Much of their testimony recorded their affectivity or lack thereof, or called upon God to increase

---

<sup>33</sup> *The Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly A.D. 1671-1693, Extracts from the Church Book of Altham and Wymondhouses A.D. and an Account of the Jolly Family of Standish, Gorton, and Altham*, Henry Fishwick (ed.), Chetham Society New Series Vol.33 (Manchester, 1894), p.1.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p.31 [January 1677 N.S.].

it, across the divide of conformity, denomination and party. These Protestants frequently lamented a lack of feeling as the ultimate detriment to godliness and performance of duty. Bodily dispositions, which interfered with the balance of their affections often obstructed the conduct of private prayer by impeding feeling at all, or at least causing them to direct feeling, both passions and affections, towards earthly matters rather than heavenly ones. This management of feeling was not a means by which to neuter an affective piety, but a means to cultivate it. Unfeeling was the ultimate state to be combatted, even if too much feeling improperly directed was also to be addressed. This was ultimately more complex than a straightforward dichotomy between feeling and unfeeling.

#### Diary Construction and Affective Sequences

---

The life-writings of Protestants in the north west of England witnessed the importance of a whole gamut of feeling. Even low feelings, as the Thomist construction suggested, had their uses; firstly as means of prayer, the process of writing as diary or notebook functioned as prayer, but secondly by subsuming them within a discursive pattern of affective sequence. Barbara Rosenwein observed in *The Book of Margery Kempe* (c.1430) and the conversion narratives of a gathered church in 1650s London (documented in the *Spirituell Experiences* of 1653), patterns of shift in the narratives from emotional lows to highs as they progressed.<sup>35</sup> Rosenwein has described ‘emotional sequences’, consisting of multiple emotions contributing to a single episode, as a way to more fully

---

<sup>35</sup> Rosenwein, ‘History of Emotions’.



understand the experience of emotion in the historical record. Rosenwein has extolled the importance of recognising these sequences as a means by which to judge how historical actors engaged with particular feelings, affections or emotions. Preceding and subsequent emotions offer historical context for how certain emotions were viewed, fostered and censured.<sup>36</sup> Certainly the didactic material of the period examined by this thesis also exhibited patterns similar to those of Rosenwein's subjects. Sarah Savage's brother, Matthew Henry (1662-1714), a Presbyterian minister to a congregation in Chester from 1687 -1712, demonstrated motion and movement from one state to another in his advice regarding daily communion with God. Prayer was '*lifting up the Soul* to God, and *pouring out the Heart* before him', indeed 'expressing of Devout Affections of the Heart *by Words* may be of use to fix the Thoughts, and to excite and quicken the Desires'. This was suggestive of a movement towards a higher affective state. Given the wanderings of the heart during sleep and the proud desires that creep in, morning prayers in particular were essential in purging these feelings and instilling a sense of peace.

Are we not concern'd to *confess* to him, to *complain* of them to him as *revolting and rebellious Hearts*, and bent to backslide; to make our Peace in the Blood of Christ, and to pray, that the *Thoughts of our Heart may be forgiven us!*<sup>37</sup>

Much like the examples explored by Rosenwein, consideration of sin was the low ebb of this sequence, followed by a dependence upon God's mercy as its high point and finally by the peace of heart engendered by repentance. Under '*For Application*' Henry recommended '*First let this Word put us in mind of our Omissions; for Omissions are Sins*

---

<sup>36</sup> Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions 600-1700* (Cambridge, 2015), p.8.

<sup>37</sup> Matthew Henry, *Directions for daily communion with God: in three discourses, shewing how to begin, how to spend, and how to close every day with God* (London, 1715), p.36.

and must come to Judgment... Let us be truly humbled before God this Morning for our Sin and Folly'.<sup>38</sup> Secondly he warned against formality. 'Go about this Duty solemnly', Henry commended, 'Let us lean to *labour fervently in Prayer* as *Epaphras* did'.<sup>39</sup> 'God *requires*', he finished, '*Truth in the inward Part*, and it is the *Prayer of the Upright* that is *his Delight*'. 'Trust in him; that the Comfort and Benefit your *Morning Devotions may not be as the Morning Cloud which* passeth away, but as the *Morning Light* which *shines more and more*'.<sup>40</sup> Ending with 'comfort', Henry demonstrated a sequence defined by the movement from recognition of sin to comfort in the trust and keeping of God.

Protestants in the north west of England demonstrated, by using them as sources of affective piety, the error in 'calling the books in which they were contained simply diaries or autobiographies' as Andrew Cambers has observed.<sup>41</sup> Sarah Savage demonstrated the essentially devotional nature of producing her diary. Opening her diary, Savage declared: '... As to this I would approve mysf to God [who] alone knows ye Sincerity of my heart - & ind[eavour] to keep it private'.<sup>42</sup> Here, she sought to counter accusations of pride and defined her exercise as a devotional one. In November 1727 Savage confirmed this purpose, 'Looking over this old Paper written so many years ago' and finding 'The Pleasure, success, & advantage of devotedness to God in Youth is beyond all expression'.<sup>43</sup> The affective nature of the diary was upheld and revealed her understanding of it as a tool of devotion. Savage's diary further demonstrated the nature and meaning of discrete prayers. On November 25 1676 Savage noted on that

---

<sup>38</sup> Henry, *Directions*, p.38.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., pp.41, 42.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p.42.

<sup>41</sup> Andrew Cambers, 'Reading', p.802.

<sup>42</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.1r].

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., n.p. [f.1v].

Wednesd. Morn. wee read in ye Family Rev. 16. Concer[n]ing ye 7 vials – viz. ye wrath of God on the Antichristian Generation wch began in ye reformat[i]on & is yet in doing - & shall end in its final destruction Amen.<sup>44</sup>

Ending with ‘amen’ here appropriated the familial for the personal. Moreover, the apocalyptic nature of the subject at hand demonstrates how such quotidian devotions could be bound up with potent feeling. Edmund Harrold, who Craig Horner suggests kept his diary at a time when he felt most spiritually imperilled, also adopted and adapted lessons and subjects from other devotional practices into his own personal practice through his diary. An entry for 1 June 1712 recorded Radley Ainscough’s (chaplain of the Collegiate Church) sermon on ‘Set your affections on things above, not on things on ye Earth.’ Harrold copied out Ainscough’s erudition: ‘their [sic] is ye ocean of pleasures yt can never be fathomed.... Rivers of pleasures for everyone, to wch fountain of bliss God bring us all, for Jesus sake, amen.’<sup>45</sup> By suffixing it with ‘amen’ Harrold made it his own prayer in personal duty.

Richard Kay constructed his diary in a manner to make the subjects and erudition of sermons he heard his own discrete prayers. These frequently had a strongly affective aspect. On 17 April 1737 he recorded hearing ‘a Sermon preached by Mr. Braddock from Ps. c19.50’ before going at midday to Cockey Chapel where he heard a funeral sermon preached on Psalm 73:26: ‘Lord help me now to make haste, and not delay to keep they Commandments, and ever be thou the Strength of my Heart, and my

---

<sup>44</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.5v.].

<sup>45</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.2.

Portion forever'.<sup>46</sup> By prefacing his entry with a reference to a funeral, the image functioned, with his commitment to not delay in obeying the commandments of God, as a form of confession. The sequence ended with recognition of God's jurisdiction over his feeling via the heart, which he appropriated for his own personal devotional practice.

Henry Prescott (1649–1719), Deputy Registrar of the Chester Diocese and of broadly high-church sympathies, followed in a similar vein. Despite a diary mostly concerned with venal and secular affairs, there were glimpses of the confessional, including an entry for 9 June 1689 where he prayed to God: 'Let me open the Christian door well and prudently!' He observed how 'Eternity watches on either hand; may God the best and greatest pardon the sins committed, the fooleries, errors and trifles of my former life, and bestow and grant a pure & happy future.'<sup>47</sup> The extract also fit a format of affective sequence within the entry. He opened with confession of a sinful life and sought God to bring him to happiness. The introspection here was reflective of D. Bruce Hindmarsh's account of those Calvinist conversion narratives of the seventeenth century, which influenced those of the eighteenth-century Revival.<sup>48</sup> It reads somewhat formulaically and is perhaps suggestive of Prescott sharing in this godly tradition.

---

<sup>46</sup> 'This is my comfort in my affliction: for thy word hath quickened me.' Psalm 119:50; *Diary of Richard Kay*, p.7.

<sup>47</sup> John Scot, *The Christian life from its beginning to its consummation in glory: together with the several means and instruments of Christianity conducing thereunto, with directions for private devotion and forms of prayer, fitted to the several states of Christians* (London, 1681); John Addy, John Harrop and Peter McNiven (eds.), *The Diary of Henry Prescott, LL.B., Deputy Registrar of Chester Diocese, Vol. 3 Latin Diary 9 June 1689-31 July 1690, Miscellaneous entries 1683, 1691-1707, Appendices, Indexes*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire Vol. 133. (Stroud, 1997), p.713.

<sup>48</sup> D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2005), p.324.

The structure of many of Sarah Savage's entries also followed a pattern of affective sequence. An entry for 13 January 1688 opened with the pain she experienced on Saturday night 'of my head & Teeth' which 'disappointed thereby of an opport. I hoped to have had on Sab. Day, at Nantw[ich].' She called upon God to 'help mee to improve Providences yt day forced to keep house all day, could scarce doe any thing in ye Fam. That night had ease bl. bee God'.<sup>49</sup> The narrative arc here was confessional and also affective, expressing sorrow for lack of opportunity of communion with God but hanging her ease of mind and body upon him on Sunday evening. Edmund Harrold's diary followed suit. Entries such as that for 8 June 1712 demonstrated a progression from sorrow for sin towards comfort in prayer. He began this entry confessing that while he knew 'its my duty as oft as ye church provides, to come' to communion it was not 'for any irregularity in living this week or disorder of mind, but to fear of giving offence to my weak wife yt I absented myself. So I sinned for peace.' A few lines later he noted the content of the second sermon he heard: 'I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you', which as Horner notes was taken from John 14:18. Harrold continued,

Grant o God, yt all these instructions for my good may be ye influences of thy holy spirit be so grafted in my heart, yt they may bring forth in me ye fruits of good living, thro Jesus Christ our Lord, amen.<sup>50</sup>

This perhaps sought to repeat what he heard in church. Yet the construction of the entry read as his private prayer. As such, it demonstrated how he journeyed from a low

---

<sup>49</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.27r.].

<sup>50</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.5.

affective state of contrition to meditation on the comfort offered by Christ. On 5 July of the same year he noted at the start of the entry

This day business is dull and Ive been reflecting on ye last months living. I bless God yt I have not been drunken, yet I've sometimes broken my rules more than I willingly would... Therefore we must seek another object to fix our affections on and yt is God, where ye more we search into his nature and attributes, the more we shall desire to know, because he is the center of our happiness, temporall and eternall.<sup>51</sup>

Harrold lifted his affections through prayer. The entry commenced with a confession of sin, where the dullness of the day's business reflected the dullness of his spirits. Yet he moved through this towards happiness by the manipulation of his affections in prayer. As such, Harrold demonstrated a similar affective sequence to that recommended by Henry in prayer.

The engagement with God's providence by these Protestants, within their life-writing, also demonstrated patterns of discursive sequences mediated by feeling. Well into the eighteenth century, Protestants in this region employed observation of particular, or special, providences in the quotidian devotional practice of their diaries and notebooks. The notion of general providence being made up of 'an infinite Number of particular Providences' wherein God continually worked 'Miracles: for to

---

<sup>51</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.15.

create and sustain the System of Nature' had immediate relevance for their own lives.<sup>52</sup>

The record of such providences within their writings was a devotional act in and of itself, the structure of which created an affective sequence. The diary of Richard Kay witnessed some of the benevolent nature of God's providence, which John Spurr has argued was increasingly the singular expression of this culture in the period, when he recorded

This Day I have spent some Time in my Closet, have been endeavouring to bless God for his Mercies receiv'd, and to recommend myself to his Care and kind Providence through the whole of my Life. Lord have Mercy upon me, and bless me.<sup>53</sup>

The process of the record, however, drew him from the quiet contemplative motif of his closet devotions to recognition of his position within eternity and God's plan. This functioned as a means to rouse his spirits. Similarly with an entry for 7 June 1741 'every Step I take be hed'g about with Special Providence.'<sup>54</sup> Yet, Kay also witnessed God's strokes. In an entry for 1 August 1742, Kay recorded attending on the corpse of his niece: 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away. ...Lord, Let this Stoke of thy providence be in Mercy, and not in Judgement...'<sup>55</sup> That such occurrences were to be learned from was shared five decades earlier by Sarah Savage, who on 11 October 1686 noted the death of a neighbour's child, 'a sad stroke God mercy sanctify it for good I

---

<sup>52</sup> Lawrence Jackson, *An Examination Of a Book intituled The True Gospel of Jesus Christ Asserted, By Thomas Chubb: And also of His Appendix on Providence* (London, 1739), pp. 256, 261-62 as cited in, J. C. D. Clark, 'Providence, Predestination and Progress: Or, Did the Enlightenment Fail?' *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Winter, 2003), p.577.

<sup>53</sup> *Diary of Richard Kay*, p.7.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p.50.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p.53.

blame mysf for not being rightly affected with ye miseryes of others.’<sup>56</sup> Protestant appreciation of the working of providence was ambiguous. Alexandra Walsham’s work on Reformation providentialism demonstrated how Calvinists believed that while the calamities that befell the unreformed were ‘a foretaste of their future ordeal in the inferno below’, ‘the tribulations of the saints were merely fatherly chastisements.’<sup>57</sup> It was ‘the duty of the pious to decipher and register, “sanctify” and “improve” these divine tokens.’<sup>58</sup> This culture persisted here even to the brink of Rational Dissent. Affective sequence was central to these entries, beginning with regret and ending with hope to be more affected and edified by such events.

The record of providences also provided these Protestants with their own peculiar seasonal observances. On 10 April 1707 Richard Illidge (1636-1709), a Cheshire farmer and militia leader, recorded the anniversary of his falling off his horse two years previously. A conformist, though with strong nonconformist connections, his diary is an excellent example of how a similar outlook to Savage’s and Kay’s could be combined with conformity to the established church. It was, Illidge recorded

the day of my greate deliverance, I had a most dangerous fall off my horse, as that day my foote hunge in the stirrup: the horse run a way, & dradged me a good way: had not my shooe come off I had certainly bin killed: blessed be the Lord for this: as all his many & great mercies.<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, [p.3v.].

<sup>57</sup> Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), pp.15, 16.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p.15.

<sup>59</sup> C.C.A.L.S., Peter Jones, *Richard Illidge, 1637-1709*, Private Publication by Peter Jones, PO Box 119 Nantwich CW5 5UD 2002 Illus, Ref: 21624, p.26, see p.8 for original entry.



While God ultimately saved Illidge, his account demonstrated the manner in which providences were still bound up with bodily and spiritual jeopardy. His commemoration of the event was reflected within other diaries. In January 1672 Thomas Jolly recorded ‘A bruise I got by the fall of my hors with my foot under him served to putt mee in mind of my many deliverances and putt mee upon thankfulness.’<sup>60</sup> On the ‘12<sup>th</sup> m. [1677]’ Jolly retired ‘upon account of my own condition and the publique also.’ He also recorded ‘Oh! The signall providence of God as to my outward man in Manchester, preserving mee from the hard of a disp[er]ate fall with my hors!’<sup>61</sup> Jolly commemorated this providence on an annual basis, in a similar manner to Illidge. Bound up with the preservation of life and limb, it represented a strongly affective devotional practice on behalf of these diarists. Despite their differences in ecclesiology and century, both Illidge and Jolly closely examined the events of their lives and found the immanent hand of God within them. Both of the narratives also followed an affective sequence, which built up to the dramatic moment of their fall and ended with peace in God’s mercy.

The structure of diary writing served a dual purpose; first it was a means of prayer in its own right, and secondly it subsumed prayer within a discursive pattern of affective sequence. Much as feeling was often performative of the prayers explored in the first section, so here, diary writing understood prayers in affective terms. The process of diary writing also provided a means by which Christians might foster and manage their affections in prayer. Many of the extracts and examples explored here demonstrated movement from a low affective state of confession and contrition, to higher affections of heartfelt appreciation of God, to comfort in the promises of

---

<sup>60</sup> *Note book*, p.5 11<sup>th</sup> m. [1671] [January 1672 N.S.] Jolly followed the ‘Old Style’ or Julian Calendar.

<sup>61</sup> Jones, *Richard Illidge*, p.33 [February 1678 N. S.].

Christ. This anticipated the crucicentrism that scholars of the Evangelical Revival claimed characterised that movement.<sup>62</sup> Such a progression mirrored the instructive material of the period. While not all of the extracts exhibited exact conformity to this pattern, the movement between emotional states through personal duties of devotional experience witnessed the centrality of feeling in their performance. This was sustained throughout the period, as was the record of personal providences. In this, the structure of diaries provided a forum for personal calendrical commemorations, which ultimately promoted an affective piety and a close appreciation of God through the senses and through feeling.

## Reading

---

Materials of devotional and religious instruction, as observed by Andrew Cambers, were recorded in the life writings of Protestants and they played a crucial role in their practice of personal duties.<sup>63</sup> Reading functioned as both an affective exercise itself, as well as framing devotion in affective terms. Henry Prescott's resolution to commit himself once more to his faith was followed with the note 'My Susanna and I are beginning to read *The Christian Life* (a book piously and learnedly written by J. Scot S. T. P.); God grant to practice it'.<sup>64</sup> This outburst of affective piety was seemingly the result of taking up Scot's book. Prescott's entry reveals the social nature of reading that was clearly an

---

<sup>62</sup> Noll, Bebbington, Rawlyk (eds.), *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies*, p.6.

<sup>63</sup> Cambers, *Godly Reading*, pp.39-40; Cambers, 'Reading', pp.813-816.

<sup>64</sup> Scot, *The Christian life*; Addy, Harrop and McNiven (eds.), *The Diary of Henry Prescott*, Vol. 3, p.713.

important part of this godly culture. Its purpose was, however, undoubtedly to have an effect upon the interior lives of those who read. Moreover, such reading could be conducted alone. Edmund Harrold was a keen reader of religious texts, even making a secondary living out of their exchange. While he was a social reader, such texts were also a part of his personal duty. His reading of them was deeply affecting. On 4 November 1712, after a busy day at business and at the tavern, he returned home to his ‘wife scolding and upbraided me with drunkenness’. Unable to sleep that night he ‘got up and read a sermon of Norriss, very pertinent to my case and thoughtfulness, and I found a great deal of comforts to my soul from it.’<sup>65</sup> Harrold demonstrated the role of the reading in directing his feeling. His admission of drunkenness once more followed a sequence of affective discourse, which ultimately led to his peace in God from reading and consideration of his spiritual estate. One entry for 25 October 1712 followed a similar pattern. After a day of ‘Dull business’ Harrold recorded ‘reading Hopkins Almost [Chris]tian Be[t]ter at last, blest be God for it.’<sup>66</sup> The reading of this treatise of religious instruction, in this case Ezekiel Hopkins (1634–1690), *The almost Christian discovered...* (London 1693), allowed him to feel better about the preceding day. It provided comfort and solace to him. We have seen above how Sarah Savage regarded reading as essential personal preparation for other religious duties. On 12 February 1687 after missing ‘an opportunity on Sab. day of renewing my Coven[ant with] God weak & slightly I was in my reparation yet had refreshmt. in reading Medes almost Xtian.’<sup>67</sup> While it is not clear how exactly Savage engaged with this text, Matthew Mead’s (1628/9–1699) *En oligi Christianos: the Almost Christian Discovered* (1662), appears to have been used as a form of personal devotion in preparation for the Lord’s Day.

---

<sup>65</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, pp.43-44.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p.42.

<sup>67</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.8v.].

Reading was presented here as an activity that engaged with and stimulated her spiritual affections.

The Bible provided the source of much of this affective exercise. Like reading of devotional treatises, Jeremy Schildt has observed how ‘the experience of reading the Bible *alone*... was deeply embedded in the *social* life of the godly household, the parish and the wider community.’<sup>68</sup> This was not only in regards to preparing for public worship but as a means to ‘interrogate providence, draw assurance from Scripture and confront change.’<sup>69</sup> Reading the Bible ‘provided space to make sense of the world beyond the closet.’<sup>70</sup> Protestants of the north west of England recorded in their life-writings how this was a thoroughly affective exercise. The Bible provided them with language and motifs through which to express their feelings. This was, of course, often a social practice, but in the construction of their diaries, this was also appropriated as a means of managing their internal lives and personal experiences. Savage demonstrated throughout her diary the affective nature of her engagement with the Bible. On 21 November 1686, for example, she noted at ‘noo[n] had ye presence of God in reading some of Ps. 119 & so[me] of ye book of Canticles’.<sup>71</sup> On ‘Wednesd. morn.’ of that week she experienced ‘sweetness in reading in course Rom. [16. 20] God shall tread Satan under your feet shortly’.<sup>72</sup> Her reading of the Bible was an intensely affective one. Its fruits, as witnessed here, were primarily mediated through her feeling. Yet, the Bible was much more integrated into her testimony. Following on from the first citation, Savage recorded ‘... did not my heart burn – we[re] there not some little warmth of

---

<sup>68</sup> Jeremy Schildt, ‘Reading the Bible’, p.53.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p.60.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p.61.

<sup>71</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [p.4v.].

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., n.p. [p.5r.].

desires Esp in ye thy testimonies have I chosen as my heritage for ever'.<sup>73</sup> She consciously appropriated the words of David and paraphrased from Luke 24:32. These biblical citations clearly had significant effects upon the presentation of feeling within her devotional discourse. On 6 February 1687 Savage recalled hearing 'Several sweet Passages out of Ps. 119 read in ye Fam. ys week' the following Saturday she recorded having 'not prepared aright for ye Sab. I may well say as ye Psalmist 119. 25 My soul cleaveth to dust, in resp. of a distracted Earthly frame yt I am in, oh quicketh thou mee'.<sup>74</sup> Savage used the words of the Psalms in particular in directing those discreet prayers within her diary. She used the words of the Bible in self-reproach and called upon God to influence her feeling. 'Frid. Morn. had freedom wth God in secret Poured out my soul before him ... encouraged by Ps. 102. 17 prayer of ye destitute'. She continued that 'in ye close prayed for health of body in ye words of Abr. Oh yt Ishmael might live in ye sight however I have good ground of hope he will hear mee for Isaac' for while 'I may have a sick Body yet I shall have a healthy soul – Amen – I trust both ys Cabinet and yt Jewel with thee – Father into thy hands etc.'.<sup>75</sup> The 'pouring out of her soul' demonstrated the manner in which Savage looked to engage her feeling within her personal devotions. It also demonstrated how she understood the quotation of the Bible, within her diary, as an effectively affecting practice. The reading of Psalm 102. 17, 'He will regard the prayer of the destitute, and not despise their prayer', functioned as

---

<sup>73</sup> 'And they said one to another, Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures?' Luke 24. 32; 'Thy testimonies have I taken as an heritage for ever: for they are the rejoicing of my heart.' Psalm 119:111.

<sup>74</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n. p. [p.8r.].

<sup>75</sup> 'When I remember these things, I pour out my soul in me: for I had gone with the multitude, I went with them to the house of God, with the voice of joy and praise, with a multitude that kept holyday' Psalm 42. 4; 'He will regard the prayer of the destitute, and not despise their prayer.' Psalm 102:7; The passage of her second citation read in the King James version as: 'And Abraham said unto God, O that Ishmael might live before thee!' Genesis 17:18 KJV. It would seem here that Savage was referencing one of the following texts: 'And Abraham sayde vnto God: O that Ismael myghte lyue in thy syghte.' Genesis 17:18 – Great Bible (1541); 'And Abraham saide vnto God, Oh, that Ishmael might liue in thy sight.' Genesis 17:18 Geneva Bible (1587). 'And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said thus, he gave up the ghost.' Luke 23:46 KJV; *Diary of Sarah Savage*, [p.6r.].

the catalyst for her devotional outpouring. Here reading the Bible was a means by which she could properly foster feeling, but it also provided the languages and motifs she needed to express her spiritual, internal experience.

Edmund Harrold drew upon citations from the Bible, and particularly Psalm 119, to demonstrate the affectivity of his personal devotions. Harrold's entries frequently included spiritual ejaculations, which were reminiscent of the discourse of the Psalmist. On 18 June 1713, for example, he recorded 'Oh my heart is sorrowful for my sin and vanity. Lord, help and direct me for ye best, not yt I heartily desire to settle, however, thy will be done.'<sup>76</sup> On 27 July 1712 after recording the sermon he heard that day he ended the entry 'O Lord, I beseech thee, grant me peace in thee, thro' Jesus Christ our Lord amen.'<sup>77</sup> These entries demonstrated the manner in which he intended to mirror that of the Psalmist. He appropriated the words here to share in David's affective display of piety. Jolly's notebook followed suit. At the death bed of his son Jolly lamented, 'Oh ! the troubles and fears the designs and hopes that wrought in him, hee confessed and lamented some wantonness of carriage and breach of Sabbath'.<sup>78</sup> Jolly, much like Harrold, echoed the spiritual ejaculations of the Psalms, which directed their content to God. The intense devotional affect of the Psalmist was adopted here to demonstrate the intensely affective nature of his own record. 'My retireing in the 11<sup>th</sup> m. [1671]' Jolly continued, reflecting further upon the death of his son,

was to humble myself under gods mighty hand in this heavy stroke, that the lord should take away a son of much pregnant hopes for grace and gifts in such a time of need: that hee should answer prayers by such terrible things in

---

<sup>76</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.77.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p.23.

<sup>78</sup> *Note book*, p.4 ['10<sup>th</sup> m. 1671', January 1672 N.S.].

righteousness yet I would not forget the mixture of mercy therewithall, the wormwood and the gall are rem'bered that my soul might be humbled within mee and soe I might have hope.<sup>79</sup>

He drew upon a number of biblical verses here to demonstrate the affective nature of this sort of devotion, as a prayer offered to God. The passage included paraphrases of 1 Peter 5:6, Psalm 65:5 and Lamentations 3:19-20. Quotation, paraphrase and imitation of the literary structure of the Bible were thus used to demonstrate the engagement of the affections in the construction of diary entries. This action, while potentially retroactive (the notebook appeared to have been compiled from other materials including a diary) was nevertheless still intended to present Jolly as intensely affective in the record of his son's death. Moreover, it presented this action as a devotional one.

Much as the Bible provided affective models for these Protestants to imitate, the devotional material that they read, conceived of devotional practice in highly affective terms. Feeling was presented in these texts as performative of devotion. It is notable that Richard J. Ginn, in his biography of John Scot contended that the work Henry Prescott and his wife read, *The Christian Life*, had as its central thesis the notion 'that happiness consists in "a free and intimate Knowledge of God"', and also in "a free and undistracted choice of God" and the rest of the work expounded the means to

---

<sup>79</sup> *Note book*, p.5 [February 1672 N. S.] 'By terrible things in righteousness wilt thou answer us, O God of our salvation; who art the confidence of all the ends of the earth, and of them that are afar off upon the sea.' Psalm 65:5; 'Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time.' 1 Peter 5:6; 'Remove thy stroke away from me: I am consumed by the blow of thine hand.' Psalm 39:10; 'Even to day is my complaint bitter: my stroke is heavier than my groaning.' Job 23:2; 'Remembering mine affliction and my misery, the wormwood and the gall. My soul hath them still in remembrance, and is humbled in me.' Lamentations 3:19-20.

these ends'.<sup>80</sup> Such an argument demonstrated how feeling was central to the reading material of all of these Protestants of the period. A personal experience of God was mediated through and productive of affections. Much as in the life-writings explored above, however, feeling was not universally constructed in such texts as an unalloyed good. In texts read by Sarah Savage and Edmund Harrold, which have already been referenced, there was some caution. In Matthew Mead's and Ezekiel Hopkins' texts considering the pitfalls that awaited the merely 'almost Christian', feeling was not always understood as representative of regeneration. Mead and Hopkins drew on the story of Esau to make their argument. Mead asked

suppose a mans affections are much stirred in prayer, how then? is not that a truenote of Christianity? Now my affections are much stirred in Prayer. So was *Esau's* when he sought the Blessing; *He sought it carefully with tears.*<sup>81</sup>

Hopkins continued: '*He is a profane Person who despiseth Spiritual Privileges... as Esau who for one morsel of Meat sold his Birthright*, Heb. 12.16.'<sup>82</sup> He warned that:

there may be Affections and sweet Motions of the Heart, which are oftentimes relied on as certain evidences of true Grace; yet also may be in a carnal and natural Man, *Mat. 13.20 Some received the word with joy, &c.*<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>80</sup> *The works of the reverend and learned John Scott*, 2. Vols., Vol. 1 (London, 1718), pp.4,5; Richard J. Ginn, 'Scott, John (1638/9–1695)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24889, last accessed: 16/05/2016].

<sup>81</sup> 'For ye know how that afterward, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected: for he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.' Hebrews 12:17; Matthew Mead, *En oligi Christianos: the Almost Christian Discovered* (London, 1662), pp.110-111.

<sup>82</sup> Ezekiel Hopkins, *The almost Christian discovered...* (London 1693), p.132.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p.33.



Mead made a similar commentary on Matthew 13. 20, noting that ‘there are four things observable in the Words’ the first being ‘that the stony ground may receive the word with joy’.<sup>84</sup> For Mead, as for Hopkins, even the sensation of godly affections was not necessarily indicative of regeneration. This was particularly the case where these feelings were not sustained.

Yet, both of these authors stressed the correct sort of devotional affect as being at the heart of godliness. This is demonstrated in Hopkins’ text even at the expense of works that his high-church ceremonialism and Arminian theological outlook might have otherwise been expected to stress. Hopkins’s assertion that ‘*A Civil and harmless demeanour* doth not render a man altogether a Christian’ seems to echo that godly commonplace that a merely civil man who was honoured by the world was the least likely to be regenerated.<sup>85</sup> Mead condemned hypocritical ‘Professors’, a motif which Hopkins echoed. Hopkins argued that ‘break-neck Professors’ as in 2 Peter 2:21 would be better ‘*not to have known the way of righteousness than after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered to them*’.<sup>86</sup> Mead, similarly asserted that ‘*the Hypocritical professor, that pretends much, but performs little*’ would have better to have been ‘a sinner without a profession, then to be a professor without conversion, for the one lies fairer for an inward change, when the other rests in an outward’. Mead claimed that there were ‘None farther from the Kingdom of God, then such as are not far from the Kingdom of God’.<sup>87</sup> Inward conversion and changing the heart was the ultimate test of the complete Christian. This view was shared by both authors. Hopkins’s text is shorter than Mead’s and certainly appears to play down those elements that were more

---

<sup>84</sup> Mead, *Almost Christian*, p.231.

<sup>85</sup> Hopkins, *almost Christian*, p.55.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p.117.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.233-4.

Calvinistic and critical of ceremony. There are some elements in Hopkins' which could be interpreted as anti-dissent, moreover, when they criticised 'professors' they potentially took aim at their opponents. Nevertheless, most of both texts could be synthesised with a conformist/Arminian or a dissenting/Calvinist outlook. Whether Hopkins read Mead is unclear. However, whether he did or not, they were influenced by a similar outlook. Their texts were produced from within a network of meanings and interpretations that pervaded differences in theology and ecclesiology among English Protestants. These Protestants thus engaged in an affective community bound by uniform precepts of correct devotional affect. Sincerity and earnestness in feeling as well as inward affective conversion were the ideals of this community.

This was true of much of Edmund Harrold's reading material. Harrold read widely, including godly and nonconformist authors. All of these texts constructed devotion through the affections. Harrold read, for example, Isaac Ambrose, whose understanding of meditation explored earlier, was framed in high affective terms. Again, Ambrose cautioned against some feeling. His conception of the 'new birth' for example required that 'all must be renewed, *the understanding, will, memory, conscience, affections*.'<sup>88</sup> He noted, in a similar vein to Hopkins and Mead, it was possible to feel and yet not be renewed.<sup>89</sup> The direction and object of these affections was also of concern when Ambrose wrote that the 'world it may be will be sometimes creeping into thy affections, and thou canst not be quite freed from the love of the World.' It was, however, through feeling that the spiritual estate might be ascertained: 'dost thou in thy ordinary, settled, prevailing judgment and affections, prefer Christ before all things in the world?'<sup>90</sup> Here, we find the origin of the concern witnessed by the Protestant life-writers that they loved

---

<sup>88</sup> Ambrose, *complete works*, p.4.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p.167.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p.73.

the world, even their families too much. Yet it was unfeeling with which Ambrose was most concerned. Under instructions for ‘confession’ he wrote, ‘how dull is thy understanding! How dead thy affections!’ and echoed the Protestant life-writers’ use of spiritual ejaculation: ‘O where by those scalding affections to Christ Jesus, which holy men have felt in all ages, and striven to express in their *Soliloquies*!’ Such high feeling was appropriate to this task of self-debasement but it was quiet feeling that was the mark of the sanctified. A ‘humble Heart makes all a Man quiet’ he wrote. Moreover, before public worship the devotee was to cultivate ‘willingness, chearfulness, reverence, repentance, love humility and faith.’<sup>91</sup> Such feeling was recommended in another treatise Harrold read, William Beveridge, the bishop of St. Asaph’s *The nature and necessity of restitution...* (1711). Through the example of Zaccheus in the New Testament, the Christian exhibited himself by ‘cheerfully’ obeying Christ’s command of which ‘Obedience... we shall soon find the happy Effect’.<sup>92</sup> Zaccheus’ conversion was occasioned by his being ‘pricked in the Heart’ hearing Christ be rebuked for entering the house of a sinner such as Zaccheus. He was ‘struck with so quick a sense of them, with so great Sorrow for them [his sins], and with so strong an Aversion to them, and Resolution against them for the future’.<sup>93</sup>

Richard Allestree’s (1621/2-1681) *The Whole duty of Man*, has been understood as particularly influential upon late seventeenth-century piety and ran to at least twenty-five editions by the end of the eighteenth century. While John Spurr has claimed it ‘epitomised the commonsensical, non-controversial, brand of theology on offer in the Restoration Church’ and was ‘typical of a certain practical ethos which had emerged in

---

<sup>91</sup> Ambrose, *complete works*, pp.34, 168.

<sup>92</sup> William Beveridge, *The nature and necessity of restitution. On Luke. XIX. 8. By the Right Reverend Father in God William Beveridge, D.D. late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph* (London, 1711), p.6.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.6, 7.

reaction to the speculative and “experiential” religion of the Interregnum’, the tract, nonetheless, engaged with vigorous feeling.<sup>94</sup> It provided its readers with a prayer of ‘*Thanksgiving after the Receiving of the sacrament*’ which saw the devotee ‘desire with all the most fervent and inflamed affection of a grateful heart to bless and praise thee for those inestimable mercies thou hast vouchsafed me’.<sup>95</sup> While *Whole duty* recommended right action of a moralist bent, this was not without personal experience. Christians were to observe justice ‘not only in respect of our words and actions, but of our very thoughts and affections also; we are not only forbid to hurt, but to hate’ even so far as to resist revelling in others’ misfortunes.<sup>96</sup> Certainly this provided for the management of feeling, which was far from approving all feeling. Yet, this management was again not one which recommended an unfeeling mechanistic moralism. Unfeeling was arguably the fount of immoral actions. An entry which provided a model of ‘*A Confession*’ read

mine heart, which should be an habitation for thy spirit, is become a Cage of unclean Birds, of foul and disordered affections; and out of this abundance of the heart my mouth speaketh, my hands act, so that in thought, word, and deed, I continually transgress against thee. [*Here mention the greatest of thy sins*]. Nay O Lord, I have despised that goodness of thine which should lead me to Repentance, hardening my heart against all those means thou has used for my amendment.<sup>97</sup>

It was the hard heart, unresponsive and arguably unfeeling towards the advances of God, which prevented regeneration. Such a motif was repeated in the text. Of

---

<sup>94</sup> Spurr, *Restoration Church*, pp.283-4.

<sup>95</sup> [Richard Allestree], *Whole Duty of Man* (London, 1704), p.465.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p.270.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p.407.

repentance the text noted that ‘when Men have along time refused and rejected that grace, resisted all his calls and invitations to conversion and amendment’ it was God’s will to ‘give them over at last to the hardness of their own hearts, and not to afford them any more of that grace they have so despised.’<sup>98</sup> The antithesis of this the text was found in Joel 2. 12, ‘*Therefore now thus saith the Lord, Turn ye unto me with all your hearts, with fasting, and with weeping &c.*’.<sup>99</sup> Such exhortations hardly downplayed the role of personal inward experience of God in favour of mere action. Feeling was, in this favourite of conformist devotional works, an important medium of faith.

The materials Harrold and others consumed thus recommended feeling as an important, if not the principal, concern for personal devotional practice. The practice of reading itself was also recorded as being mediated through feeling, generative of godly affections often through a pattern of observable affective sequence. The Bible provided these Protestants both with a source of spiritual comfort as well as the means to express their religious affections. Their interior experiences were worked out and understood through this text, often employed in social acts of devotion, with which the greater part of the rest of this thesis is concerned. Much of the material here fell under the rubric of practical divinity, the greater part of which was concerned with how to live faith in everyday life. This did not, however, preclude engagement with fervent feeling or affective appreciation of the divine. It may not have engaged with the speculative theology of the Interregnum sects, yet it was far from a merely formal or didactic exercise. Many of these treatises, and the engagement with them witnessed in the life-writings, assumed that a personal appreciation of and relationship with the divine was accessible to all Christians. It actively recommended such an interaction, mediated

---

<sup>98</sup> [Allestree], *Whole Duty*, p.132.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p.135.

primarily through feeling. Exhibitions of feeling, even personal experience, were not a guarantor of regeneration in Christ, but they were presented nonetheless as the ultimate (if the not only) axis against which Protestants were to measure their spiritual estate and sincerity of faith. Management of the affections was the principal exercise where these life-writers and authors engaged with the issue of feeling. This was, however, not the same thing as recommending unfeeling, or even an artifice of feeling. Here, there were multiple categories of feeling, rather than an overarching principle as in modern constructions of emotion. As such, much of the energy that would naturally, given humanity's fallen state, be directed towards worldly objects and ungodly feeling was to be redirected, even harnessed first in self-reproach and then in appreciation of the divine. Reading both recommended this and was the source of it for these Protestants.

## Conclusion

---

Feeling was at the centre of these practices of personal devotional duty. Prayer, diary construction and reading were both defined by the affections and a means to stir them up. A close relationship with God was made through these practices and mediated by feeling. At times, these practices involved and recommended the control of feeling. This was not, however, quite the same thing as repression. As per Christian philosophical understanding, the role of reason over the affections, even the passions, was a means of properly harnessing them in devotional duty. It was a means of directing the devotee's energy away from worldly and carnal concerns and towards an appreciation of the divine. Engagement of feeling was essential. Where it was taken up with other concerns, or improperly directed, this was understood by these Protestant

life-writers as interfering with their relationship with God. Feeling was the principal conduit of this relationship and this had to both be cultivated and managed. This then, had rather less to do with a culture obsessed with avoiding the enthusiasms of the political and religious strife out of which the country had recently emerged. It had rather more to do with conventional Christian understandings of the role of feeling in devotional exercise and its meaning for their spiritual estate. This then rejects any simple dichotomy made between feeling and unfeeling in the religious cultures of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English Protestantism. Feeling played a much more complex function in the devotions of the Protestants explored who, due to issues of conformity, party and denomination, have often been understood as engaging in increasingly separate cultures. This is not borne out in the evidence explored here. Feeling was not the reserve of a godly remnant that held out against a prevailing formalism of moralism of the high and low factions of the Church of England. It was common to conformists and nonconformists alike of differing allegiances. These groups often spoke the same languages and *topoi* of feeling. They engaged in discursive patterns of affective sequence within their devotional record. Exuberant feeling, heartfelt devotion and personal experience of God were greatly important aspects of the personal devotional exercise for all Protestants. This was as true for conformists like Edmund Harrold, Henry Prescott and Richard Illidge as it was for the nonconformist Henry sisters and the sometime congregationalist and exorcist Thomas Jolly. In the didactic materials from Protestant authors of varying theological and ecclesiological sympathies, feeling was ultimately the source and arbiter of the Christian's spiritual estate and functioned as personal devotional exercise in their recommendation.

## Chapter 2: “A Church in the House”; Feeling and the Corporate Devotions of Protestant Households

---

In the religious landscape of post-Restoration English Protestantism, ‘family-religion’ loomed large. Linked by contemporaries to the moral reform movement it has also been understood by historians as a response to the restrictive conformity of the 1662 ecclesiastical restoration.<sup>1</sup> This chapter engages with these debates but also presents the practice of family religion as one wherein the cultivation of feeling was central. Family religion was part of a shared culture of devotional practice, common to all Protestants regardless of party or denomination. Moreover, in engaging with feeling, these practices were one of the primary media through which the household was constructed as an affective community. That is, as a community defined by feeling and constructed through discourses thereof. A number of divines stressed the education of children, and particularly catechism, as a principal practice of family religion.<sup>2</sup> These corporate devotions also included communal prayer (to be conducted twice a day; in the morning and the evening), the singing of psalms as well as the repetition of sermons heard at church, or read in religious treatises and scripture.<sup>3</sup> By examining family devotions, the forms they took and the materials they drew upon, this chapter reveals how family duties helped construct the household as an affective devotional community. Religious devotions were instrumental in mediating the affective bonds of the family and

---

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Henry, *A Church in the House, A sermon concerning family-religion. Publish'd at the request of some who heard the substance of it preach'd in London* (London, 1704) p.6; Andrew Cambers and Michele Wolfe, ‘Reading, Family Religion, and Evangelical identity in late Stuart England’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 47: 4 (2004), particularly p.882.

<sup>2</sup> ‘You must also *Catechize your Children and Servants*’, Henry, *Church in the house*, p.17; ‘command, exhort and catechize them’, Samuel Slater, *An earnest call to family-religion, or, A discourse concerning family-worship being the substance of eighteen sermons / preached by Samuel Slater* (London, 1694), p.121; see also Thomas Bray, *An appendix to the discourse upon the doctrine of our baptismal covenant being a method of family religion* (London, 1699), n.p. [p.iii].

<sup>3</sup> Bray, *Appendix*, n.p. sig. A2r [pp.i, 20]; John Tillotson, *Six sermons I. Stedfastness in religion. II. Family-religion. III. IV. V. Education of children. VI. The advantages of an early piety: preached in the church of St. Lawrence Jury in London / by ... John Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*. (London 1694), p.38.



household. As Naomi Tadmor has explored, high mortality rates and frequency of remarriage, as well as the co-habitation of related (by birth or marriage) and non-related (servants etc.) people in the same household, could give such living arrangements a distinctly contractual feel. Though heads of such households were concerned for the spiritual lives of those under their care, particularly in regards to attendance at church, this chapter seeks to expand upon the peculiarly devotional aspect of their responsibilities.<sup>4</sup> Familial devotional practice cultivated affective bonds out of this heterogeneity. Susan Whyman's exploration of the life-writings of the post-Restoration Verney family asserted that 'by writing, rereading and saving records, each generation took part in the construction of a cumulative family identity.'<sup>5</sup> The families explored in this chapter constructed themselves in a similar manner, albeit on a much smaller scale.

By recording their practice of family duties (or the lack of it) they sought to emphasise, reassert and recommit themselves to the importance of these practices to the structure of their own family and to their own spiritual lives. As such, they conceived of the family as a devotional unit. This devotional unit was, however, also defined by its relations to other communities: personal, professional and national which extended the bounds of family outwards but also validated the role and function of family religion. This chapter will begin by examining the shared culture of family religion, suggesting that it was prominent among all parties of English Protestantism of the period. It then goes on to demonstrate how it related to other communities within the devotional economy and finally its affective nature. Family religion was dominated by a meditative and contemplative affect. As an exercise which prepared the family for

---

<sup>4</sup> Naomi Tadmor, 'The concept of the household-family in eighteenth-century England', *Past and Present*, Vol.151 (1996), pp.111-131.

<sup>5</sup> Susan Whyman, "'Paper visits': the post-Restoration letter as seen through the Verney family archive", in Earle, (ed.), *Epistolary Selves*, p.25.

public worship, it involved self-reproach and grief for sins, but also comfort in the assurance of God's presence.

### The Shared Culture of Family Religion

---

The life-writings of Protestants in the north west of England demonstrated that family religion was a cultural practice shared across lines of party and conformity. Edmund Harrold's diary bore witness to the concern of the ministry of the Collegiate Church in Manchester for the practice of family religion. On 27 July 1712 Harrold noted a sermon concerning Philippians 3. 17, the lesson of which was 'yt as its ye duty of great persons, so more especiall of parent[s] and masters of familys to walk so as ye have Christ and his apostles for examples, and yt we should set forth Gods glory'.<sup>6</sup> Here the Christian character of heads of households was extolled. Given Harrold's concern for his spiritual estate, evident throughout his diary, his role as a godly father undoubtedly hung heavy upon him. It was a concern that testified to the central role that family religion played in the construction of his identity. The instructive role of the father also led to contemplation of the glory of God among his family. This communal witness roused the senses and spoke to a meditative affect, which defined family religion. Harrold recorded a sermon on 15 March 1713, drawing on Jeremiah 10. 25, claimed 'yir is a curse in ye familys yt call not on Gods name'.<sup>7</sup> On 13 July 1712 a sermon was preached on keeping the Lord's day which the preacher noted it must be kept '1<sup>st</sup> by

---

<sup>6</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.23.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p.65.

preparation, before performance of private dutys and family dutys'.<sup>8</sup> Here the ministry of the high-church Collegiate Church in Manchester included family religion as one of its core teachings. This questions Andrew Cambers and Michelle Wolfe's argument that family religion was particularly characteristic of an evangelical middle ground of nonconformists and reluctant conformists. These groups, they contend, employed the practice to avoid the social and legal stigma of the conventicle and as a continuation of earlier forms of godly religious culture respectively.<sup>9</sup> While the majority of works they cite come from latitudinarian and Presbyterian divines (William Payne, John Tillotson, Samuel Slater, John Shower and Matthew Henry), they recognised that Thomas Bray, founder of the SPCK, and generally considered to have more high-church sympathies, also published in support of the practice.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, a number of other authors of more ambiguous positions, including Elizabeth Burnet (1661-1709), wife of Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury and a religious writer in her own right and Thomas Wilson, bishop of Sodor and Man (1663-1755, bishop from 1697/8 until his death) also recommended family religion. Notably, John Scott (1638/9-1695), rector of St. Giles in the Fields and an opponent of nonconformity, in his *The Christian Life* recommended practices in families conforming to the sort recommended by these authors.<sup>11</sup> All of these texts sought the inculcation of an inward piety, through family duty, which would be of benefit for public worship. For some among the conformist writers, this was a means of drawing more people into the Church of England and away from nonconformity. Nonetheless, the evidence from Harrold's diary demonstrates that a

---

<sup>8</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.18.

<sup>9</sup> Cambers and Wolfe, 'Reading', p.882.

<sup>10</sup> Cambers and Wolfe consider the following treatises on family religion: William Payne, *Family religion: or, the duty of taking care of religion in families, and the means of doing it* (London, 1691), Tillotson, *Six Sermons*; John Shower, *Family religion in three letters to a friend* (London 1694); Slater, *An earnest call*, Bray, *Appendix*; Henry, *Church in the House*, all cited in Cambers, 'Reading', p.886.

<sup>11</sup> Elizabeth Burnet, *A method of devotion* (London, 1708); Thomas Wilson *Plain and Short Directions and Prayers For Particular persons, For Families, For the Lord's-Day* (London, 1707); and *The principles and Duties of Christianity* (London, 1707); John Scott, 'Of the Christian Life, Part III', in *The works of the reverend and learned John Scott* (London, 1718), Vol. I., pp.630, 625.

shared culture of family religion was entertained even among those who might otherwise have been considered of primarily high-church sensibilities.

Richard Illidge's (1637-1709) *Life* witnessed how family religion was a quotidian aspect of conformists' devotions. Illidge's son, George, was a contemporary and close friend of Matthew Henry's (who wrote Richard's *Life*), even becoming a nonconformist minister himself. Richard Illidge thus had strong links to nonconformity. He nonetheless continued to conform to the Church of England, expressing some partisanship. Henry recorded Illidge's embrace of family religion, particularly on Sundays. At 'Noon on the *Lord's-day*,' Henry wrote of Illidge, 'a Chapter was read to his Family, a Psalm sung, and concluded with Prayer.' Illidge often also 'wrote down, when he came home, the Text, and what he could remember of the Sermons he heard, that he might have the Benefit and Comfort of reviewing them afterwards.'<sup>12</sup> The singing of Psalms was a godly practice and roused spiritual affections. As explored in discussing personal religious practice, the Psalms were a source of affective piety. Much as in the discussion of personal devotional practice, Psalms could be used to incorporate biblical affections into familial practice. Moreover, it is clear that Illidge was to take a leading role in his family, generating a contemplative affect in his family to their own comfort. This comfort referred primarily to a psychological and spiritual state, rather than physical circumstances.<sup>13</sup> It was a state of mind, an affect defined by interior solace, albeit here within the corporate devotion of the household.

---

<sup>12</sup> M. Henry, *An account of the life and death of lieutenant Illidge, chiefly drawn out of his own papers by M. Henry*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn. 'Corrected' (London, 1720), p.41.

<sup>13</sup> John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities & Design in Early Modern Britain & Early America* (London, 2000), p.69; Winner, *Cheerful*, p.3.

Illidge's choice for his own funeral text furthermore, referenced the role of the father, '*Psal. CIII. 13, 14. Like as a Father pitieth his Children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him: for he knoweth our Frame: he remembers we are but Dust*'; he is said to have often repeated this verse to himself. Inherent within this choice was the model for fathers, a model which put religious instruction at the heart of fatherhood. The minister at his funeral expanded on how

he kept a constant Course of religious Exercise in his Family; a Thing too much neglected among us. I doubt not, but his Worshipping of God in secret, was daily and devout, and agreeable to his Care of Family-Worship. He took great Care, that the Lord's-Day was kept holy, both by himself and by his Family.<sup>14</sup>

Of course the minister no doubt sought to eulogise Illidge in a manner that would make his life and death an example to others and gave him a good character given the sensitivity of the occasion. Nonetheless, this conformist clergyman took the opportunity to extol family religion to his audience. As such he witnessed that concern for the practice of familial devotional duties was conventional within the Church of England. Such concerns exhibited the continuities within the religious culture of English Protestantism throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, observed by Cambers and Wolfe. Illidge's eulogy chimes with Margo Todd's exploration of the Erasmian and Humanist heritage of the 'spiritualised household'. She has argued that writers such as William Gouge, an early Stuart clergyman of strong godly sensibilities and author of a treatise on family life considered to be archetypical of this genre, exhibited Aristotelian notions of the family as the cradle of the state in its promotion of

---

<sup>14</sup> Henry, *lieutenant Illidge*, pp.131, 132.

children's education.<sup>15</sup> While Todd has suggested that family religion faced opposition from the Laudian reaction, she also suggested that the 'seventeenth-century [high-churchman] Jeremy Taylor... differed from neither Puritans nor humanists when he described the family as "seminary of the church" and "nursery of heaven".<sup>16</sup> Moreover, notable Arminians and Laudians, such as John Cosin and Nicholas Ferrar, supported familial duty.<sup>17</sup> Family religion can therefore be understood as a unifying cultural practice among Protestants of the period, rather than a practice engaged in by a beleaguered evangelical remnant.

At least by the turn of the century high-churchmen were advocating family religion. This is no small claim given that historians have suggested that any extra-parochial activity between 1660 and 1740 carried with it associations of puritan, Interregnum and dissenting practice.<sup>18</sup> It is likely, however, that it was a relatively uncontroversial practice among conformists from much earlier. Illidge and John Worthington (the sometime master of Jesus College and Cambridge Platonist who took up a Cheshire living in 1667), men of rather more low-church sympathies, are recorded

---

<sup>15</sup> William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties* (London, 1622), 'Dedicatory Epistle' n.p. Gouge also used Aristotle's beehive analogy for the family, and cited Erasmus, Margo Todd, 'Humanists, Puritans and the Spiritualized Household', *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture*, Vol. 49, Issue 1 (March, 1980), pp. 16-34.

<sup>16</sup> Jeremy Taylor, *Works*, R. Heber (ed.), 15 vols. (London, 1828), vol. 5, pp.252-253; Todd, 'Humanists, Puritans', pp.23, 32-34.

<sup>17</sup> H. C. White, *English Devotional Literature, 1600-1640* (Madison, 1931), pp. 60, 63; Todd, 'Humanists, Puritans', pp.25-6; John Donne, *A Sermon of Commemoration of the Lady Danvers* (London, 1627), p. 133; John Cosin, *Works*, 4 vols., vol.1. (Oxford, 1863), p.27; A. M. Williams, *Conversations at Little Gidding* (Cambridge, 1970), introduction; taken from Todd, 'Humanists, Puritans', p.26.

<sup>18</sup> John Walsh, 'Religious societies: Methodist and evangelical 1738-1800', in W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (eds.), *Voluntary Religion*, SCH Vol.23. (Oxford, 1986) p.282; Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, p.107.

as engaging in such practices in the 1660s and 1670s.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the Presbyterian Matthew Henry declared in his 1704 *Church in the House* that he spoke of churches ‘concerning which there is no such Controversie’, in marked contrast to the late ‘Unhappy Contests ... about the Constitution, Order and Government, of Churches.’<sup>20</sup> Henry’s assertion that family religion ‘contribute[d] to the Support of Christianity in a Nation whose Honour and Happiness it is to a Christian Nation’ would have rung true among those who considered the practices of the established church as inviolable and near sacrosanct.<sup>21</sup> It was, therefore, perhaps the manner in which family religion instilled the correct devotional affect in their congregants that drew members of the Collegiate Church in Manchester to laud the practice.

Timothy Cragg (1657-1725), from Chappelhouse Wrysdale in Lancashire, recorded the practice of familial devotions as consistent with conformity in his life-writing. Cragg would become a convert to Quakerism but he noted how when he was a child his mother had ‘a book called “Crums of Comfort”, which had a prayer in it that was to be read in the time of a pestelance, I suppose so ordered by the Church of England’.<sup>22</sup> Though his mother may well have only conducted such duties at times of crisis, the memory of such a book in the household is suggestive of a greater commitment to such practice further down the social scale than the middling sorts

---

<sup>19</sup> Matthew Henry dates Illidge’s recommitment to Christianity (having fallen away from more youthful godliness in early adulthood) to his retirement to the country, c.1677-8, Henry, *Lieutenant Illidge*, p.9; ‘Diary of Lieutenant Richard Illidge of Wybunbury: Administrative History’, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/7f94d92c-d228-4f51-a064-f52910d68f19>, [last accessed: 26/01/2017]; *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington, master of Jesus College, Cambridge, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Etc., Etc.*, Vol. 2, Part. 1 James Crossley, (ed.), Chetham Society Publications, O.S. Vol. 36 (Manchester, 1855), p.213.

<sup>20</sup> Henry, *Church in the House*, p.7.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8.

<sup>22</sup> “The life of Timothy Cragg of Chappelhouse in Wyresdale written by himself” – transcribed from the original mss by his great grandson David Cragg in 1797 – transcribed by Timothy E Cragg of Greenbank Canada grandson of the above mentioned Timothy Cragg in 1886’, ‘The writings of the Cragg Family of Wyresdale’, Katrina Navickas (ed.), in Peter McNiven (ed.), *Jacobites and Jacobins: Two Eighteenth-Century Perspectives*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire Vol. CXLII. (2006), p.47.

otherwise examined so far. In the anonymous tract *Crumbs of Comfort* recommended by Cragg's devout (and presumably conformist) mother, the text called for its audience to 'First prepare thy Heart, then seek the Lord by Prayer.'<sup>23</sup> Cragg's engagement with family religion was thus characterised by feeling and the heart was an important mediator of this practice. Yet control was key. In '*A Prayer for Children*' the author of *Crumbs* presented a prayer which asked God 'to subdue our carnal Lusts, to overcome our unruly Wills, to bring into Order our irregular Affections, to season our Hearts with thy Grace'.<sup>24</sup> Not all feeling was, therefore, understood as conducive to piety. Another prayer declared 'But we feel too-too many rebellious Motions, and corrup[t] Cogitations, such as we are ashamed to speak of to any morta[l] Man'. This emphasis upon control was not, however, the same as suggesting that all feeling was proscribed. The next line of the same prayer declared how 'Our Minds should be draw[n] up on high with the Love of heavenly and spiritual Things'.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, another called upon God to 'imprint in our Consciences a deep Feeling of our Sins' and

...to give us a full Assurance, and a sweet Feeling of thy Love towards us in Jesus Christ, wherewith our Heart being thro'ly inflamed, we may bring forth abundantly the Fruits of thy holy Spirit...<sup>26</sup>

The idea of an inflamed heart reveals the role that exuberant feeling might have in the piety prescribed by these texts. Yet, it was suggestive of congruence with Harrold's and Illidge's practice in its call for contemplation of the assurances of God and the overall lower register of affective language. It recommended a meditative affect and illustrated

---

<sup>23</sup> *Crummes of Comfort and Godly Prayers with Thankful Remembrance of God's Wonderful Deliverances of this Land* (London, 1635), np. [p.3]; 'Life of Timothy Cragg', p.47.

<sup>24</sup> *Crummes*, p.39.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p.122.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p.126.



how a fulsome engagement with family religion was a fundamental aspect of the prescribed divinity of the established church, colouring the practices of conformists even of a lower social status.

If a broader view of family religion is taken, including the letters sent between family members, glimpses of a culture that was far-reaching in confessional terms emerges. Exchanges between Thomas Brockbank's (1671-1709) family were consistent with those conducted by dissenters, despite Brockbank's personal animosity towards nonconformity.<sup>27</sup> Given Rebecca Earle's argument that 'letter reading... was until quite recently an entirely social affair' and that 'letter-writers expected their missives to be read by more than one person' these exchanges may have formed an extension of family devotions, being read out to family members as material for their corporate devotions.<sup>28</sup> Brockbank exchanged pleas for consideration in family prayers and blessings with relations by blood and marriage. In a letter from his father in 1704, the senior Thomas Brockbank ended with: 'This with our daily prayers and blessing is all at present from y<sup>r</sup> loving parents J : M : Brookbanke. Witherslack 8<sup>th</sup> 1704.'<sup>29</sup> This was a common occurrence and was a request returned by Thomas Brockbank, the younger, such as the letter sent to his father from 'Leverpool Ap. y<sup>e</sup> 14. 1705... We also beg y<sup>r</sup> blessing and prayers, and desire frequently to hear from you.'<sup>30</sup> Such requests were also sent and received by Brockbank from his and his wife's relations. After the birth of one of his children and his wife's trouble breast-feeding, Brockbank finished a letter to

---

<sup>27</sup> In a letter dated 7 January 1699 he complained to a friend that 'At Colton (from whence my last was dated), I was ever surrounded w<sup>th</sup> troops of Calvins raising; but now at Garstang I am fallen into y<sup>e</sup> mids of y<sup>e</sup> Popes Creatures.' He similarly complained of Presbyterians as being 'nestled' in part of his parish, which had been apparently abandoned by one of his supporting curates, in a letter dated 20 August 1706, *The Diary and Letter Book of the Rev. Thomas Brockbank 1671-1709*, Richard Trappes-Lomax (ed.), Chetham Society, New Series Vol. 89 (Manchester, 1930), p.173, 319.

<sup>28</sup> R. Earle, 'Introduction: Letters, writers and the historian', pp.1-14, in Earle, (ed.), *Epistolary Selves*, p.7.

<sup>29</sup> *Letter Book of the Rev. Thomas Brockbank*, p.272.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p.282.

one of her relations with ‘We all beg of you to remember us in y<sup>r</sup> prayers, and to accept Duty & service from us, especially from Y<sup>r</sup> obliged Nephew & humble Serv<sup>t</sup> T.B.’<sup>31</sup> These calls for mutual remembrance in one another’s prayers demonstrated conformity to a devotional practice that was primarily contemplative. Though this practice was performed collectively, it spoke to the cultivation of a self-reflective affect. The begging for one another’s prayers was a means to ingratiate the individual or individuals concerned with God through the thoughts of others. It reflected the nonconformist Matthew Henry’s emphasis on the need for ‘*Family-confession of sins*’, ‘*Family Thanksgivings*’, ‘*Family-Petitions for the Mercy and Grace which your Families stand in need of*’ and ‘*Family-Intercessions for others also*.’<sup>32</sup> ‘There are Family-Cares to be cast upon God by prayer, Family-Comforts to be fought for, and Family-Crosses which they should together beg for the sanctification and Removal of.’<sup>33</sup> Grief, Remorse, thankfulness and ultimately personal comfort for the individual were sought through such exchange of devotional letters.

In their personal testimony the Henry family demonstrated their commitment to family prayer through letters and the need for self-reflection and contemplative affect within this collective practice. A letter of 12 January 1686, which Matthew Henry wrote to his mother Katherine, ended with: ‘humble duty to yourself begging your blessing & ye. continuance of your prayers that I may bee kept in ye. way of God & duty, and may bee preserved blameless to the Kingdom of Glory Amen!’<sup>34</sup> Henry implicated his mother and other relations within his soteriological narrative. Matthew Henry and his family exhibited a moderate Calvinism, but this did not restrain human activity. It

---

<sup>31</sup> *Letter Book of the Rev. Thomas Brockbank*, p.277.

<sup>32</sup> Henry, *Church in the House*, pp.23-28.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p.26.

<sup>34</sup> BL Add. MS 42849, ‘Katherine Henry, wife of Philip Henry: Letters to, from her children: 1686-1704, n.d.’, *Henry Papers*, Matthew Henry to Katherine Henry 12 January 1686, f.5.

served to strengthen devotional bonds, defining familial relations through the prism of devotion. This and the talk of eternity perhaps served to direct familial affections towards religious exercise. Similarly his sister, Ann Hulton wrote on 30 January 1688 to their mother principally concerning her brother, Matthew Henry's funeral sermon for a 'Mr. Swinton', 'Doctr. That no birthright of secular priviledges [sic] of Temporal advantages will stand us in any stead when wee come to die.' She ended 'This with humble duty to Dear Fa. and yr. self begging yr. blessing & prayers is all at prest. from yr. dutiful daughter A. Hul.'<sup>35</sup> The Henry family's plea for mutual prayers reflected Brockbank's practice. It represented something of family-religion-at-distance, particularly given that Ann was married in the same year. It served to sustain the construction of these now separate households as remaining part of a devotional community that they had as parents and children lived in the same household. Secondly, it also served to sustain family links through the prism of religion. Religion was a central axis of the familial love and connections as expressed by these Protestants. It was an exercise in self-reflection and in engendering feelings of humility and self-reproach within the devotee.

The letters exchanged between the Nicholson family also practiced this 'family-religion-at-distance'. Dorothy and Matthew Nicholson sent letters to their sons at the Strand School in Pilkington, Lancashire from their own home in Liverpool. These letters included exhortations, lessons and prayers which, given the communal nature of letter reading, offered a replacement for family religion when the boys were away at school. In a letter to James Nicholson, his father declared 'our desires and prayers for

---

<sup>35</sup> BL Add. MS 42849, 'Katherine Henry, wife of Philip Henry: Letters to, from her children: 1686-1704, n.d.', *Henry Papers*, Ann Hulton to Katherine Henry 30 January 1688, f.8.

you is that you may be good and do good while you live, and be happy when you die'.<sup>36</sup>

In another letter he called upon James to 'Pray minde your learning and be dutifull to you master and carry well and contentedly in the femely you are in'.<sup>37</sup> In these appeals, the Nicholsons engaged with affective discourse in their exhortations to their sons. The Nicholsons' use of their letters as potential substitutes for family religion saw Matthew Nicholson in particular frequently exhort his sons in a manner similar to that of sermons, perhaps taking inspiration from the repetition of local and published sermons. In a letter dated 29 June 1721 Matthew called his son Robert to 'minde yr dutie to god and give him the glorie for yr being better'. He implored 'the lord make yu his and bend all yr hart to love and serve him, that yu may be his living and his dying'.<sup>38</sup> This mindfulness was reflective of the meditative affect promoted by other writers. In another letter to Samuel, he attempts to direct his practice on the Sabbath, reprimanding him by saying 'I think you might have spent the Sabbath better than hearing the Quaker'.<sup>39</sup> Here Matthew reinforces his role and duty as head of a household to guide their devotional habits. The affective discourse, referencing his son's management of his heart, is central to this. In the combination of religious and moral instruction with discrete prayers, the practice of the Nicholson family was similar to that of the Henry family.

The Nicholsons' practice bore significant relation to the exchange of letters between Thomas Brockbank and his relatives. The devotional exchanges between

---

<sup>36</sup> Manchester, John Rylands Special Collections (JRULSC) Eng. MS 1041 (box 1), 1658-1811, *Nicholson Papers: Family Letters and Papers, (1658 – 1811)*, '20 Letters to his sons, Robt, James, Samuel, John at Strand School 1721-35 (Copies)', no.10: Matthew to James Nicholson, 9 May 1729.

<sup>37</sup> JRULSC, Eng. MS 1041 (box 1), *Nicholson Papers*, no.11: Matthew to James Nicholson, 2 September 1729.

<sup>38</sup> JRULSC, Eng. MS 1041 (box 1), *Nicholson Papers*, no.4: Matthew Nicholson to Robert Nicholson, 29 June 1721.

<sup>39</sup> JRULSC, Eng. MS 1041 (box 1), *Nicholson Papers*, no.18: Matthew to Samuel Nicholson 18 June, 1734.

Brockbank and his family took almost exclusively the form of prayers. While this could be understood as reflecting a cultural difference between Brockbank, as a conformist of high-church sympathies, and these moderate nonconformist families, the youth of the Nicholson boys might be more instructive. Thomas Brockbank was an ordained, mature minister with his own family, meaning that the familial dynamics in his exchange of letters with his parents were different to those of the Nicholson and Henry families. Philip and Katherine Henry, and Matthew and Dorothy Nicholson still had an important role to play in the spiritual education of their children. Even in the third decade of the eighteenth century, a common religious culture was shared by those English Protestants conforming to the Church of England and those who did not. These common expressions of familial devotions, suggest that despite legal recognition of Protestant pluralism after 1689, conformists and nonconformists, of all parties, continued to share much in their quotidian devotions.

Family religion united conformists and nonconformists in a devotional culture, which understood the family as an important mediator of not only religious instruction but also religious affect. This devotional practice, inclusive of prayers, lessons and exhortations to moral and spiritual lives, also played a significant role in constructing the family as a cohesive unit. The family was the crucible of devotional affect, parents exhorted their children and dependents to feel as a devotional practice. Personal experience of God was promoted in this practice by way of a contemplative and meditative affect. Reason played a significant, but perhaps subordinate role to the awakening of the heart that was the focus of family religion. This instruction in affective devotion was an important part of being a parent. Calls for spiritual reflection, as well as mutual calls for blessings and exchanged prayers, constructed the family as a devotional unit united by disposition and affect. They were a source of significant

succour and comfort, with familial affections being mediated through devotional practice. Far from being the reserve of an 'evangelical middle-ground' of reluctant conformists and moderate nonconformists, family religion was embraced by those of high-church sympathies as well. Didactic materials as well as personal witness of the life-writers highlighted how family religion was a relatively uncontroversial practice among conformists, even in the heady years of intra-Protestant conflict of the 1660s and 1670s. Family religion was understood as an essential practice for all Protestants. It was determinative of their worth as parents and heads of households, as well as expressive of familial bonds.

## Community

---

That family religion was conducted at a distance, by exchange of letters, illustrates the complexity and porosity of family religion and the family itself in this period. Shared duty by family members joined by blood, marriage or obligation interacted with other communities and practices. Family religion was, therefore, not only understood as essential in constructing the family as a cohesive unit but also that family's relationship with the congregation at public worship and sense of national identity. As detailed above, Matthew Henry understood the exercise of family religion as essential in ecumenism between those who conformed to the Church of England and those who did not, as well as to the happiness of the nation. The performance of family religion was, therefore, as much about these Protestants taking their place within the 'Christian Nation' as it was as a device of familial harmony. Moreover, Richard Illidge and Edmund Harrold conceived of family religion as essential to public worship, furnishing

their children and dependents with sufficient Christian knowledge and affective preparation as to suitably engage with public worship. Naomi Tadmor's description of the complex living arrangements of early modern households meant that a more mixed conception of what constituted 'the family' prevailed, compared to the ideals of the industrial and post-industrial periods.<sup>40</sup> This was certainly borne out by the experiences of Protestants in the north west of England. Edmund Harrold's diary begins with his cohabitation with his second wife and a daughter. Over the three years covered by his diary his second wife dies and he remarries again. The Nicholson's sons were away at school, leaving their parents in Liverpool with one child; James Clegg apprenticed his youngest son to another household, and Roger Lowe appears to have lived alone as an apprentice. John Worthington, like Harrold, was also widowed. The living situations of Henry Newcome, Sarah Savage, and Thomas Brockbank appear to have been less complex, though this says nothing of their servants. Brockbank, moreover, had complex connections with relations by blood and marriage. This necessarily complicates any simple monolithic construction of 'family religion' or the 'family' in terms of personnel. Nonetheless, the discussion above demonstrated that corporate prayer and reading among those who shared blood or household ties, as well as the religious instruction of children, were constituent practices of 'family religion', irrespective of how families were composed. The 'family' was an important devotional community in its own right, yet the practice of family religion was also porous and necessarily spoke to wider communities characterised by a shared godliness, conformity or nonconformity, locality and even nation.

---

<sup>40</sup> Tadmor, 'The concept of the household-family', pp.130-1.

A number of the life-writers were ministers; being involved in the lives of their flocks showed how the family could be a porous community but also how family religion could interact in a direct way with membership of a particular congregation. The communities created by the devotional practices of family religion and public worship could, therefore, be blurred, particularly at times of crisis in the lifecycle. Thomas Brockbank, for example, was called upon in the middle of the night on 3 March 1705 to attend a parishioner's house with an ailing new-born child in need of baptism to prevent it being baptised by a Roman Catholic priest.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, he was called upon to give advice to wayward youthful members of his congregation including one William Wilson who Brockbank chastised for his drunkenness. 'Y<sup>r</sup> Youthfull Temper may think ys [leaving off drink] some confinemt', Brockbank told his congregant, but called him nevertheless to 'Have regard to y<sup>r</sup> Relations y<sup>t</sup> you be no scandal to y<sup>m</sup>. pity y<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> whose heart you have so oft fill'd w<sup>th</sup> Sorrow'.<sup>42</sup> In both of these episodes Brockbank was drawn into the family dynamic and fulfilled a parental role. Of course, baptism was a peculiar office of the ministry, yet Brockbank's baptism of the child at the home of his congregants on the eve of the child's death involved him intimately with the devotions of the family unit. Similarly, his paternal chastisement of one of his youthful congregants attached the dynamics of the family to those of the parish. His exhortation to the young man reflected the exegesis of the sermon Edmund Harrold heard, explored above, on Philippians 3:17. Filial affection was required of Brockbank's young congregant because of, and enforced through, his attachment to the parish community.

---

<sup>41</sup> *Letter Book of the Rev. Thomas Brockbank*, p.280.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.283-5 [4 May 1705].



The congregationalist minister Thomas Jolly recorded the gathering of local men for the aid 'of a young woman, daughter to a brother of this society' on her deathbed. She had been guilty of the

sin of fornication with two severall young men, but being brought to a languished condition shee confess her sin to us, and lay under a spirit of bondage for a considerable time, I was kept to speak to her and pray for her, her father called some few together who were fit to bee acquainted with such a case, it was a good day (wherein god scoured us an accepted time) though shee had been under such guilt and trouble, yet shee dyed hopefully and comfortable.<sup>43</sup>

In this instance her father not only enlisted the support of Jolly's ministry but also that of other members of his congregation to help his daughter achieve a sound, hopeful and comfortable death. The ministrations of the family were in times of crisis subordinated to larger spiritual communities, either congregational or parochial. These too were bound up with affective discourse, the machinations of the group eliciting the comfort of the young woman in death. This was as true in times of thanksgiving for the advantageous providential intervention of God.

In the case of some nonconformists, the relationship between home, family and congregation was even closer due to the commonplace licensing of private households for worship by dissenting congregations during the indulgences of dissent by Charles II and James II and once toleration was granted by statute in 1689. George, the son of Richard Illidge, a lieutenant in the Cheshire militia and farmer, was a keen dissenter and

---

<sup>43</sup> *Note Book*, p.21.

had his home licensed for worship.<sup>44</sup> Quarter sessions returns often listed private residences as the places of otherwise public worship.<sup>45</sup> Roger Lowe recorded on 13 April 1666 that 'John Hasleden's wife was under the pangs of child birth, and they sent for me to pray by her, which I did. Att this time I was in great sadness, not knoweing what to doe.'<sup>46</sup> This was not the only time he ministered to the Hasledon family. On 21 December the same year he 'went into old William Hasleden's in Ashton; his wife was sicke and I read in the *Practice of Pietie*, and as I was reading she gave up the ghost.'<sup>47</sup> Perhaps here it was Lowe's literacy skills that were valued; he may have also gained a reputation as one particularly interested and conversant in religious affairs. The Hasledons may have been illiterate, or less proficient readers than Lowe, or the social nature of such devotions and Lowe's ownership of the book might explain his reading out of it to them. National literacy rates grew over the period from 30% of men and 10% of women in 1642 to 45% of men and 25% of women by 1714. Given that most of these rates are based on the ability of early modern men and women to write their names, these numbers should perhaps be doubled for the ability to read. On the whole the north had slightly lower rates of literacy than the south, though variations within counties, between adjacent counties and parishes, as well as the divide between urban and rural settings were as striking.<sup>48</sup> As such, given the strongly (though not exclusively) literate culture of Protestantism, family boundaries might necessarily be permeable at

---

<sup>44</sup> Jones, *Richard Illidge*, p.9.

<sup>45</sup> C.C.A.L.S., Cheshire Quarter Sessions Records, QDR 7, 212/76 and MF 96/6 [Registry of Places of Worship], C.C.A.L.S.; City of Chester Quarter Sessions Z QSF /85, 87, 88, 90, 91,92,93,94,95 [Nonconformist places of worship], ]; 90/22, 23, 65, 67 [Places of Nonconformist Worship].

<sup>46</sup> *The Diary of Roger Lowe of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire 1663-74*, William L. Sasche (ed.) (London, 1938), p.100.

<sup>47</sup> *Diary of Roger Lowe*, p.109.

<sup>48</sup> Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2000), pp.17-18; R. S. Schofield, 'The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England', in Jack Goody (ed.) *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1968), pp.323-4; David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 176-7, 136, 150-1; Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700* (Oxford, 1995), pp.145-51; R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1985) chs. 2-3, pp.88-89.

times of need, such as in sickness and in death, where neighbours and other members of the community might offer succour to devotional practice in an otherwise potentially illiterate household. This offers some nuance to the construction of the family as a discrete devotional unit. The family was at once a fundamental unit of devotion, where children were to be instructed in the fundamentals of Christianity and appropriate devotional affections.

The close associations between clergymen illustrated the indistinct ends of family religion and its connections to other communities of devotion. James Clegg recalled on 28 June 1727 that ‘This day Mr Kelsal and Mr Eaton came to Joyn with me at my house in returning thanks to God for the mercies of the year past and particularly for the recovery of my dear wife.’ Indeed ‘many other friends were with us and I preach’d from Psalm 116: 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> may a sense of Gods goodness ever remain.’<sup>49</sup> The affecting nature of such religious practices was witnessed by Clegg here. Our life-writers demonstrated family religion as a medium of sociability. Clegg frequently hosted fellow ministers, one Mr Schofield appearing numerous times and praying with him and his wife. The touring life of Henry Maurice, a preacher who had initially conformed in 1662 only to later turn congregationalist, evinced the importance of extra-familial ties to devotional practice. Maurice noted in 1672 that he ‘ridd away to Chester this euening, & prayed in Wm Bathoes family at night’.<sup>50</sup> These tours also saw him pray ‘out in the fields, & performed also that weekly duty of thanks giving’.<sup>51</sup> Laymen also experienced this permeability of the household. Lowe similarly recalls devotions in private households where neighbours were invited: ‘4. – Tusday night. I went to old John

---

<sup>49</sup> *The diary of James Clegg of Chapel en le Frith, 1708-1755*, 3 Vols., Vanessa S Doe (ed.), Vol.1. (Matlock, 1978-1981), p.25.

<sup>50</sup> Cottle and Crossley Evans, ‘A Nonconformist Missionary’, p.85.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p.86.

Robinson's; was all night. O how comfortable is the communion of Saints!<sup>52</sup> Here affective bonds extended beyond the household and linked it to other communities and identities such as nonconformity in Lowe's case. Edmund Harrold's diary is reflective of this too. Whilst married to a nonconformist, his friends John Barlow, John Brook and Mary Hill were a significant source of devotional support and religious sociability to him. He recorded on 1 June 1712 that he 'saw al[l] ye 3 friends this night and had conference wth ym, both pub[lic] [and] private. Tis great blessing to have a true friend to advise with.'<sup>53</sup> It is from these friends that Edmund obtained most of his devotional material. The importance of the family to an individual's devotional life was thus relative to the circumstances of individual households. Some were in need of greater support from extra-familial devotional communities than others. Harrold's diary similarly recalled enlisting non-household members in family prayers. On 29 November 1713 he recorded 'Had fri[e]nds at my house with father [and] mother. We rem:[embered] bro[ther] Robert Crosley.'<sup>54</sup> Crossley was Harrold's business partner and brother-in-law, who was away with work. Harrold's prayers for his relatives here mirrored those in the exchange of letters by the Brockbank, Henry and Nicholson families above. Yet, the inclusion of unrelated friends, not otherwise attached to the household, witnessed the permeability of the family as a devotional unit. In episodes such as this, familial devotions, inclusive of people from outside the household and unrelated by blood or marriage, connected the family to broader communities of the congregation, parish and even town or city.

Family religion generated a strong sense of community, understanding the family as a particularly important devotional community in its own right, by connecting

---

<sup>52</sup> *Diary of Roger Lowe*, p.107 [September, 1666].

<sup>53</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.2.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p.96.

them to broader communities of faith. Sarah Savage recorded on 6 March 1687 that ‘ye subject was 2 Pet. 1. 4. ... Having escaped the Pollutions yt are in ye world &c.’ She continued ‘ye are a remnant yt Escape ye Corruptions of ye world oh yt I may bee of them, Lord I would not have my portion in this life’.<sup>55</sup> Such passages created a sense of Savage as belonging to a family set apart from the world by its peculiar relationship with God. Such readings fostered a close sense of community among the members of the Henry family defined by their religiosity. The extract might have also been intended to mark their status as nonconformists, separate from the established church and as a remnant of true Protestantism, coming as it did shortly before the Declaration of Indulgence. The lessons of family religion could be quite complex. No doubt this was a product of Philip Henry’s desire to arouse the affections of his family in familial duty. Yet, it perhaps also produced a sense of beleaguered community among his own family. It distinguished the Henry family from others by their godliness and (more committed) Christianity, even perhaps than their immediate neighbours. In an entry for 1 December 1686 Savage recorded:

Wednesd. Morn. wee read in ye Family Rev. 16. Concer[n]ing ye 7 vials – viz. ye wrath of God on the Antichristian Generation wch began in ye reformat[i]on & is yet in doing - & shall end in its final destruction Amen.<sup>56</sup>

The timing was also instructive on this text. James II was seeking to grant toleration to Roman Catholic and Protestant nonconformists alike. Philip Henry, according to his biography, was suspicious of the king’s motives. His son recorded that at the end of the year 1685 Philip Henry wrote to ‘a very great Man of the Church of *England*,’ likely

---

<sup>55</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.9v].

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, n.p. [f.5v].

William Lloyd the Bishop of St. Asaph. In their exchange the issue of Charles II's Royal Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 came up. The bishop counselled, '*Never expect any such thing from him, for take my word for it, he hates you Nonconformists in his Heart. Truly* (said Mr. Henry) *I believe it, and I think he doth not love you of the Church of England neither*'.<sup>57</sup> Matthew Henry also noted the cautious tone of the address by nonconformist ministers (including his father) to James II during his progress in the county 'the purport of which was, not to Sacrifice their *Lives and Fortunes* to him and to his Interest, but only to return him thanks for the Liberty they had, with a promise to demean themselves quietly in the use of it'.<sup>58</sup> The two extracts from Savage's diary could, therefore, also reflect, the wider national and international fortunes of Protestantism. By the late seventeenth century, England was one of the few nations that had remained Protestant in the face of the Counter Reformation. This movement saw the number of European Protestants fall from around two-fifths of the western European population in the late sixteenth century to one fifth by the time Savage was writing.<sup>59</sup> As such, these extracts might not have been so exclusivist, or so opposed to the established church, as they first appeared.

Family religion certainly complicated Sarah Savage's sense of community within her husband's family. Not long after her marriage on 24 April 1687 she went to church at Wrenbury and afterwards noted the 'great diff. betw. this & such Sabbaths as I have seen - but I met wth. God in Private'.<sup>60</sup> A week later she recorded hearing the minister at Wrenbury 'to my satisfaction' though 'at night much affected wth. ye dumb dull Sabbaths (in comparison) yt I am now Entring upon – yt night I found sweetness in

---

<sup>57</sup> Matthew Henry, *An account of the life and death of Mr. Philip Henry, minister of the gospel near Whitechurch in Shropshire, who dy'd June 24, 1696, in the sixty fifth year of his age* (London, 1698), p.164.

<sup>58</sup> Henry, *Life of Philip Henry*, p.168.

<sup>59</sup> Ditchfield, *Evangelical Revival*, p.10.

<sup>60</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.13v].

pouring out my soul to God.’<sup>61</sup> Sarah seems to have been unimpressed with the religiosity of her husband’s family. She recorded several times how she was concerned to see members of her marital family so indifferent to their spiritual estate. Savage noted on 20 May 1688 that having attended a service conducted by her father in Nantwich she returned with her husband the same evening bemoaning ‘ye inconven. of leaving ye Family all day, discourages [them] in going out for means of Grace’. That evening Exodus 32 was expounded

while Moses (ye Governor) was absent the people fell into a great sin, in making the calf[,] ye truth is, my fear lest they should (viz Fam) be dishonouring God – doth somet. hinder mee [...] & distract mee in ye communion I might have unto God in ye Mount. tho’ alas little I can doe yet methinks I should do yt little<sup>62</sup>

Much of this obviously served to distinguish Savage from her marital family. This could be understood in terms of the conformist-nonconformist split, though Savage does not articulate it in that way. Certainly mixed conformist-nonconformist households could be an issue as witnessed by Edmund Harrold. His second wife, Sarah, attended the dissenting congregation in what would become Cross Street Chapel in Manchester. Their differences saw Sarah upbraid Edmund for too frequently attending communion, particularly when insufficiently prepared, on Whit Sunday 1712.<sup>63</sup> While courting his prospective third wife Harrold demonstrated considerable concern that she should also conform, an effort on his part which was seemingly successful. An entry for 13 August 1713 talks of ‘ye resonableness of a mans wife being ye same opinion’ and on 7 July

---

<sup>61</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.14r].

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, n.p. [f.37v].

<sup>63</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.5.

1713 having Ann Horrocks, his future third wife, 'upon hallches about conforming'.<sup>64</sup> This concern dominates much of their courtship and played no small role in the relationships with his second wife. Harrold, however, did not seem to have relented from performing family duties while married to Sarah, or when he did he blamed it upon his own insufficiencies as a Christian, rather than any strife arising from their division over conformity. It seems rather unlikely that Philip Henry would have married his daughter into a godless family. Savage's anxiety was likely related to the uncertainty that this change in her circumstances brought with it and the awkwardness of settling into a new family. This is not to mention the fact that she now lacked the expertise of an ordained minister in her household having moved out of Broad Oak. When her brother, Matthew Henry, was at Grey's Inn, his biographer William Tong recorded that he complained 'very sensibly of the want of those Opportunities he used to have in his Father's House, the heavenly Manna, as he often calls it, his *Broad-Oak* Sabbaths' expressing 'his earnest Desires' about the family religion which were 'more beneficial to his Soul, that any thing he met with in *London*'.<sup>65</sup> John Savage, Sarah Savage's husband, in fact appeared to have been as keen as Sarah in promoting family religion. On 12 February 1688 she recorded 'at Noon I repeated a serm. & my Dear as hee also did last Sab. prayed wth ye Fam. at noon. wth. wch. I was much satisfied, I hope I may say see doth grow in zeal for God & his glory'.<sup>66</sup> Similarly on 25 March despite her own coldness in duty she was 'much satisfied by my Husb. forwardness in promoting Fam. religion heartily rejoyce in ye growth of others tho' somet. I fear lest my own graces grow but little'.<sup>67</sup> She may have feared for her own growth but religious

---

<sup>64</sup> Horner posits that 'hallches ... may be halches, i.e. tied in knots, uncertain, dithering', *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, pp.84, 80.

<sup>65</sup> William Tong, *An account of the life and death of Mr. Matthew Henry, minister of the gospel at Hackney, who dy'd June 22, 1714 in the 52d year of his age* (London, 1716), p.43.

<sup>66</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [p.29v.].

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, n.p. [p.33r-v.].



duties had a place in generating a real sense of love between her and her new relations. During her mother-in-law's suffering from a nasty cold, which made her feverish, Savage declared 'ye most I can do is to pray for her & I desire to do it heartily, as also to be any way helpful to her yt. I can – [scribbled out] as if my own Mother accord. To my Promise in thy People shall bee my [ppl]'.<sup>68</sup>

Family religion was linked in more explicit ways to broader communities and, particularly in this period of religious societies and moral reform movements, to the nation as a whole. In contrast to Cambers' and Wolfe's assertion that family religion was at times engaged in to the exclusion of public worship, Matthew Henry recorded that his father continued to 'bear his Testimony to publick Ordinances; *For still* (saith he) *the Lord loves the Gates of Zion, more than all the Dwellings of Jacob, and so do I.*'<sup>69</sup> It was a sentiment that Matthew Henry repeated in his own work on family religion, citing the same verse to affirm that he would not 'have these Family-Churches set up and kept up in Competition with, much less in Contradiction to, Publick Religious Assemblies, which ought always to have the Preference'. For Henry 'these Family Churches, (which are but *figuratively* so)' he declared 'must be erected and maintain'd in Subordination to those more Sacred and Solemn Establishments.'<sup>70</sup> Affections determined the hierarchy of devotional communities. God's greater affection for public worship subjugated family religion to it, its peculiar solemnity characterising its superior nature and status. Moreover, Henry conceived of private devotions as informing public ones. He noted that 'Publick Catechizing will turn to little Account without Family Catechizing' and more than this that 'If every Family were a *Praying* Family, Publick Prayers would be

---

<sup>68</sup> Ruth 1:16; *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.40r]. 9 July 1688.

<sup>69</sup> Henry, *Life of Philip Henry*, p.108.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.107-8; Henry, *Church in the House*, p.8.

better *join'd with*, more intelligently, and more affectionately'.<sup>71</sup> Harrold often linked his failure to perform family duties with his failure to attend, or properly engage with public worship. He constructed the different facets of his devotional life as linked and sequential. Here he echoed the concerns of leading conformist divines such as John Tillotson (1630-1694), archbishop of Canterbury, who recommended in his discourse that his audience's children might not become 'slothful and unfaithful Servants, scandalous Members of the Church'.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, he presented family duties as a medium through which to prepare children for confirmation and public catechism.<sup>73</sup> Parker's memoranda book witnessed that local clergy appealed to the paradigm of Biblical Israel in their recommendation of family religion. As we have seen above, on 4 November 1740, Parker recorded a sermon given on the keeping up of Purim, a holiday which commemorates the national salvation of the Jews as described in the book of Esther.<sup>74</sup> This appeal to Old Testament precedent reflects Henry's work and evinced the national element in the practice of family devotions. Mr Ellinson provided the likes of Parker with a consideration of their role within a national communion in recommending family duties to them. By repetition to his family, Parker could advance this appeal to a sense of national communion, through familial devotional exercise.

Family religion was, therefore, inherently linked to other practices of devotion and devotional communities; personal and public but also voluntary associations and clerical communities. These connections and influences served to secure its position as an important part of the devotional economy within late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English Protestantism as practiced in the north west of England.

---

<sup>71</sup> Henry, *Church in the House*, pp.18, 45.

<sup>72</sup> Tillotson, *six sermons*, p.60.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p.112.

<sup>74</sup> Preston, Lancashire Record Office (LRO), MS Hawkshead-Talbot of Chorley, DDHK 9/1/ 77 Memorandum Book of James Parker, 1 vol. n.p.

The affective nature of many of its practices was augmented by associations with others, particularly friends and more distant family members. Moreover, its connections to wider communities acted to intensify the rationale for its practice. Its role in generating a sense of community among its adherents could be exclusivist. Family religion, at times, served to confirm these life-writers in their conformity, nonconformity, denomination or party. It was, however, also generative of broader communities and, most importantly, that of the nation. The practice of family prayer and catechism was understood as essential for the maintenance of a godly commonwealth. Family religion was, therefore, at once both independent and dependent. It was an essential practice in the formation of the basic unit of society - the family. Yet, it was also necessarily linked to a number of other communities. The involvement of the ministry in the lives of their congregants expanded family practice to include people who were not related to and not dependent on (in economic and social terms, such as servants) the household or the family. The often paternal role of the ministry connected familial duty to the parish or congregation. Moreover, the inclusion of friends in otherwise family devotional practice connected these devotional practices with the locality; the village, town, city or even county. Mixed marriages and families, connected conformists and nonconformists in their familial practice by a shared Protestant religious culture. Moreover, the content of family religion, often drawing material and topics from public worship, connected the family to the nation. The family was understood as the base unit of the Christian nation.

From the comfort offered in re-reading sermons to the role of letters in shoring up family bonds it is clear that feeling and affect were central to the conduct of family religion. Family religion, in the extracts above, was a means of managing affections but was also defined by them. This interplay was paralleled with one between the agency of the believer and that of God's over the movements of their hearts and affections.

Matthew Nicholson in a letter to his son James, dated 2 September 1729, instructed James 'not [to] forget your duty to god strive to give him your hearts, and to love him above all, pray that he will make you good & humble'.<sup>75</sup> The practice of family religion was, in part, an instruction in how to manage feeling appropriately in the service and worship of God. It also, however, served a function in regulating and fostering feeling itself. Family religion was a means for God to work upon the devotee's affect making them, in this case, humble. This might reflect an engagement with rather quiet, unexcited feeling. Certainly James Clegg (1679-1755), in his relationship with family religion frequently resolved to 'Let no business put by Family prayer', and to 'be more constant and serious in the worship of God in Family and closet'.<sup>76</sup> 'Seriousness' was one of the defining tones of his recommitment to family duties, resolving to be more 'constant and serious' on a number of occasions.<sup>77</sup> Clegg was a Presbyterian minister and physician, who led a congregation in Chapel en le Frith in Derbyshire, and he also had strong links to divines in the north west of England. Most notable was John Chorlton, Henry Newcome's successor in Manchester, who seems to have influenced

---

<sup>75</sup> JRULSC, Eng. MS 1041 (box 1), *Nicholson Papers*, no.11: Matthew to James Nicholson, 2 September 1729.

<sup>76</sup> *Diary of James Clegg*, pp. xxx-xxxviii, 9 [14 December 1715], 24 [December 1727]; E. Lord, 'Clegg, James (1679–1755)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5587>, last accessed: 28 /08/2013].

<sup>77</sup> *Diary of James Clegg*, Vol. 1., pp.13 [March 1720], p.6 [4 January 1712], p.6.

Clegg with Arminian ideas. Clegg was unable to fully reconcile to the doctrine of the Trinity or rigid Calvinist theology in regards to predestination.<sup>78</sup> As such, he may be viewed as on the cusp of Rational Dissent or Unitarianism and his statements echoing an increasingly moralistic and rationalistic approach to religion. Such seriousness, however, might be more fruitfully understood as affect. Certainly, it was suggestive of the mood under which such duties should be conducted. This is certainly the manner after which, Matthew Henry appears to have treated it within his own treatise on family religion. He argued that it was necessary when speaking ‘*to God by Prayer*’ to

be willing to hear him *speak to you* in his Word, that there may be a *compleat Communion* between you and God. This will add much to the *Solemnity* of your Family-Worship, and will make the Transaction the more *Aweful* and *Serious*, if it be done in a right manner.<sup>79</sup>

In this extract seriousness was allied to the personal experience of God in family duty. Henry spoke of the meditative affect (defined by awe in God’s presence and the solemnity of the occasion) that was understood to characterise family religion. It was apathy, even unfeeling, that Clegg most thoroughly rejected and lamented in his diary. Clegg noted at one point that God had chastised his family as he had ‘been very careless of my heart and in my conversation very loose and carnall.’ He further admitted to having ‘often either omitted prayer in my family or hurried it over in hast and in private I have spent but little time in that exercise’.<sup>80</sup> Another instance saw him pause to thank God for his providential favouring of his family despite ‘what a sinfull family it is and

---

<sup>78</sup> David Steers, ‘Arminianism among Protestant Dissenters in England and Ireland in the Eighteenth Century’, in Theodoor Marius van Leeuwen, Keith D. Stanglin, Marijke Tolsma (eds.), *Arminius, Arminianism, and Europe: Jacobus Arminius (1559/60-1609)* (Leiden 2009), p.167.

<sup>79</sup> Henry, *Church in the House*, p.16.

<sup>80</sup> *Diary of James Clegg*, Vol. 1, p.13.

especially what slothful, unthankfull, and provoking creature it is at the head of it'.<sup>81</sup> It seemed that the valorisation of seriousness was a means for Clegg to strive against a lack of feeling. Henry Newcome, (bap. 1627, d.1695), similarly reproached himself over and over for 'neglect of... secret dutys & family dutys', resolving to be more constant in their application on a number of occasions.<sup>82</sup> These expressions of contrition for their lack of devotional dedication allow them to reaffirm their belief in its importance. However, they also engaged feeling.

Genre had significant influence over entries into diaries and notebooks which lamented the lack of engagement in family religion. They were reflective of the fact that such texts were confessionals, places to express repentance. The place of family religion, and particularly its neglect, in these texts thus demonstrated the importance of this practice to their sense of fatherhood and family bonds. These sorts of effusive reproaches are also evident in Harrold's diary. On 23 January 1714 Harrold declared himself

very sorry for all my neglects to God and man and self, and for neglect of duty, pub[lic] and priv[a]t[e], and for ye ruin of my body's health, and souls salvation without true repentence and faith in Christs merit, wch God grant, amen.<sup>83</sup>

These expressions of contrition for their lack of devotional dedication allow them to reaffirm their belief in its importance. However, they also engage feeling. The authors attempted to set an affective devotional mood. Sloth and ingratitude were affections

---

<sup>81</sup> *Diary of James Clegg*, Vol. 1, p.16.

<sup>82</sup> *The diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome: from September 30, 1661, to September 29, 1663*, Thomas Heywood (ed.) (Manchester, 1849), pp.23-24.

<sup>83</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, pp.99-100.

antithetical to devotional practice. Lack of activity was understood here as counter to the correct engagement with family devotions. Moreover, Clegg demonstrated the importance of engaging the heart. The elaborations themselves undoubtedly led to an engagement with feeling, recalling the wrongs they did to themselves, their families and God in failing to conduct family duties. A particularly painful moment in Clegg's diary saw him reflect on the death of his daughter and remark 'my sin was the procuring cause I believe of this stroke' noting that it had been twelve years, one month and eleven days since he had gone through the short catechism.<sup>84</sup> The diary then, acted as a medium through which to engage with feeling both in regards to reflections on the events of the lives of these Protestants but also in regard to the practice of family religion. By linking the practice of family devotions to such experiences, Clegg perhaps looked to set the tone for future engagement with these religious duties.

The diaries of these men also contained short reflections that reflect positively on the role of feeling in family religion. Given that these diaries were often used as a tool of spiritual self-improvement, self-reproach naturally came across more strongly. The point of them was to record their deficiencies before God. The modest and quotidian references to successful family devotions, however, are also instructive. Henry Newcome's diary, for example recalls 'Wee had family dutys, pressing[?] lively on Acts XXI'.<sup>85</sup> Similarly on 'Sabb. Oct. 12', he notes 'I repeated to my family before sup. & prayed'.<sup>86</sup> Both of these are rather understated, particularly when compared with his continual self-reproof for failure in this regard. Though they seem only infrequently recorded this may be because they were more generally unremarkable. However, his use of 'lively' demonstrates the importance of engaging with feeling. On 'Sabb. Dec. 21

---

<sup>84</sup> *Diary of James Clegg*, Vol. 1, p.20.

<sup>85</sup> *Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome*, p.24.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p.134.

1661' he recorded that he 'rose as soone as I could. Got ready just for y<sup>e</sup> publicke. Mr Birch preached on Col. iv. 5, about *redeeming time*. I was much affected in medita[tion] of it and to in repetition.'<sup>87</sup> This offers us some insight into the potentially engaging nature of family religion among these writers. His repetition of the public sermon, far from being a burdensome exercise, was one of affective engagement.

Edmund Harrold's diary similarly witnessed modest recollections of the conduct of family religion. On 25 July 1712 he wrote: 'Rec[eive]d of Jonathan [Sharples] 12<sup>d</sup> more. Spent 1<sup>d</sup> with him and [Thomas] Abram. My wife and my laess[?] discoursed things ove[r].'<sup>88</sup> On 17 November 1712: 'So I came home, [read] Norriss on Practical Atheism out'.<sup>89</sup> On 30 and 31 October 1713, he wrote:

We finished it, and so I finished this month of October with being sober, constant in dutys pub[lic] and private, studious and contented, for which I bless God and give him thanks and praise, amen.<sup>90</sup>

Harrold's accounts of performing family duties were recorded in a much milder tone than his self-reproach when he failed. Yet, the point was to demonstrate his spiritual estate and the esteem with which he believed God held him. Quiet feelings were the mark of a sanctified, or assured, Christian. This modesty is reflected in Prescott's diary too who recorded on 24 November 1717: 'After E. Prayers retreat to my room, where

---

<sup>87</sup> *Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome*, p.146.

<sup>88</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.22 Horner presumes 'laess' is misspelling of 'lass' refers to a servant.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p.47.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p.93.



over a domestic pint wee have a proper reading till 10.’<sup>91</sup> Such references pale in both frequency and in effusion compared to the lamentations of these writers’ failures. However, their lack of development could also signify that these men thought these activities to be so mundane that comment, or expanded commentary, was not necessary. In this respect, it could be argued that they internalised and implemented family religion more diligently than might otherwise be appreciated. Moreover, they seem to have done so with reference to feeling. Self-reproach for hurried family religion was in part linked to their inability to raise suitable feeling in the manner required for devotion. When they did note successful completion of duty this was expressed in affective terms.

The extracts from these men might be fruitfully compared with those of Sarah Savage who recorded her engagement with family religion more comprehensively. Savage was guided by affectivity in her understanding of family duty. Much as in her personal devotional duty she measured the success of these endeavours against her affective response. Her ability to move her feeling in family duties marked their completion and defined these practices. She reproached herself when she was ‘not rightly affected’ for which she feared ‘reproach to ye Family but did not as I shd greive for yt dishonour done to God’.<sup>92</sup> Feeling dominated such testimony. Grief was requisite when the devotee had failed to move their feeling in familial duty. Thus even in reflection on failure feeling was presented as the axis of her practice. Having been unable to raise her feeling here in this extract for 28 February 1687 Savage noted that the ‘next Morning Ps 125 read in course in ye Fam. a sweet Psalm’ going on to

---

<sup>91</sup> John Addy and Peter McNiven (eds.), *The Diary of Henry Prescott, LLB., Deputy Registrar of Chester Diocese, Vol. 2, 25 March 1711-24 May 1719*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire Vol. 132. (Oxford and Northampton, 1994) p.605.

<sup>92</sup> 28 February 1687, *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.9r].

paraphrase from Psalm 60. 6, 'My God hath undertaken for my perseverance I shd not fall but stand being built on ye Rock – Xt. I will rejoyce I will divide shecem &c.'<sup>93</sup> Here again her testimony followed an affective sequence from the low (even lack of) feelings of the exercises of the previous evening to the successful affective exercise in the morning. Harrold and the other male life writers demonstrated a similar narrative, explored in the previous chapter, in their personal devotions. It is likely that their confessions of failings regarding family religion reflected similar exegesis. Her employment of Psalm 60. 6 assimilated her experience to that of David's victory in the Bible, who was '*rejoicing in Hope*, and *praying in Hope*'. Savage's brother Matthew Henry claimed in his commentary, 'such are the Triumphs of the Saints, not so much upon Account of what they have in *Possession*, as of what they have in *Prospect*'.<sup>94</sup> In this, Savage found in the affective exercise of family duties an echo of her own soteriological position and journey. She implicated her family in her narrative in a similar way to her brother. The experience of David provided an affective model, which could be employed by Savage to demonstrate her progression through family duties from one affective state to another.

On the whole family religion was a source of comfort to Savage. On 24 September 1686, for example she recorded being 'refreshed by keeping a Fam. Thanksgiv. How good is God to mee. Esa 63.7. I will mention ye loving kindnesse of ye Lord most lifted up in thoughts of ye mercy of Election behold what manner of

---

<sup>93</sup> 'They that trust in the LORD shall be as mount Zion, which cannot be removed, but abideth for ever.' Psalm 125:1 "God hath spoken in his holiness; I will rejoyce, I will divide Shechem, and mete out the valley of Succoth." Psalm 60:6; *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.9r].

<sup>94</sup> M. Henry, *An Exposition of the Five Poetical Books of the Old Testament viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Solomon's Song*, Vol. III (London, 1725), p.265.

love.’<sup>95</sup> They were frequently a medium through which she was assured of her own salvation. Entries such as that for the week beginning 6 February 1687, ‘Several sweet Passages out of Ps. 119 read in ye Fam. ys week’, were typical.<sup>96</sup> The Psalms in particular seem to have been a source of great comfort to Savage and Psalm 119 recurred in her testimony. This Psalm, her brother noted, was ‘*like none of the rest*’ and ‘*a Collection of David’s pious and devout Ejaculations, the short and sudden Breathings and Elevations of his soul to GOD*’. It provided a model for ‘*keeping the Heart in frame for the more solemn Exercises of Religion... we must make use of the Psalmist’s Words, both for the exiting, and for the expressing of our devout Affections*’.<sup>97</sup> An entry for 19 February 1688 after she was married recorded ‘ye. begin of ye week discomposed wth. a cold but my inw. man in a pretty good frame – refreshed by singing in ye Fam. Ps. 119. a pt. each evening – consid. how I love thy testim.’<sup>98</sup> Singing in the family was also a source of affective engagement with family religion for Savage. In October 1687, she recorded: ‘Thursd. Night in singing in ye Family Ps. 63 (barton) very affecting, I thought every line breathed divine affection thirsting & breathing after God & commun. wth. Him’ though she did note that a line in Barton’s text ‘brought to my remember. yt many many sweet seasons of Grace I have injoyed[,] sad is it to th. me yt. yei. are Past’.<sup>99</sup> Savage’s engagement with family religion had moments of exuberance that were perhaps atypical, though not wholly dissimilar to that promoted by *Crumbs of Comfort* explored above. Nonetheless, many of the bible entries she quoted and paraphrased, as well as her own testimony, spoke to a contemplative affect and comfort in God’s presence. Savage, as will be explored further

---

<sup>95</sup> ‘I will mention the loving kindnesses of the LORD, and the praises of the LORD, according to all that the LORD hath bestowed on us, and the great goodness toward the house of Israel, which he hath bestowed on them according to his mercies, and according to the multitude of his loving kindnesses.’ Isaiah 63:7; ‘Behold, what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God: therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew him not.’ 1 John 3:1; *Diary of Sarah Savage* n.p. [f.2v.].

<sup>96</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.8r.].

<sup>97</sup> Henry, *Exposition*, Vol.III, p.395.

<sup>98</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.30v.].

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, n.p. [p.22r.].

in the following discussion on public worship, understood family devotions as preparations for worship in congregation. In this, she valued a meditative approach to her spiritual estate that was shared by all parties of English Protestantism of the period.

Feeling was thus understood as central to the exercise of family religion. The practice of familial duty was one that was frequently a source of comfort for these Protestant devotees. These often quiet affective displays were necessarily mediated by the genre within which they were recorded. They did, however, not indicate any less thorough engagement with religious practice, or necessarily any smaller degree of feeling. They were often cultivators of an intense, contemplative affect. The truths of God were to be mediated by and established in the heart. Moreover, God's presence was a comforting experience for these Protestants who weighed their own spiritual estate with God against what they practiced and heard during familial devotions. Interior piety and individual experience were fostered in this collective form of worship. Quiet feelings were, moreover, the image of the sanctified or assured Christian. As such, the lamentations of many of these extracts did not demonstrate a failure to engage with the principal of affective piety, but rather a fear that their performance was not affective enough. They valorised activity alongside seriousness and were conducive to a piety that was personal, affecting and characterised by an experience of God even in a communal setting and a corporate practice.

## Conclusion

---

Family religion was a conventional and mainstream practice throughout the period examined by this thesis. It was practiced across lines of conformity and even by those of otherwise high-church sympathies whose valorisation of public worship might have otherwise prevented them from looking favourably upon these practices. It revealed the continued influence of godly culture, even among this group, within the landscape of English Protestantism between the restoration of the established church and the outbreak of the Evangelical Revival. In its engagement with feeling and personal experience of God (even within a collective framework) the practice of family religion demonstrated that this was a culture which was allied to older forms of religious practice rather than being defined by a decisive break with the past. Feeling was, in fact, central to its practice. Familial affections characterised these devotional practices and were channelled into devotional exercise. Moreover, contemplative affect that prized feelings of grief and self-reproach were valued. Yet so was comfort in the presence of God, wherever family religion allowed the devotee to be assured of their favour in his grace. The role of the father, in particular, in guiding his household in family devotions also helped define his position. Where such duties were not performed the responsibility of fathers and heads of households was brought into question, as was their spiritual estate with God. Family religion, however, also had strong connections to other communities which affirmed its own importance. It was the seminary of engagement for public worship as well as serving a function as a reflective exercise for personal devotions. It was constructive of bonds beyond the family. Engagement in a friend's familial duty could strengthen such social bonds and was a social exercise in its own right. This could at times add succour to exclusivist constructions of religious

identities within the period. It was also, however, a source of national unity and identification across the lines of conformity.

In December 1672, Thomas Jolly recorded that a man who had intended to ‘hear a minister of the antinomian way’ dreamt before the Sabbath that Jolly ‘was to preach upon rom. 10, 16 (I not having preached on that subject before nor hee knowing my purpose any other ways)’. ‘That same Sabbath’, Jolly continued

which made him come to hear mee that day (though he scarce ever heard mee before) and finding it as hee dreamed, hee was soe wrought upon by the word with the providence that (I believe) is issued in a saving change upon him, hee told mee of these passages a month after.<sup>1</sup>

Romans 10:16 reads: ‘But they have not all obeyed the gospel. For Esaias saith, Lord, who hath believed our report?’ This verse, which called even those who had been regenerated by God’s grace to obey the moral law of the Bible, drew Jolly’s congregant away from antinomianism. While such moments of providential conversion were probably the exception rather than the rule in the experiences of north-western English Protestants in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, public worship nonetheless played a special role in the devotional economy. Although Damascene conversions were unlikely, the life-writings explored in this chapter demonstrated how public worship brought their Protestant authors to a closer attachment to Christianity and Christian morality. Public worship was the axis around which many devotional practices spun, providing materials in the form of sermons, lessons, prayers and biblical citation to repeat throughout the week, for personal, familial and voluntary religious

---

<sup>1</sup> *Note Book*, p.9.

exercises. Yet, these life-writers focussed even more strongly on the role of public worship as a mediator of feeling. It was as a source of affective piety that these life-writers valorised public worship the most and it was presented as setting the tone of their devotional practice. Public worship, properly practiced, revived flagging spirits and awakened hearts. It was the affective high point of the week. Contemporary writers on devotional practice affirmed the central role of public worship. Matthew Henry, in his treatise on family religion, subjugated 'Family-Churches' to the 'Publick Religious Assemblies, which ought always to have the Preference'.<sup>2</sup> The importance of public worship was internalised by the life-writers that this chapter examines. Their narratives presented their preparation for and the effects of public worship in the form of 'affective sequences' and witnessed the preeminent role of public worship in their devotional economy. They also exhibited the significance of public worship within the devotional economy and the role of feeling in mediating this relationship between devotional forms. Public worship was essential for maintaining godly affect elsewhere in life.

The first part of this chapter is dedicated to the roles of sermon and sacrament in the lives of Sarah Savage, Edmund Harrold and Richard Illidge, the three life-writers from the region who left the most insightful information about public worship. Though a small sample, their relatively diverse experiences (nonconformist, high-church sympathiser and low-church sympathiser, respectively) demonstrate how approaches to public worship were embedded within different parties of English Protestantism of the period. All three were on the more engaged end of the spectrum that John Spurr used to characterise the 'lay church', running from 'lukewarm conformist to the fervent

---

<sup>2</sup> Henry, *Church in the House*, p.8.



Anglican' (or in Savage's case Presbyterian). They do, however, demonstrate how an ardent faith was as at home in the established church as in any other. Conformists as much as nonconformists complained when sermons were not invigorating enough and shared in a desire that lessons be 'plain, affecting, and useful'.<sup>3</sup> To this end, the life-writers witnessed how public worship was the central axis of the devotional economy. The life-writers constructed narratives that understood public worship as the affective crescendo of a sequence of devotional feeling. Sermons and sacraments were opportunities to arouse the senses and re-order the devotional affect of these Protestants. Public worship provided material for personal and familial devotions in both the form of texts and lessons to repeat, but also spiritual affections to capitalise on. This culture was a vibrant one, which engaged with feeling to ensure a deeper commitment to Christianity among the various congregations of the region. As such, the chapter demonstrates the continued importance of worship in congregation, in a period where extra-parochial forms of worship have often been lauded as the scenes of the strongest religiosity.<sup>4</sup>

The second part of this chapter addresses the issue of identity in attendance at public worship. Certainly, attendance at services within and without the Church of England could be political. For some, as will be demonstrated, conforming to the established church carried with it allegiances of family and nation. Thus, choice of where to worship on Sundays in particular (though also at fasts, thanksgivings and other collective worship by a congregation, however formed) could be interpreted as partisan.

---

<sup>3</sup> Spurr, 'The Lay Church of England' in Tapsell, (ed.), *Later Stuart Church*, pp.104, 117.

<sup>4</sup> The increase in manuals for Family Religion has been lauded by Cambers and Wolfe 'Reading, family religion', pp. 875-896. Moreover, a focus upon voluntary religious practice has been put forward by Sirota, *Christian Monitors*; Walsh, 'Origins of the Evangelical Revival', pp.132-162; Walsh, 'Religious Societies', pp.279-302; Geordan Hammond, 'The Revival of Practical Christianity: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Samuel Wesley, and the Clerical Society Movement' in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Revival and Resurgence in Christian History*, SCH Vol.44. (Woodbridge, 2008), pp.116-27.

It was, however, not simply so. Worship was fluid as was the continued practice of partial-conformity, which Presbyterians engaged in.<sup>5</sup> This did of course engender some separatism even on the behalf of moderate nonconformists. Few of those who dissented from the established church explored here took communion in the Church of England for example. Yet, they made little distinction between conformist and nonconformist services (the sacrament aside), suggesting that they did not conceive of dissenting congregations and their practices as more or less spiritually substantial or legitimate than those of the established church. By this culture of partial-conformity, post-Restoration nonconformists continued a longer godly tradition of seeking out good ministry. They differed little from those conformist life-writers who attended different churches or congregations on Sundays, depending on where there was preaching. Large parish sizes, leading to dependence upon curates, and poorly endowed livings in many parts of the north also seem to have contributed to this behaviour. Conformists sought out preaching where they could find it, and at times fell into nonconformity to do so. As such, this was less a partisan, or political, choice than one of pragmatism. It was also one that demonstrated how, across a broad sweep of English Protestantism, there was a deep commitment to a vital religious faith. The engagement of nonconformists in fasts, thanksgivings and other days of national commemoration, ordered by the crown, also exhibited a remarkable ecumenism among English Protestants of the period. These groups have otherwise been understood as fracturing with the reestablishment of the Church of England in 1662 along relatively narrow liturgical lines, and the legalisation of dissent with the 'Act of Toleration' in 1689.<sup>6</sup> In many of their devotional practices at public worship, they continued to demonstrate considerable unity. While the first half of the chapter is concerned

---

<sup>5</sup> John D. Ramsbottom 'Presbyterians and 'Partial Conformity' in Restoration Church of England', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Volume 43, Issue 2 (April 1992), pp.249-270.

<sup>6</sup> Spurr, *English Puritanism*, p.12.

primarily with Sunday worship, there are examples within the first and second sections of public worship from fasts and thanksgivings, as well as funerals, baptisms and confirmations, as these were included within the rubric of public worship according to the *Book of Common Prayer* and the *Directory of Public Worship*, the latter providing a model for how nonconformist services might have been structured and what was included.<sup>7</sup>

### Sermon and Sacrament: the Affective Sequences of Public Worship

---

The diaries of the Protestant life-writers in the north west of England, particularly Sarah Savage, Richard Illidge and Edmund Harrold's accounts, demonstrated affective engagement with public worship, which was structured around a sequence of feeling. Their accounts frequently exhibited a narrative that understood experience of public worship as an affective crescendo, following a period of low spirits and dejected feeling. Comfort was the primary affection that led from public worship, particularly after receipt of the sacrament. These sequences paralleled those which characterised the experience of family religion and diary construction. In striving for exuberance at public worship and warm, engaged hearts, the Protestant life-writers demonstrated the importance they placed upon joyous and ecstatic feelings at public worship. As such, their accounts problematise simplistic historiographical notions that 'emotionalism was

---

<sup>7</sup> *The Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England: together with The psalter, or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches* (London, 1662), n.p. [sig. A2; sig. G2; sig. G3]; *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Together with an ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer: and for establishing and observing of this present directory throughout the Kingdome of England, and dominion of Wales. With propositions concerning church-government, and ordination of ministers.* (London, 1650), pp.9, 11, 12, 19, 26, 28, 33, 38, 39, 43, 49, 50, 53, 55, 56, 70.

associated at the time with varieties of religious “fantaticism”.<sup>8</sup> These accounts moreover, add some succour to Jennifer Farooq’s notion that the similarities between conformist and nonconformist sermons, on matters of faith, were as striking as the differences.<sup>9</sup> Despite F. C. Mather’s contention that a thoroughly ‘Anglican’ style was adopted by conformists in the northwest region, due to local conservatism and confrontation with a ‘puritan middle class’, the approaches of these three life-writers were remarkably similar.<sup>10</sup> Mather’s argument that emotional experience of the liturgy was possible in the most dignified churches might be expanded.<sup>11</sup> In some of the meanest (particularly if the prejudices of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century high churchmen regarding the decoration of churches are adopted) feeling had a strong role to play in undertaking public worship.

The sequences of public worship followed, perhaps unsurprisingly for Savage, prescriptive models, such as Matthew Henry’s *Communicant’s Companion*. In Henry’s work, ‘Penitential Grief and Shame’ were preparation for the sacrament. Henry argued that they were ‘not at all unsuitable to this Ordinance, tho’ it is intended for our Joy and Honour, but excellent Preparatives for the Benefit and Comfort of it’.<sup>12</sup> Communion was bound up with a number of affections. They led the communicant from shame and sorrow to the affective high of joy before ultimately being comforted by reception of the sacrament. Henry cemented this by stating: ‘If we had not a Christ to *hope in*, being

---

<sup>8</sup> Joris Van Eijnatten, ‘Getting the Message: Towards a Cultural History of the Sermon’ in Joris Van Eijnatten (ed.), *Preaching, Sermon, and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century* (London, 2009), p.359.

<sup>9</sup> Jennifer Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London* (Woodbridge, 2013), p.177; Alexander Bitzel and Deconinck-Brossard have otherwise suggested that sermons by Protestants and Roman Catholics during the Enlightenment differed little in emphasis, Bitzel, ‘The Theology of the Sermon in the Eighteenth Century’, in Van Eijnatten, *Preaching*, p.92, Deconinck-Brossard, ‘The Art of Preaching’, in Van Eijnatten, *Preaching*, p.127.

<sup>10</sup> F. C. Mather, ‘Georgian Churchmanship Reconsidered: Some Variations in Anglican Public Worship 1714–1830’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 36, 02 (April 1985), p.282.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p.263.

<sup>12</sup> M. Henry, *The Communicant’s Companion: Or instructions and Helps for the Right Receiving of the Lord’s Supper* (London, 1704), p.198.

guilty and corrupt, we could not have a God to *rejoice in*'.<sup>13</sup> Feeling shame and grief, therefore, allowed a greater appreciation of the consolatory aspects of the Lord's Supper. In Henry's *Communicant's Companion*, he also drew upon discourses of the crucifixion, intended to stir the affections:

Can we see him thus suffering *for us* and shall not we suffer *with him*? Was he in such Pain for our Sins, and shall not we be in pain for them? Was his Soul *exceeding sorrowful even unto Death*, and shall not ours be exceeding sorrowful, when that's the *way to Life*? Come my Soul, see by Faith the Holy Jesus made Sin for thee; the Glory of Heaven made a Reproach of Men for thee; his Father's Joy made a Man of Sorrows for thy Transgressions. See thy Sins burthening him when he sweat, spitting upon him and buffeting him, and putting him to open Shame, crowning him with Thorns, and piercing his Hands and his Side; and let this melt and break this hard and rocky Heart of mine, and dissolve it into Tears of Godly Sorrow. Look on Christ dying, and *weep not for him* (tho' they who have anything of Ingenuity and Good Nature, will see reason enough to weep for an innocent Sufferer) but *weep for thy self*, and thine own Sins, for them be in bitterness as one that is in bitterness for an only Son.<sup>14</sup>

This was a direct call for imitation of Christ's suffering in consideration of sin. 'Can we look upon a humbled broken Christ', Henry asked, 'with an unhumbled, unbroken Heart?'<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Henry, *Communicant's Companion*, p.205.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp.199-200.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp.200-201.

Of course communion, or the Lord's Supper, was merely one aspect of public worship. It was not administered at every service. The regularity of administration varied in eighteenth-century Lancashire alone from between six and sixteen times a year.<sup>16</sup> Infrequent communion has been understood to be a national pattern among the laity.<sup>17</sup> The lack of a pre-Reformation culture of taking communion; selective patterns of admittance to the rite by godly ministers in the seventeenth century; and the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer which warned of risking salvation by taking communion when unworthy have been posited as contributing to this pattern.<sup>18</sup> Savage, confirming work on the sacramental lives of dissenters, seems to have communicated on a monthly basis.<sup>19</sup> As few as seven occasions when Harrold communicated can be identified for the three years that his diary covers.<sup>20</sup> He thus failed to meet the established church's minimum of three communications per year. The Collegiate Church in Manchester did seem to administer it much more frequently than this and Harrold noted several occasions when they encouraged taking the sacrament. By the end of the century the Collegiate Church and St Ann's returned weekly communions.<sup>21</sup> While communion might not have been a weekly feature of public worship, the narrative structure of the build up to and receipt of it was also true of engagement with public worship more generally and sermons especially.

The structure that Henry provided was echoed in the life-writings, even where the affective description was not as fulsome. Savage did note on 11 March 1688 at the

---

<sup>16</sup> Snape, *Church of England*, p.16.

<sup>17</sup> Viviane Barrie-Curien, 'The clergy in the Diocese of London in the Eighteenth Century', in Walsh, Hayden and Taylor (eds.), *Church of England*, pp.99-100.

<sup>18</sup> Snape, *Church of England*, pp.17-19.

<sup>19</sup> Margaret Spufford 'The Importance of Religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Spufford (ed.), *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.90-99.

<sup>20</sup> *The Diary of Edmund Harrold*, pp.1, 16, 20, 24, 38, 63, 105.

<sup>21</sup> Mather, 'Georgian Churchmanship', p.270; Snape, *Church of England*, p.16.

catechising of young people ‘hartily to be admitted to ye Lds. Supper after many serious Exhortation & Questions all ye company as well as Dear Fath. much affected wn. tears would scarce let him say any more yn. God bless you’.<sup>22</sup> The narrative structure that Henry drew applied to public worship generally and the sacrament in particular. Though tears were less frequent in Savage’s and Harrold’s account, the role of feeling was maintained. Their affective engagement with sermons and sacraments was more prominent than any other aspect of public worship. They sought in public worship a means to reanimate their hearts, to transform their experiences from unfeeling ones to feeling ones in their recommitment to Christianity on a weekly basis.

Sarah Savage’s entries often saw her revive flagging spirits and recommit to Christianity through attendance at public worship. In an entry for 12 December 1686, she noted how she had endeavoured at night that week ‘to call my faithless [heart] to a faithfull account concern. ye word I heard on Sab. day – thereby imprinting ye heads of ye Serm. on my mind... Ld write thy word on my heart’.<sup>23</sup> Public worship thus provided both the material for her personal devotions but also the affective stimulus. While Tony Claydon and Pasi Ihalainen have suggested that sermons began to decline in political and cultural significance (at the end of the reigns of either William or Anne), it is clear that when it came to their role in the spiritual economy they continued to play a strong role.<sup>24</sup> Savage frequently described public worship as ‘quickening & comforting’, as well as being ‘refreshed’ in ‘ye company & society of such as I know do fear God’.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.32v.].

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, n.p [ff.5v-6r.].

<sup>24</sup> Tony Claydon, ‘The Sermon Culture of the Glorious Revolution: Williamite preaching and Jacobite Anti-Preaching, 1685-1702’, in Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011), pp.480-94; Pasi Ihalainen, ‘The Political Sermon in an Age of Party Strife, 1700-1720: Contributions to the Conflict’, in McCullough, Adlington and Rhatigan (eds.), *Oxford Handbook*, pp.495-515.

<sup>25</sup> 28 March 1687 and 10 April 1687, *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p [f.12v.].

Entries such as that for 5 December 1686 drew intense reactions as she ‘injoyed somth. of God ... as heart purifying blood, was through me’.<sup>26</sup> The social and collective nature of public worship undoubtedly had an influence upon her experience; however, it is clear that the subjects of sermons preached were also intended to be stimulating. Subjects such as ‘Christs Temptacon’ and ‘ye tormts. of Hell’ undoubtedly aimed to arouse the affections of their audiences.<sup>27</sup> Prior to the former lesson, Savage had been ‘in an indiff. frame’, having felt ‘flat low’ from the Saturday before. The subject of the sermon by contrast offered her ‘comfort in yt [the] power [of the Devil] is limited[,] all ye mischief he doo us is by ourselves’. The latter sermon worked in a similar way and drew effusive devotional outpouring from Savage. She found the preacher’s description a ‘comfortab[le]’ blessing

God this is not my portion, I have a Dear Friend who has delivered mee from this wrath to come, Even Jesus, Even Jesus... at night I remembered my Covent. afresh wth him... hee is mine & hee shall be mine, I will rejoyce I will divide shecem &c ... trust in him rely on his Promises – these shall bee my staff with which Ile pass over this Jordan – tow[ards] ye Hly. Canaan.<sup>28</sup>

The drama of the exhortation was ultimately contrasted by the comfort that Savage found in her own relationship with God and her recommitment to her faith. She employed the words of the Bible to describe how public worship had been a joyful experience. All of this was concluded by the affection of comfort; public worship had revived Savage’s feeling.

---

<sup>26</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p [f.5v.].

<sup>27</sup> 6 March 1687, 18 September 1687, *Ibid.*, n.p [ff.9v, 21r.].

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, n.p [f.21r.].



The cumulative record of the days leading up to the Lord's Day in Savage's diary frequently followed such a narrative of affective sequence. One Friday, she recorded 'some warm desires towards God, my [heart] drawn out in love to him but alas t'was but for a short time, how soon do I return to my old dull frame agen'. The following 'Sab. Jan. 29' 1688, she attended the nonconformist congregation at Nantwich where she recorded being 'refreshed' by the preacher's 'subject Mat. 3. 2. concern[ing] Repentance'. 'One advantage of ye Penitent humble soul', Savage continued, was that 'external mercies are sweetened to him – bl. bee God, I desire to act Faith on this, all his dispensation to mee are in mercy'.<sup>29</sup> Here the low feelings of the previous days were invigorated by the experience of public worship. It also provided a means for her to recommit to Christianity; she found comfort in the message of repentance, a facet of her experience of public worship, which was as important as moral teaching or biblical exposition. Yet, the former, as Savage's fulsome record of the preacher's exposition demonstrated, also influenced the experience of the latter two. The preacher asked his audience, following Matthew 22: 'What think ye of Xt.?' to which Savage recorded:

I think of him yt hee is ye Fairest of ten thous. altogeth. lovely, nay more hee is my beloved & my Friend - I think of him yt hee is an overflowing Fount. of Grace Peace & consolacon      Upon serious deliberacon thus I think of him but alas how seldom I or yes. thoughts occur, wch. is a greif to mee.<sup>30</sup>

Public worship necessitated a recommitment to Christianity on a weekly basis; a recommitment that was mediated through feeling. The narrative followed a clear course from dejection and almost unfeeling to affective highs at public worship and finally to

---

<sup>29</sup> 'And saying, Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.' Matthew 3:2; *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.26v.].

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, n.p. [f.28v.].

comfort in the experience of God. Though the account ended in quiet affectivity, this was a sign of sanctification that would be valued later by John Wesley.<sup>31</sup> Affectivity at public worship provided Savage, a moderate Calvinist, with some encouragement for her sense of assurance.

Savage was not always able to attain the level of affectivity she deemed suitable to attendance at public worship. She attributed the failing to her own efforts (rather than the quality of the ministry she experienced) and her accounts lamented lack of feeling at public worship more than at personal and family duty. She recorded one Saturday having ‘not prepared aright for ye Sab. I may well say as ye Psalmist 119. 25 My soul cleaveth to dust, in resp. of a distracted Earthly frame yt I am in, oh quicketh thou mee’. The next day, she recorded ‘had desires of a Communion wth God & had some – mght have had more had not vain thoughts interposed – Not troubled with drowsiness this day – in ye least’. She further noted that ‘I have heard of late much concern ye th[ing]s yt pertaineth to Godliness – Lord give ym to mee, work ym in mee Esp. sincerity & uprightness of heart’.<sup>32</sup> Here, a lack of feeling was understood by Savage as being detrimental to her Christian understanding and comportment. Her diary witnessed that she believed feeling was essential if she was to internalise and practice the theological and moral precepts of Christianity, mediated here by the heart. One Saturday night Savage was affected with Psalm 131 read out in the family and confessed to God as the Psalmist did: ‘O Lord let me bee wn I must be a weaned child’. Yet, hearing ‘Mr Brooks at ch[apel] on Ps. 62. 10 what vain things are riches to set ones heart upon’ she was ‘a little indis[posed] wth a cold have bin this day dull & out of

---

<sup>31</sup> Mack, *Heart Religion*, pp.34, 35.

<sup>32</sup> ‘My soul cleaveth unto the dust: quicken thou me according to thy word.’ Psalm 119:25; 12 February 1687, *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.8r.]

fra[me]’.<sup>33</sup> She noted on 30 January 1687 hearing Mr Brooks again: ‘was not so watchfull as I shd. have bin – drowsiness prevailed for near a Qu of an hour – at church’. Although she had a little success over them, she nonetheless confessed that she was ‘too ready to excuse mysf. bec. of my more th[an] ordinary worldly concerns – but my desire is sti[ll] to cast my care on God - & yn not to be over carefu[ll]’.<sup>34</sup> Sleepiness was particularly troubling because of the frequent elision within early modern discourses of physical and spiritual sleepiness, and failing to be awake to sin. As Erin Sullivan has explored, ‘slumbering in sin’ was understood to ‘manifest itself outwardly in acts of real sleep, particularly in highly charged situations such as church’.<sup>35</sup> Savage’s commitment not to be ‘over careful’ exhibited a desire to be more exuberant in her experience of public worship. The notion that public worship was supposed to be the affective crescendo was witnessed in an entry for 21 November 1686. She reported that at noon: ‘had ye presence of God in reading some of Ps. 119 & so[me] of ye book of Canticles did not my heart burn’. She continued, however: ‘after my [heart] thus prepared I went about duty but too much trusted to mysf & my own strength. I had a little warmth but alas no sooner do I mount upwards a little way but am yn gently pulled down’.<sup>36</sup> Savage clearly intended to be moved to affective climax at public worship; her inability to feel, with the exuberance she required, was lamented and tarnished her performance of public devotion.

Edmund Harrold witnessed how the ministry of the established church also conceived of public worship as the affective crescendo of a sequential devotional narrative. Preachers at the Collegiate Church in Manchester also drew upon dramatic

---

<sup>33</sup> 13 March 1687, *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [ff.10r.-v.].

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., n.p. [f.7v.].

<sup>35</sup> Erin Sullivan, ‘The Watchful Spirit: Religious Anxieties towards Sleep in the Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington (1598-1658)’, *Cultural History*, Vol.1, 1 (2012), pp.14-35 quotation at p.19.

<sup>36</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.4v.].

motifs to arouse the affections of their audiences. On 21 September 1712 Harrold heard Dr Harper, whose sermon on 2 Corinthians 11:28: 'Lest Satan get an advantage of us, for we are not ignorant of his devises', utilised dualistic discourses, concerning the battle between God and the devil for human souls, to heighten the affective nature of public worship. 'Satan hath devises to countermine God, goodness, grace, spirit, and worship, as he a[t] larg[e] shewed likewise to devide his church etc...' Harper asserted. Harrold responded in his diary: 'Thus bless God I have kept this far soberly.'<sup>37</sup> Harper may have taken aim at divides within the Church of England here. The date is notable given that in July of the same year St. Ann's was consecrated, founded by the formerly nonconformist Lady Ann Bland. St Ann's became the centre of fashionable low-church piety in some opposition to the Collegiate Church.<sup>38</sup> Thomas Wagstaffe, a nonjuring bishop, would also die in October of the same year, leaving only George Hickes of that schism and necessitating further ordination.<sup>39</sup> It is unclear whether Harper's intent was to proscribe low-churchmanship, nonjuring schism, or the passions of party more generally. Significantly, while Harrold was neither ignorant nor disinterested in issues of partiality and conformity, these were far from the biggest concerns of his diary. Moreover, in this extract he related the exhortation of the sermon to his own spiritual estate. He did so confirming the structure of affective sequence explored elsewhere in this thesis. His ability to 'keep soberly', represented a controlled affective state of an arguably low ebb that prepared him to fully appreciate Harper's exhortation to unity and resistance to the Devil. The dramatic, eternal schema of the fight between good

---

<sup>37</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.34.

<sup>38</sup> Albers 'Seeds of Contention', p.63; *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.xxviii.

<sup>39</sup> 'Three new bishops, Samuel Hawes, Nathaniel Spinckes, and Jeremy Collier, were consecrated by Hickes and two Scottish bishops, James Gadderar and Archibald Campbell, at St Andrew's, Holborn, on Ascension day 1713.' Theodor Harmsen, 'Hickes, George (1642–1715)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13203, last accessed: 17/04/2015]; Robert D. Cornwall, 'Wagstaffe, Thomas (1645–1712)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28400, last accessed: 17/04/2015].

and evil was internalised by Harrold through the management of his affections and, not insignificantly, his alcoholism.

The affective sequence, which was constructed as characteristic of hearing sermons at public worship, was also translated to the experience of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The life-writers demonstrated none of that 'bare memorialism', which William Cleaver observed gaining on the minds of the people due to the influence of Benjamin Hoadly and his extreme latitudinarian views of the rite in 1735.<sup>40</sup> Both the conformist and nonconformist life-writers seem to have understood the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as 'the climax of the ... devotional regime', and portrayed this as a process of fluctuating affections.<sup>41</sup> On 5 October 1712, Harrold recorded hearing Radley Ainscough preach from Corinthians 11:28: 'But let a man examin himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup'.<sup>42</sup> Ainscough duly asserted that 'it is every mans duty to examin and communicate.' There were impediments to this, however:

1<sup>st</sup>, ignorance, 2<sup>ly</sup>, self love, 3<sup>ly</sup>, pride which if we conquer in ourselves we shall in some measure obtain to ye end of our hopes, even ye salvation of our souls thro Jesus Christ our saviour and redeemer amen.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> William Cleaver, *A Sermon on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper Preached Before the University of Oxford at St. Mary's on Sunday, 25 November 1787*, 2nd edn. (Oxford 1790); Benjamin Hoadly, *A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper* (London, 1735); Mather, 'Georgian Churchmanship', p.257.

<sup>41</sup> Spurr, 'Lay Church', p.117.

<sup>42</sup> 'But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup', Cor. 11:28.

<sup>43</sup> Notably Matthew Henry also contrasted a carnal self-love with a spiritual one: 'If the *Soul* is the *Man*, (as certainly it is) as there is a *Holy Self-love*, so there is a *Holy Self-esteem* which is necessary to that due Concern which we all ought to have about our Souls and Eternity.' *Self-consideration necessary to self-preservation* (London 1713), p.10; *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.38.

Ainscough's exhortation followed closely the affective sequence set down by Matthew Henry's *Communicant's Companion*. Ainscough, moreover, drew upon biblical injunction in a similar manner to Savage. The duty of self-examination and the conquering of ignorance, self-love and pride mirrored those first stages of 'Penitential Grief and Shame' within Henry's schema of affective sequence.<sup>44</sup> Though inexplicit in Ainscough's sermon, the repression of ignorance, self-love and pride undoubtedly required other affections, suitable to the period which preceded the sacrament. These served as the initial stages, ready for the affective crescendo, which was the hope of salvation that accompanied the receipt of the sacrament and experience of God in public worship. The invocation of soteriological jeopardy necessarily heightened the affective conception of the Lord's Supper.

Harrold's approach to the sacrament frequently followed a similar pattern. Much like Savage above, the cumulative narrative of the sacrament was characterised by an affective sequence. One entry began explaining how Harrold prevaricated over taking the sacrament: 'Debates betwixt good and bad thoughts' beset him, though the victory for a 'good angel' saw him go to church and attend 'Dr. Harper's' sermon, which extolled the nature of the Lord's Supper as 'our saviours badge to al[l] his followers, for ym to remember by what he did and suffered for their salvation'. Harrold thus resolved to take the sacrament, 'my scruples being solv'd and my spirits raised to ye high[est] pitch of love and charity I went to commemorate this suffering of my Lord'.<sup>45</sup> Here, Harrold again echoed directly Henry's approach to the sacrament and approached a crucicentrism which has otherwise been seen as a defining quality of Evangelicalism.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Henry, *Communicants*, p.205.

<sup>45</sup> 1 June 1712, *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, pp.1-2.

<sup>46</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London, 1989), pp.2-17; Noll, Bebbington, Rawlyk (eds.), *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies*, p.6.

This was repeated elsewhere in his diary. On 1 July 1712: 'Warning had been given on 29[th] last past for ye sacrament, with Gods leave I purpose to stay and with his blessing to receive ye benefits of his heavenly ordinance to assist etc.'<sup>47</sup> This sort of preparatory sermon was conventional within the Church of England.<sup>48</sup> One of the sermons preached on 29 June had been from Matthew 6:33:

Doctrine, yt all men ought to seek God in ye 1<sup>st</sup> place, yn after his righteousness as far as wee can attain it in this world (but not ye righteousness yt is good in ye eyes of men for yt will not please God) but to do yt yt is realy just and righteous before God both here and hereafter.<sup>49</sup>

This sermon perhaps sought to allay fears of unworthy reception of the sacrament, calling its audiences to seek God in the Lord's Supper and then worry about attaining a moral disposition. It nonetheless also required them to be self-reflective and to practice their Christianity during the week preceding the sacrament. On 5 July, Harrold confessed that he had 'broken my rules more than I willingly would' though he had not succumbed to drunkenness. He reflected on how diversions, such as drinking among company, were futile for 'all ye things on or in ye Earth will not satisfie those sublime souls of ours' determining to focus his affections on God as 'the center of our happyness'.<sup>50</sup> The next day, he recorded 'praise for his holy word and sacraments, heard and rec[eive]d.'<sup>51</sup> It is clear that he conceived of the preparation for the sacrament to be an affective one. Confessions, regret and self-reflection were followed by the notion of godly living as a source of happiness and exuberant praise in receiving the sacrament.

---

<sup>47</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.14.

<sup>48</sup> John Spurr, 'Lay Church', p.117.

<sup>49</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.13.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p.15.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p.16.

Much like Savage, comfort was the abiding affection: 'I was at church both ends and stayd sacrament and rec[eive]d of Dr. Ashton and Ainscough very comfortably, and heard Dr. Bolton preach on: In thy presence is fullness of joy and thy right hand pleasures for evermore'. The sacrament was the affective crescendo again here, having two days earlier thanked God for his 'providence... desiring yt I keep to in temper and sincerely desire to wait on his alter.'<sup>52</sup> His appreciation of the comforting nature of the sacrament, and joy in the presence of God, was predicated on moderate feeling throughout the week. Harrold kept to godly comportment and maintained steady sincerity ready for the sacrament.

Richard Illidge approached the Lord's Supper similarly. In his biography of Illidge, Matthew Henry noted that, much like Harrold, Illidge 'rarely omitted [taking the sacrament] whenever there was an Opportunity for it in his Parish-Church, which was usually Eight Times a year, and he made very solemn Preparation for it.'<sup>53</sup> As such, Illidge demonstrated a commitment to the Lord's Supper wholly similar to Harrold's that transgressed their differences in church party. Henry's recognition of Illidge's 'solemn preparations' demonstrated how Illidge followed a pattern of devotional affective sequence similar to Harrold and Savage. A low affective ebb was followed by exuberant feeling at public worship and comfort in the receipt of the sacrament. Like Savage, Illidge was frustrated when he was unable to move his affections in quite the manner he thought suitable. Illidge bemoaned in one entry how his 'Heart was but dull and sluggish, which is my great Trouble; I thought, I took some Pains with my hard Heart in my Preparations, yet my Endeavours proved ineffectual at this Time'. He prayed, employing the words of Jeremiah 17. 9, that 'God be merciful to me a Sinner,

---

<sup>52</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.63.

<sup>53</sup> Henry, *Lieutenant Illidge*, pp.41-2.



for the Heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked'.<sup>54</sup> On a more successful occasion, he described the role of the sacrament as a renewing ordinance to both spirit and lifestyle:

I hope, to the Benefit and Advantage of my precious and immortal Soul; I found much Joy and Comfort in the Ordinance, and it was very delightful to my Soul. Lord, bless and sanctify it to me, and grant, O God, that I many ever bear upon my Heart those Promises and Resolutions, which I make at thy holy Table.<sup>55</sup>

Here, much like Savage's attendance at hearing sermons, the role of the sacrament was paramount in recommitting Illidge to his faith. This was mediated through the affections, as joy and comfort served to focus his heart upon the moral and theological precepts of Christianity. Henry noted that 'much of what he has left behind him in Writing, is Sacramental Meditations, partly his own, and partly gathered out of good Books; Mr. *Gouge's*, Mr. *Flavel's*, Mr. *Shower's*, and others.'<sup>56</sup> Illidge clearly took preparation for the sacrament seriously and demonstrated conformity to this affective sequence, similar to Harrold's, where contemplative affect was followed by exuberant accounts of his experience of the sacrament itself.

---

<sup>54</sup> Henry, *Lieutenant Illidge*, pp.44-5.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p.45.

<sup>56</sup> Thomas Gouge, (1605–1681), *The Principles of Christian Religion* (London, 1668); Gouge also published *The Surest & Safest Way of Thriving* (London, 1674), in which he employed church fathers, contemporary examples, and divines such as Jeremy Taylor, Henry Hammond, and Thomas Jacomb to stress the importance of charity, averring that liberality was the best way to increase personal wealth; Richard L. Greaves, 'Gouge, Thomas (1605–1681)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11131>, last accessed: 16/07/2015]; John Flavel (*bap.* 1630, *d.* 1691), *Sacramental Meditations upon divers select places of Scripture* (London, 1679); John Shower (*bap.* 1657, *d.* 1715), *Sacramental Discourses* (London, 1702); Henry, *Lieutenant Illidge*, p.42.

Savage recorded the affective role of the Lord's Supper in a similar manner. An entry from 1 December 1687 saw her record spending Thursday 'in preparac[i]on for ye sacrament' attending sermons preached by her brother and William Tong. It is clear that much like Ainscough's prescription, Savage sought to control her feeling ahead of receipt of the sacrament, writing: 'I still find my Pride strong, tho' if I must write ye truth I som[etimes] get some victory over it'. She nonetheless was determined to communicate: 'I still continue in ye use of means for my health, still submitting to drink of ye cup yt my Father shall put into my hand, of wt kind so ever'. When Sunday came, she recorded 'A sweet Sab. togeth. wth. a Sacr. bl. bee God I did resign mysf. afresh to God'.<sup>57</sup> The sacrament served as a means of recommitting herself to Christianity much as the sermon did above. The cumulative narrative of her preparation for the sacrament similarly followed an affective sequence. The sweetness of the day reflected her mood. An active heart was central to the sacrament in Savage's understanding. In another extract, she noted: 'Towards ye close of this week I had hearty desires after commun. wth God in ye Lords Supper', however, on Sunday 'at noon a sacrament but to my shame I speak it I could not get my heart to yt warmth wch I desired, I was dull & out of frame'. She feared she relied too heavily upon the object of the sacrament to help her, yet took a lesson from it that 'how just is it wth God to withdraw, to shew mee how yt his blessing is all in all'.<sup>58</sup> Drawing on 1 Corinthians 15:28, Savage determined not to depend upon an intermediary (the bread and wine) and recommitted herself to seeking a personal relationship with God, even where she had otherwise been unaffected in the ordinance. Another entry expressed how she sought comfort for her friend whom she found 'discomposed much in her mind yet I trust it will end well ye God of H. in due time resolve all her Doubts & while she walks in darkness let her trust

---

<sup>57</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.24v.].

<sup>58</sup> 17-20 January 1688, *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [ff.27v-28r.].

in ye name of ye Lord'. That Saturday, she 'was a little lively in duty – tho not sensible as I should have bin of ye. gr. work yt. lay before me on ye Sab.' The next day:

wee all joined in ye sweet Ordin. of ye. Lds Sup. Oh yt it might bee Profitable I  
fear it will bee long afore wee shall all meet at ye Table of our Earthly Fath. But  
if wee can all meet at ye Table of or. Hly Fath. there wee shall sit down & rise  
no more I had not those lively affections as I should have had yet  
I did as I could Receive Xt. & give mysf to him – ye subject of ye day was  
concern. a Forgiving Spirit.

Savage found that she was a little sleepy at the end of the day and though Monday morning she did 'not find such quickening from ye. Ordinance – of ye foregoing day as I hoped still dull in duty till Wednesd. ye better'.<sup>59</sup> Much like her attendance at sermons, it was a lack of feeling that she lamented most in her diary. This was the medium by which she measured her successful undertaking of public duty. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was clearly a source of great comfort and even exuberant piety for Savage. This was, in turn, intended to have an impact upon her affect more generally; a source of affections in devotional exercise throughout the week.

The sermons and sacraments that these Protestants took part in demonstrated the strong role that feeling played in their performance of public duty. It was against feeling that they measured their successful engagement with this aspect of devotional practice, considered so important. The pre-eminent role of public worship, within this economy of devotion, was witnessed by these Protestant life-writers. It provided them

---

<sup>59</sup> 10-13 June 1688, *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p., [f.38v.].

with materials, subjects and discourses with which they would conduct their personal and familial devotions, as well as how they conducted their lives more generally. Above all of this, however, was the issue of feeling. While the material takeaway from public worship was undoubtedly of great importance, it was the manner in which it affected them that most concerned these Protestant life-writers. Public worship was for them a means of moving their hearts. Sermons and sacraments were important for religious instruction, philosophical understanding and Christian comportment, but this was all dependent upon the heart. The provocations to feeling that they expected at public worship were, as these extracts testify, the aspect of their experiences that they closely prized. Wherever they were unable to move their affections properly, they deemed their performance of public worship had been insufficient, even incomplete. Much of the historiography has looked to the failures of the established church and nonconformity, in material, structural and spiritual terms, to explain the rise of Evangelicalism. Yet, the life-writers here demonstrated little spiritual inertia. Their accounts of public worship demonstrated engagement of feeling and that 'heart-religion' and crucicentrism that would become such central pillars of the Evangelical approach to faith. Feeling played a significant role in the narratives of the life-writings explored here. These Protestants demonstrated how a sequence of feeling characterised their approach towards and experience of public worship. Following prescriptive models, low feelings of grief and self-reproach were followed by exuberant feelings of joy during sermons and receipt of the sacrament. Afterwards, they felt comfort and consolation in their union with God. It was this comfort that animated their hearts and allowed them to engage in affective piety for the week. They recommitted to a heartfelt Christianity on a weekly basis. Of course, this was the ideal and many times they fell short. They tended not to ascribe this to the lacklustre approach of their ministers, but rather to their own failings. This self-debasement, of course, played its own role in their narratives and demonstrated

how, even in hard times, feeling was the primary mediator of their experience of public worship.

### At Church, Chapel or in Separation: Attendance and Identity

---

The life-writings of both Thomas Brockbank and Edmund Harrold demonstrated the construction of a conformist identity that was both exclusive of nonconformity, and at times suggestive of strong party feeling within the Church of England. As in the previous chapter, Brockbank conflated Protestant nonconformity with Catholic recusancy as dual ‘enemies’ and moreover complained that some in his parish were resorting to Presbyterian meetings due to the absenteeism of one of his supporting curates.<sup>60</sup> In a letter to his aunt Ann Turnley on 5 June 1705, he lamented the loss of his uncle to Presbyterianism. His uncle, he believed, was ‘lead wrong not only in y<sup>e</sup> profession of Religion, but also as to y<sup>e</sup> Principles of Morality and Natural affection. God give us all grace to see and forsake our Errors.’<sup>61</sup> The interplay between affect, affection and religious community here was strong. His uncle’s nonconformity ruptured the affective bonds of family as much as anything else. Certainly there was exclusivity in the preaching that Harrold heard at the Collegiate Church in Manchester, which was perhaps unsurprising given its high-church sympathies. On 20 July 1712, for example, Harrold recorded hearing Dr. King teach ‘that tis every Christians duty to

---

<sup>60</sup> Such conflation of nonconformity and popery was common in the period; Jeanne Shami has recently demonstrated how John Donne regarded puritan and papist as extremes of equal menace, ‘Anti-Catholicism in the Sermons of John Donne’, in Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (eds.), *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2000), p.162.

<sup>61</sup> *Letter Book of the Rev. Thomas Brockbank*, p.286; on p.374 Brockbank talks about an uncle who became a Presbyterian.

continue in fellowship, comunion and prayers with ye church e[s]tablished, it being a sound part of ye Catholick and apostolick church'.<sup>62</sup> Harrold further recorded on 3 August 1712 that Dr Harper preached on 'ye body of Christ, and members in particular' claiming that 'tis a blessed thing to keep union in ye body, mysticall as well as natural, yt ye [sic] be no schism in ye body, but yt all ye members may honour and obey ye head even Christ'.<sup>63</sup> This was ultimately an affirmation of subscription to the established church as a Christian duty and a blast against division within the church (we have seen above how he preached a similar sermon a month later, the same year of the consecration of the low-church St. Ann's) as well as nonconformist schism.

Nonconformists also demonstrated considerable exclusivity, particularly when they came into conflict with the established church. Roger Lowe seems to have been strongly attached to his Presbyterianism, noting on 25 February 1664 that a 'discourse concerneing the manner of God's worship' between himself and a neighbour who was 'for Episcopecie' while Lowe was 'for Presbittery... had like to have beene hott, but the Lord prevented'.<sup>64</sup> In July of the same year, he noted quarrelling with the vicar at Highton 'about episcopecie and presbittery'. 'He said they ware apostollicalle', Lowe noted, responding with his own heavy pun that 'Yea ... they are apostaticalle from the truthes of God'.<sup>65</sup> On 2 September 1660, after recording a 'sweet sacrament at Manchester', Henry Newcome noted in his autobiography that 'it was the last we had in that way'.<sup>66</sup> He referred to the administration of the Lord's Supper as prescribed by the *Directory for Public Worship*. Newcome's identity was bound up, in part, by an affective

---

<sup>62</sup> *Diary of Edmond Harrold*, p.21.

<sup>63</sup> 1 Corinthians 12:27; *Diary of Edmond Harrold*, p.24.

<sup>64</sup> *Diary of Roger Lowe*, p.52.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p.67.

<sup>66</sup> *The Autobiography of Henry Newcome*, M. A., Richard Parkinson (ed.), Chetham Society 26, 27 (2 vols paged continuously, Manchester, 1852), p.126.

subscription to the precepts of the *Directory* and opposition to the re-instatement of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Similarly, Thomas Jolly recalled the meeting of several congregations from Yorkshire with his own after attempts by Parliament to force Charles II to repeal his 'Royal Declaration of Indulgence'. Jolly described the meeting and fast as 'a heart melting soul-humbling day', shoring up, in a strongly affective way, not only the bonds of the congregation itself, but also those of Protestant dissent in the north.<sup>67</sup> It also set them apart from those within the established church, who may well have had concerns about the declaration. In an entry on 15 May 1687, Sarah Savage recorded that she enjoyed 'A full meeting', which was 'very seasonable now wee may have a gleam of liberty, not like to last long', following James II's Declaration of Indulgence.<sup>68</sup> The passage showed her primary identification with Protestant dissent: being without full liberty when she was not able to resort to public worship and the sacrament in separatist congregations.

The record of sermons within the life-writings also demonstrated the potential for an exclusivist identity preached from the pulpit. Savage recalled a sermon she heard at her local conformist chapel on 25 October 1686: 'instead of bread stones were cast at us in bitter reflections on ym yt pretend to ye spt of Prayer & ye [lie that we are] counted Factious & desitious'. Savage nonetheless recorded 'comfort in lifting up my [heart] wth yt prayer of Nehem. Hear o our God for wee are despised but alas this is a small th. to bear not to bee counted running wth ye footmen'.<sup>69</sup> Here, her primary identification with nonconformity was further established. At times, attendance at the

---

<sup>67</sup> *Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly*, p.18.

<sup>68</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.14v.].

<sup>69</sup> 'Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days', Ecclesiastes 11:1; 'Hear, O our God; for we are despised: and turn their reproach upon their own head, and give them for a prey in the land of captivity', Nehemiah 4:4; 'If thou hast run with the footmen, and they have wearied thee, then how canst thou contend with horses? and *if* in the land of peace, *wherein* thou trustedst, *they wearied thee*, then how wilt thou do in the swelling of Jordan?', Jeremiah 12:5; *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p., [f.3v.].

Church of England exposed differences between Savage and her conformist counterparts; at others the practice demonstrated ecumenism and respect. Attending the parish church at Wrenbury on 20 November 1687, Mr Oliver preached upon the 'subject 1. Joh. 21. If any man sin'. As Savage recorded, he 'insisted esp. on Orig. sin wch. (among other th.) hee said was washt away by Baptism, none could contradict him yer but I have bin taught otherw.' She committed herself that night to preserving what she had been taught before.<sup>70</sup> She scrupled at John Oliver's Christmas sermon that year where he made 'a strange Inf. from Xts being a saviour Jesus yt wee must shew our resp. to him by bowing at ye mention of his name.' Savage, in perhaps typically moderate Presbyterian style, further noted 'I have bin taught otherwise If I thought twere his will I wd not grudge to do it.'<sup>71</sup> In both of these citations, she averred the teachings of the Church of England. In retreating to her diary and praying to God to confirm her in this dissent, she also rejected community with conformists. The content of sermons heard by all the life-writers demonstrated how national conflicts could be aired at a local level, even during quotidian devotions. By wading into territories of theological and ecclesiological controversy, they constructed exclusivist communities.

\*\*\*

So far, so little evidence for essential Protestant unity and ecumenism. In many of the examples given above, however, the content of the sermons were far from unambiguous. Harrold's own response within his diary appeared to take the exhortations as personal ones. The machinations of the devil and preparation for the Eucharist were internalised rather than externalised onto contemporary political

---

<sup>70</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.24r.].

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, n.p. [fol. 25v.].



conflicts. As such, Harrold and the other life-writers adopted the ‘uses and gratification approach’ to sermons explored by Joris Van Eijnatten. These Protestants ‘actively select[ed] those portions of the message they consider[ed] relevant to their personal life’ and interpreted them ‘in individual ways, using their frame of reference rather than the producer’s’.<sup>72</sup> As explored in the discussion on the affective character of public worship, sermons were therefore adopted and adapted to suit the devotee’s own personal circumstances; their role in managing the affections was more important than managing issues of party. Jeanne Shami has also demonstrated how contested doctrinal formulations might be adapted by preachers depending on their audience. This suggests that, while there might be disagreements over such issues, these were regarded as differences among brethren.<sup>73</sup> Despite an energetic and successful attempt to get his third wife, a nonconformist, to conform and yet also an apparent dislike of Jacobite protests in Manchester, Harrold’s diary, for example, made little reference to these controversies. It must be noted also that Harrold was married to a dissenter who seems not to have worshipped alongside him but at the Presbyterian congregation on Plungeon Field (later Cross Street Chapel). Harrold’s own home life clearly did not reflect the exegesis of all of the sermons he heard.

Mixed patterns of attendance at public worship, defined by nonconformist partial-conformity and sermon-gadding by conformists and dissenters alike, demonstrated how attendance at public worship was far from straight-forwardly reflective of identity. Nonconformist collective worship was often conducted in private homes both before and after the ‘Toleration Act’ of 1689 provided licences and legislative assent to this practice. This blurred the lines between family religion and

---

<sup>72</sup> Van Eijnatten, ‘Getting the Message’, p.345.

<sup>73</sup> Shami, ‘Anti-Catholicism’, pp.136-66.

public worship, as did the continued use of the terms ‘public worship’ and ‘public ministry’ by nonconformists to refer to the services and clergy of the Church of England.<sup>74</sup> This perhaps made partial-conformity a more morally consistent approach to public worship, and drew lines of communion more broadly than acceptance of the Lord’s Supper according to the Book of Common Prayer. It was also perhaps not so different to the ‘sermon-gadding’ culture Jeremy Gregory has observed among Georgian conformists, which can be seen in the accounts of these Protestants in the north west of England.<sup>75</sup> Edmund Harrold, particularly after marriage to his third wife, divided his time between the Collegiate Church in Manchester and St Ann’s.<sup>76</sup> James Parker, as late as the 1740s, travelled to hear other preachers on special occasions, such as John Potter’s (the son of the Archbishop of Canterbury) farewell sermon at Blackburn.<sup>77</sup> These examples witnessed the persistence of godly sensibilities within the established church, even in this period, which has otherwise been understood as firmly rejecting this culture. They also demonstrated how the practice of partial-conformity by nonconformists was not so different to the quotidian sermon-gadding of their conformist counterparts. These practices perhaps allowed post-Restoration Protestants, of all parties, to assume and balance a number of different identities. A shared culture, which valued godly and affecting preaching, united factions on a provincial and quotidian level that were otherwise at odds in the polemics of the period.

The exclusivism of dissent was limited, and it is of little surprise that it was so pointed at times of crisis such as those of the Restoration and the royal indulgences.

---

<sup>74</sup> Tong, most frequently employed ‘Publick Ministry’ and ‘Publick Worship’ when referring to the Church of England, particularly before Toleration in 1689, *Life of Matthew Henry*, see pp.31, 32, 73, 185.

<sup>75</sup> Gregory “‘For all sorts’”, p.40.

<sup>76</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*. Harrold even sometimes divided his time on Sundays between the Collegiate Church and St Ann’s after it opened, see entry for 3 May 1713 p.70 for the attendance of his wife at the nonconformist meeting house see Horner’s, ‘Introduction’, p.xxvii.

<sup>77</sup> 8 August 1742; LRO, MS Hawkshead-Talbot of Chorley, DDHK 9/1/ 77, James Parker, n.p.

Philip and Matthew Henry were often keen to present their ministry as auxiliary to that of the established church. As an ordained '*Minister of Christ*' Philip Henry defended his administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper after 1667 (in spite of his being ejected) as he believed himself '*obliged, Virtute Officii, by all means to endeavour the good of Souls*'. This meant that when '*a company of serious Christians*' who '*scruple the lawfulness of the Gesture of Kneeling*' came to him, he could not '*deny this Request of theirs, without betraying my Ministerial Trust, and incurring the Guilt of a grievous Omission*.'<sup>78</sup> Matthew Henry for a time scheduled his services at Chester so as not to conflict with those of the established church and the Henry family at large continued to attend conformist services alongside nonconformist ones.<sup>79</sup> This is not to refute that there was genuine separatism. Certainly in the accounts of the Henry family their nonconformist services were treated as the equal of conformist ones and so have been discussed by this chapter. Furthermore, none of the Henrys seem to have taken communion within the established church. Yet, these were not the exclusive lines of their identity or engagement in public worship. When confronted with opposition by 'some of our High Church Men' in his neighbourhood to a fellow dissenter and school teacher, Richard Kay contended that it was these men who were the real 'Strangers to true Christian Liberty' and moreover that they had 'not of late Years been firm and steady to the Protestant Church of England'. He accused these men of Jacobitism, fomenting Scottish and French invasions of the country in an effort to 'set their Pretender a Popish Prince upon the Throne of England'. He contended that they were 'Enemies to

---

<sup>78</sup> Henry, *Life of Philip Henry*, p.118.

<sup>79</sup> Matthew Henry attended Wednesday and Friday lectures at St. Michael's in Chester, A. T. Thacker, 'Medieval Parish Churches', in C. P Lewis and A. T. Thacker (eds.), *A History of the County of Chester, Volume V, Part 2 The City of Chester – Culture, Buildings, Institutions* (Woodbridge, 2005), p.147; Philip Henry attended the services of his successor at Whitewell chapel for nearly 30 years, Spurr, 'From Puritanism', p.238; Sarah Savage attended conformist services with her father when living at Broad Oak and later with her husband and his family when she lived at Wrenbury Wood.

our National and Spiritual Privileges and Liberties'.<sup>80</sup> In lauding the 'Protestant Cause', in relatively ambiguous terms, he was able to speak to this community more widely. His rhetoric sought to draw lines that were inclusive of the greater part, though not all, of the Church of England. Non-jurors and Jacobites (and of course, like their outward coreligionists, crypto-Catholics) were excluded from this community. Affection for Protestant liberty, as well as an unambiguous support for the Protestant interest (counterpoised with his opponents' support for a Catholic prince) was the national community, which he spoke to. Coming well after 1689, it demonstrated his attachment to a national communion that transgressed (and minimised) conformity and confession. It was demonstrative of the sense of being 'established' even within nonconformist congregations. Matthew Nicholson's censure of his sons on 18 June 1734 for hearing a Quaker preach implied that, while there were limits, a pluralistic approach to Lord's Day devotional activity was normal.<sup>81</sup> Yet, this ecumenical approach was in fact a strong feature of quotidian devotional practice among English Protestants from the Restoration. Moreover, the life-writings demonstrated a clergy similarly concerned with the progress of godliness and sharing in national fasts.

Much like Nicholson's sons, yet some seventy years earlier, Roger Lowe demonstrated some flexibility in his approach to public worship, in spite of his apparent tribalism. It appeared that he attended both Church and conventicle. In some manner this reflected that godly culture of 'sermon-gadding' as he travelled to hear Dr George Hall, Bishop of Chester, preach at Wigan on numerous occasions. He also attended conformist devotions at Leigh. It demonstrated the esteem in which those such as Lowe held those conformist clergy, whom they deemed to be godly and worthy

---

<sup>80</sup> *Diary of Richard Kay*, p.124.

<sup>81</sup> JRULSC, Eng. MS 1041 (box 1), *Nicholson Papers*, Matthew Nicholson to Samuel Nicholson 18 June, 1734.

preachers. On 24 July 1664 Lowe recorded that on the 'Lord's day' he 'went with Tho. Smith to Wiggan and we heard Bishop preach.'<sup>82</sup> This was not insignificant, not least because of Lowe's view of the episcopate as apostate. Hall, who held at once the rectory at Wigan and the bishopric of Chester, had not been a friend of nonconformity. He had come to some accommodation with the Commonwealth regime, was vehemently anti-Catholic and even after the Restoration apparently supported some moderation in devotional matters.<sup>83</sup> Yet he championed conformity and imprisoned the eminent ejected ministers William Cook, Thomas Harrison and James Bradshaw for illegal preaching and holding conventicles.<sup>84</sup> Hall was particularly hated by Adam Martindale who believed himself able to do no good work in the eyes of the bishop.<sup>85</sup> It would seem that despite Hall's apparent scourge of and scorn for dissenters (upon whatever grounds), the likes of Lowe sought godly preaching wherever they could find it. It demonstrated the practical approach that prevailed in devotional culture within these years, as well as the close links that could exist between putative enemies within English Protestantism. No doubt it required some cognitive dissonance, though Lowe's diary demonstrated little anxiety. It was possible for these Protestants to disagree over the forms, and enforcement of those forms, within public worship while still conceiving of themselves as in a broader communion with their opponents over these matters.

---

<sup>82</sup> *Diary of Roger Lowe*, p.67.

<sup>83</sup> John D. Ramsbottom, 'Hall, George (*bap.* 1613, *d.* 1668)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11957>, last accessed: 07/05/2015].

<sup>84</sup> Richard L. Greaves, 'Harrison, Thomas (1617/18–1682)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12449>, accessed: 19/01/2017].

<sup>85</sup> A. T. Thacker, 'The Diocese of Chester - 1660-1726', in B. E. Harris, (ed.), *A History of the County of Chester*, Volume III. (Oxford, 1980), pp.39-40; A. G. Matthews (ed.), *Calamy revised: being a revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford, 1934), pp.69, 132-3, 250-1; Jonathan H. Westaway, 'Bradshaw, James (*bap.* 1635, *d.* 1702)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3199>, accessed: 06/03/2015].

Thomas Brockbank's diary demonstrated that attendance at public worship could be a matter of convenience more than anything else. Particularly in the north, with large parish sizes and poorly endowed livings, nonconformity (and Presbyterianism in particular) was supported by defects in the structure of the established church. In a letter addressed to the Reverend Mr. William Scot on 6 September 1706, he asked him to enquire after one 'Mr. Walker', apparently a fellow at Queen's College, Oxford with Scot. Walker who had 'for some yeares been reader in a Chappel in y<sup>s</sup> Parish'.

Brockbank asserted

and sho'd have taught school, which he has not done (I am told) y<sup>s</sup> 2 yeares, and about Easter he left it, not once acquainting me, or any other except (possibly) his Landlord, and a Neighbouring school master w<sup>m</sup> he obliged to read prayers for a few Sundays. Thus has y<sup>e</sup> Chappelry in a Manner been desolate ever since, w<sup>ch</sup> has given great offence to y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants and occasion for Some to go over to y<sup>e</sup> Presbyterians, who are nestled only in this Corner of y<sup>e</sup> Parish, Pray S<sup>r</sup> take y<sup>e</sup> Trouble to hear w<sup>t</sup> he will say and let me Know w<sup>th</sup> all convenient speed, y<sup>t</sup> if he will not return again, an other may be put into y<sup>e</sup> place.<sup>86</sup>

Brockbank's rhetoric here, indeed the greater part of his diary, perhaps did little for the contention of affective ecumenical relations among England's Protestant factions. It did, however, demonstrate the way in which conformity and nonconformity might be something more of a practical than a principled choice. Much as the likes of Roger

---

<sup>86</sup> *Diary and Letter Book of the Rev. Thomas Brockbank*, pp.318-319. It is possible that Brockbank's claims of resort to nonconformity by some of the parish were rhetorical; in order to more immediately solicit Walker's return or replacement. Yet, a census taken in 1679, by the then curate, listed 31 dissenting inhabitants of the parish, suggesting that there was some nonconformist presence, 'The parish of Cartmell', in *A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 8*, ed. William Farrer and J Brownbill (London, 1914), pp. 254-265. *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/lancs/vol8/pp254-265> [accessed: 7/10/2016].

Lowe sought out godly ministry wherever they could find it, so did the conformists of Brockbank's parish. This desire crossed bounds of conformity and demonstrated the manner in which ministers either side of the conformist divide were not perceived as being of a prejudicially differing confession, even after Toleration and into the eighteenth century.

Sarah Savage's diary, as noted above, demonstrated considerable affection for the conformist services she attended while at home with her father and after her marriage. Her partial-conformity was, therefore, not simply lip-service to communion with conformists. On those occasions when she was unable to be affected by public worship, this was almost never laid at the foot of the ministry. She frequently noted being moved by John Oliver's sermons at Wrenbury Wood, such as on 8 May 1687, when Savage noted being 'Refreshed to day by a Serm. of Mr. Oliv. concern. Gods omniscieny – 'Thou Ld. knowest my [heart] towards thee'. Moreover, nonconformist ministers could also fail to affect her. On 20 March 1686, she recorded that for afternoon devotions the family

had Mr. W. here in Fathers absence – I was still dull and drowsie in duty my noughty [heart] is apt to impute it to his tedious way of expressing himsf whereas indeed ye fault is within.<sup>87</sup>

Here, reputations for dreariness transgressed the conformist divide. Nevertheless, it was Savage's own agency in lifting her feeling that was bewailed. While Savage may have been more effusive in her accounts of nonconformist services, this might be due

---

<sup>87</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.11r.].

in no small part to the presence of her family and many family friends she had grown up with. After her marriage, she frequently bemoaned that ‘ye Sab. was not well kept in ye Family’.<sup>88</sup> This contrasted with the ‘sweet opportunities’ and ‘commun. wth. God’ she spoke of when attending nonconformist services in Nantwich or back at her parents’ house in Broad Oak.<sup>89</sup> Yet, this was perhaps neither particularly surprising nor reflective of a great division between conformist and nonconformist public worship. Their affective nature might not have lain so closely with the spiritual edification they offered in contrast to the established church, but more with that provided by the presence and support of well-known family and friends.

The exegesis and lessons of conformist and nonconformist ministers often had much in common. Dr. Copely’s lesson, as recorded by Edmund Harrold, ‘yt prayer is a duty incumbent on all [Chris]tians both pub:[lic and] pri:[vate] and secret, tho in this age is but too much neglected’, was a common refrain.<sup>90</sup> As the previous chapter explored, family religion was extolled from the pulpits of nonconformists, low-churchmen and high-churchmen (not to mention didactic materials from all sides over this issue).<sup>91</sup> The ministry of the Collegiate Church shared Savage’s concern for the sleepy conformity of her relatives by marriage. On 27 July 1712, Harrold recorded hearing a sermon from Mr Harper on Romans 5:1: ‘Therefore being justified by faith, I have peace wth God thro’ Jesus Christ.’<sup>92</sup> Harrold records that Harper

---

<sup>88</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.14r.].

<sup>89</sup> 12 December 1687 and 5 February 1688, *Ibid.*, n.p. [ff.25r, 29v.].

<sup>90</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.65.

<sup>91</sup> Henry, *Church in the House*, p.8.

<sup>92</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.22.



tould of ye mystery of justification, and yn aply it to ye heaveing peace with God which [of] al[l] things in ye world is most desirable. But a man [may] have peace wth ye world and peace of conscience, and yet not peace with God.<sup>93</sup>

Harper's exhortation echoed the godly *topoi* that have been explored earlier in the thesis, which condemned the natural man and merely civil Christian. This focus on godliness demonstrated the manner in which the teachings of the Protestant congregations of the region and period were united in their approach to devotion and Christian commitment. They did so through a common appeal to feeling. It was important to judge the sort of peace enjoyed. Of course, peace with the world was not understood as altogether antithetical to peace with God. The management of the correct affective response, however, was the principal characteristic of godliness.

Thomas Jolly's diary demonstrated how public worship could join his congregation in broader associations. In January 1674, he recorded that

The publique fast appointed by authority was observed by us in our publique [exercise] at Lango, the lord did accept the sacrifice, own us in the service and encouraged us as to answer of the supplications of that day.<sup>94</sup>

The Houses of Parliament had called, on 12 January 1674, for a day of fasting in order to reconcile the country with God and gain his assistance against the encroachments of popery. Alongside this, they refused more money for the Third Anglo-Dutch War until their grievances, including the dismissal of popish advisors to secure Protestant liberties,

---

<sup>93</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.23.

<sup>94</sup> *Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly*, p.13.

were redressed.<sup>95</sup> In this manner, even before Toleration, Jolly's congregation placed itself within a broader community of English Protestantism. The threat of popery here drew affective bonds among Protestants, as did opposition to an unpopular war.

As late as 1740, Richard Kay took part in a national fast. On 9 January, he recorded that 'This Day being observed as a public Fast-Day in England to implore Divine Blessing and Success in the present Engagement in War by Sea with Spain'. As such, with his cousin he 'heard a Sermon at Stand Chappel preach'd by Mr. Bond from Pro. 14. 34, in the Afternoon heard a Sermon preach'd by Mr. Braddock at Bury Chappel from Job. 22. 30.'<sup>96</sup> These texts worked to weave the public worship of nonconformist congregations into a national communion. The first, 'Righteousness exalteth a nation: but sin is a reproach to any people', followed a standard exhortation of communal fasting which had been a major part of godly culture from the Elizabethan period. Expounding such a text linked the individual congregation to which Kay attended with a broader community, sharing humiliation for the sake of British success in what was likely the War of Jenkins' Ear against Spain in the Americas. The sermon preached by Mr. Braddock appears to have had a similar objective. The text read: 'He shall deliver the island of the innocent: and it is delivered by the pureness of thine hands.' The theme of deliverance was maintained. Moreover, there may have been a literally interpreted metaphor within the 'Island of the Innocent' for Great Britain itself. The text, undoubtedly sought to generate in Braddock's hearers an affective association with the nation as a whole. The role of religion here was pivotal. The mediation of the religious service, in the generation of a national community, was important to reflect upon. Despite Kay's troubles with members of the established

---

<sup>95</sup> 'House of Commons Journal Volume 9: 12 January 1674', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 9, 1667-1687* (London, 1802), pp. 291-292.

<sup>96</sup> *Diary of Richard Kay*, pp.29-30.

church, explored in earlier chapters, nonconformity was not necessarily understood as prejudicial to enjoining in broader communions, such as spontaneous and public national fasts.

Jolly's diary even recorded sharing in commemoration of the feast of Charles the Martyr. In January 1679 he recorded that:

Though wee could not spend 30th of the m. in the way and manner others did, yet could wee not follow our calling to the offence of others, but wee spent it together in prayer and fasting.<sup>97</sup>

Jolly's censure of its observation by others probably referenced the more elaborate devotional practices of some conformists. These drew on the sacralised image of the king within the *Eikon Basilike* and the stream of cultish hagiographies. At St Paul's in Covent Garden a painting of Charles I kneeling with a crown of thorns in his hand was hung, which would have been looked upon dimly by Jolly and those of his persuasion.<sup>98</sup> It was nevertheless some demonstration of the shared culture of remembrance within English Protestantism. Sarah Savage, attending Wrenbury church on 30 January 1688, heard a sermon containing 'greivous reflections on ye actors of that Tragedy - my conscience tells mee I am clear in it & pray heartily for pardon for ye guilty'.<sup>99</sup> Savage did not elaborate on the content of the sermon, though her response suggests there might have been some attempt to attach the regicide to contemporary nonconformists. Nonetheless, Savage seems to have engaged with the commemoration happily and seriously. On 30 January 1707, Henry Prescott recorded being 'At Evening prayer The

---

<sup>97</sup> *Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly*, p.39.

<sup>98</sup> John Spurr, 'Lay Church', p.111.

<sup>99</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [f.28v.].

Martyr's day kept and most naturally, by constant rain.'<sup>100</sup> Prescott's naming the commemoration 'martyr's day' exhibited his high-church sympathies and his contrasting approach to Jolly's demonstrated a greater confessionalisation among English Protestantism of the period. The fact that both the high-church Prescott and the congregationalist Jolly commemorated the controversial execution of Charles I, however, demonstrated the potential for unity among English protestants of the period. The new festivals of Reformation and post-Reformation England could be divisive. David Cressy noted that 'by the end of the seventeenth century it could be said that the spring belonged to the Tories and the autumn belonged to the Whigs'.<sup>101</sup> Observance, however, seemed to vary dramatically and it was only highly politicised at times of crisis, with the perhaps more ecumenical observances, such as Gunpowder Treason Day, being the most universally observed.<sup>102</sup> The timing of Jolly's congregation's observance might have been opportune on the eve of the Exclusion Crisis as a means of demonstrating loyalty. Such observance was by no means entirely tribal or exclusively confessional in nature. The honouring of contemporary martyrs was as much an aspect of traditional godly culture as it was a demonstration of primitive 'Anglo-Catholicism', which sought to reintroduce Roman Catholic veneration of the saints into the worship of the Church of England.

These life-writers thus demonstrated that while issues of attendance at conformist and nonconformist public worship could lead to some measure of exclusivity and division, a more complex lived experience also emerged. In the first instance, the exhortations that they received were at times ambiguously phrased,

---

<sup>100</sup> John Addy, (ed.). *The Diary of Henry Prescott, LL.B., Deputy Registrar of Chester Diocese, Vol. 1, 28 March 1704-24 March 1711*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol. 127. (Gloucester, 1987), p.130.

<sup>101</sup> David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989), p. xiii.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. pp.15, 65.

particularly where issues of conformity, schism and doctrine were concerned. Thus, they left room for the nuance of interpretation, at least as they were presented within these life-writings. Moreover, attendance could be mediated by practicality and pragmatism on a number of levels. This could involve the availability of services by nonconformists which drew otherwise conformist attendees where the established church had no strong personal presence. It could manifest itself in a desire to hear good, godly preaching wherever possible. Nonconformists could, therefore, attend the services of the established church where they admired the ministers. The jeopardy was rather less for nonconformists whose practice of sermon-gadding had a longer heritage. Certainly before Toleration there was more at stake for conformists attending nonconformist services. It may have also been more difficult for them to do so without significant connections mediated by family or friendships. Yet it is clear that attendance at public worship could also allow conformists to share in a godly heritage that promoted an earnest and engaged Christianity. These congregations also shared in national commemoration, thanksgiving and fasts across the lines of conformity. Particularly after Toleration, this allowed nonconformists to conceive of their public worship as part of a schema of Protestant devotions sanctioned and thus unified by the state.

## Conclusion

---

The issue of public worship goes to the heart of many of the debates surrounding Protestantism of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. The practice of devotions ‘in congregation’, whether at church, chapel or in separation had a significant

impact upon issues of identity and commitment among the Protestants of the period. Despite broader narratives of a reaction against enthusiasm that have been understood as working to divide Protestants, the ministry of the established church and of dissent promoted a vigorous religiosity. This was internalised by the Protestant life-writers examined throughout this chapter, who conceived of public worship as the primary axis around which their devotional economy spun. The highly affective discourses of Harrold, Illidge and Savage demonstrated how public worship was both a source of exuberant feeling in their devotional practice but also the tool by which they sought to engage their affections for the rest of the week. They were recommitted to Christianity, its theological and moral precepts, by way of an affective engagement with public worship. Affective sequences showcased the importance of feeling. Low feelings of self-reproach, grief and shame were preparative and performative of approaches to the sacrament. In the same way, joy and comfort were performative of public worship. Sermon and sacrament were described as affective experiences in and of themselves, serving to fire the affections, particularly of joy and comfort in these life-writers' accounts. Without an affective response, the life-writers described their experiences of public worship as defective. Yet preachers' lessons and the Lord's Supper also served to animate their hearts and ensure their commitment to their faith. They offered considerable succour by which these Protestants measured their spiritual estate and relationship with God. The importance of feeling within these narratives of daily worship offers a significant challenge to histories that have suggested a drift towards moralism and spiritual inertia.

While attendance at public worship could be a political act and exclusivist conceptions of confessional allegiance were an aspect of English Protestantism of the period, there was also significant ecumenism. Partial conformity by nonconformists

was not merely a political device; nonconformists recorded valuing the conformist services that they attended. They were a source of spiritual comfort and affective engagement. Though theological and ecclesiological differences could emerge within preaching, the greater part of the records of the life-writers explored here was concerned with observing godliness in one another. Attendance at services of the established church or nonconformist congregations was not always a real choice but motivated by expediency. Moreover, given the longer culture of sermon-gadding, conformists often resorted to fluid associations with congregations, even where they did not stray into nonconformity. Congregations across denominational lines shared in observation of fast days and thus demonstrated their unanimity, which persisted even as partial-conformity declined. Primary identification with one section of English Protestantism did not inhibit union; increased confessionalisation did not necessarily lead to alienation.

Voluntary religion was controversial throughout the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. The restrictive legislation of the Restoration regime meant that this former stalwart of godly practice no longer had the respectable associations of the reform movement. Before 1689, where it extended beyond the family, it was an illegal conventicle.<sup>1</sup> Even with the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689, groups that joined together for religious purposes, additional to Lord's Day services, were censured for and suspected of 'enthusiasm' akin to Interregnum sects.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the tactics of nonconformity in the period, meeting in private houses for example, might blur the boundaries of familial, public and voluntary religious practice as observed by historians. Yet voluntary religion became less controversial as the period wore on. This chapter considers this trend by examining these extra-sabbatical practices, conducted by a more dedicated cadre of any one congregation (whether conforming or dissenting) that met for religious education and edification as well as what Phillip and Matthew Henry described as 'social prayer' and 'mutual Edification'.<sup>3</sup> The chapter also extends beyond the scope of clubs and societies to consider friendship as a form of voluntary religious association. Drawing on comparisons with Alan Bray's account of sacrosanct friendship from the middle ages, this chapter suggests that such personal connections served a devotional purpose for many of the life-writers. It helped Protestants in the north west of England ascertain their spiritual estate with God and supplemented devotional practice with the affective bonds of these close relationships.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cambers and Wolfe, 'Reading, Family Religion', p.882.

<sup>2</sup> They were also later feared as centres of Jacobitism by the Whigs: Walsh, 'Religious societies', pp.282-3.

<sup>3</sup> Tong, *Life of Matthew Henry*, p.36; Henry, *Life of Philip Henry*, p.162.



Formal groups were an important part of the voluntary religious practice of Protestants in the region during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. These took the form of prayer groups, often under the guidance of a minister, which drew the more committed members of both conforming and nonconforming congregations together for further study and edification. For the Protestant life-writers examined here these were significant sources of affective piety, being both an important devotional practice in their own right as well as serving to influence personal and public duty. The literature that was circulated by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) will also be examined to this end, modifying Brent Sirota's characterisation of the SPCK as instilling a civil piety. The chapter will demonstrate how the 'soteriological imperatives' Sirota observes within the initial outburst of Church of England revivalism in the period were sustained. Despite many of the works promoting holy living and moral action, as Sirota has observed, these texts also sought to inculcate in their audiences an affective piety that was not limited to a 'framework of imminence' or 'social utility' as Sirota suggested.<sup>4</sup> Other than the observation that the SPCK promoted the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as part of the 'Anglican revival', Sirota has spent less time on the devotional character of the SPCK and its promotion of interior piety. Partly this is because this was not his objective. Yet, it has implications for his understanding of the SPCK as focussed on 'the *saeculum*', i.e. anterior to the institution of the church.<sup>5</sup> The examination of the texts circulated by the SPCK here suggests that the inculcation of a strongly affective religiosity was among their primary concerns. This concern was predicated on the salvation of souls rather than on a more narrow social utility. These texts continued to recommend a fervent religiosity and promote a personal relationship between God and devotee, often drawing upon

---

<sup>4</sup> Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, p.9; see also Peter Clark's inclusion of the SPCK in *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p.12.

dualistic motifs (the manifest influences of God and the Devil).<sup>6</sup> The chapter, then, fleshes out the character of the godly 'religious temper' that Mary Gladwys Jones has identified in the SPCK.<sup>7</sup>

The SPCK and the Societies for the Reformation of Manners (SRMs) also helped promote an ambiguous ecumenism. In the witness of the letters exchanged between the SPCK in London and ministers in the north west of England, as well as other life-writings, the two were presented as being entwined in their operations, to the extent that they may well have been indistinguishable in this region. While the approach of conformist members of both societies was not, on the whole, actively hostile to moderate nonconformists (Presbyterians and Independents in particular), they often engaged, directly and indirectly, in controversial liturgical, ecclesiological and theological issues. Moreover, the role of the SPCK in shoring up attachment to and attendance at the Church of England made it partisan. This was, however, ambiguous at best, and there was as much Protestant unity in the region as there was division. The similar approaches of the SPCK and the prayer groups of nonconformists might be understood as a single culture of voluntary religious practice.

Voluntary religion frequently played a supportive and sometimes subordinate role within the devotional economy of the Protestants of north-west England in the period. It was often a very practical source of materials, mostly in the form of treatises

---

<sup>6</sup> I follow from critiques which question the marginalisation of devotional nature of the SPCK observed in Sirota's work: David Manning, 'Review of: The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730', *Reviews in History* (August, 2015), [<http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1813> last accessed: 14/03/2017]; Mark Goldie, 'Review of Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol.67. 2. (2016), pp.443-444.

<sup>7</sup> M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action* (Hamden, 1964), pp.6-14, 36-41; Sirota, *Christian Monitor*, p.113.

of practical divinity, which influenced the performance of personal and public devotional practice. Drawing its members from among the more committed of both conforming and nonconforming congregations, its purpose was often to enhance the reception of sermon and sacrament. Yet it is also clear that friendships and more formal associations were discrete devotional and affectively pious practices in their own right. Mutual prayer sought to instil affective appreciation of God through collective worship outside Lord's Day congregations and was often of soteriological importance. Voluntary religious groups served as a means of perpetuating the correct devotional affect throughout the week. For a number of life-writers, particularly Roger Lowe and Edmund Harrold as sometime single men, such associations were essential, and clearly substituted for family duty. This chapter opens with the role of friendship as a devotional practice and then examines the affective piety of prayer groups and the literature of the SPCK, before considering the nature of the ecumenism of such voluntary religious associations.

### Friendship as Devotional Exercise

---

In his 2003 book *The Friend*, Alan Bray interpreted pre-modern friendship as a form of voluntary kinship. He sought to identify remnants of a medieval culture of sacrosanct friendship (particularly brotherhood) within England up to the modern period. With the Reformation, more formalised and ritualised aspects of this culture were increasingly viewed as unorthodox, particularly among the hotter-sort of both reformers and

counter-reformers.<sup>8</sup> There is little evidence among the life-writers explored here (in part due to their lower social status as compared with Bray's subjects) of friendship bonds made by mutual attendance at communion or burial practices. Yet the exchange of devotional materials and a common interest in one another's spiritual well-being might be substituted in place of Bray's rather more sacramental, mystical bonds of friendship. This, it appeared, crossed the lines of conformity and party. In this, the central role of friendship and its role in promoting an affective piety bore some relation to the effort, as examined by Thomas Heilke, of the sixteenth-century Anabaptists to emulate the life and virtues of the Early Church. Luther and Calvin's ambivalence towards friendship was not characteristic of the responses of the life-writers here, though the life-writers shared these sixteenth-century reformers' concern about the type of company they kept.<sup>9</sup> Nor was there much reflection upon the biblical archetypes that Naomi Pullin has explored among Quaker women. Partly this could be because the life-writers explored here were not peripatetic lay preachers. Yet the Quaker desire to downplay the ego in favour of being a conduit for the spirit of God undoubtedly played its role in their direct repetition of biblical discourses.<sup>10</sup> The life-writers explored here followed Aristotelian notions of perfect friendship defined by spiritual bonds of mutual benefit.<sup>11</sup> Friendship was, however, as much practical as philosophical for the life-writers. It provided them with material for spiritual edification as much as personal interaction for the same end.

---

<sup>8</sup> Alan Bray, *The Friend* (London, 2003), p.91.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Heilke, 'From Civic Friendship to Communities of Believers: Anabaptist Challenges to Lutheran and Calvinist Discourses', in Daniel T. Lochman, Maritere López and Lorna Hutson (eds.), *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700* (Farnham 2011), pp.225-238.

<sup>10</sup> Mack, *Heart Religion*, p.25; Naomi Pullin, "'The Lord hath joined us together': Spiritual friendship and Quaker women's alliances', *History of Emotions Blog* (20 March, 2014), <<https://emotionsblog.history.qmul.ac.uk/2014/03/the-lord-hath-joined-us-together-spiritual-friendship-and-quaker-womens-alliances/>> [last accessed: 02/10/2015].

<sup>11</sup> Stella Achilleos, 'Friendship and Good Counsel: the Discourses of Friendship and Parrhesia in Francis Bacon's *The Essayes of Counsels, Civill and Morall*', in Albrecht Classen, Marilyn Sandidge and Walter de Gruyter (eds.), *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Explorations of a Fundamental Ethical Discourse* (Berlin, 2010), p.646.

Edmund Harrold's social life revolved around the exchange and discussion of devotional treatises. He and a number of his friends frequently exchanged books of a primarily religious character. On 19 October 1712, for example, Harrold recorded that he 'Brought fro[m] Mary Hill my Expo[sitions] [and Newcombe's] Church Catechism.' Hill said 'she will have 2 b[oo]ks on me, Esop and Ladys New Y[ea]rs Gift and 12<sup>d</sup>.' Craig Horner identified these texts as Ezekiel Hopkins' *An exposition on the Ten Commandments*: ... (London, 1691); Peter Newcome's *A catechetical course of sermons for the whole year* ... (London, [1700]); *The fables of Esop, in English* ... (London, 1628) and George Savile's *The ladies New-Years-gift: or Advice to a daughter under these following heads, viz. Religion, husband, house and family* ... (Edinburgh, [3<sup>rd</sup> edn, 1688]). Later in the same entry, Harrold noted that he 'read a sermon in Norris, 2<sup>d</sup> voll on natural and morrall vanity. Tis extraordinary indeed [that] I see it verified every day by experience.'<sup>12</sup> He had on 1 August of the same year borrowed from John Brook, 'his Norriss, 1<sup>st</sup> voll' which Horner identified as possibly being John Norris's *An Essay towards the Theory of the ideal or intelligible World* (1701) of which the second volume appeared in 1704.<sup>13</sup> Harrold's own reading was thus dependent upon and linked with that of his friends and the group that he had drawn around him to share devotional materials. In a very practical sense, his interior piety was dependent upon the collective framework of his friendship and social connections outside of public worship, the church and the ministry. While the exchange of books was something of a necessity for Harrold and provided him with some income, this exchange of devotional materials underlined the friendships he made. His practice demonstrated conformity to godly practice. Avid reading of devotional

---

<sup>12</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.40.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p.26, n.9. Notably Horner posited that the Norris text Harrold recorded on 19 October 1712 was Norris's *Practical Discourses upon several Divine Subjects* (London 1691). This book had gone into 15 editions by 1740. However, given the proximity of the references I have suggested that they were in fact the same work.

treatises had long been recognised as an integral aspect of godly culture; Andrew Cambers, for example has explored the sharing of materials by personal and parish libraries, as well as in establishments such as the coffeehouse.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, the apprentice and Presbyterian Roger Lowe maintained a close friendship with his local nonconformist minister Mr. Woods, who also frequently lent him reading materials such as that Lowe recorded on 9 April 1663 of a text named ‘An healing receipt for a diseased liver’. The text used heavy medical metaphor in its prescription of an affective piety. The reader was to ‘take a quart of repentance of Ninivah, and [pu]t nine handfuls of faith in the bloud of Christ with as much hope and charitee as you can get, and put it into a vessell of clean conscience’, as well as purge the ‘blacke scumm of the love of this world’.<sup>15</sup> Thus godly forms of voluntary religious practice persisted into the eighteenth century, transgressing lines of conformity and party.

Harrold discussed the books that he read with his friends and thus united the affective bonds of friendship with devotional practice and religious discussion. Harrold’s social life revolved around reading of devotional treatises. On 31 July 1713, he noted: ‘at night I put my self in ye books to be asked wth Claricus Davis. Dr. Redford wth me, told Mr.s [Horrocks?] on’t. Stay’d till 12 past.’<sup>16</sup> On 5 August 1712, after working late, he ‘went to John Brook for sermon of: Use and not abuse ye world, by B[isho]p Daw[e]s. In Lent, tis a curious piece indeed. I sp[e]nt 3d wth Greg[sons] [and?] Broxflocks. Came home and read ye sermon.’<sup>17</sup> On 26 October 1712, after hearing sermons on 2 Corinthians 2:11 and 1 Corinthians 11:28, he noted that he had ‘Finished Almost Christian. Saw 2 friends, swapt with Mary Hill b[oo]ks. Sp[e]nt 2<sup>d</sup>,

---

<sup>14</sup> Cambers, *Godly reading*, pp.118-158, 182-189.

<sup>15</sup> *Diary of Roger Lowe*, p.17.

<sup>16</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.82.

<sup>17</sup> William Dawes, *Of the right use, and abuse, of the things of this world* (London, 1712); *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.25.

read Newcombs Funerall over at [the Pack] Horse. Sold it R G[ibson] 2<sup>d</sup>.<sup>18</sup> Later the same week on 29 October, he spent '2<sup>d</sup> with John Whitworth [at the] Crown and S[c]epton, discourse on books etc.'<sup>19</sup> Swapping and discussing books of a devotional nature was integral to Harrold's devotional life.

Discussion over religion in this period might not always run smoothly. Evidence from Roger Lowe's diary aptly demonstrates this. Lowe was continually discussing religious matters with his friends in the alehouse, which frequently drew dispute among them. As explored in the discussion on public worship, Lowe's discussion about the relative merits of episcopacy and presbytery caused friction between him and the vicar of Highton.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, on 23 August 1665, Lowe went to the alehouse with his friend John Potter and 'whiles we ware eating and drinking we had almost fln out about prebittery and episcopecie.'<sup>21</sup> On 10 February 1666, a Mr. Bowker came to Ashton who Lowe delivered to 'Nicholas Burscoe's house, For there he was all night, and in the way we Fell out extremelie about religion'.<sup>22</sup> Yet, these conflicts came at a time of high tension between conformists and dissenters, not least among Presbyterians who had lost out under the restrictive reestablishment of the Church of England. It should be noted that Lowe frequently attended religious services with John Potter. Their disagreements do not seem to have conflicted with mutual attendance at public devotion. Although they fell out after one such trip to Manchester about religion, 'it never ocasiond us to love the lesse, which I often marked as a providence of God'.<sup>23</sup> Recognition of each other's godliness and a broader sense of Christian charity

---

<sup>18</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p. 42.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p.42.

<sup>20</sup> *Diary of Roger Lowe*, p.67.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p.89.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p.97.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p.95; 27 December 1665.

overcame disputes about aspects of faith between conformists and nonconformists on a personal level. For the most part, Lowe's friendships were tinged by religious association in a very similar way to Harrold's.

Harrold and Lowe's religious discussion in the alehouse might seem unusual given godly ministers' censure of the immoral behaviour they associated with such establishments. Moreover, the period saw the emergence of the coffeehouse and its association with sober religious and political radicals. Cambers has however suggested that the differences between comportment in alehouses and coffeehouses has been exaggerated.<sup>24</sup> Mark Hailwood has also noted how, following the Restoration, alehouses were once again an important venue for those at odds with the religious settlement, as they had been in the 1530s and 1550s.<sup>25</sup> Lowe's quotidian religious practice often pivoted around alehouses, which provided a location to meet Mr. Woods and respite on the road when gadding to sermons and back.<sup>26</sup> Lowe demonstrated little anxiety in frequenting alehouses. It is possible that he and other members of the godly were able to distinguish between alehouses and indeed those who frequented them. The alehouse was not inherently degenerative; certain alehouses had bad reputations and some people used them improperly. This might have been a distinction of expediency, however, in the absence of alternative venues for assembly for either Lowe or Harrold. There is little evidence for coffeehouses in Manchester, for example, before the 1740s.<sup>27</sup>

Harrold's diary evinced Peter Clark's observation that in the eighteenth century the

---

<sup>24</sup> Cambers, *Godly reading*, p.183.

<sup>25</sup> Mark Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2014), p.105.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., pp.105-6; Patrick Collinson, 'from Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: The Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation', in Peter Marshall (ed.), *The Impact of the English Reformation, 1500-1640* (London, 1997), p.283.

<sup>27</sup> The rising of Jacobite volunteers was conducted at the 'old coffee-house' on 9 December 1745. No other evidence of Manchester coffee houses that pre-date this reference; Samuel Hibbert, John Palmer, William Robert Wharton, J Gresswell, *History of the foundations in Manchester of Chirst's College, Chetham's Hospital, and the Free Grammar School*, Vol. 2. (London, 1834), p.106.



notion of alehouses as centres of dissent was turned on its head as the popular drinking trade was increasingly seen as an ally of the political establishment and even the church.<sup>28</sup> The alehouse as a venue of religious exchange and discussion was commonplace, though not without controversy. While this might not have extended to a devotional practice in the strictest sense of the word, it nevertheless demonstrated the importance of sociability for personal piety and religious identity.

On 3 May 1663, Lowe recorded that at noon with ‘Thomas Smith and severall young women we assembled together in fields, and I repeated sermon.’<sup>29</sup> Lowe’s leading of religious devotions in this manner blurred the lines between public, familial and voluntary devotional practices. Such a gathering would become illegal as a conventicle two years later. Yet it also demonstrated how friendship might be guided as much by devotional practice as anything else. Further, on 1 February 1664 (a Sunday), he went

att night to Mr.. Woods’ and we being some younge people that som times associated together, and providence seeming to make a breach amongst us, we ware sore discomforted, some in their removall far of and I my selfe in thoughts of being removed out of towne.<sup>30</sup>

He recorded going again the next day with Thomas Smith to ‘spend the night to the edification of one another’ though worried again about his friend John Chadoke’s

---

<sup>28</sup> Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200-1830* (London, 1983), p.237; Hailwood, *Alehouses*, p.63.

<sup>29</sup> *Diary of Roger Lowe*, p.20.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p.49.

departure from Ashton, an apprentice yoked to the same master as Lowe.<sup>31</sup> The unstable nature of life for young people is well demonstrated in these extracts. Clearly it was a significant wrench for these friends, who were dedicated to a body of voluntary religion, to be lost to one another by the courses that their lives took.

Friendship for Lowe had some significant import on lifecycle events as well. On 21 December 1666 he went into 'old William Hasleden's in Ashton; his wife was sicke and I read in the *Practice of Pietie*, and as I was reading she gave up the ghost.'<sup>32</sup> Here, as observed earlier in the fields, Lowe acted as minister, perhaps because of his friend's illiteracy. Yet such actions, often the preserve of family members, demonstrated the manner in which that voluntary kinship that Alan Bray explored continued in some manner in voluntary devotional practice from the Restoration. Mutual prayer in voluntary association had an important effect here, serving as a means to minister to one another in the absence of a cleric. Such friendships were soteriologically important. Correct comportment at the moment of death was a long established godly preoccupation.<sup>33</sup> A place in heaven could be risked at the very end of life. As such, the influence that these exchanges made over Lowe's own personal religion and his and Harrold's friendly conferences over books might be understood within a more comprehensive culture of voluntary association, which involved the devotee in the spiritual life of their contemporaries in a more holistic manner. It was something of a substitute for the sacrosanct voluntary kinship explored by Bray, shorn of some of its more formalistic, or at least unreformed, elements.

---

<sup>31</sup> *Diary of Roger Lowe*, p.49.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p.109.

<sup>33</sup> Ralph Houlbrooke, 'The Puritan Death-bed, c.1560–c.1660', in Durston and Eales (eds.), *Culture of English Puritanism*, pp.122–44.

The didactic and philosophical requirement that friendship be mutually edifying was expressed in many of the life-writings. In a letter to his friend George Illidge dated 1 March 1686, Matthew Henry sought to follow the example of James Ussher, Bishop of Armagh and John Preston, master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge: ‘*O[wn a] Word of Christ now before we part*: Christians that own their All to Christ, should be often talking of him’.<sup>34</sup> William Tong noted that ‘while [Henry] was at *Grays Inn*, he not only promoted Social Prayer and Religious Conference with his particular Friends, but would sometimes expound Scripture to them.’<sup>35</sup> The biographer of Henry’s sister, Sarah Savage, recorded how her ‘enjoyment of society of her friends was ever improved to spiritual purposes’. This practice was affective where ‘mutual exhortation and prayer’ and the selection of ‘some portion of scripture... happily lessened, by an elevated style of thought, the pangs of separation’.<sup>36</sup> The Henry family understood friendship as having a strongly devotional character.

In a letter to his son Matthew on 18 December 1685, Philip Henry drew his attention to the words of George Herbert upon building a church that ‘tis a good work ... if it bee sprinkled with the Bloud of J. Xt. without which all is nothing’. Philip called Matthew to

See your need of him more & more & live upon him; no life like it, so sweet, so safe ... without his Merit to satisfy; wee cannot move in the performance of any Good requir’d, without his Spit. & grace to assist

---

<sup>34</sup> Tong, *Life of Matthew Henry*, p.40.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p.36.

<sup>36</sup> J. B. Williams, *Memoirs of the life and character of Mrs. Sarah Savage : To which are added memoirs of her sister, Mrs. Hulton* (London, 1828), p.20.

He went on to advise his son ‘wherever you are, alone or in company, [to] bee always either doing or getting good, sowing or reaping.’<sup>37</sup> The implicit link between the edification by or of company with the sacrifice of Christ was important in demonstrating the devotional nature of friendship. The model of friendship was, then, of a principally devotional nature and perhaps sought to make some comparison with the primitive church. The affective bonds of friendship were heightened by the common experience of religion and consideration of religious motifs, such as Christ’s sacrifice. These extracts added rather more of that flavour of sacramental-style friendship, which Bray has examined, particularly this focus of Philip Henry’s on the crucifixion. Friendship was constructed as a devotional exercise in its own right, and not so far detached from Bray’s own model.

Sarah Savage was effusive about the effect of friendships upon her piety, despite its characterisation by Amanda E. Herbert as essentially anti-social. Certainly, as Herbert notes, Savage’s marital family and community were dominated by lukewarm conformists, though Savage herself did not employ denominational designations and framed her censure through the guise of commitment. Her friends, however, were understood as essential to her devotional affect.<sup>38</sup> On 30 April 1687 at Nantwich, she was ‘much refreshed to see the faces of dear Xtian Friends. esp. to obsf; their zeal & forwardnes thirsting and longing for ye means of Grace’.<sup>39</sup> On 4 May 1687, she wrote of George Illidge’s visit: ‘I rejoyce to see ye faces of such - his society was sweet, hee prayed Earnestly with mee and for mee’. In the same entry, she noted how her sister left her the following Thursday and so she lamented being ‘as it wr. left alone yet wth

---

<sup>37</sup> *Diaries and letters of Philip Henry*, p.345.

<sup>38</sup> Amanda E. Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (London, 2014), pp.170, 168-198, 191-2.

<sup>39</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [fols.13v.-14r.].

one who I have good cause to hope has a tender love for mee, I am most afraid lest ye world shd. get such a room in my [heart] yt I should decline & grow cold as to ye vitals of relig'.<sup>40</sup> Savage's friendships with Illidge and her sisters were affectively pious. Her experience of sweet earnest prayer was contrasted with her fears about a lack of affectivity for future devotional activity in their absence. She understood her own affective piety as dependent upon the collective framework of both friendship and shared devotional exercise.

On 18 March 1687, Savage's prospective husband 'Cos. Sav. was here & I had more yn two hours discourse wth him yet, to my shame & sorrow I speak it, scarce a word yt I rememb. of any Spirittual th. I fear this will bee bitter in ye reflection'.<sup>41</sup> Savage believed that every social opportunity should be guided by devotional purpose. On 3 October 1686, she noted how on 'Tuesday night (wch I must not forget) some company with us I was too light & merry'.<sup>42</sup> She frequently reproached herself for insufficiently edifying sociability. On 10 January 1687, she recorded arriving at 'Stanward was kindly intertained much pleased wth their Company, only not so serious as I could wish'.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, she recorded how on 8 February 1687 despite being 'very Earnest for Mortification... yt night wee went to Whitch. all 4 togeth. too apt to exceed in mirth wn many yong ones meet'.<sup>44</sup> This reproach for levity and lack of religious edification in her discourse with her friends reflected the emphasis that her father Philip Henry placed on the correct comportment of friendships. Her desire for seriousness, as explored in prior discussion of her devotional affect at personal and public duties, no doubt reflected the requisite habitus of the religious culture to which Savage belonged.

---

<sup>40</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [fol. 14r.].

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, n.p. [fol. 11r.].

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, n.p. [fol. 3r.].

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, n.p. [fol. 7r.].

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, n.p. [fol. 8r.].

One of the essential functions of friendship was to exhibit faults for reflection.<sup>45</sup> In this sense, the Aristotelian requirements of friendship were translated to the religious realm where self-reflection, perhaps even morbidity, was characteristic of true (and soteriologically viable) friendship.

Richard Illidge, a conformist and father of the previously mentioned George, recorded once hearing ‘a Friend of mine talk Atheist-like, very profanely’. Illidge reproved him by asking why he ‘talk[ed] so wickedly?’ He further questioned his friend’s belief in God and the Devil: ‘[The friend] answered, it may be there is such things, but I know not where they are. I answered, Sir, in Time you may know, to your own Sorrow and Amazement. By this Time he doth, for he died lately’.<sup>46</sup> Illidge was required to upbraid his friend for his conversion, because sociability was an opportunity for extempore prayer and spiritual meditation. Matthew Henry recorded that Richard Illidge while ‘walking in his Fields, and looking on his Improvements, he said to a Friend that was with him, *All prospers if the Soul prosper.*’ Illidge continued:

The most precious and valuable Thing, that I am concern’d for in this World, is my immortal, never-dying Soul; which must fare in the next World according as I behave my self in this O! it is Rest for my precious and immortal Soul, which I desire and aim at above all Things whatsoever.<sup>47</sup>

Such effusive piety, here sketched with eternal preoccupations, undoubtedly coloured the nature of the affective bonds of friendship. Extra-parochial and extra-familial social interaction was tinged with spiritual improvement. That friendship involved a deep care

---

<sup>45</sup> Achilleos, ‘Friendship’, p.660.

<sup>46</sup> Henry, *Lieutenant Illidge*, pp.60-1.

<sup>47</sup> Henry, *Lieutenant Illidge*, p.16.

for the spiritual estates of his associates was a preoccupation of Illidge's life. In one letter to a friend, apparently concerned for Illidge, the Cheshire farmer replied:

I have read over and over your good Advice and seasonable Admonitions. I take them very kindly, and give you great Thanks, and do bless God, shall do upon my Knees, that any take so much Care of my immortal Soul. I may well take it as a Message from God, whose Assistance I humbly beg in the Performance thereof, with your continued Prayers on my Behalf, against all the Enemies of my Salvation. With God's Assistance, I shall endeavour to observe and keep your Instructions, which are both necessary and pious; your Reproofs sharp, but just and real; should I go about to vindicate my past Course of Life, it is vain; had I done any Thing that were well, I am but an unprofitable Servant, but shall daily beg for Repentance and Amendment of Life. I desire Two Things of you, 1<sup>st</sup>, a frequent Part in your Prayers. 2<sup>dly</sup>, When you see or hear of any Thing amiss in my Conversation, that you would reprove me sharply, I shall take it kindly.<sup>48</sup>

The role of friendship was used by Illidge to bear reflection upon his spiritual estate. It was the closeness of the friendship bond which caused the sharp reproofs to Illidge. Yet this bond is also an essentially devotional one in that, in a similar way to family religion, prayers were called for which bonded the two in an affective and spiritual community.

---

<sup>48</sup> Henry, *Lieutenant Illidge*, p.16-7.

Such a bond was reflected in Matthew Henry's experience. He wrote to his friend George Illidge, both of whom would later go on to be ordained as ministers, in a letter dated 1 March 1686. His letter was mostly concerned with religious issues, Henry confessing to having been 'never a good News-monger'. His focus instead was Hebrew 4. 13: '*That all things are naked and open unto him with whom we have to do...* when we are entering either into Duty or into Temptation, to lift up our Heart in these Words, *Thou God seest me*; and therefore let Duty be carefully done'. Reflecting on Galatians 1:4, Henry asserted: 'Christ died to deliver us from this World; so if our Hearts are glued to present Things and our Affections fix'd upon them, we do directly thw[art] the great design of our Lord Jesus Christ in coming to save us.'<sup>49</sup> He further claimed that 'we are not under the Law that required pers[onal] perfect Obedience ... but under the Covenant of Grace, which acc[epts] the willing Mind, and makes Sincerity our Perfection [oh] what a sweet Word is Grace!'<sup>50</sup> 'Heaven and Hell', he continued, 'are great Things indeed, and should be much upon our Hearts, and improved by us as a Spur of Constraint to put us upon Duty, and a Bridle of Restraint to keep us from Sin'.<sup>51</sup> He ended with:

Tell them, notwithstanding this, it is a Way of Pleasantness, it gives spiritual, though it prohibits sensual Pleasures. [...] I would have you keep to yourself; I hope you will not forget me at the Throne of Grace, for I have need of your Prayers; give my affectionate Respects to your Wife, and Mother and Sister<sup>52</sup>.

---

<sup>49</sup> Tong, *Life of Matthew Henry*, p.38.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p.38.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p.39.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p.40.



Henry's letter demonstrated the manner in which pious exercise was conceived of through feeling and that this was the cornerstone of his concern in friendship. Much like George's father Richard, Henry's friendship provided him with a means to foster piety. Moreover, Henry advocated an affective piety to his friend Illidge in their communications with each other. Their friendship was essentially a bond of piety and devotion. They may have been more explicit and their exchanges might have gone on for longer than those of the laymen explored above. Yet, the principle was the same. Henry cautioned Illidge over the company he kept, not because of any inherently anti-social nature of the faith that they shared, but because friendship was of so great spiritual importance. Friendship was underlined by a common experience and exchange of religion.

The life-writers, perhaps unsurprisingly, did not offer extensive elucidation on the nature and essential character of friendship. There were nevertheless significant trends among them which demonstrated the central importance of friendship, on both spiritual and practical levels, to their own interior piety. The quasi-sacramental aspect of Bray's account of pre-modern friendship was absent. The devotional character of friendship was, however, sustained throughout. Certainly for some, Harrold in particular, the practical aspects of devotional friendship (including the exchange of treatises of practical divinity) was witnessed more strongly in the writings than the spiritual. Yet Harrold's own devotional practice was inherently dependent upon his social interactions and the friendship bonds he made provided him with material for his personal devotion. Other life-writers, however, demonstrated the important interplay between the voluntary religious associations of friendship and their own interior piety. Savage's account was most extensive in its portrayal of this interaction. Any simple division between them based on their conformity, however, would be overly hasty, not

least given Savage's ambiguous approach to conformity and Richard Illidge's similar approach to friendship. Their characterisations of friendship as being essential in moving their feeling and also in consideration of their respective spiritual estate demonstrates how interior piety could work through, or depend on, social and mutual prayer even at a distance.

### Cultivating Piety in Voluntary Associations

---

The meeting of extra-sabbatical groups was not merely concerned with mutual catechising and extending one another's Christian knowledge, but also in the cultivation of a strongly affective piety among the members. Whether they were conducted by conformists or nonconformists, they shared many of the same ideals and approaches, including the importance of moral reform and 'holy living' alongside a vital experiential religiosity. Brent Sirota has argued that the SPCK and the literature it circulated was anti-Calvinist in character, promoting 'holy living' in a manner that was characteristic of both the 'fervent sacramentalism and the latitudinarian moralism that comprised Restoration divinity'.<sup>53</sup> Yet, as the life-writers witnessed, prayer groups comprised of even Calvinist nonconformists continued to stress the importance of moral action. Moreover, the literature that the SPCK circulated in the north west of England was not narrowly moralistic or formalistic but contained a continued commitment to personal experience of God mediated by the affections. In their practice, such groups were ecumenical in scope. There were, however, few examples of such groups mixing

---

<sup>53</sup> Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, p.122.

conformists and nonconformists by the end of the period. Moreover, as Sirota has observed, the purpose of the SPCK in shoring up the established church and encouraging attendance at its services and sacraments, necessarily sought to bring dissenters back into the conformist fold. Some of the literature espoused ecclesiological and liturgical positions that were at odds with the outlook of many nonconformists. Nonetheless, the largely non-coercive and non-confrontational approach towards moderate nonconformists of the SPCK (in contrast to its approach to Quakers and Roman Catholics) held true within the north west.<sup>54</sup> These groups also shared enough in common to make possible the cooperation in suppression of vice via the Societies for the Reformation of Manners (SRMs) and to consider the practices of the SPCK, the SRMs and individual prayer groups as a single culture of voluntary religion.

Richard Kay's diary revealed that prayer groups like those Lowe described persisted to the end of the period. On 19 April 1737, Kay attended 'John Grundey's of Mathers' house for a meeting of 'that Society to which God by his kind Providence hath for some Time past called me to joyn with have met to pray.' He prayed that God would 'grant that our meeting together may ever be for the better, and no ways for the worse' and that 'we may pray with and for one another, and hereby help one another in our preparation for Heaven and a better world'.<sup>55</sup> Kay witnessed such groups of voluntary religion as having significant soteriological importance. Mutual prayer sought salvation collectively, developing the devotee's personal relationship with God through social interaction. The questions asked of them were from 1 Corinthians 2:14, 'But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto

---

<sup>54</sup> Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, pp.120-124.

<sup>55</sup> *Diary of Richard Kay*, pp.7-8.

him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.<sup>56</sup> This verse advocated for divine revelation and the need for human understanding to be regenerated by God before the truth could be ascertained. This reflected, the founder of the SPCK Thomas Bray's particular concern for the attacks on 'both Natural and Reveal'd' religion by the 'Confederate-Forces of *Atheists, Deists, and Socinians*.'<sup>57</sup> Such extra-congregational activity by a select cadre of the more committed members led by the minister was, moreover, mirrored by those organised in the period of young high-churchmen explored by John Walsh.<sup>58</sup>

On 15 June 1739, Kay recorded exercising 'the Duty of Prayer' at 'Mr.s. Hamer's (Widow) of Somerseate' house. Questions were asked from Proverbs 13:3: 'He that keepeth his mouth keepeth his life: *but* he that openeth wide his lips shall have destruction'. Here, moral action was promoted in a similar way to that outlined by Sirota for the SPCK. Yet drawing from 1 Corinthians 13:11 and Colossians 3:2, Kay also added 'Lord, help me now to put away childish Things, and to set my Thoughts and Affections on Things above, and not on Things below'.<sup>59</sup> Kay understood this prayer group as having a role in mediating feeling. This reflected Lowe's entry on 4 September 1666: 'Tusday night. I went to old John Robinson's; was all night. O how comfortable is the communion of Saints!'<sup>60</sup> In both of these extracts, collective worship, mutual prayer and edification were experienced through feeling. Katherine Tylston, another daughter of Philip Henry, also understood such extra-sabbatical practice in this manner. On 27 February 1718, she attended a 'private fast' and

---

<sup>56</sup> *Diary of Richard Kay*, p.8.

<sup>57</sup> Thomas Bray, *A short discourse upon the doctrine of our baptismal covenant, being an exposition upon the preliminary questions and answers of our church-catechism* (London, 1700), n.p. [*The Preface* sig. B4r.].

<sup>58</sup> Walsh, 'Religious societies', pp.279-290.

<sup>59</sup> *Diary of Richard Kay*, p.28.

<sup>60</sup> *Diary of Roger Lowe*, p.107.

censured herself afterwards for 'Not taking due Care to [order] my Mind before I went to Chapp'l'. 'Vain & wordly tho[ugh]ts' filled her mind, though 'by the latt<sup>r</sup>. pt. of ye Service of yt. d[ay]. was somw[ha]t. serious, humbled & affected alas too little spent ye Even[ing]: aft[er]. but sorrily'.<sup>61</sup> Although Tylston recorded limited success, devotional affect was understood as the mediating principle of this practice. Philip Henry recorded a Tuesday lecture preaching from 'Job. 36.21 then Mr. Lawrence from Ps. 62. 5'.<sup>62</sup> The two extracts are of note here, respectively: 'Take heed, regard not iniquity: for this hast thou chosen rather than affliction' and 'My soul, wait thou only upon God; for my expectation is from him', taken together they undoubtedly sought to engage the affections of those who had gathered to hear these extra-Sabbatical meetings. Consideration of the final judgment was accompanied by an espousal of experiential religiosity. They drew their audiences in close bonds, therefore, of dedication to God and religious practice in a new community. The rejection of iniquity called the audience to moral action and even holy living.

The literature circulated by the SPCK within the north west of England was certainly in part committed to increasing attachment to and attendance at the Church of England, as well as moral action. However, it also sought to inculcate affective piety. A sample of letters from 1699-1711, exchanged between the London headquarters and

---

<sup>61</sup> BL Add. MS 42849, Katherine Tylston devotional journal', *Henry Papers*, f.115r.

<sup>62</sup> *Diaries and letters of Philip Henry*, p.100.

ministers in the north west of England, included requests for 30 different titles.<sup>63</sup>

Among these listed proceedings of the SPCK within the country, catechisms, the Book of Common Prayer and primers. These served to familiarise the society's members with the services of the Church of England, though they may have also been requested for familial devotional practice.<sup>64</sup> Other materials of often practical divinity also sought to instil a vital, affective faith in their audiences. John Rawlet's *Christian Monitor*, for example, was not merely concerned with moral action for imminent effect. Moral action was an important part of his text, as was the repression of some feeling, though overall he promoted an experiential piety mediated by feeling. Rawlet drew upon dualistic discourses of God and the Devil similar to those of the moral reform movement which emphasised their 'real existence ... and the real nature of the struggle

---

<sup>63</sup> There were repeated requests for Bibles, catechisms, primers and the Book of Common Prayer. There were also requests for the following unidentified items (some these texts are included in larger composite volumes); 'An Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge for 2. Quarters Ending the last Thursday in Decembr. 1700'; 'Sermons Preached & Collections made for Charity Schools in & about London... Ld. Bp. Of Chester... Dean of Carlisle... St Margts. Westminster. 9<sup>th</sup> January Dean of Carlisle, Mr.. Broughton ... Chappel in Queens Square for ye Blew Coats in Westminster'; 'Dr. Bradford's sermons' [presumably a collection of Samuel Bradford's sermons]; 'Tracts Explaining ye Nature of Confirmation by an Unknown Hand'; 'Bp Beveridge's Sermon on Good Friday'; 'Dr. Bradford's Sermon at the anniversary Meeting of the Charity Schools in London'; 'Mr.. Busket's Book'. The following identified texts were also requested; Jean Le Clerc, *Five letters concerning the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures translated out of French* (London, 1690); Rawlet, *Christian Monitor*; Thomas Bray, *The acts of Dr. Bray's visitation held at Annapolis in Maryland May 23, 24, 25 anno 1700* (London, 1700); Bray *Appendix*; Edward Welchman, *The husband-man's Manual* (London, 1706); William Beveridge, *A sermon concerning the excellency and usefulness of the common prayer preached by William Beveridge ... 27th of November. 1681* (London 1682); John Disney, *An Essay Upon the Execution of the Laws Against Immorality and Prophaneness: With a Preface Address'd to Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace* (London, 1710); Samuel Bradford, *A Discourse concerning Baptismal and Spiritual Regeneration* (London, 1708); Josiah Woodward, *An Account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners* (London, 1699); William Beveridge, *The great necessity and advantage of publick prayer, and frequent communion* (London, 1708); Edmund Gibson, *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper Explain'd* (London, 1705); Robert Moss, *Sermons and discourses on practical subjects: never before printed* (4 Vols, Cambridge 1732), Vol 1; William Stanley, *The Faith and Practice of a Church of England-Man* (London, 1688); Anon., *The Church Catechism Broke Into Short Questions* (London, 1709); Anon., *A Letter from a Member of the Society for promoting of Christian Knowledge in London, to his friend in the Country, newly chosen a corresponding Member of that Society* (London, 1709); Benjamin Hoadley, *A Persuasive to Lay-Conformity, Or the Reasonableness of Constant Communion with the Church of England, Represented to the Dissenting Laity* (London, 1704); Thomas Comber, *A discourse concerning daily frequenting the common prayer by Thomas Comber* (London, 1687); John Lewis, *The Church Catechism Explain'd* (London, 1702); William Wall, *The History of Infant-Baptism in Two Parts* (London, 1705); Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Abstract Letter Books, Cambridge University Library, SPCK MS D2/1, SPCK Correspondence 1699 -1701, [Abstract Letter Book]; SPCK MS D2/2 SPCK Correspondence [Abstract Letter Book] 1699-1701; SPCK MS D2/3 SPCK Correspondence [Abstract Letter Book] 1708-1709; SPCK MS D2/4 SPCK Correspondence [Abstract Letter Book] 1708-1711.

<sup>64</sup> Isaac Stephens, 'Confessional Identity in Early Stuart England: The "Prayer Book Puritanism" of Elizabeth Isham', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 50, Issue 01 (January 2011), pp 24 – 4; Gregory "For all sorts", pp.29-54.

between the two'.<sup>65</sup> Rawlet asked: 'Do not the temptations of the Devil, the allurements of the World and the Flesh many times prevail more with you than the Commands of Almighty God and the voice of your own Conscience?'<sup>66</sup> The Devil 'has his instruments to draw Men to wickedness, one ill man tempting another, so Ministers are sent from God to draw you to righteousness and holiness.'<sup>67</sup> Rawlet set attendance at public worship within a broader schema of eternal battle. It was perhaps this that drew Rawlet to warn his audience: 'When you come from Church, spend not the remainder of the day in sports and idleness, much less in drinking and gaming, as too many do'.<sup>68</sup> This represented a significant shift in conformist thinking and a break from Laudianism and its emphasis on permissible pastimes. It reflected a commitment to godly piety that saw the SPCK promote a revival which, according to Mark Goldie, gave 'old Puritanism a novel Anglican face'.<sup>69</sup>

The texts circulated by the SPCK gave a significant role to reason in the divinity they prescribed, though this was frequently subordinated to feeling as the primary medium of experiencing God and appreciating the fundamentals of Christianity. Certainly, Rawlet extolled reason, which he contended was given to man 'chiefly to fit him for Religion'. It was this facet of man's intellect that differentiated men from the beasts of the world, who were 'wholly led by their senses'.<sup>70</sup> Rawlet asserted that 'Reason was given us to bridle and govern our Appetites, our Lusts and Passions', but it was drunkenness and lechery which he primarily referred to in this case rather than feeling. These sins were marked out for censure and he associated them with lack of

---

<sup>65</sup> T. C. Curtis, and W. A. Speck, 'The Societies for the Reformation of Manners: A Case Study in the Theory and Practice of Moral Reform', *Literature and History*, Vol. 3. (March 1976), p.48.

<sup>66</sup> Rawlet, *Christian Monitor*, p.6.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p.14.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p.39.

<sup>69</sup> Mark Goldie, 'Review Christian Monitors', p.443.

<sup>70</sup> Rawlet, *Christian Monitor*, pp.7-8.

attendance at public worship, lying and swearing, as well as ‘slandering ... cozening and cheating’. This call to moral action was, moreover, mediated by the senses and by feeling: ‘To be short’, Rawlet concluded, ‘Is there not something or other in this World that you love more than you do God himself and his Son Jesus?’<sup>71</sup> Though reason was of use, the heart was the principal mediator of God’s message. Rawlet presented his arguments for his audience ‘seriously to ponder of as you read them, and God grant they may have due effect upon the heart of every Reader. Amen.’<sup>72</sup> This was so that the Holy Spirit might ‘enlighten our minds, and purifie our hearts, to renew and change our natures, and guide us in ways of holiness here, that so we may be fitted for eternal happiness’.<sup>73</sup> In Rawlet’s text piety worked upon the affections: ‘First he will make us *Holy*, and then we shall be made *Happy*’.<sup>74</sup> He considered heaven in such terms, to raise the affections of his audience. In that ‘glorious Kingdom’, the Christian would enjoy the ‘fulness of joy for evermore’.<sup>75</sup> They would be ‘satisfied and ravished with the beholding of his Glories and the enjoyment of his love; always delighted with the most pleasant and agreeable society of Angels and Saints’.<sup>76</sup>

The role of the heart in this divinity was promoted by several of the texts circulated by the SPCK in the region. The employment of the heart was important as it was understood as mediating feeling. Despite some developments in medical theory, most notably the emergence of chemical medicine, Cartesian dualism, and William Harvey’s contributions to understanding the circulation of blood, older models of physiology persisted. This was especially true of Christian writers who understood,

---

<sup>71</sup> Rawlet, *Christian Monitor*, p.6.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p.7.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p.13.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p.11.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p.24.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p.25.



mostly along Aristotelian lines, the exciting of the affections and desires as essential for preaching and praying. These affections, situated in the sensitive appetite of the soul, stirred and were mediated by the heart, which was in turn understood as essential for the promotion of action via the animal spirits.<sup>77</sup> William Beveridge advocated ‘truth and sincerity of heart in the using of’ the Book of Common Prayer in his treatise concerning its efficacy.<sup>78</sup> Thomas Bray’s recommendations for family religion employed similar discourses of the heart. Family religion was defined by its communal feeling: ‘here [we are] met, to join our hearts and Voices, in Celebration of thy Praises.’<sup>79</sup> Morning prayer was dedicated ‘*For thy Mercies sake in Christ Jesus, in whose words we present the earnest desires of our Souls and Hearts, both for our selves and our Brethren, saying, Our Father, &c.*’<sup>80</sup> Evening prayers confessed the ‘*Greif of our Hearts, that we have in the least offended Thee*’. The family asked God that, ‘*after the Refreshment of a quiet Sleep this Night, we may feel them lively, and powerful in the Mornings; and with renew’d Joy, we may still devote our selves to thy faithful Service.*’<sup>81</sup> *The Husband-man’s Manual* contained both instructions on how to be a good Christian as well as discrete prayers. These often beseeched God for his influence upon their

---

<sup>77</sup> These notions persisted as late Jonathan Edward’s *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (1746) which held on to a spiritual dualism between the carnal and the spiritual man, rather than a mechanistic one as understood by Descartes and adopted by Isaac Watts, cited in Dixon, *From Passion*, pp.72-81; Fay Bound Alberti, *Matters of the Heart: History, Medicine, and Emotion..* (Oxford, 2010), pp.35-6; For the most part early seventeenth-century godly writers assented to the Aristotelian view, though some like William Fenner (and eventually Edwards) located the affections in the will and as motions of the heart itself along more Scotist lines, David S. Sytsma, ‘The Logic of the Heart: Analysing the Affections in Early Reformed Orthodoxy’, in Jordan J. Ballor, David Sytsma, Jason Zuidema (eds.), *Church and School in Early Modern Protestantism: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Muller on the Maturation of a Theological Tradition* (Boston, 2013), pp.478-479; Philip Melancthon seems to have understood the origin of the affections in a similar manner in originating from the heart, though affections, following Desiderius Erasmus’s, were essential to enacting moral, reformed lives, Ashley Null, ‘Official Tudor Homilies’, in McCullough, Adlington and Rhatigan (eds.), *Oxford Handbook*, p.353; Susan Karant-Nunn suggests that Martin Luther and John Calvin thought of the heart only in a metaphorical sense, *Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford, 2010), p.249; Keith Condie, “‘Light Accompanied with Vital Heat’: Affection and Intellect in the Thought of Richard Baxter”, in A. Ryrie and Tom Schwanda (eds.), *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World* (Hampshire, 2016), pp.42-44; Elena Carrera, ‘Anger and the Mind-Body Connection in medieval and Early Modern Medicine’, in Carrera (ed.), *Emotions and Health, 1200-1700* (Boston, 2013), pp.115-129.

<sup>78</sup> Beveridge, *Excellency and Usefulness*, p.17.

<sup>79</sup> Bray, *Appendix*, n.p. [p.23].

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., n.p. [p.29].

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., n.p. [sigD2r, p.30].

feeling: 'But do thou O my God, give me a softer Heart, and a more ingenuous Frame of Mind, that thy Mercies may lead me to Repentance'.<sup>82</sup> The prayers lamented 'some Wanderings in Prayer, some Coldness in Charity'. They also called for certain feelings to be quashed: 'mortife my Lusts, subdue my Passions, and wean me from this World'.<sup>83</sup> On the whole, however, the plea was for God to foster feeling within the devotee.

Even texts such as Le Clerc's *Five Letters* (1690), which otherwise promoted a greater role for reason by denying that the Bible was wholly divinely inspired, embraced feeling. Le Clerc's lambasting of the disagreeably passionate nature of his opponents (deist and orthodox Calvinist zealot alike) served a mostly rhetorical purpose. Orthodoxy, he contended, 'agrees very well with our Passions, whereas the severe Morals of the Gospel are incompatible with our way of living'.<sup>84</sup> Similarly, deists, in the 'heat of their Zeal', submitted to 'blind Passion, which is made up of Choler, and animated by Superstition, Pride and Envy, [which] discomposes them so violently'.<sup>85</sup> Despite characterising his opponents as overly passionate, Le Clerc's understanding of the Christian religion depended upon an affective element. In denying the spiritual or mystic element of much of the Bible, Le Clerc often resorted to feeling to explain biblical narrative. By associating the 'Spirit of God' and 'Spirit of Holiness' with 'a disposition of Spirit conformable to the Commandments of God', or indeed the '*Spirit of Jealousy, the Spirit of Stupidity, the Spirit of Fear, the Spirit of Courage, the Spirit of Meekness, &c*', he suggested that prophecy and revelation were aspects of affect, at least within the biblical narrative.<sup>86</sup> While on the one hand this levelled the mystical elements of Christianity, it perhaps also made revelation, prophecy and experience of God a

---

<sup>82</sup> Welchman, *Husband-man's Manual*, p.10.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p.11.

<sup>84</sup> Le Clerc, *Five letters*, p.109.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p.197.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., pp.50-1.

more quotidian, accessible, even relatable experience for many. Moreover, by appealing to ‘right reason’, he maintained the regenerative role of divine grace over human capabilities, while attempting to present Christianity as rational.<sup>87</sup>

Other texts in circulation recommended a strongly affective piety to their audiences. The anonymous *A pastoral letter from a minister to his parishioners* (1699) assented in part to Le Clerc’s understanding of right reason. The tract was enormously popular, going through twenty editions between 1699 and 1797, and was augmented with devotional exercises, a catechism and prayers in subsequent editions.<sup>88</sup> It asserted: ‘if you will but lay these things to Heart, your Reason and your Interest will both direct you how to behave yourselves.’<sup>89</sup> However, it also promoted ‘a lively Faith in the Mercies of God through Christ’, where God ‘warmeth our cold Affections, and enflameth our Hearts with Devotion’.<sup>90</sup> The author promoted an experiential piety, exalting the personal relationship between God and man: ‘The Holy Ghost is still carrying on that great Work of God’s Mercy in the Salvation of our Souls... he still follows us with his preventing and assisting Graces; He inspires us with good Thoughts and kindles pious Desires in us’.<sup>91</sup> A dualistic schema was drawn to excite the affections of his audience: ‘Devils’ knew that ‘in God’s Esteem, nothing is so valuable under the whole Heaven, as the Souls of Men’ and thus they, ‘Endeavour to seduce and destroy them: they envy the Happiness Men are capable of, and accordingly labour in their Destruction, and triumph when they have accomplished it’.<sup>92</sup> He instructed them

---

<sup>87</sup> Le Clerc, *Five letters*, pp.118-9.

<sup>88</sup> Gary Schneider, ‘Introduction’, in Anne Duncan-Page and Clotilde Prunier (eds.), *Debating the Faith: Religion and Letter Writing in Great Britain, 1550-1800* (Dordrecht, 2013), p.2.

<sup>89</sup> Anon., *A pastoral letter from a minister to his parishioners being an earnest exhortation to them to take care of their souls, and a preparative in order to render all his future methods of instruction more effectual to their edification*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edn. (London, 1702), pp.18-19.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p.7.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p.7.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p.8.

to ‘affect your Hearts with a serious Sense of your Dangers, to repent earnestly your past Sins sincerely resolve to be more Holy, Watchful and Circumspect for the time to come’.<sup>93</sup> The author dedicated them, as Richard Kay dedicated himself, in the words of Colossians to ‘*Set your Affections on Things above, and not on Things on the Earth.*’<sup>94</sup>

Even in advocating for public worship, these treatises understood devotion in affective terms. Edmund Gibson’s *The Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper* (1705) conceived of the sacrament in a similar way to those explored in Chapter Three as ‘a *Renewal* of our Covenant with GOD’, as ‘sweet and refreshing, and as having ‘happy *Effects*’ such as ‘Conveying into our Hearts new supplies of spiritual strength’.<sup>95</sup> Gibson promoted an affective sequence. This affective crescendo was preceded with a ‘preparation then that is *absolutely* and *Indispensably* requir’d for the due Receiving of the Blessed Sacrament, is such an Honest and Sincere Heart; and without such a Heart, no Office of Religion whatever is duly performed.’<sup>96</sup> William Beveridge’s *The great necessity and advantage of publick prayer* (1709) also promoted public worship in affective terms. He recommended thinking on Christ’s crucifixion while receiving the sacrament by which practice the Christian would be ‘quickened, enlived, actuated and strengthened by it, that they bring for *Love, Joy, Peace, Long-suffering, Goodness, Faith*, and all the other Fruits of GOD’s Holy Spirit’.<sup>97</sup> His sacramental theology included prayers such as: ‘Before Receiving the Cup.... Grant me such a Sense of those Sufferings.... And quicken my Endeavours in the Ways of Repentance and Holy Living’.<sup>98</sup> The Lord’s Supper was a means of hebdomadal regeneration and recommitment as explored in my discussion of public

---

<sup>93</sup> Anon., *A pastoral letter*, p.22.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p.17; Colossians 3:2 KJV.

<sup>95</sup> Gibson, *Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper*, p.32.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p.53.

<sup>97</sup> Beveridge, *Great Necessity*, p.107.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p.159.

devotional practice. Prayer at church was essential as God had promised that ‘in all places, thus dedicated to him and called by his Name, he himself hath promised that he will be present in a special manner to bestow his Blessings upon those who there sincerely call upon him’.<sup>99</sup> The communal nature of the exercise added to its affective importance. Drawing from Acts 2:46-7, Beveridge recounted that the Apostles ‘*continuing daily in the Temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their Meat with gladness and singleness of Heart, praising God and having favour with all the People.*’<sup>100</sup> Prayer was a continual practice, to be conducted even in the midst of everyday work, though not always with ‘your Mouths, yet howsoever in your Hearts, by lifting them up to him, as any Man may do, in midst of other Business’.<sup>101</sup>

The principal intent of many of the texts circulated in the north west of England was clearly to shore up attendance at public worship. This may have frequently promoted an affective piety, though it was only ambiguously ecumenical when it came to Protestant nonconformity. Tracts, such as Thomas Bray’s *A short discourse upon the doctrine of our baptismal covenant*, served to promote the services of the established church. Baptism was ‘*to prepare you to be Confirm’d by the Bishop*’ and as such Bray sought to promote the mediation of the lifecycle by the functions of the established church. He asserted there was no reason to doubt ‘that God will have a particular regard to his own Institutions, and will bless those means of conveying his grace, which he himself has appointed’.<sup>102</sup> Such appeals were possibly exclusive of dissenters, some of whom balked at both confirmation and episcopacy. Bray further noted that ‘there is not a piece of

---

<sup>99</sup> Beveridge, *Great Necessity*, p.8.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p.11.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p.2.

<sup>102</sup> Bray, *Short Discourse*, p.8.

Pride more fatal to the Souls of Men, than to think themselves above Ordinances'.<sup>103</sup> Intentional or not, such texts could provide material for the chastisement of those who pretended to tender consciences. Bray's treatise on family religion drew upon the collects for Good Friday in the Book of Common Prayer. Among its discrete prayers for use by families was included a call for God to 'have Mercy upon all *Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks*; and take away from them all Ignorance, and Hardness of Heart, and Contempt of thy Word and Commandments'.<sup>104</sup> By drawing upon the Book of Common Prayer, Bray displayed his conviction on a theoretical level that all schismatics from the Church of England were no longer members of the Christian Church, while elsewhere in practice he tolerated Presbyterians and Independents.<sup>105</sup>

In his address to the church at Maryland, Thomas Bray seems to have sought to minimise Protestant nonconformity, though he was not explicitly hostile to these groups in the same way as he was to Roman Catholics and Quakers, whom he marked out as 'our Adversaries'. In his call for a reformation of the ministry and expelling of scandalous ministers, his intent was to avoid the censure of the '*Protestant Laity*' and 'alienating the Affections of those of our own Communion towards us'.<sup>106</sup> He called for thanksgiving to God for the 'late Re-establishment which our Church receiv'd after so terrible a Shock'.<sup>107</sup> These may well have been, respectively, calls to bring back those who had resorted to nonconformity into the fold of the established church as well as to give thanks for its restoration. Moreover, he promoted edifying preaching as a means to 'more effectually impress the great Doctrines of Christianity upon the Minds of the

---

<sup>103</sup> Bray, *Baptismal Covenant*, n.p. [*To the Reader*].

<sup>104</sup> Bray, *Appendix*, p.26.

<sup>105</sup> J. C. Findon, 'The nonjurors and the Church of England, 1689–1716', unpublished DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1978, pp.185-8; Craig Rose, 'The origins and ideals of the SPCK, 1699-1716', in Walsh, Hayden and Taylor (eds.), *Church of England*, p.175.

<sup>106</sup> Bray, *Visitation*, p.8.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4.

People, as well as more Religiously observe the great Festivals of our Church'. Among the latter, he encouraged preaching on Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter Day, Ascension Day, Whitsunday and Trinity Sunday.<sup>108</sup> This advocacy of seasonal holy days might have alienated the scruples of nonconformists and promoted a culture peculiar to conformity.

Edmund Gibson's *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper Explain'd* suggested that attendance was frequently prevented by 'some groundless Fears and Scruples'.<sup>109</sup> By categorising such people as 'slow and negligent in this Part of their Duty', however, Gibson perhaps sought to associate nonconformists who scrupled at the likes of bowing at the name of Jesus, for example, with those who were merely flatly irreligious. Gibson did, however, genuinely seek to disabuse his audience of the notion that receiving the sacrament when unworthy could imperil their salvation.<sup>110</sup> Some of the treatises that were circulated included teachings that were controversial for those outside the Church of England, perhaps even for some within it. Samuel Bradford's *A Discourse concerning Baptismal and Spiritual Regeneration* claimed that baptism washed away original sin. The 'washing of Regeneration' was 'necessary in order to our being saved, in the full sense of that word as used in the Gospel'.<sup>111</sup> 'We are saved by the washing of Regeneration, as it is a Sign of the cleansing our Souls from the Pollution of Sin'.<sup>112</sup> Sarah Savage noted this as a point of difference between the instruction she received at the hands of her father and the preaching she heard attending her husband's Church of England congregation after marriage.

---

<sup>108</sup> Bray, *Visitation*, p.6.

<sup>109</sup> Gibson, *Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, p.7.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p.57, 64.

<sup>111</sup> Bradford, *Baptismal and Spiritual*, p.20.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p.19.

In their defence of conformist services, the tracts circulated by the SPCK were almost inevitably drawn into controversies with nonconformists. Yet, the devotional practices they prescribed often had few practical differences with dissenting alternatives. William Beveridge insisted, for example, that ‘Kneeling and Bowing’ were not ‘meer Ceremonies’ but what the scriptures had intended when they required worship of God. They were ‘the best means we can use, whereby to keep our Souls too in a devout Temper before him’, forcing the devotee to consider at all times ‘that glorious Person we are speaking to... If their Hearts were upon God, which they are speaking to him, I do not see how it is possible for them not to fall down and worship before him.’<sup>113</sup> He censured those who required ministers to ‘Pray by Heart and Extempore’, denying that it was inherently more edifying. Beveridge suggested it was a minority peculiarity unique to ‘this Island’, the ‘Inconveniences’ of which meant it was not otherwise ‘suffered in the Church of Christ’.<sup>114</sup> Beveridge’s own prescriptions for prayer, however, were littered with exhortations to biblically-inspired prayers, which would not have been out of place in nonconformist practice:

When you go to the House of God, *at the Hour of Prayer*... [entertain] your selves, as ye go along, with these or such like Sentences of Scripture: *Like as the Hart desireth the Water-brooks, so longeth my Soul after thee O God. My soul is athrist for God, yea, even for the living God. When shall I come to appear before the Presence of God?* Psal. xlii. 1, 2. *O how amiable are thy Dwellings, though Lord of Hosts! My Soul hath a Desire and Longing to enter into the Courts of the Lord. My heart and my Flesh rejoyce in*

---

<sup>113</sup> Beveridge, *Great Necessity*, p.95.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p.68-9.



*the living God*, Psal. lxxxiv. 1, 2. *We will go into his Tabernacle and fall low on our Knees before his Footstool*, Psal. cxxxii. 7.<sup>115</sup>

Beveridge's employment of biblical citation sought to attach the affective piety of the Psalms into rote prayer. He perhaps sought to counter any notion that ex tempore prayer was more effective because it was driven by affect. He saw the ceremonies of the Church of England and guides to prayer such as his own as a means of inculcating devotional feeling. Yet given the dependence upon scriptural sayings in the ex tempore practice of the nonconformist ministry, this appeal in and of itself minimised the real difference between these approaches.

While there was only an incomplete identification with nonconformity and partial approach to ecumenism, much of the literature did attempt to indulge nonconformity at least in part. John Disney's text went to some lengths to defend the SRMs from the association with nonconformity. He sought to reassure those who feared being marked as 'a *Fanatic* and a *Presbyterian*'.<sup>116</sup> Disney rejected the notion that those who dissented from the Church of England should not be admitted to the societies, suggesting that in doing so, they would also have to be refused entry to 'Societies for *Trade*' and others.<sup>117</sup> Nonetheless, his ecumenical commitment or the effects of his treatise can be questioned, given that he saw the SRMs as a vehicle to 'take off the Objection of the Dissenters, that our Church is a Shelter for the Lewd and Dissolute'.<sup>118</sup> Le Clerc's designation of Christianity as consisting of a few simple articles and moral action, rather than theological or philosophical quibbles, struck a more

---

<sup>115</sup> Beveridge, *Great Necessity*, p.97.

<sup>116</sup> Disney, *Execution*, p.110.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p.115.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p.xxii.

ecumenical note (given its circulation by the SPCK), in quoting Richard Baxter. Le Clerc recorded how, in *The Saints Everlasting Rest* (first published in 1650), Baxter offered latitude to a number of interpretations regarding how closely the words of the Bible had been inspired by, or represented the direct word of, God. He suggested that Christians might retain a saving faith even if they took the Bible to be merely the writings of godly men, as long as they accepted the miracles of Christ and that the Bible had precedence over all over books written by godly men as a consequence.<sup>119</sup> The positions of Le Clerc and Baxter both chimed with the greater focus on a more straightforwardly practical faith of the Restoration Church, witnessed also in the Church's promotion of plain-style preaching (or at least the teaching of practical lessons).<sup>120</sup> As William J. Bulman has argued for the established church, this approach was not exclusive to any one party of English Protestantism, departing from 'puritan enthusiasm, but also from the Senecan, witty and florid styles of many Jacobean and Laudian conformists'.<sup>121</sup> The literature circulated by the SPCK may have witnessed an ambiguous formal commitment to ecumenism, but in its thoroughly practical approach it was suggestive of a broad, shared culture and approach to piety among English Protestants.

Personal testimonies, such as that of Richard Illidge, witnessed a partial approach to ecumenism, which was nonetheless charitable towards nonconformity. Matthew Henry's biography of Richard Illidge included a whole section on his '*Zeal for the Suppression of Vice and Prophaneness*', which included the Archbishop of Canterbury's circular letter calling its hearers to 'remember that the Battle is not yours, but God's,

---

<sup>119</sup> Le Clerc, *Five letters*, pp.203-4; quoted from the *Saints everlasting rest*, edn. 6. part 2 (London 1656), chapter 3 section 2 pp.210-211.

<sup>120</sup> Le Clerc, *Five letters*, pp.70; David Appleby argues that 'plain style' preaching did not mean lack of complexity or artfulness *Black Bartholomen's Day: preaching, polemic and Restoration nonconformity* (Manchester 2012), pp.64-5.

<sup>121</sup> William J. Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment: Orientalism, Religion and Politics in England and its Empire, 1648-1715* (Cambridge 2015), p.171.

✂️.<sup>122</sup> This dualism undoubtedly influenced lay Protestant conceptions of both the SPCK and the SRMs. Illidge exemplified the conflicted approach to ecumenism of both societies. Illidge declared having ‘great Charity for Protestant Dissenters, that truly fear God, and love Religion’ even bemoaning:

our high Clergymen will preach against Profaneness in the Pulpit, but allow it, and laugh at it in the Ale-house; and will rather reproach and persecute an honest Dissenter for truly serving God, than make Complaint of, or endeavour to punish a profane Swearer, a Drunkard, or a debauched Wretch, that blasphemes the great God.<sup>123</sup>

However, another episode records him censuring ‘a Gentleman most profanely swearing, tho’ a Stranger to him’ asking if he was a ‘*Presbyterian*’. Upon discovering he attended the Church of England, Illidge remarked: ‘I am sorry you are of the same Church that I am of; for you are a Disgrace to it.’<sup>124</sup> This was perhaps a throw-away remark, but it underlined how even the tolerant Illidge (a friend of the Henrys and whose son was a nonconformist minister) could employ denominational rivalries. Much like the non-coercive approach of the SPCK, nonconformity was not a focus of their activities but it continued to be seen as problematic for some conformists.

The communications between clergymen in the north west of England and the SPCK in London witnessed a complex and often ambiguous approach to ecumenism. The SPCK received communications within the period from Brampton, Carlisle, Cristleton, Chester, Denton, Kendal, Lancaster, Liverpool, Manchester, Nantwich,

---

<sup>122</sup> Henry, *Lieutenant Illidge*, p.58.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., pp.67-8.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p.60.

Penrith, Preston, Sealby, Spurstow, Tarporley, Warrington, Whitmore and Wigan. Ministers from these parishes were in relatively frequent contact with the SPCK, exchanging letters at least once a year. After 1710, however, most of the transcripts of the letters kept by the SPCK in London only recorded requests for books. A letter dated 18 April 1700 from Mr. Gilpin of Sealby noted the potential fissures within the established church that could be caused, especially concerning the SRMs:

[The] Arch Deacon of Carlisle has taken a dislike at the Society for Reformacon of Manners wherein himself [Sealby], with the Mayor of Carlisle, the Chancellor and some others are engaged: that at his visitation he charged all those Societies as contrary to the Laws both Civil and Ecclesiastical and of most pernicious consequence to Church and state, and treated them in very vile terms, declaring, that soe farr as his influence can prevail, he will keep all people from joyning in these Societys. He desires the direction and Assistance of the Societys for Reformation.<sup>125</sup>

John Bradshaw, rector of Nantwich, accounted the Toleration Act as responsible for vice, writing on 12 February 1699 ‘in order to suppress it wee must have more Religious magistrates’.<sup>126</sup> Despite the ecumenism of Nicholas Stratford, Bishop of Chester, in eliciting the support of dissenting leaders such as Matthew Henry for the SRMs, Bradshaw did not adopt a similar outlook. He wrote that the reticence of magistrates to accept ‘private informations’ caused vice and reported that they believed ‘till the Ecclesiasticall Laws are in force, all the effects of these punishment would be to drive people to the Dissenters, who he says are grown very insolent, especially the

---

<sup>125</sup> SPCK MS D2/1, Abstract Letter Book, p.20, no.87.

<sup>126</sup> SPCK MS D2/1, Abstract Letter Book, p.5 no. 29.

Anabaptists'.<sup>127</sup> For Bradshaw, nonconformity remained a social ill. On 13 December 1708 he thanked the Society for their packet and requested 'Mr. Busket's Book to preserve from the infection of Anabaptism the professors of wch. he believes were supported by a Fund from London as well as the Presbyterians'.<sup>128</sup> On 6 March 1710 he again thanked the Society for their packet giving 'Bibles and other little Tracts amongst his prishioners'. The poverty of some of them, he recorded, had exposed them to be perverted by the Anabaptists, but upon his being acquainted with it, he laboured to recover them.<sup>129</sup>

Opposition to the SRMs was often over issues of conformity. In responding to advice sought by William Nicholson, Archdeacon of Carlisle, over the setting up of a society in Brampton, John Sharp, Archbishop of York, offered advice similar to that he gave to an appeal from Nottingham. Sharp had refused to allow interdenominational preaching, fearing that either conformist clergy preaching at nonconformist congregations or vice versa would contravene the contemporary laws regarding the ecclesiastical establishment. In his letter to Nicholson, Sharp said he had recommended to his own diocese that the laity promote religion and reformation of manners but not join with the Societies in this effort.<sup>130</sup> Sharp favoured enforcing attendance at communion and prayers.<sup>131</sup> William Nicholson and Nicholas Stratford had an on-going dispute regarding the Societies, the former believing that the latter supported his erstwhile opponent, the Chancellor of Carlisle, in his continued promotion of the

---

<sup>127</sup> SPCK MS D2/1, Abstract Letter Book, p.57-8, no.204.

<sup>128</sup> SPCK MS D2/3 Abstract Letter Book, 1708-1709, p.71, no.1524.

<sup>129</sup> SPCK MS D2/4 Abstract Letter Book 1708-1711, p.236, no.2013.

<sup>130</sup> A Tindal Hart, *The Life and Times of John Sharp, Archbishop of York* (London, 1949), pp.181-3; The letter to Nottingham Society for Reformation of Manners, dated 'February 2d 1697-8' is reproduced in Thomas Sharp, *The Life and Times of John Sharp D. D. Lord Archbishop of York...* Vol. 1. (London, 1825), 174-8; the letters to Archdeacon Nicholson dated "'Feb. 27<sup>th</sup>, 1699.'" and "'March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1699'" are reproduced pp.182-189.

<sup>131</sup> Sharp, *Life and Times*, p.188.

Societies.<sup>132</sup> The problem in Cumberland was that the nondenominational nature of the Societies was perceived as a threat to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Notably the Archbishop, Bishop and Archdeacon all neglected to condemn the activities of the Societies themselves, only the inclusion of dissenters.<sup>133</sup> Nonetheless, these societies could be degenerative of a sense of community, even among conformists, where issues of approach and jurisdiction came into play.

Despite these difficulties, the SRMs and the SPCK drew broad support within the established church. Dr. Hugh Todd, Vicar of Penrith and Prebendary of Carlisle Cathedral, a 'resolute, high-church tory', was supportive of both efforts communicating on 8 September 1701 that the 'many Thousand Books distributed in that Diocese' had brought 'a Communicant to Church more than usual &. that there is a Visible Reformation of manners every where'.<sup>134</sup> Todd also noted that he had 'prevailed to have a Society formed as a Vestry' and spoke approvingly of '3 or 4 Justices Concern'd in it' as well as the fact that 'the Chief of the Clergy have engaged themselves to Preach Monthly where there are no sermons, to the great Satisfaction of people who Flock'. He noted further that he 'reads the Act of Parliament of the King's Proclamations against Vice &c. & the preaches suitably to the Occasion'.<sup>135</sup> Nicholas Stratford, the bishop of Chester, was also a strong supporter of both societies. Stratford's churchmanship was of the heterogeneous nature that Sirota observed within the early years of the SPCK. Though of high-church sensibilities himself, he was a member of a committee which sought adaption of the prayer book to conciliate Presbyterians. He

---

<sup>132</sup> Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p.183, J. Nichols (ed.) *Bishop William Nicholson's Episcopal Correspondence*, 2. Vols. (London, 1809).

<sup>133</sup> Hart, *Life and Times*, pp.184-5.

<sup>134</sup> David J. W. Mawson, 'Todd, Hugh (c.1657–1728)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27490, last accessed: 05/10/2016]; SPCK MS D2/1, Abstract Letter Book, p.143, no.342 underlining author's own.

<sup>135</sup> SPCK MS D2/1, Abstract Letter Book, p.143, no.342.

employed, moreover, the assistance of Matthew Henry in support of the SRMs in Chester.<sup>136</sup> His communication with the SPCK on 18 July 1701 demonstrated his combination of pastoral care with moral activism. Stratford informed the society that he would stay at Wigan until September to finish his visitation of his diocese and had recommended that his clergy erect ‘Societies of discreet, sober & pious Persons for the Reformation of Manners; & in the great & populous Towns for setting up Charity Schools’.<sup>137</sup> The bishop appeared to have some success: Mr. Taylor of Wigan informed the SPCK on 6 September 1700 that the monthly lecture set up by Stratford ‘two years since... to suppress prophaneness and Imorality’ seldom drew ‘lesse than 20 Clergymen and some times 30’.<sup>138</sup> On 3 October 1707, Jonathan Blackmore of Warrington wrote that ‘Mr. Shaw has engaged a Considerable number of ye Inhabitants of Warrington into an Association agt. Vice & Immorality’. He informed the SPCK of ‘ye good Effects of wch are yt such as were addicted to swearing begin to leave it off & Lastly yt a great number of yeomen sort are much Reclaimed.’<sup>139</sup>

The pastoral objectives that accompanied the engagement of these clergymen with the SPCK and SRMs saw them seek to instil a dedicated religiosity in their cares. Todd noted on 14 March 1699 that ‘Deism &c. are not known in those parts among the generality’ though there was ‘a great want of Schools for the Education of the poor’.<sup>140</sup> He generally drew a positive picture of the state of religiosity in the area, saying on 22 August 1700 that ‘the Northern parts generally are more orderly and comfortable, and

---

<sup>136</sup> Henry D. Rack, ‘Stratford, Nicholas (*bap.* 1633, *d.* 1707)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26646>, last accessed: 05/10/2016].

<sup>137</sup> ‘July 18, 1701’, Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p.86.

<sup>138</sup> SPCK MS D2/1, Abstract Letter Book, p.44, no.159.

<sup>139</sup> SPCK MS D2/1, Abstract Letter Book, p.149, no.351.

<sup>140</sup> SPCK MS D2/1, Abstract Letter Book, p.12, no.62.

as well instructed in Religion as any parts of the Kingdom.’<sup>141</sup> The lack of deistical knowledge demonstrated the limited advance of a purely natural or rationalistic religion within this region during the period. It also demonstrated a concern to teach the fundamentals of Christianity among the clergy of the north west. Taylor sought a copy of the ‘Address to those of the Roman Comunion &c to the chief Popish ffamilies [sic] in England’ from the SPCK on 6 September 1700.<sup>142</sup> Archdeacon Entwistle wrote to the SPCK, informing them that ‘the Bp. has dispers’d great Numb<sup>rs</sup> of Bugg’s small pieces [anti-Quaker polemics]’. He complained that there were few free schools and poor management of those that did exist, noting that ‘the Poor cannot spare there [sic] Children from Work, & many forget what they have learnt’.<sup>143</sup> This attack upon popery and Quakerism sat in line with SPCK practice more generally. It also demonstrated a lack of complacency among the clergy of the north west. Despite the entrenchment of Roman Catholicism in the region, there was a desire to bring them into the fold. The greater focus on these more ‘extreme’ enemies was perhaps generative of a greater sense of community between conformists and nonconformists.

Whether in the form of extra-congregational prayer groups or attached to the national bodies of the SPCK and SRMs, there was a strong promotion of experiential piety within these groups. Both the exercises of mutual prayer and the literature that they circulated prioritised a personal experience of God, which was mediated by conducting devotional practices in a group. These practices were as much about exercising feeling as they were moral action or holy living. The latter two were of course important, not least for the SRMs, yet the combination of the two continued to be important for those within and without the Church of England, and even for those

---

<sup>141</sup> SPCK MS D2/1, Abstract Letter Book, pp.42-43, no.154.

<sup>142</sup> SPCK MS D2/1, Abstract Letter Book, p.45, no.159.

<sup>143</sup> Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, pp.65, 66.



of rather more Calvinistic outlooks, such as Roger Lowe and the Henry family. Similarly, the SPCK promoted a strongly affective faith through the literature it circulated within the north-west region. Although often concerned with encouraging attendance at the services of the established church, it sought to rouse the affections of its audiences. It was through feeling that engagement with literature and groups dedicated to mutual prayer was made actual. By employing dualistic narratives, the engagement of these Protestants with the SRMs and the moral reform movement also sought to engage the affections of those involved. The strength of narratives of soteriological jeopardy inherent within all of these forms of voluntary religious practice demonstrated the vitality at the heart of the religious culture of the period.

The ecumenism promoted by such groups was more ambiguous, but the non-confrontational and non-coercive approach of much of this culture demonstrated how it appealed beyond boundaries of conformity. There were few mixed denominational groups outside of the SRMs, though even here the cooperation between conformists and nonconformists was controversial as were joint lectures. The texts of the SPCK, by shoring up attendance at the established church, necessarily waded into debates of liturgy, ecclesiology and theology that would cause controversy and potentially division, even within the Church of England. Nonetheless, the SPCK in this region was comprised of a broad range of partisan positions within the Church of England, as were the SRMs, and gives challenge to the notion that they increasingly became beholden to one party or another. The focus, moreover, upon the threats from popery and Quakerism demonstrated an ecumenism of sorts and a certain recognition of one another's godliness between conformists and nonconformists.

These more formal groups of voluntary religion demonstrated the importance of the practice within the economy of devotion for Protestants in the north west of England. This was manifest in particularly material and practical terms through the exchange and spread of devotional tracts between individuals and groups within the region. These provided blueprints for the conduct of personal and public duties in particular. They were, however, also guides that sought to inculcate an affective piety in their audiences. Furthermore, voluntary societies and prayer groups provided a source of devotional affect themselves. As a practice in their own right they were affectively pious, particularly in regards to their role in growing the religious knowledge of their members and their consideration of the soteriological jeopardy inherent in devotional practice as a whole.

## Conclusion

---

Whether in the form of friendship or more formal societies, voluntary religion played a significant role in mediating and inculcating an affective piety within the religious economy of English Protestants in the north west of England between 1660 and 1740. This was partially subordinate to public and personal duties, for which the exchange of texts of religious instruction served to furnish these other practices with both material and devotional affect requisite for their performance. Yet, friendship, mutual prayer and edification were understood as discrete practices of affective devotion in their own right. The literature of the SPCK, the role of friendships as well as religious societies drawn from among the more dedicated congregants undoubtedly served the needs of public worship. The SPCK was committed to promoting attendance at conformist

services and many dissenting societies witnessed within the life-writings served to promote learning and affect that was productive for attendance at Lord's Day worship. They sought to instruct how to approach Lord's Day services as well as personal piety. Yet, particularly for young single men (and less frequently women), they were a significant substitute for family religion.<sup>144</sup> In this role, but also in making friendship a devotional practice they were highly affective, concerned with fostering feeling and personal experience of God in their practices. These practices themselves helped the devotee weigh their spiritual estate.

Voluntary religion has been seen by Brent Sirota and Peter Clark as part of an emerging associational world, being the bedrock of an emerging polite, maybe even modern, civil life. Certainly, the argument that after 1689 religion was conducted on a *de facto* voluntarist basis adds further assent to the notion of an increasingly associational, even secular, worldview, in part by minimising internal religious experience; however, this view misses the role that voluntary religion played in mediating devotion.<sup>145</sup> It could be a vital practical support for those engaged in familial devotions. Moreover, it was concerned with the internal piety of its members at church and chapel as well as during the meetings of the elective societies themselves. The strength of dualistic discourses in much of this material demonstrated that moral action and holy living were not conceived of merely in social and secular terms. Of course there was a strong desire to police behaviours in public, but this was linked to soteriological imperatives. The importance of the correct devotional affect was a central theme and it was intended to have an influence upon the individual. Its purpose

---

<sup>144</sup> This was perhaps due to gendered employment patterns and family structures, which would less frequently see women live alone in the way that Lowe did during his apprenticeship or Harrold, albeit with his children, during his periods as a widower.

<sup>145</sup> Walsh, 'Religious societies', pp.279-80.

was affective, to encourage an experiential piety, to witness God through feeling and subscribe to His ordinances and services by this medium. Voluntary religious exercises fostered interior piety within social and mutual practice.

Though the clergy were at the forefront of the ecclesiological and theological controversies of the period, their life-writings witnessed the importance of clerical communities and friendships. Through friendships between clerical families, formal ordinances and personal sociability, the clergy of the north west of England witnessed their relationships with one another as important and devotional. As such, they understood themselves as belonging to a discrete affective community of their own, which at time crossed the boundary of conformity to the Church of England. Of course, significant divisions existed within English Protestantism. The growth of party within the Church of England and conflicts with and within nonconformity over polity and doctrine rumbled on. Conformists saw their own church as the defender of the 'Protestant Constitution' against dissenters, even the schemes for compression embraced by latitudinarians sought ultimately to quash dissent from the Church of England.<sup>1</sup> Further, the Popish Plot saw the emergence of a 'new Style' of slandering opponents, 'more political and more violent than its predecessor'.<sup>2</sup> For their part, the call for reformation united dissenters against the church and even moderates such as Richard Baxter condemned and demonised the Restoration form of episcopacy.<sup>3</sup>

Within the north west, Jan Albers has argued that even clerical calls for an end to intra-

---

<sup>1</sup> Clark, *English Society*, p.40; Richard Ashcraft, 'Latitudinarianism and Toleration: historical myth versus Political History', in Richard Kroll, Richard Ashcraft and Perez Zagorin (eds.), *Philosophy, Science and Religion in England, 1640-1700* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.153-167; John Marshall has a similar argument with Stillingfleet and Tillotson attacking nonconformity as unreasonable (though professing a desire to remove the sacramental bars to communion favoured by high-churchmen), 'The Ecclesiology of the Latitudinarians 1660-1689: Stillingfleet, Tillotson and "Hobbism"', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Volume 36, Issue 03 (July 1985), pp. 407 – 427; Spurr, "Latitudinarianism" and the Restoration Church', p.65.

<sup>2</sup> Spurr, "Latitudinarianism" and the Restoration Church', p.67.

<sup>3</sup> Gary S. De Krey, 'Reformation in the Restoration Crisis, 1679-1682', in Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier (eds.), *Religion, Literature, and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540-1688* (Cambridge, 1996), pp.232, 243; Christopher Haigh, 'Liturgy and Liberty: The Controversy over the Book of Common Prayer, 1660-1663', *Journal of Anglican Studies*, Volume 11, Issue 01 (May 2013), pp.32-64.

conformist animosities did not appear in Lancashire until the 1750s.<sup>4</sup> The appointment of the whig Samuel Peploe to the bishopric of Chester, after a trio of tory bishops (Stratford [1689-1707], Dawes [1707-13] and Gastrell [1714-25]), elevated tensions at the end of the period rather than abated them.<sup>5</sup> The fortunes of Protestant unity, were however, not so uniformly gloomy. Broader moments of cooperation were also possible where contemporaries recognised that divisions arose primarily from disagreements over a handful of ceremonies.<sup>6</sup> As such ‘confessional divides were insufficiently broad to prevent some at least from reaching out in various forms of dialogue and mutual respect’.<sup>7</sup> In Kent, for example, ejected ministers continued to preach in their former pulpits, where their conformist successors allowed it. Reluctant conformists, moreover, tended to fail in their duty to report nonconformity.<sup>8</sup> Writings by tolerationist conformists also understood the international reformation as a ‘complex mesh of mutually sympathetic communions, rather than as an alliance of national churches, each enjoying a monopoly within their territories.’<sup>9</sup> An ambiguous ecumenism, like that explored in discussion of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, was as strong a feature of clerical interaction in this period as conflict was. On a daily basis, these clergymen demonstrated cordial relations which were constructive to both cooperation and community building, even across lines of conformity.

---

<sup>4</sup> Jan Albers, “Papist Traitors”, p.330.

<sup>5</sup> Jan Albers ‘Seeds of Contention’, p.22.

<sup>6</sup> Gary S. De Krey, ‘Reformation in the Restoration Crisis’, p.231.

<sup>7</sup> Tapsell, ‘Introduction’, p.11.

<sup>8</sup> Jeremy Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform, 1660-1828; Archbishops of Canterbury and their Diocese* (Oxford, 2000), pp.183-192.

<sup>9</sup> Tony Claydon, ‘The Church of England and the Churches of Europe, 1660-1714’, Tapsell (ed.), *Later Stuart Church*, p.183; cites Samuel Bolde, *A sermon against persecution* (London, 1682), and *A plea for moderation* (London, 1682); Daniel Whitby, *The protestant reconciler* (London, 1683), *The protestant reconciler: part two* (London, 1683), although notably both men were brought before the church courts for their works.

This chapter will explore the role of cross-conformist friendships within the period, the community-building inherent in the formal offices (ordinations, funerals and sermon tours) of the ministry and the social lives of clergymen in the north west of England. In the exercise of formal offices and personal sociability, conformists and nonconformists tended to separate into their camps. Yet, these practices demonstrated how clergymen within and without the Church of England constructed discrete communities of faith within their professions. The first section explores the role of ordinances in generating fraternity among ministers. Ordinations and funerals were devotional in character, though they were not considered sacrosanct, with prayer and preaching binding their attendants to one another. Preaching tours, by both conformists and nonconformists, served a similar function. Though not attended exclusively by ministers, they generated contact and mutual esteem and involved one another in their respective congregations. The second section demonstrates the maintenance of close relationships between clergymen in the region. These friendships were passed down through families and served a significant role in the mutual recognition of ministry across lines of conformity. The third section explores personal sociability among clergymen, revealing how ministers preferred to socialise with one another and the development of a peculiarly clerical style that paralleled developments in genteel sociability of the period. Cross-conformist relations were perhaps strongest before the turn of the eighteenth century while ejected ministers still lived and the godly gentry continued to patronise nonconformists as chaplains. Fewer such ministers and gentlemen were left after 1700. Thomas Risley, a Presbyterian minister of Risley near Warrington, was probably the last of the Bartholomeans in the region, dying in 1715.<sup>10</sup> Ejected ministers maintained personal connections with conformist clergymen,

---

<sup>10</sup> F. Westley, *The Manchester Socinian Controversy* (London, 1825), p.153; Trevor Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry Besieged 1650-1700* (London, 2002).

particularly with those friends who had not scrupled in 1662. Moreover, the attendance by ejected ministers at their successors' services (a practice which legitimised the culture of partial conformity) sustained alliances across the boundary of conformity to the Church of England. The embrace of sectarian status by the 'ducklings' of the Presbyterian party and the undesirability of this position for the godly gentry, saw such close relationships of the late-seventeenth century loosen.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, among dissenters, a parallel periodisation can be observed. The Happy Union of Presbyterians and Independents collapsed in 1695, ending national cooperation between these camps. The Cheshire Classis may have incorporated the text of the 1691 Agreement between these parties into its own minutes, but it was increasingly dominated by, and mostly composed of, Presbyterian ministers of the county. Boundaries nonetheless remained fluid and classification as 'Presbyterian' or 'Congregational' was largely a product of which fund ministers applied to as a means of supporting their ministry financially, rather than a substantial reflection of their theology or ecclesiology. The Salter's Hall debates of 1719 marked something of a watershed. The leading nonconformist ministers in London met to consider what advices would be sent to Exeter, where a dispute had emerged regarding theological orthodoxy and particularly the doctrine of the Trinity. Despite its original mission to quell the controversy and take it from the public eye, it caused a squabble in the capital. The ministers were divided over whether the advices sent to Exeter should include a requirement to subscribe to the doctrine of the Trinity. The majority of those who opposed including such a subscription were Presbyterians or General Baptists and a few Independents. Those who desired to include the subscription were Independents, older and more doctrinally conservative Presbyterians and Particular Baptists. This began the process of aligning Presbyterians

---

<sup>11</sup> N. H. Keeble has described the gradual marginalisation of schemes for comprehension as 'a history registered by the gradual supersession of the negative word *nonconformity* by the positive and volitional *dissent*', *Settling the Peace of the Church: 1662 Revisited* (Oxford, 2014), p.1-29 quot. p.26.



with liberal theology, requiring assent only to doctrines formulated with the words of the Bible, and Congregationalists with Calvinist orthodox Trinitarianism, but this was not clear cut.<sup>12</sup> Where clerical family connections were strong, cross-conformist and cross-denominational relations could survive and cooperation, particularly in the form of moral reform, was possible. This perhaps helped smooth relations between conformity and dissent after 1700, perhaps accounting in part for the non-confrontational approach of the SPCK to Protestant nonconformity. In this sense, there was perhaps both more conflict and more cooperation before the turn of the eighteenth century, but overall, solidarity was as strong a feature as conflict. Familial affection as well as regard for competent public ministry connected these men in discrete, though not absolute, communities.

### Formal Offices of Ministry: Funerals, Ordinations and Preaching Tours

---

Clergymen were bound together in bonds of affective piety by the performance of ordinations, funerals and preaching tours. With the exception of the attendance of nonconformist ministers at the sermons of their conformist colleagues, however, these demonstrated only the very occasional breaching of the conformist divide. Baptisms, marriages and funerals saw clergymen seek one another's officiation (though sometimes clergymen, such as Philip Henry, baptised their own children). Moreover, attendance at one another's sermons was constructive of associations as they maintained

---

<sup>12</sup> Roger Thomas, 'Presbyterians in Transition', in Bolam et al. (eds.), *The English Presbyterians*, pp. 151-174; David L. Wykes, 'Subscribers and non-subscribers at the Salters' Hall debate (act. 1719)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/95681>, last accessed: 18/11/2016].

connections, learned from one another and observed the progression of each other's careers. Samuel Angier, minister to a Presbyterian congregation, recorded the many births, deaths and marriages within his own chapel at Dukinfield and within the region at large. It demonstrated the close connections between nonconformist clerical families, connections that appeared to transcend confession and, in its record of other deaths, perhaps even conformity. Angier noted on 14 March 1681 that he 'Bap. Elizabeth daughter of M<sup>r</sup> John Jolly and Alice his wife was baptised y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> buried 29<sup>th</sup>.' Similarly on 19 June 1682 he recorded 'M<sup>r</sup> John Jolly of Gorton was buried y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> at Oldham'.<sup>13</sup> John was the younger brother of Thomas Jolly, minister at Altham, and a nonconformist minister in his own right. Formal offices such as these brought ministerial families into close association. Recording these events within the registers likely served a devotional purpose and the entries were perhaps used as prompts for collective prayer. On 8 June 1691 Angier recorded that he 'Married M<sup>r</sup> John Byrom Minister of the Gospell in y<sup>e</sup> Parish of Prestbury & M<sup>rs</sup> Mary Booth of Denton in y<sup>e</sup> Parish of Manchester were joined in marriage June 8<sup>th</sup> 1691'.<sup>14</sup> Byrom was a nonconformist minister known to Angier with whom he conducted ordinations. Angier also baptised Byrom's daughter on 5 June 1693.<sup>15</sup> Such occasions undoubtedly linked these men together in affective bonds at the most significant times in their Christian lifecycle.

---

<sup>13</sup> John Jolly (1640?–1682), the younger brother of Thomas Jolly (1629–1703), nonconformist minister, 'was ordained at the house of Robert Eaton on Deansgate, Manchester, in October 1672, said to be the first nonconformist ordination in the north since 1660. Although he appears to have continued to live at Gorton, in December 1672 he was licensed to preach at the house of Mr Hyde in Norbury in Stockport parish as a presbyterian teacher', Catherine Nunn, 'Jollie, John (1640?–1682)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14974, last accessed: 21/10/2015]; J. P. Earwaker, 'Extracts from the Registers of the Non-Conformist Chapel, Dukinfield, kept by the Rev. Samuel Angier, 1677 to 1713', in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Session 1880-81, Volume XXXIII. (Liverpool, 1881), p.173.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p.177.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p.178.

Deaths and funerals were perhaps the other great exception to the otherwise more segregated nature of formal offices wherein clergymen constructed communities. Conformists and nonconformists alike recorded and attended the funerals of respected individuals on opposing sides of the divide. Matthew Henry's funeral was attended by a number of clergymen, both nonconformist and conformist.<sup>16</sup> His death was recorded in the diary of George Booth, a conforming gentleman, and in Angier's register.<sup>17</sup>

Deaths and funerals were particularly dominant in Angier's register. Entries were given for the deaths of prominent nonconformists whether Angier knew them personally or not. An entry on 3 January 1693 recorded the death of 'good M<sup>r</sup> Nathaniel Hulton of Newington green[.] An Israelite indeed a true Nathaniel aged 71'. Hulton was a relation of Oliver Heywood (a Lancashire nonconformist who settled his ministry in West Yorkshire from 1687) through his paternal grandmother and a wealthy man who gave financial support to nonconformist ministers.<sup>18</sup> Eulogising Hulton as an Israelite by Angier expressed a spiritual bond between the two men. Similarly one entry for 1 December 1699 recorded 'Mr Harvey a Minister at Chester was buried aged about 67'.<sup>19</sup> An entry for 8 December 1691 commemorated Richard Baxter's death and one for 22 November 1694 John Tillotson's.<sup>20</sup> These entries again perhaps served as prompts for prayers and a way to link communities within the region and beyond. Yet they also demonstrated the esteem with which Angier personally held these men. His record of their deaths, indeed the deaths of ministers dominated these entries that were

---

<sup>16</sup> Lewis and Thacker (eds.), *A History of the County of Chester*, Vol. V, Part 2, p.135.

<sup>17</sup> Gibbs Payne Crawford, 'The Diary of George Booth of Chester and Katherine Howard, His Daughter, of Boughton, near Chester, 1707-1764, in *Journal of Chester Archaeological Society* (henceforth *JCAS*), New Series, Vol. 28., (Part I, 1928), p.20; Earwaker, 'Extracts ... Dukinfield', p.181.

<sup>18</sup> 'The Rev. Oliver Heywood's Account of his Puritan Relatives', *The Congregational Magazine* (February, 1836), p.71; Earwaker, 'Extracts ... Dukinfield', p.179.

<sup>19</sup> Earwaker, 'Extracts ... Dukinfield', p.184.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p.179.

not concerned with funerals, constructed a sense of shared ministry and witness to that ministry.

Ministers were, however, also involved in the funerals of the families of these men. On 22 January 1693 Samuel Angier 'Buried y<sup>e</sup> wife of M<sup>r</sup> Roger Baldwin a Minister of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell'.<sup>21</sup> Sermons at funerals could occasionally breach divides within English Protestantism, though not always without controversy. Henry Newcome Snr. recorded in his autobiography that his sermon at John Jolly's funeral had caused offence. Newcome noted that his sermon had been understood by some as attacking congregational exclusivism, though Newcome believed he had been misunderstood.<sup>22</sup> Certainly attendance at funerals was not always a sign of assent and could perhaps be understood as a protest. Philip Henry reflected with disdain that Orlando Fogg, a friend of Henry's who conformed in 1661, used the Book of Common Prayer at the funerals of less than godly men.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, where ejected ministers were buried by their conformist counterparts, the presence of other nonconformist ministers could well have been to bear witness to the dissent of the deceased themselves. Philip Henry recorded on 28 May 1666 that he attended the funeral of Richard Heath, 'late minister of Julians in Shrewsb. was bury'd at Wellington, where he had been an exile since Mar. 24'. Heath was ejected in 1662 for failing to accede to all of the terms of conformity. Being questioned on his deathbed regarding 'his non-conformity, [Heath] said hee would not but have done as hee did for a thousand worlds.' In the same entry Henry lamented the death of Mr York 'a holy good man, & well approved in ye Ministry, who wasted his own Candle in giving light to others, even whilst under ye Bushel. lord is this ye

---

<sup>21</sup> Earwaker, 'Extracts ... Dukinfield', p.179.

<sup>22</sup> *The Autobiography of Henry Newcome*, Vol. II, pp.242-3.

<sup>23</sup> *Diaries and letters of Philip Henry*, p.84.

meaning of Rev. 11. 12. concern. the witnesses. O stay thy hand. *Ps. 39. 1*<sup>24</sup> The deaths of nonconformist ministers were an opportunity to remember, even reopen, the argument they had with the re-establishment of the church in 1662. Henry mused that the deaths of Heath and York gave witness to Revelation 11:12: ‘And they heard a great voice from heaven saying unto them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud; and their enemies beheld them’. Here, Heath’s, York’s and his own ejection and nonconformity were understood through a soteriological, if not apocalyptic, narrative. This was unlikely to draw him into a sense of community with his conformist counterparts; rather confirming his and his fellow ejected minister’s righteousness in their dissent. The next verse in Revelation told of an earthquake which destroyed a tenth of the city of Jerusalem. This could have been a reference to coming judgement of the established church. His plea for God to stay his hand (echoing the words of 2 Samuel 24:16) and reference to the last verse from Psalm 39: ‘O spare me, that I may recover strength, before I go hence, and be no more’, suggested he identified these ministers’ nonconformity with the godly witnesses of Revelation against the worldly men of the established church.

Henry’s attendance at funerals was not always so confrontational. The deaths of Heath and York came at a time of great controversy, with the legislation of many restrictions upon nonconformists. At other times in his diary, Henry noted genuine esteem between conformist and nonconformist ministers. On 16 September 1670 he

---

<sup>24</sup> *Diaries and letters of Philip Henry*, p.188-9; Venn has Richard Heath as Vicar of St Alkmund’s (as does Matthew Henry’s biography of his father) before ejection in 1662, though given that there is no incumbent for St. Julian’s church in Shrewsbury in 1662 (and none since Thomas Jervis in 1605) he may well have served both churches, ‘Shrewsbury, St Julian (CCEd Location ID: 3357)’, *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835* <<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>> last accessed: 04/02/17; John Venn and J. A Venn (eds.), *Alumni cantabrigienses; a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900* (Cambridge, 1922), Part. 1, Vol. II, p.347; Henry, *Life of Philip Henry*, p.189.

recorded 'Mr. [Zechariah] Tho[mas]' burial, at Acton'. Thomas had been for a short time curate at Tilstock in the parish of Whitchurch, Shropshire, which Philip Henry attended when there was no preaching at Whitewell-chapel. 'Mr. Kirk preacht, gave a worthy character, for uprightness, humility, moderation, prayer, faithfulness in reproving, patience under Affliction, and in saying hee was a true Israelite without guil, hee said all; lord make mee a follower! Amen!'<sup>25</sup> Here, Henry witnessed how boundaries of conformity could be trespassed as ministers from both sides recognised their affinity with one another in shared godly ministry. Henry also recorded the deaths of his conformist counterparts, usually in a manner which suggested identification and a sense of community with them. On 4 March 1664 Henry noted 'I heard of ye Death of Mr. Hoskins, vicar of Elsmere, who dy'd somewhat suddenly; lord, for me, however I dye for circumstance, let mee dye in Xt Amen!'<sup>26</sup> It is not clear if Hoskins was viewed by Henry as a model or a warning. Nonetheless, that Philip Henry saw fit to attend these funerals and record them, constructed the social group to which he belonged. In July 1680 he recorded the deaths of a Mr. Haines sometime vicar of Wem in Shropshire and Richard Edwards of Oswestry, Shropshire. Of the former he wrote: 'a worthy conformist & I believe gone to Heaven' and of the latter: 'an honest, peaceable, good man & of the same Spirit, who did conform but with regret, both of them my worthy Friends'.<sup>27</sup> Again, Henry's witness foregrounded the ejection of 1662. Yet it also demonstrated his assent to community with members of the clergy of the Church of England. These were important moments of cross-conformist interaction and solidarity among clerics. The 'civil' function of funerals and burials, as well as restrictions and fewer burial grounds demarcated by denomination in the provinces and rural areas of

---

<sup>25</sup> *Diaries and letters of Philip Henry*, p.231.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p.169.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p.290.

the period, meant that many nonconformists were buried in conformist churchyards.<sup>28</sup> For ministers these could be moments of cross-conformist interaction and affinity. Though attendance might have been a protest, William Tong recorded the presence of conformist and nonconformist ministers at Matthew Henry's funeral (held at the conforming Trinity Church in Chester) as a note of esteem: 'universal Respect was pay'd to him by Persons of Note and Distinction on all sides'.<sup>29</sup> His father had similarly been buried in the parish church at Whitchurch, which he had attended for a time. Matthew Henry recorded that his father's funeral was attended by 'a very great Company of true Mourners, all the Country round; many from *Chester and Shrewsbury*'. He described floods of tears and many worthy testimonies given to his father 'like that to *Jehojadah 2. Chron. 24. 16.*' He also noted that he 'was a Man that no Body did or could speak Evil of, except for his *Nonconformity*'. Matthew Henry did not note if a sermon was preached at Whitchurch for his father, but this extract was suggestive of a similar cross-conformist affair to his own funeral. Burials of ministers could, therefore, be moments to recognise mutual respect and affinity as they were opportunities that exposed the divisions within English Protestantism.

Ordinations were also an important office within which the ministry was constructed as a discrete affective community. In her account of the life of James Clegg, Presbyterian minister to a congregation in Chapel-en-le-Frith, Derbyshire, Vanessa Doe noted that much of the classical structure survived the Restoration. On 1 July 1729 Clegg recorded setting 'out for Rochdale with Mr. Scholfield' meeting at

---

<sup>28</sup> Patrick Collinson, 'Critical Conclusion', in Spufford (ed.), *World of Rural Dissenters*, p.391; K. D. M Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700–1950* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 501, 496 n.31.

<sup>29</sup> Tong, *Life of Matthew Henry*, p.280.

Stockport, where Samuel Eaton was ‘examined in order to his ordination, I was chosen as moderator’.<sup>30</sup> On 21 June 1698 he recorded the ordination of

Mr Josiah Hargreaves, Mr John Ashe, Mr George Lowe, Mr William Bagshawe, Mr Toolow were ordained at the Chappell at Mawph near Chappel in ye Frith By Mr William Bagshawe, Samuel Angier, Mr Gamliel Jones, Mr John Byrom, and Mr Joseph Eaton, many being present. God’s name be praised for his presence with them yt ordained and ym yt were ordained that day.<sup>31</sup>

Though not a sacramental exercise, it is clear from Clegg’s testimony that such occasions were regarded as devotional. This exhibited the strength of English Presbyterianism of the period as the requirement for ministers to lay-on hands to ordinands meant that they necessarily knew one another and were bonded by spiritual ties. This is demonstrated well in an extract for 18 June 1700 where Clegg noted the ordination of seven ministers including ‘Mr Samuel Eaton of Manchester’. Clegg also recorded that ‘Mr Henry, Mr Chorlton, Mr Laurence, Mr Jones, Mr Alured, Mr Scholes & Samuel Angier laid hands on ym [sic]’.<sup>32</sup> The laying on of hands demonstrated the devotional nature of this practice. While the apostolicity of the practice was disputed even among Presbyterians, the need for one minister to ordain another was maintained.<sup>33</sup> This necessitated association with one another and enough familiarity to consent to ordination.

---

<sup>30</sup> *Diary of James Clegg*, Vol. 1, p.60.

<sup>31</sup> Earwaker, ‘Extracts ... Dukinfield’, p.182.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p.185.

<sup>33</sup> Roger Thomas, ‘Rise of the Reconcilers’, in Bolam et al. (eds.), *The English Presbyterians*, p.47.



The Presbyterians of the region were also united in more formal classes. The Cheshire Classis has not always been understood as a successful enterprise in unity. The inability of Protestant nonconformity nationwide to deal sufficiently with issues of polity ultimately perpetuated the 'Presbyterian' and 'Congregationalist' confessional labels.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the drift towards Arminianism and heterodox opinion over the godhead led to conflict, such as the censorship of Samuel de la Rose, a minister in Stockport, for antinomianism in 1720 and then the disbandment of the classis in 1745 over the issue of the Trinity.<sup>35</sup> Yet, the latitude offered by the classis was arguably its major strength, and for the period of its existence it undoubtedly played a significant role in drawing its members into a sense of fraternity. Almost all of their meetings began with prayer and preaching. Some preaching is recorded as 'publick' and the ministers often appear to have retired to another location after the sermon which suggests that it was not preached exclusively to the ministry or merely the ministers attending the meeting. Nonetheless, prayer and preaching undoubtedly sought to unite these men in a singular purpose and discrete clerical group. Communal prayer was long valued by a broad spectrum of English Protestants and such practice sought to bind the clerics in affective community.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, preaching like that of 2 August 1698 at Knutsford by 'Mr Dearniley' on 1 Corinthians 4:2, which read 'moreover it is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful' no doubt sought to demonstrate the biblical

---

<sup>34</sup> Clark, *The Language of Liberty 1660-1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World, 1660-1832* (Cambridge, 1994), p.325. The 1691 Agreement is reprinted in the Minutes of the Cheshire Classis, Alexander Gordon (ed.), *Cheshire Classis Minutes 1691-1745 edited for the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire* (London, 1919), p.4; Roger Thomas, 'The Break-up of Nonconformity' in Geoffrey F. Nuttall et al. (eds.) *The beginnings of Nonconformity* (London, 1964), pp.33-60.

<sup>35</sup> David Steers, 'Arminianism among Protestant Dissenters in England and Ireland in the Eighteenth Century', in Theodoor Marius van Leeuwen, Keith D. Stanglin, Marijke Tolsma (eds.), *Arminius, Arminianism, and Europe: Jacobus Arminius (1559/60-1609)* (Leiden 2009) p.166; Robert E. Schofield, *The Enlightenment of Joseph Priestley: A Study of His Life and Work from 1733 to 1773* (University Park, PA, 1997), p.78.

<sup>36</sup> Rylie, *Being Protestant*, p.365.

mandate the men were enjoined in.<sup>37</sup> The role of the classis was of course functional in approving ordination to the ministry and settling disputes over communion. In the latter case, they tended to favour a variety of practice in administration depending upon the preference of those receiving, allowing tender consciences to avoid practices they thought idolatrous or suggestive of the sacrificial role of the minister. A reputation for a moral life was maintained as a prerequisite. The minutes, however, demonstrate that it was not merely formal; prayer and preaching surely were intended to generate a deeper, affective sense of community.

Associations of clergymen were essential in all sections of the English Protestant spectrum though perhaps the likes of Thomas Jolly and those of the congregationalist polity required cordial and professional relationships even more, cleric-to-cleric. The structure of the established church set out roles and hierarchy more definitively. In order to make sure there was not too much discrepancy of practice congregationalists required frequent meetings to discuss matters of church membership, for example. In December 1677 Jolly recorded a meeting with their

sister church of Walmsly was to consider the church-state of the church's seed in their minority before they own the Lord's covenant, wee could only reckon them as members of the church universall, yet their relation to members of particular churches must needs be an advantage to further them. A letter from Mr. Mather in new England came very providentially to us as to the business of that meeting.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Gordon, *Cheshire Classis Minutes*, p.26.

<sup>38</sup> *Note Book*, p.33.

The desire to harmonise their approach to church membership required good relations between clerics such as Jolly and that of Walmsly, though perhaps here those of full church members were also given a voice. The influences from further afield are also evident, with a letter from Increase Mather being influential. The influence of notable New England divines upon the Independents was demonstrative of the importance placed upon association and identification with broader communities on both a clerical and congregational level. It was also understood as important to unify and standardise approaches to ecclesiastical issue even within the latitude of the congregational polity.

Lectureships and joint preaching excursions made for a greater sense of community. Philip Henry recorded that between 24 and 30 November 1661 he attended a ministerial conference in Shropshire which included a ‘day of prayer at Bryn’ followed by lectures at Wem. He and his fellow ministers were met with considerable opposition and the lecture was forbidden for a time, though liberty to preach was eventually granted. Henry ‘slept that night at ye Parsonage, where was Mr. Porter, Mr. Campion &c. men of far greater abilities then I, yet layd aside as I am, return o Lord how long’.<sup>39</sup> Despite the problems faced by Philip Henry, it is clear that such events sought to enjoin ministers in a closer mutual affection. Much as attending one another’s ordinations, sermons, and funerals, these exercises constructed the clergy as a distinct social group in their own right. Henry’s text was Job 36:21: ‘Take heed, regard not iniquity: for this hast thou chosen rather than affliction’ undoubtedly sought to confirm those opposed to the Book of Common Prayer in their stance. His fellow minister, Samuel Lawrence of Nantwich preached from Psalm 62:5: ‘My soul, wait thou only upon God; for my expectation is from him’. This, however perhaps spoke more

---

<sup>39</sup> *Diaries and letters of Philip Henry*, p.100.

broadly to a ministry guided by God than Henry's text. Both texts presented their audience with the notion of their distinctiveness as a community.

Conformist ministers also conducted preaching tours, which bonded them together, involving them in a professional community and one another's congregations. Thomas Brockbank, while still curate at Sefton, Lancashire, conducted a preaching tour in the Furness peninsula. The tour in July 1704 may have been in an effort to ingratiate himself with the parish and region in hope of preferment to the vicarage of Cartmel, which he secured in 1706. He preached at Flookburgh, Lindale, Ulverston and Pennington.<sup>40</sup> The former two were chapels of ease within the parish of Cartmel and served only by readers, who may not have been ordained. The latter two were parish churches and Ulverston had a considerable endowment, attractive to talented ministers.<sup>41</sup> Such excursions undoubtedly sought to familiarise the local populace with potential new ministers. They were also perhaps generative of relationships between ministers. The parochial structure of the north of England, consisting of large parishes served by chapels of ease and poorly paid livings, was an obvious disadvantage within the region. Yet, it was perhaps the source of close professional relationships between clergymen in the region. Talented ministers such as Brockbank were made the most of, preaching in a number of locations and often at a distance from their livings. Moreover, such preachers were used to preaching in one another's pulpits. The exploration of public worship demonstrated how at the Collegiate Church in

---

<sup>40</sup> *Letter Book of the Rev. Thomas Brockbank*, pp.271-2.

<sup>41</sup> 'The parish of Cartmel', in William Farrer and J Brownbill (eds.), *A History of the County of Lancaster*: Vol. 8 (London, 1914), pp. 254-265, fn.95; The reader probably taught school, a schoolmaster being named in the visitation returns of 1674, &c.; 'The parish of Cartmel', p.269; 'The parish of Sefton: Introduction, church and charities', in William Farrer and J Brownbill (eds.), *A History of the County of Lancaster*, Vol. 3. (London, 1907), pp. 58-66; Benjamin Nightingale, *Lancashire Nonconformity, Or Sketches, Historical Descriptive, of the Congregational and Old Presbyterian Churches in the County*, Vol. I. (Manchester, 1890), p.255 'The parish of Ulverston', in Farrer and Brownbill (eds.) *History of the County of Lancaster*: Vol. 8, p.346, fn.53; C.C.A.L.S, Dioceses of Chester Records, Churchwardens and sidesmens call books 1670-1975, EDV 2/9 (Exhibition Book): 1677.

Manchester Edmund Harrold often heard guest preachers. James Parker's diary recorded how his local minister, Thomas Ellison, sometimes preached both in the morning and afternoon at Chorley chapel and sometimes just once during the day. Yet he was present almost every week within Parker's record.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, Parker recorded having heard preaching at Chorley from a 'Mr Hollinshead' four times and once from a 'parson [who] Came out of Chesshire'.<sup>43</sup> Ministers thus worked within one another's pulpits on regular occasions, engendering a strong sense of community. John Worthington took a similar tour to Brockbank shortly after being presented to be a preacher at Holmes Chapel, Cheshire. The sometime master of Jesus College and Cambridge Platonist recorded in 1667 preaching twice at Manchester, at Brereton Green, and Holmes Chapel in October and November.<sup>44</sup> All, with the exception of the chapel of ease at Holmes Chapel, had their own university-educated ministers.<sup>45</sup> It seems unlikely that Worthington was picking up slack but rather that there was an engagement by members of the Church of England with a longer godly tradition of para-parochial activity which took the form of sermon-gadding, prophesyings and 'holy fairs' in this and previous centuries.<sup>46</sup> These professional experiences involved

---

<sup>42</sup> LRO, MS Hawkshead-Talbot of Chorley, DDHK 9/1/ 77, James Parker, n.p.

<sup>43</sup> Mr. Hollinshead, alternatively spelt 'Hollingshead' is likely Allinson (sometimes 'Allanson') Hollinshead licensed as curate at Heapey in Leyland Parish in 1738 [C.C.A.L.S, EDV 2/31 (Exhibition Book): 1742] and curate at Bury in 1747 [C.C.A.L.S, EDV 2/33 (Exhibition Book): 1747], 'Allinson Hollinshead (CCed Person ID: 31600)', *Clergy of the Church of England Database, 1540–1835*, <<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>> last accessed: 26/05/2015. It is unclear who the Cheshire clergyman was, Parker notes 'the parson that Came out of Chesshire from Mr [L-igs?] of Adlington', at this point the Chapel of Adlington was within the parish of Prestbury and served by a curate Joseph Ward 'Prestbury, Adlington Chapel (CCed Location ID 5103)', *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835*, <<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>>, last accessed: 26/05/2015. Hollinshead was mentioned on 15 March 1741, 9 July 1741, 10 January 1742 and 9 May 1742, the Cheshire parson on 13 December 1742, LRO, MS Hawkshead-Talbot of Chorley, DDHK 9/1/ 77, James Parker, n.p.

<sup>44</sup> *Diary of John Worthington*, Vol. 2 Part 1, p.222.

<sup>45</sup> 'Manchester Collegiate Church, Chaplain (CCed Location ID 9004)', *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835*, <<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>>, last accessed: 04/02/2017; 'Brereton cum Smethwick (CCed Location ID 5011)', *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835*, <<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>>, last accessed: 04/02/2017; John T. Young, 'Worthington, John (*bap.* 1618, *d.* 1671)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2005 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29992>], last accessed: 09/05/2015].

<sup>46</sup> Collinson, 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism', pp.47-55.

ministers in one another's cares and congregations. They were generative of significant community among ministers.

The formal offices of the ministry were on the whole segregated affairs, with conformists and nonconformists alike separating into their respective camps. This was not always the case, however, and funerals were often occasions which transgressed this boundary. Though attendance could be a sign of protest, the life writings also witnessed them as moments of mutual recognition and esteem between conformist and nonconformist ministers. Ordinations provided an opportunity to knit the ministry together in consideration of their vocation and shared experiences. Though not uncontested, the apostolic and biblically-mandated nature of their profession bound these men together in their shared piety and roles, which separated them from other Christians. Preaching tours were also an opportunity for conformist and nonconformist ministers alike to make the most of their own talents and those of their peers. Furthermore, they served a significant function in binding the ministry together. They familiarised ministers with others in their local area and generated a sense of professional solidarity. Spanning the divide of conformity to the Church of England, these practices created significant spiritual bonds, alongside the professional ones that these men shared, constructing them as a discrete devotional community of their own. It set the ministry apart from the other groupings of English Protestants, the effects of which were also visible within the personal lives of the ministry.

Despite the apparently destructive effects of the Corporation Act, the Act of Uniformity and the Five Mile Act, clerical communities across boundaries of conformity were maintained. This was more pronounced during the earlier part of the period, while the ejected ministers still lived, and whose partial conformity bridged the divide of conformity. Family ties and a perception of the moral responsibility of the 'public' ministry, however, meant that clerical associations cut across the line of conformity and persisted within the region even after legal toleration of Protestant nonconformity in 1689, and the passing of the Bartholomean generation at the turn of the century. Philip Henry was one such minister, whose ejection, nonconformity and conflict with the state and established church made little impact upon his personal friendships. These were friendships he passed down to his son. Henry was presented at the Flintshire Assizes for refusing to read the Book of Common Prayer several times in 1660 and 1661. In September 1660 he was joined by Robert Fogg of Bangor, and Richard Steele of Hanmer, Flintshire, to account for their nonconformity, though no punishment was imposed. Henry was presented again on 28 and 29 March 1661 but it took a presentation on 17 October 1661 to the bishop's court (which Henry refused to attend) for him to be finally removed. He was ejected by an apparently reluctant Henry Bridgeman, the rector of Bangor, for nonconformity five days later.<sup>47</sup> Despite this experience, in his account of his father's life, Matthew Henry noted that 'Once being allow'd the liberty of his Gesture' Philip Henry 'join'd in the Lord's Supper' at Worthenbury where he had been ejected. This does not appear to have been maintained when the gesture of kneeling was required, which he balked at, and Philip

---

<sup>47</sup> Richard L. Greaves, 'Henry, Philip (1631–1696)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12976, last accessed: 10/10/2015].

Henry began ministering the sacrament himself, in 1667, for those of similarly tender consciences.<sup>48</sup> Even after removing to Broad Oak, however, Philip Henry attended conformist services at Whitewell chapel when there was preaching. The ejected minister also ‘kept up his Correspondence with Mr. [Richard] *Hilton*’ who was his replacement at Worthenbury and was even ‘solicited to Preach at *Bangor*’. Philip Henry declined the offer, ‘such was his Tenderness, that he was not willing so far to discourage Mr. *Hilton* at *Worthenbury*’ fearing Hilton would be left bereft of a great part of his congregation.<sup>49</sup> Matthew Henry’s account of his father’s ‘tenderness’ was obviously prejudiced. It revealed Philip Henry’s reluctance to dissent from the Church of England and it exonerated him, and by extension the nonconformist ministry, from any accusation of schism, lack of charity towards or competition with their conformist brethren. This was, at least in part, a sincere reflection of his father’s approach.<sup>50</sup> Philip Henry continued to hear Hilton while he was at Worthenbury and observed his preaching with admiration, noting on 5 November 1661 that Hilton’s subject was ‘ye sam with that which I preacht upon ye first 5. November yt I came hither, mans extremity, God’s opportunity’.<sup>51</sup> Philip Henry did seem to have maintained significant affection for his successor and the tenderness, which his son recorded, represented a sincere affective bond between these ministers. It is a tenderness he perhaps passed on to his son, who attended Wednesday and Friday lectures at the conformist St. Michael’s church in Chester while he ministered to a Presbyterian congregation in the city.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, the Presbyterians of Chester, well into the 1680s, continued to schedule their

---

<sup>48</sup> Henry, *Life of Philip Henry*, pp.101, 188.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p.77.

<sup>50</sup> Toleration, even when proposed as early as 1662, was abhorrent to those of a moderate nonconforming persuasion as it created a permanent schism in the religious life of the nation, Keeble, *Peace of the Church*, p.28.

<sup>51</sup> *Diaries and letters of Philip Henry*, p.99.

<sup>52</sup> Lewis and Thacker (eds.), *A History of the County of Chester*, Vol. V, Part 2, p.147.



services outside the hours kept by the Church of England in charity to their conformist brethren.<sup>53</sup>

Philip Henry continued to engage with a number of the ordinances of the Church of England. He had his first two children, John and Matthew, baptised by conformist clerics. Partly this was due to his concern over how proper it was for him to conduct the rite himself, as he later baptised his daughters himself. Nonetheless, on 12 May 1661 he recorded

This day my dear little one was baptized, named John, lord, Stamp thy image on him & give him that new name – Mr. Mainwaring baptized him & preacht in ye morning from Zech: 13. 1. & in the afternoon from Ps. 51. 5. Lord wash mee & my little one in that fountayn opened from or. uncleane.<sup>54</sup>

It is clear that the experience still had significant personal devotional value for Philip Henry despite any issues he might have had with the conformist service. Moreover, Henry maintained a significant friendship with John Mainwaring. On 1 April 1672, during Charles II's indulgence of nonconformity, Henry recorded that he 'preacht. At Cockshut[t, Shropshire], being therto desir'd; Mr. Mainwaring the Minr. read Prayers. Ps. 119. 67. bless, lord! This, if it might bee, I would chuse rather than a separate place

---

<sup>53</sup> Tong, *Life of Matthew Henry*, p.73.

<sup>54</sup> Either George Mainwaring 'ejected from the rectory of Malpas in 1662 for nonconformity', Joseph Foster, *Alumni oxonienses; the members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714* (Oxford, 1891), Vol. III, p.959; or John Mainwaring, curate of Cockshutt Chapel in Ellesmere parish, Shropshire 'John Mainwaring (CCed Person ID: 53670)', *The Church of England Database 1540-1835*, <<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>>, last accessed: 11/06/2015; the parish then being served by Nathaniel Gittens (appointed on 23 May 1665), 'Nathaniel Gittens (CCed Person ID: 44386)', *The Church of England Database 1540-1835*, <<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>>, last accessed: 11/06/2015; *Diaries and letters of Philip Henry*, p.85.

but – *quos perdere vult Deus, eos dementat*.<sup>55</sup> His preference remained for nonconformist ministers to have access to the pulpits of the established church, though he too took out a license for preaching at Broad Oak on 30 April. In hosting two ministers on 7 March 1665, ‘Mr Edwards’ and ‘Mr. Tapping’, Philip Henry noted that they were ‘both Conformists but I hope Conscientious; That wh wee see not, lord teach yu us’.<sup>56</sup> Philip Henry ultimately put affect and God’s will before his own prejudices regarding hot ecclesiological issues. Clerical connections and friendships were thus stronger than issues of conformity, particularly during the early part of the period. Moreover, ejected ministers such as Henry helped maintain nonconformist affection for the Church of England and particularly its ministry. The seriousness of the piety of the ministry was the principal axis around which friendships and communities were formed.

Despite his differences with Orlando and Lawrence Fogg, Philip Henry preserved his close relationship with the family. Their father, Robert Fogg (d.1676), had been ejected from Bangor in 1661 and presented to the Flintshire assizes alongside Philip Henry. Both Orlando and Lawrence, however, received episcopal re-ordination and Henry had occasional disagreements with them. On 16 April 1661, for example, Henry lamented that Orlando Fogg had buried a man, of apparently blame-worthy lifestyle, according to the Book of Common Prayer. On 4 July 1672 Henry and Lawrence Fogg discussed conformity, though Henry recorded that: ‘neither hee proselyted mee nor I to him’.<sup>57</sup> Henry dined with Robert Fogg on a number of occasions and counselled him; including when the ejected minister was solicited to ‘accept £80. & leave Bangr’ on 5 June 1661, and in an entry for April 1671 on his

---

<sup>55</sup> Latin phrase: ‘who God wishes to destroy he first makes mad.’ ‘Before I was afflicted I went astray: but now have I kept thy word.’ Psalm 119:67; *Diaries and letters of Philip Henry*, p.250.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p.169.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p.254.

continuing relationship with his son Orlando's widow and her children.<sup>58</sup> Fogg had determined to 'bee bound to keep all the children that ever shee should have' even upon her re-marriage. Henry recommended the child should be Robert Fogg's ward.<sup>59</sup> When Orlando Fogg fell ill on 2 April 1661, Henry prayed: 'lord take him not away in the midst of his days.'<sup>60</sup> Moreover, writing on 27 July 1663 Henry recorded that he 'went to Hawarden [where Orlando Fogg ministered], saw & pray'd in secret with Mr. Fogg, lord, hear in heaven. Much made of.'<sup>61</sup> Clearly he valued the ministry of Orlando and Lawrence Fogg as much as that of their father. This friendship was passed on to his son, Matthew Henry, who worked with Lawrence Fogg, while Dean of Chester, in the Societies for the Reformation of Manners (SRMs). After the first Friday lecture by Chester's society, Matthew Henry recorded being impressed by Fogg and 'bless[ed] God for this Sermon'. Henry had also 'from my Heart forgiven, so I will endeavour to forget all that the Dean has at any time said against Dissenters and against me in particular' understanding the SRMs as a means to 'heal Differences among those that fear God'.<sup>62</sup> What the dispute was about has been lost to history. In a recent thesis, Ralph Stevens has suggested that Cheshire clergymen were at best only ambiguously enthusiastic about clerical fraternisation across the line of conformity. Moreover, the tactics of the likes of John Hulton (Matthew Henry's brother-in-law who Lawrence Fogg had approached urging the Dissenters to form themselves into their own Society) in informing on tavern-attending conformists soured relations and questioned 'the spirit of *de facto* Protestant union highlighted by [Craig] Rose' in the SRMs.<sup>63</sup> Nonetheless, despite some conflict, Henry valued Fogg's ministry. He understood his relationship with him in

---

<sup>58</sup> *Diaries and letters of Philip Henry*, p.88.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p.237.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.82, 81-2.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p.143.

<sup>62</sup> Tong, *Life of Matthew Henry*, p.179.

<sup>63</sup> Ralph Michael Christopher Stevens, 'Anglican Responses to the Toleration Act, 1689-1714, Unpublished PhD Thesis University of Cambridge (2014), p.82; Tong, *Life of Matthew Henry*, p.181.

devotional terms through the SRMs. Tong, Henry's biographer, wrote admirably of the moral reform movement that it was 'set on Foot in that City by those of the Establish'd Church'. The Bishop and Dean had 'the Interests of practical Religion very much at Heart... and greatly grieved at the open and scandalous Wickedness that abounded in that City, and everywhere throughout the Nation'.<sup>64</sup> In recognition of one another's affective piety, Tong's account was after all drawn from Henry's own papers, conformist and nonconformist ministers conceived of themselves as bound in a single devotional community.

The family of Henry Prescott, Deputy Registrar of Chester, maintained links with those of the non-juring schism. An entry for 23 May 1704 recorded him 'relax[ing] at Knutsford... Mr. Leigh the Non Juror Clergy Man [came] to my cozn. Peake's'. Prescott 'perceive[d] they differ in their notions of the present doubts betwixt them and the Clergy conforming to the Government. Mr. Leigh maintains that the church is in the conforming Clergy, Mr. Peake seems to deny it, adhering Mr Dodwell's schisma Anglicanum.' Prescott's account was confused but it appeared that he referred to James Peake who was made vicar of Bowden in Cheshire in 1684, deprived as a non-juror and buried 3 April 1719 at St. Mary's Chester. Prescott recorded attending Peake's funeral in his diary, Peake being his 'Dear Lydias relacion'.<sup>65</sup> Prescott went on to note how 'Mr Cumberbach [came] invited on my account, wee fix the time to meet at Ayrfeild on Tuesday in Whitsunweek. Wee dine and divert the afternoon.'<sup>66</sup> This appears to be Richard Comberbatch, vicar of Little Peover, Cheshire (1686-1711), who may have

---

<sup>64</sup> Stevens, 'Anglican Responses', p.178.

<sup>65</sup> John Venn and J. A Venn (eds.), *Alumni cantabrigienses; a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900* (Cambridge, 1924), Part 1. Vol. III, p.327; Addy and McNiven (eds.), *Diary of Henry Prescott*, Vol. 2, p.686.

<sup>66</sup> Addy, (ed.), *Diary of Henry Prescott*, Vol. 1, p.8.

been a one-time non-juror himself.<sup>67</sup> As such, barriers of conformity seem to have been as free-flowing on the higher end of the ecclesiastical spectrum as they were on the lower. Perhaps Prescott was freer, not being in orders, but it seems that Peter Leigh, rector of Aldford (1678-1728) also continued to associate with non-jurors much as nonconformists and conformists continued their associations.<sup>68</sup>

Maintenance of friendships was not unusual. Henry Newcome seems to have maintained close enough acquaintances with local conformist clergymen, well after his own ejection, to secure his son (also Henry Newcome) his position at Tattenhall in 1675. He first recorded an abortive attempt to have his son installed at Acton in April 1675. Newcome Snr., in his attempt to get his son appointed to the living, employed the assistance of Zachariah Cawdrey Rector of Barthomley, Cheshire (1649-84); Thomas Leadbetter the vicar of Hinckley, Leicestershire until his ejection in 1662; Nathaniel Banne, another ejected minister from Caldecote in Rutland; and Samuel Edgeley, chaplain to Sir Thomas Wilbraham.<sup>69</sup> Upon hearing of the death of Mr. Tarbuck, rector at Tattenhall, on 22 June 1675, through Henry Finch (a nonconformist ejected from Walton-on-the-Hill, Lancashire, who went on to minister at Birch Hall in Lancashire from 1672 and was imprisoned during Monmouth's Rebellion), Newcome Snr. 'went to

---

<sup>67</sup> Comberbatch died in 1722, John Venn and J. A Venn (eds.), *Alumni cantabrigienses; a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900* (Cambridge, 1922), Part 1. Vol. I, p.377, Comberbatch was similarly possibly a one-time non-juror John Venn, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College: 1849-1897*. Vol I. (Cambridge, 1897), p.425.

<sup>68</sup> Venn, *Alumni*, Part 1, Vol. II., p.64.

<sup>69</sup> *Autobiography of Henry Newcome*, Vol. II, pp.208-212; Venn, *Alumni*, Part 1. Vol. III, p.58; Vol. I., p.81; Vol. II., p.86; Cawdrey was apparently a controversial figure. Philip Henry recorded that he suffered for his support of monarchy under the Commonwealth but that he also suffered after the Restoration for his leniency towards dissenters and his *Preparation for Martyrdom* (1681), perhaps because it lauded the unity of conformists and nonconformists in opposing vice, Henry, *Life of Philip Henry*, p.198; *Diaries and letters of Philip Henry*, p.303.

the Warden about it.<sup>70</sup> By 10 July Newcome Jnr. had letters of presentation, which spurred his father to travel to Tattenhall the next day. There he employed the support of Rowland Sherrard, rector of Tarporley; Sir John Crew; Sir James Bradshaw and Cawdrey once more who testified before the bishop of Chester. The bishop told Crawley that:

the Bishop of Rochester had presented Non-Conformist's son to it, but spake without any offence towards it. Mr. Cawdrey then took hold to give him his character, and the Bishop seemed very glad of it, and this he was prepared for it.<sup>71</sup>

Newcome Jnr. preached at the church on 24 July and was officially presented on 28 July to be instituted the next day. Newcome Snr. of course, much like Philip Henry, remained something of an occasional conformist, with his son even recording that in October 1685, 'my fa[ther] mo[ther] and sister were with me at the sacrament and complied in the gesture of kneeling'.<sup>72</sup> The other nonconformists who pursued the younger Newcome's appointment may have acted similarly. Nonetheless, the strength of these cross-conformist connections was evident in this episode. Clearly there was, at the very least, a sustained recognition of the piety and value of the nonconformist

---

<sup>70</sup> Finch ministered in the chapel at Birch Hall for Thomas Birch, a former parliamentarian army officer until the death of Birch's widow Alice in 1697. During Finch's imprisonment there was some attempt to install a conformist. After Alice Birch's death Finch preached at certified houses in Birch and Platt until the construction of Platt Chapel by the Worsley family in 1699. While Birch appeared to be of Independent or congregationalist sympathies, Finch was Presbyterian, having refused the Engagement, joined the Lancashire classis and taken part in George Booth's royalist uprising. Alexander Gordon, (ed.), *Freedom after Ejection, A Review (1690-1692) of Presbyterian and Congregational Nonconformity in England and Wales* (Manchester, 1917), p.263; Venn, *Alumni*, Part 1, Vol. II, p.138; *Autobiography of Henry Newcome*, Vol. II, p.260.

<sup>71</sup> *Autobiography of Henry Newcome*, Vol. II., pp.212-14; Foster, *Alumni oxonienses; the members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714* (Oxford, 1891), Vol. IV, p.1347.

<sup>72</sup> Manchester Libraries, Information and Archives, Manchester Central Library, MS 922.3.N21, *Diary of Henry Newcome (1650-1712), Rector of Tattenhall, Cheshire (1675-1701) and later Rector of Middleton, 1696-1713*, p. 70.

ministers here by their conformist counterparts. It seems unlikely that the testimony of these nonconformist ministers would have carried much weight, or that Newcome would have employed their assistance if there were not strong ties between the two camps within the region. In a similar episode, William Tong recorded being appointed to preach at Cockshutt chapel for a time in 1685 (using part of the Book of Common Prayer) at the recommendation of Joseph Hanmer, his father's friend and rector of Marchwiell.<sup>73</sup> Coupled with Philip Henry's testimony, it was suggestive of a continued conception of shared community among the ministry in the north west of England, across the boundary of conformity. If conflict was the prevailing background to ministerial relationships it would be difficult to account for such moments of cooperation.

Newcome Jnr. was not, however, always so generous. Matthew Henry recorded that in one sermon, given at Chester at the monthly lectures of the Society for the Reformation of Manners in 1700, the younger Newcome 'departed from that good Temper' with which he had begun and 'broke out into very severe invectives against the Dissenters because they did not conform to the church'. He apparently accounted this as having a detrimental effect upon the prosecution of the laws against immorality. Henry, naturally, rejected this conclusion, believing that the 'Body of Dissenters has been the strongest Bulwark against Profaneness in *England*'.<sup>74</sup> Henry nonetheless lauded Newcome Jnr.'s preaching against profaneness as 'good and proper Discourses' and, indeed, Newcome Jnr. preached Henry's brother-in-law, Dr. John Tylston's, funeral

---

<sup>73</sup> Tong, *Life of Matthew Henry*, p.33; David L. Wykes, 'Tong, William (1662–1727)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27534>, last accessed: 23/10/2015].

<sup>74</sup> Tong, *Life of Matthew Henry*, p.182.

sermon.<sup>75</sup> Tong recorded that Tylston was ‘buried on 11<sup>th</sup> day [April 1692] in *Trinity Church*’ at which ‘the Reverend Mr. *Henry Newcome* of *Titnal*, his intimate and kind friend, Preached his Funeral-Sermon, from *Phil. i. 21. To me to live is Christ, and to die is Gain*; he gave him a just, that is, a very honourable Character’.<sup>76</sup> Tylston appears to have been an ambiguous conformist at best. Matthew Henry’s memoir of Tylston says that he joined ‘as seriously and reverently in the Liturgy as any man’ though he was opposed to parties.<sup>77</sup> Tong, further noted that though he was ‘of *Trinity College* in *Oxford*, and made a great Proficiency in every sort of valuable Learning’, he ‘took his Doctor’s Degree at *Aberdeen* in *Scotland* to escape ensnaring Oaths’.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, Sarah Savage (née Henry) recorded her brother-in-law attending Lord’s Day services at Nantwich where her father, Philip Henry preached.<sup>79</sup> The younger Newcome’s friendship with the extended Henry family continued that which Philip and Matthew Henry had with his father. Newcome Snr. helped broker Matthew Henry’s marriage to his second wife, Mary Warburton, daughter of Robert Warburton who supported Newcome Snr. after his ejection. Newcome Snr. was described as a friend of Philip Henry’s and was recorded preaching for Matthew Henry’s congregation in Chester on 8 September 1691 and also as playing some role in the Cheshire Classis before his death in 1695.<sup>80</sup> Despite Newcome Jnr’s invective against nonconformists he was linked to them through friendship. Perhaps, like Fogg, the younger Newcome’s position towards dissenters changed and evolved over time. As such, even after Toleration, clerical families across the conformist divide could maintain their connections, even friendships and a sense of community.

---

<sup>75</sup> Tong, *Life of Matthew Henry*, p.181.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p.110-11; I am taking this as Newcome Jnr. given that ‘Tattenhall’ is rendered similarly as ‘Tatnal’ p.181, the elder Newcome is referred to as from Manchester elsewhere in Tong’s *Life*.

<sup>77</sup> Matthew Henry, ‘A Brief Account of the Life and Death of Doctor John Tylston’, in *The Miscellaneous Works of Matthew Henry: Containing in Addition to Those Heretofore Published, Numerous Sermons, Now First Printed from the Original manuscript; an Appendix, on What Christ is Made to Believers in Forty Real Benefits and a Preface*, J. B. Williams (ed.), (London, 1830), pp.963-4.

<sup>78</sup> Tong, *Life of Matthew Henry*, p.109.

<sup>79</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p., 11 December 1687, [f.24v.].

<sup>80</sup> Tong, *Life of Matthew Henry*, pp.83, 102, 171, 188.



Newcome Snr. was perhaps bound to represent the exchanges with conformist clergy in pursuing his son's career as intimately friendly. As the evidence here is drawn from his autobiography, time may well have also had an ameliorating effect upon his recollection. This and the other instances explored above, of cross-conformist cooperation, were perhaps born of necessity and are not necessarily indicative of a broader number of instances of good relations between ministers of the region. Certainly there is evidence in the life writings, as we have seen, of conflict. The fact that in the everyday practice of ministry, however, a mutual respect, even admiration, was maintained was undoubtedly significant. As will be explored further, friendships between ministers were sought out, even across the divisions created by Acts of Parliament in 1662 and 1689. If nothing else, conflict does not appear to have been the *status quo* any more than cooperation. Conflict between ministers might be understood as the rarer phenomenon even when there were not close, affective and amicable relations between clergymen of different tribes. Yet, as has been demonstrated, where there were close family associations, relationships between clergymen from across the divide of conformity could be maintained and friendships as well. The spiritual relationship that Philip Henry continued to share with members of the Fogg family exhibited this well.

While socialising within trades was not unusual, conformist and nonconformist ministers alike demonstrated particularly close personal relationships.<sup>81</sup> The evidence from Philip Henry and Henry Prescott has already provided a number of examples of cross-conformist friendships. Some of these echoed the devotional friendships explored in the discussion of voluntary religion. While the emerging modern ‘professions’ (doctors/physicians, lawyers, teachers etc.) were increasingly socialised together in discrete institutions, the clergy, particularly in the provinces and rural areas, continued these links after their education. Certainly Richard Kay’s diary (or James Clegg’s for that matter, who supplemented his clerical income with a medical one) did not witness him fraternising with his fellow physicians much. Partly, this was due to the complicated social role of the clergy. Conformist clergymen, in particular, were state-enforcers of sorts, charged with maintaining order in their parishes. Yet nonconformist ministers were similarly expected to be good examples and leaders among their congregations. The clergy were supposed to be involved in the lives of their flocks, many of whom had received significantly less education than the ministry, while also keeping up with the local gentry, who often had considerably greater means than the clergy.<sup>82</sup> Such a position could often be awkward in an era of increasing social stratification, which was itself mediated by sociability.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, while the laity was

---

<sup>81</sup> *The Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.xviii.

<sup>82</sup> Antony Russell, *The Clerical Profession* (London, 1980), pp.10-11, 19, 32-5, 259, Rosemary O’Day, *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession 1558-1642* (Leicester, 1979) pp.6-7, 138-141, Jeremy Gregory, ‘The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of Anglican clergy after 1689’, in Walsh, Hayden and Taylor (eds.) *Church of England*, p.70; Gregory, ‘Gender and the Clerical Profession’, in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *Gender and the Christian Religion*, SCH, Vol.34 (Woodbridge 1998), pp.241-6; C. H. Mayo, ‘The Social Status of the Clergy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), p.260.

<sup>83</sup> Benjamin Heller, ‘The “Mene People” and the Polite Spectator: The Individual in the Crowd at Eighteenth-Century London Fairs’, *Past and Present*, 208 (August, 2010), pp.138-40.

tolerant, even supportive, of the culture of 'good fellowship' encapsulated in frequenting the alehouse for example, this was a tolerance that was afforded the clergy with decreasing frequency. There were some clergymen who attended and even ran alehouses, yet these were a waning minority as it became less acceptable for clergymen to be seen drinking.<sup>84</sup> The Cheshire Classis, for example, considered such a case for William Marshes in 1693. Marshes' appointment to Budworth, Cheshire had raised objections regarding 'some former Irregularities' of life, while in Staffordshire. Marshes was appointed after evidences given to the classis by friends of his, defending him from any accusation of behaviour 'unbecoming a Christian'. Marshes admitted 'he might have given too much Occasion for such Reports by staying too long in Publick-houses'.<sup>85</sup> The alehouse could be an improper location for sociability, if not managed properly. As such, the clergy developed a domestic sociability which paralleled that observed among the gentry in the eighteenth century. Sociability, particularly domestic heterosexual sociability, was the hallmark of the culture of politeness adopted and celebrated by the English gentry of the eighteenth century.<sup>86</sup> Linked to the emergence of the public sphere, this new (perhaps even secularising) code of conduct could confer gentle status, as sociability was understood to nurture virtue.<sup>87</sup> The 'sociability' of the clergy in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, paralleled (and perhaps preceded) these developments. Their difficult social position saw them turn to one another for fellowship and company. They frequently recorded hosting visiting ministers and spending much of their spare time with other clergymen at home and

---

<sup>84</sup> Donald Spaeth, *The Church in an Age of Danger: Parsons and Parishioners, 1660-1740* (Cambridge, 2001), p.124; Hailwood, *Alehouses*, pp.102-107.

<sup>85</sup> Gordon (ed.), *Cheshire Classis*, p.15, 15 August 1693.

<sup>86</sup> Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter, Women's Lives in Georgian England* (London, 1998), ch.6.

<sup>87</sup> Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994), pp.4-11, 55-57, 92-10; Lawrence E. Klein, 'Politeness for plebes: Consumption and social identity in early eighteenth-century England' in Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (eds.), *The Consumption of culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text* (London, 1995), pp.365-376.

abroad. The company they kept was thus mediated by both spiritual and social imperatives.

The structure of the established church itself drew all these men within a discrete community and sociability between bishops and lower clergy was common. Upon his election to the see of Chester, Thomas Cartwright recorded dining with the clergy of his diocese. On 7 November 1686 after preaching at Ripon he recorded dining with the Dean there.<sup>88</sup> On 11 February 1687: 'Mr. Cholmondeley came to visit me. Archdeacon Allen preached and dined with me. Dr. Haselwood the Lord Clarendon's chaplain, Mr. Cholmondeley, and Sir J. Aderene sat with me at night.'<sup>89</sup> Despite their different positions, the clergy demonstrated some preference for socialising with one another. Cartwright's visitation was practical and pastoral. Yet, it was also devotional in that he conducted prayers with his clergy and attended to their spiritual estate. Social propriety required hospitality from local clergymen, yet Cartwright also cultivated a domestic sociability in visiting clergymen. This was common to nonconformity. The activities of James Clegg were similar. On 13 March 1729 he recorded that he had preached at Derby and 'many ministers met and dined together.'<sup>90</sup> Conviviality, before and after devotional exercise, could be a means of securing friendships. Many of his closest friends were ministers and at times of strife they offered spiritual succour. After his wife's recovery from illness, Clegg recorded that on 28 June 1727 Mr. Kelsal and Mr Eaton came to his house 'in returning thanks to God for the mercies of the year past.'<sup>91</sup> The conviviality of lighter sociability perhaps

---

<sup>88</sup> Joseph Hunter (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester; Commencing at the time of his elevation to that See August MDCLXXXVI and terminating with the visitation of Mary Magdeleine College, Oxford, October MDCXXXVII*, Camden Society (London, 1843), p.11.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p.32.

<sup>90</sup> *Diary of James Clegg*, Vol. 1, p.53.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p.25.

worked to make communal devotional exercise all the more affecting and sincere. Clegg's friendship with other ministers frequently revolved around hearing others preach. On 23 March 1729 he recorded that he and Mr. Evatt went to hear Mr. Scholfield preach at Buxton, Mr. Evatt lodging with him for two nights.<sup>92</sup> Scholfield, likely Richard Scholfield, Presbyterian minister at Blackwater Street Chapel in Rochdale, Lancashire, was a close friend and Clegg records his staying over at least six times between 1729 and 1733.<sup>93</sup> It is clear from Clegg's account that hearing preachers was a sociable act of its own as he seldom went alone. This undoubtedly sought to play out his resolutions to be more serious and godly in the company that he kept. Company was of importance to all Christians, but perhaps no more so than for the ministry. They served as a means of example for their flocks. Among their concerns was fraternisation with the correct company to bring them to godly thoughts. James Clegg often resolved 'against [keeping] unsuitable company'.<sup>94</sup> He rebuked himself for being 'too light vain and sensual' when abroad and among company.<sup>95</sup> As such, proper comportment in company was a defining aspect of being a Christian but also importantly a minister. Here, an emerging sociability was mediated through devotion and godliness. Clegg and Cartwright alike demonstrated how clerical conviviality might not only live alongside a pious devotional affect but in fact influence it. The combination of the two deepened the clerical connections and a sense of discrete community.

---

<sup>92</sup> *Diary of James Clegg*, Vol. 1, p.52.

<sup>93</sup> Edward Baines, records Scholfield as ministering there a short time and dying in 1740, he was apparently preceded by Rev. Joseph Dawson who was minister there at least from 1706 and who died in 1739 *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster* (London, 1836), Vol. II., p.667; John Reynell Wreford records that a Rev. Radcliffe Scholfield, son of a Rev. Richard Scholfield was born 10 December 1733 at Rochdale, *Sketch of the history of Presbyterian nonconformity in Birmingham* (Birmingham, 1832), p.40; among the Subscribers to the 1765 edition of *The Nonconformist's Memorial* is a 'Rev. Mr. Richard Scholfield, Birmingham', p.xxvi further listed as a descendent of a Jonathan Scholfield ejected from Haywood Chapel in Dowgles, Lancashire (London, 1802) p.361.

<sup>94</sup> *Diary of James Clegg*, Vol. 1, p.1, Dec. 1708, see also pp.6 (4 January 1712), p.13 (March 1720).

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p.21, May 1725.

Philip Henry maintained close relationships with other ministers and their families. On 3 April 1665 Henry noted that 'Mr. Mainwarings two sons came again to table with us.'<sup>96</sup> He recorded on 12 September 1663 that

Mr. Parsons, Mr. Lawrence Mr. Thomas din'd wth us, Candles under a Bushel, lord, set us up again yt wee may give light in thy house. In ye afternoon wee visited Mr. Sadler in the same predicamt. – They compute above 100 Ministers, year wives & children within a few miles. *Jehova-ijreh* [sic].<sup>97</sup>

The experience of ejection, and persecution, undoubtedly bonded many nonconformist ministers together. This sociability of clerical families, perhaps set them apart from their cares, but it was a way to demonstrate both their position and their godliness. Such sociability was, of course, also a method of preferment, as in Henry Newcome Jr.'s case. Henry Prescott's sociability was similarly tinged by secular concerns. His fraternising with the great and good of the Chester civic elite belied a sociability similar to that of the Verney family as explored by Susan Whyman. Although on a smaller scale, Prescott's associations with the ecclesiastical and city leadership were a means of demonstrating his position. It perhaps allowed him to exert an influence not dissimilar to that of the polite Verney gentlewomen in pursuing the political, social and economic interests of their male relatives by domestic visits.<sup>98</sup> These efforts were, however, not narrowly mercenary. Prescott frequently recorded the sociability he shared with clerics in his diary. Though not a clergyman himself, his diary demonstrated how those employed by the established church socialised primarily with other churchmen and their

---

<sup>96</sup> *Diaries and letters of Philip Henry*, p.172.

<sup>97</sup> 'Jehovah- jireh', 'God will provide'; *Diaries and letters of Philip Henry*, pp.146-7.

<sup>98</sup> Susan Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural World of the Verneys 1660-1720* (Oxford, 1999), pp.4, 87-109, 178.

attendants. It also revealed how such friendships were constructed as devotional in character. Though Prescott at times, and many of the more elevated clergy he attended, demonstrated some venality, this was not without seriousness and piety. Attending upon the Bishop of Chester, Prescott frequently hosted visiting clergymen. These visits demonstrated the extent of his connections. An entry for 17 April 1704 noted that ‘The Bishop of Cloyn in the Evening sits with us, I treat him with the last Bottle of my wine sent by the Bishop of Man.’<sup>99</sup> The bishop stayed for six days and apparently enjoyed the fruits of Prescott’s associations. Such associations were not narrowly sociable, however.

Prescott frequently accompanied dinners and association with religious devotions. On 7 September 1704 a ‘day of thanksgiving’ at which the dean preached, he ‘dine[d] at my Lords [the Bishop of Chester] with a great company, thence to prayers, after to Pentice where I end the day with ArchDeacon Stratford in his chamber.’<sup>100</sup> Similarly on 10 September: ‘ArchDeacon Stratford reads prayers morning & Evening & preaches. In the Evening I am with him and the Chancellor, liberally entertained by Mr. Egerton at the Barn’.<sup>101</sup> Much as Philip Henry maintained relationships with the families of fellow-clergymen, so did Prescott, recording on 20 April 1704 that he was after ‘dinner with Alderman Allen, Bennet, Mrs. Fogg, Allen &c at the Falcon.’ Then after prayers he ‘waite[d] with the Recorder in the Vice Chamber, at Mr Bennets an hour or 2 thence to the Chancellor sup there on fine Beef and suffer

---

<sup>99</sup> Addy (ed.), *Diary of Henry Prescott*, Vol. 1, p.3.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p.19; William Stratford, son of Nicholas, Bishop of Chester, Archdeacon of Richmond 1703, Foster, *Alumni*, Vol. IV, p.1435.

<sup>101</sup> Addy (ed.), *Diary of Henry Prescott*, Vol. 1, p.19; Philip Egerton, 1707, rector of Barthomley 1704, and of Astbury 1706, and of Christleton (all in Cheshire) 1717, Foster, *Alumni oxonienses; the members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714* (Oxford, 1891), Vol. II, p.453.

for it.’<sup>102</sup> Mrs. Fogg was likely Lawrence Fogg, dean of Chester’s wife. Unlike Philip Henry, who had little positive to say about alehouses, Prescott clearly frequented local taverns on occasion. His attendance with the clerical and secular elite demonstrated the manner in which the alehouse would become seen as an ally to the political and ecclesiastical establishment. It perhaps also exposed the difference between his high-church and Henry’s nonconformist culture; certainly by 1708 Chester boasted at least two coffeehouses.<sup>103</sup> Prescott’s select social circle placed him among the provincial elite. Though not exclusively domestic in exercise, his associations were primarily clerical and were similar to Henry’s and Clegg’s in this regard; paralleling the emergence of a more socially stratified, and perhaps refined, sociability among the gentry.

Prescott’s sociability might have appeared more venal than his nonconformist counterparts. Certainly an entry for 12 September 1704 saw him follow on quickly from Archdeacon Stratford’s apocalyptically themed sermon on John 3. 19, ‘They love Darkness rather than light &c.’, to discussing ‘the Engagement betwixt Sir Geo. Rook and the French’ at the Castle Inn where he was treated by the governor very ‘liberally with good wine, wee stay past 10’.<sup>104</sup> Yet, the impact of such clerical friendships (Prescott attended the taverns he frequented with clerical counterparts) served to deepen their appreciation of devotional exercises. Friendships between ministers made mutual prayer and exhortation more meaningful. Clergymen of the north west of England maintained a strongly, though not exclusively, clerical milieu to this end. This was perhaps for very practical reasons, given their distinct, and often awkward, position

---

<sup>102</sup> Addy (ed.), *Diary of Henry Prescott*, Vol. 1, p.3; Thomas Bennett ‘Adm. Sizar (age 18) at Pembroke, June 11, 1680. S. of John, of Willatson, Cheshire. Matric. 1680; B.A. 1683-4’ Venn, *Alumni*, Part. 1, Vol., I, p.134.

<sup>103</sup> C. P. Lewis and A. T. Thacker (eds.), *A History of the County of Chester, Volume V, Part 1, The City of Chester General History and Topography* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.137-145.

<sup>104</sup> Addy (ed.), *Diary of Henry Prescott*, Vol. I, p.19.



within their social groups and hierarchies. Clerical associations were a safe choice for social interaction as a minister in changing times. Increased social stratification required some distance from their cares as did changing social mores regarding where and when clergymen were to socialise. A largely domestic sociability allowed these men to maintain their sense of social position and reputation among their communities. It paralleled the sociability of gentry of the period, which was employed to distinguish them from their social inferiors and, to a greater degree, exhibit their polite credentials. This was mediated, however, by piety for the clergymen explored here and so they cultivated a shared devotional practice among their social activities. Even where these clergymen did not eschew the tavern, for example, they cultivated associations with the provincial elite, distinguishing themselves and their position. These practices saw professional solidarity coupled with a personal one. It created a discrete community among ministers, perhaps unparalleled in other trades.

## Conclusion

---

For the greater part, the impact of ejection, persecution and then separation under Toleration made clerical communities more difficult to construct over the lines of conformity. These were not impossible, however, particularly where ejected ministers survived and maintained their connections with the established church, even passing these on to their children. This was, in part, the result of peculiar personalities. The vigorousness of the ministries of Philip and Matthew Henry and their desire to make alliances with conformity were influential in the cross-conformist association in their cases. Perhaps, these were also only possible in a place like the north west of England

where there had been longer traditions of latitude in church practice and where the defaults in the parish system perhaps made nonconformist ministries a less apparent danger than irreligion. Yet, even where there were tensions over ecclesiological issues, these were not insurmountable, particularly where clerical families were linked. Moreover, it was affect which in many ways served to draw the lines of clerical communities. Ministers on opposing sides of conformity admired one another's seriousness and earnestness in ministry. This mutual-appreciation allowed cooperation in the moral reform movement and even the appreciation of reputations that served their children and their associations in their careers. Even where lines of conformity were more difficult to bridge, in the formal offices of ministry and personal sociability, conformist and nonconformist clergymen alike shared in a similar culture of association. In ordination and in death particularly, clergymen constructed fraternities separate from the others explored in this thesis. They understood themselves as connected in discrete communities guided by similar affect. Moreover, their friendships served a devotional purpose entwining clerical conviviality with piety. There were certainly differences in approach, some, though not all of which corresponded with confession and party. Yet the whole was one of a shared culture of clerical solidarity. The increasingly peculiar position of the clergy within the social hierarchy, and within social mores regarding company, fellowship and conviviality, made these connections necessary for their own lives. Clerical sociability, however, also served to define their position. By associating themselves with one another on a voluntary and social basis, their shared piety constructed their social position and defined their own brand of politeness. The clergy defined themselves as a discrete social and devotional community.

The controversies surrounding conformity have been characterised as inherently problematic for the notion of Protestant Union in England after the reestablishment of the Church of England on narrow liturgical lines in 1662. Yet across the lines of conformity, English Protestants from 1660 to 1740 mediated the communities to which they belonged and constructed identities for themselves in reference to what can be understood as a 'national communion'. As Linda Colley noted, the Toleration Act was itself constructed as 'an effectual means to unite their Majesties' Protestant subjects'.<sup>1</sup> Colley's argument that Protestantism was a formative influence over the creation of a British identity from the 1707 Union of England and Scotland to the succession of Queen Victoria has received some revision. Yet while Tony Claydon and Ian McBride have questioned how far Protestantism could provide ideological support for a new nationalism, the close association between Britishness and Protestantism has been maintained.<sup>2</sup> Anthony D. Smith has argued that all nationalisms are, in part, dependent upon a religious narrative or at least religious discourses relating to covenanted peoples.<sup>3</sup> In part, appeals to the nation in devotional exercise by Protestants in the north west of England, was a means to mediate the issue of conformity. This was done in two principal ways. Firstly, nonconformists in particular, employed discourses which drew their communities more broadly than congregations of nonconformity. Attachment to the nation was a means of mitigating the effects of their dissent from the Book of Common Prayer and the services of the established church. Secondly, conformists and nonconformists understood the nation as a devotional community of its own. The idea

---

<sup>1</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn. (London, 2005) p.19.

<sup>2</sup> Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (eds.), *Protestantism and National Identity* (Cambridge, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples, Sacred Sources of National Identity* (Oxford, 2003), pp.4-6, 47, 54-64, 255.

of the nation was a source of significant affective piety, examples of which have been explored in the discussion of personal, familial and public worship. The participation of nonconformist congregations in national fasts demonstrated this well. When Samuel Angier recorded the death of Mary II as ‘Much lamented by all Protestants’, he drew bounds of community broader than conformity and bound by shared feeling.<sup>4</sup> This was particularly potent when biblical Israel was used to provide precedents for England. Conformists and nonconformists continued to be joined in this period by their membership of a national communion, which transgressed the boundary of conformity. The role of the nation in the devotional practices of these Protestants demonstrates the two central arguments of the thesis: the vitality and affectivity of religious life in the period and the cultural unity of English Protestants from the re-establishment of the Church of England to the Evangelical Revival.

Tensions and divisions over issues of national identity did, of course, take on confessional edges. Certainly many in England understood the Protestant interest as synonymous with that of the established church. This was, however, not universal even among conformists.<sup>5</sup> Exploration of voluntary religious practice demonstrated how Roger Lowe fell out with his conformist friends and neighbours over the issue of episcopacy. Edmund Harrold similarly recorded some friction with two of his wives over the issue of conformity to the Church of England. Both of these authors, however, only made very occasional references to national politics. Certainly Lowe made no mention of the restrictive acts against nonconformity of the Cavalier Parliament.<sup>6</sup> The death of Anne and the succession of George I was not universally praised in Manchester and in the following year Cross Street Chapel would fall victim to

---

<sup>4</sup> Earwaker, ‘Extracts... Dukinfield’, p.179.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew C. Thompson, *Britain, Hanover and the Protestant Interest, 1688-1756* (Woodbridge 2006), pp.11-12.

<sup>6</sup> *Diary of Roger Lowe*, p.3.

a Jacobite mob.<sup>7</sup> Harrold failed to record any of the destruction which accompanied the declaration of George I, but in an entry covering 21-23 March he noted that he drank to 'Dr Sacheveralls hea[l]th'.<sup>8</sup> As such his position was perhaps typically ambiguous.<sup>9</sup> While undoubtedly Sacheverallite and high-church, he did not appear to have been overtly Jacobite. At the other end of the spectrum, George Booth recorded on 2 August 1714 the 'Riotous and shamefull manner' in which some men passed through the city of Chester. Accompanied by a maypole they played 'the Tune "When the King injoy his owne againe,"' as well as 'swearing and cursing'.<sup>10</sup> Booth prayed on 14 November the following year, to be delivered from both 'popish and Protestant Jacobites' who threatened Preston. Peter Walkden, Presbyterian minister at Thornley near Chipping in Lancashire, noted on 23 July 1744 that at Chester 'several emisaries of ye Tory Party are employed Night & Day in raiseing a vast number of men from different Countys, who are to enter the City in a few days headed by a person of this County'.<sup>11</sup> These examples did little to promote national union among Protestants. They did, however, come at times of crisis; as much time was spent and ink spilled on generating a sense of unity among Protestants in the period.

Nonconformists, particularly those of a more moderate persuasion, were particularly keen to attach themselves to a broader communion, minimising the issue of conformity to the Church of England. Philip Henry, who had been ejected for failing to use the Book of Common Prayer or submit to episcopal re-ordination, sought nevertheless to draw his identity more broadly than Protestant nonconformity. He

---

<sup>7</sup> Monod, *Jacobitism*, pp.179-185.

<sup>8</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.118.

<sup>9</sup> Rogers, 'Riot and Popular Jacobitism', pp.70-82.

<sup>10</sup> Crawford, 'Diary of George Booth', pp.17-18.

<sup>11</sup> Henry Taylor, F.S.A., 'An Unpublished Diary of the Rev. Peter Walkden in 1733-4', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society* (JCAS) New Series, Volume 3 (1890), p.157.

made implicit and explicit associations with conformist counterparts, as was explored in his attendance at conformist services on Sundays. Upon taking up baptism he

desir'd the Congregation to bear witness, *That he did not Baptize that Child into the Church of England, nor into the Church of Scotland, nor into the Church of the Dissenters, nor into the Church at Broad-Oak, but into the visible Catholick Church of Iesus Christ.*<sup>12</sup>

Elsewhere in his diary he noted that among the things he did not like 'in the Independent way', included 'That they unchurch the nation'.<sup>13</sup> While he commended them for their discipline and mutual love, like most Presbyterian ministers of his generation, he maintained commitment to the notion of a church, which served the nation. He hoped for the restitution of liberty for those of tender consciences like himself but was unwilling to forgo attendance at the Church of England: '*For still (saith he) the Lord loves the Gates of Zion, more than all the Dwellings of Jacob, and so do I.*'<sup>14</sup> The appeal to Zion in his defence of his partial-conformity employed biblical Israel as a way to organise his identities. Philip Henry sought to minimise the differences between conformists and nonconformists (also the Church of Scotland). This helped mitigate his differences with those of the Church of England in particular. It also spoke to his identity with a national communion. He explicitly rejected the position of the Independents on the basis of a lack of recognition of national communion.

Declarations of attachment to a national church served to exonerate nonconformist ministers such as Philip Henry from accusations of schism or lack of

---

<sup>12</sup> Henry, *Life of Philip Henry*, p.177.

<sup>13</sup> *Diaries and letters of Philip Henry*, p.277.

<sup>14</sup> Henry, *Life of Philip Henry*, pp.107-8.

charity to the ministers of the Church of England. Yet, it is clear that there was a strongly affective element to this identification, which was more than merely politic. References to biblical Israel made this a strongly devotional way to structure multiple identities. This was demonstrated well by Philip's son Matthew Henry, who maintained that he had 'no Design in the least to maintain a party, or to keep up any Schismatical Faction, my Heart rises against the Thoughts of it'. It was his desire to offer his blood as 'Balsam... for the closing up of the bleeding Wounds of Differences that are amongst true Christians.'<sup>15</sup> Drawing upon strongly crucicentric imagery, he appealed to a shared form of identity; brethren among the true religion. On 18 October 1682, Matthew Henry drew up a list of 'Mercies received'; among these numbered 'That I was in my Infancy brought within the Pale of the visible Church in my Baptism'.<sup>16</sup> Matthew Henry's relationship with the visible church implicitly defined his Christian community as broader than that of his nonconformity. It was defined in strongly affective terms. His relationship with other Protestants in England was enjoined by his deeply felt piety.

Matthew Henry showed his father's opinions were in sympathy with that of local conformists. 'Dr. F. of *Whitchurch*', Henry argued, believed 'that the strict urging of *indifferent Ceremonies*, hath done more harm than good; and possibly (had all Men been left to their liberty therein) there might have been much more *Unity*, and not much less *Uniformity*.' Matthew Fowler, Rector of Whitchurch 1667-1676, it is noted refused to forgo the sign of the cross and godparents when baptising children even when their parents' consciences desired it. This was only, Henry accounted, because he felt obliged by oaths to do so. Nonetheless Fowler permitted administration of the sacrament of the Eucharist either sitting or kneeling depending upon which the communicant

---

<sup>15</sup> Tong, *Life of Matthew Henry*, p.53.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.28, 29.

preferred.<sup>17</sup> Local attempts for latitude of practice demonstrated how conformists identified closely with nonconformists, being sympathetic to their scruples. Despite a strong attachment to the Church of England, which he argued was ‘not exceeded by any other in Purity’, Richard Illidge professed ‘great Charity for Protestant Dissenters, that truly fear God, and love Religion’. He also attacked those who ‘swear, and curse, and be drunk, and stick at no Manner of Debauchery, and yet boast, that they are Church of *England* Men; God knows, these are a Disgrace to our Church, and a great Scandal to Religion’.<sup>18</sup> Illidge lambasted what he saw as hypocrisy from high-churchmen who demanded conformity and uniformity but turned a blind eye to sin.<sup>19</sup> Illidge’s community was constructed in reference to serious religiosity, rather than conformity. Their shared affection for, yet fear of, God bound him to Protestant nonconformists. Richard Kay sought to minimise the issue of conformity in his understanding of national devotional identity. He wrote of a nonconformist schoolmaster who local high-churchmen had sought to dislodge from his position. Kay denounced the high-churchmen as ‘Enemies to our National and Spiritual Priviledges and Liberties’. He called upon God, ‘Lord, Send us better Times, strengthen the Protestant Cause’.<sup>20</sup> In this construction, the national communion consciously included those who were in some manner ‘by law established’ even, like Kay, in their separation from the Church of England. The boundaries of identity, then, were mediated by a number of different issues, of which conformity was merely one. The Protestant nation loomed large, especially for nonconformists, as a means for them to continue to identify with the established church. In their attempts at local-level latitude, conformists demonstrated their identification with their nonconformist brethren where possible.

---

<sup>17</sup> Henry, *Life of Philip Henry*, pp.105-6.

<sup>18</sup> Henry, *Lieutenant Illidge*, p.67.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p.68.

<sup>20</sup> *Diary of Richard Kay*, p.124.



The nation was also a devotional device for these Protestants. The image of biblical Israel was drawn upon in personal, familial and public devotional exercise, to heighten affectivity of the practice and as a means of identity. In his treatise on family religion, Matthew Henry called his audience to ‘especially adore [God] as *the God of all the Families of Israel*, in Covenant-Relation to *them*’.<sup>21</sup> The national dimension was not to be far from their prayers. Families were to ensure ‘that praying *everywhere* we make Supplication for *the Queen, and all in Authority*, 1. Tim. 2. 2, 8’.<sup>22</sup> The national jeopardy was explicit; ‘If every Family were a *Praying Family*, Publick Prayers would be better *join’d with*’. ‘Tho’ he *see his Childrens Children*, he has small Joy of that if he do not see *Peace upon Israel*, *Psalm*. 128.5, 6.’<sup>23</sup> Similarly Henry Hammond, read by the high-churchman Thomas Brockbank, noted that the singing of the Psalms was a national obligation; ‘*Sing aloud, Take a Psalm, Blow up the Trumpet: For this was a Statute for Israel, and a Law of the God of Jacob*’.<sup>24</sup> The model of biblical Israel that Henry and Hammond provided for their audiences called them to consider their own spiritual identity through the prism of the covenanted nation. Their own spiritual estate would be in some way measured against their affective and devotional engagement with the nation. Sarah Savage, Matthew Henry’s sister, demonstrated concern for the nation in her personal devotions. On 21 October 1686 she noted ‘Thursda. Night was enabled by ye bl. Spt to bee very earnest wth God on ye behalf of ye nation, Esp. Gods own [pe]ople in it’.<sup>25</sup> Her engagement with prayer for the nation was affective; earnestness being a valued affect throughout her diary and more widely within godly life-writing. Her record did present some disunity within the nation, demonstrating care first for ‘God’s own people’ who were

---

<sup>21</sup> Henry, *Church in the House*, p.23.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p.29.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p.45.

<sup>24</sup> Henry Hammond, *The works of the reverend and learned Henry Hammond* (Oxford, 1683) n.p. [‘PREFACE’].

<sup>25</sup> *Diary of Sarah Savage*, n.p. [fol.3v].

constructed separately to the nation at large. This likely reflected ongoing tensions about the unsettled nature of Protestant nonconformity within England.

As Achsah Guibbory has noted, the employment of allusions to biblical Israel was a double-edged sword. England was just as susceptible to inherit Israel's punishments as her blessings.<sup>26</sup> This made it no less potent as a devotional device, even when these Protestants felt the wrath of divine chastisements. Such episodes in the life-writings demonstrated the extent to which a vigorous culture of providentialism was maintained into the eighteenth century. In '9<sup>th</sup> m. [1678]' Thomas Jolly retired and prayed not 'only with respect to the spirituall estate of myself and children but the tottering condition of these nations'.<sup>27</sup> The links between himself, his family and the nation at large as a spiritual community were clear within this passage. In a similar entry for 1679 he noted that 'My retiring in the 10<sup>th</sup> m. was to bemoan myself and Sion, my neighbours and the nations'.<sup>28</sup> This was an approach shared by Edmund Harrold. He recorded of the death of Queen Anne that there was 'great sorrow for her. I pray God to settle the kingdome in righteousness and peace'.<sup>29</sup> This referenced Psalm 85:10: 'Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other', the Psalm at large spoke of the redemption of Israel. On 6 August 1714 Harrold noted that he heard 'K[ing] Georges proclamation at London' whom he noted later was 'pray'd for at St. Anns Church this day. O God, send us peace'.<sup>30</sup> Echoing the language of the Psalmist, Harrold demonstrated his devotional and affective attachment to the nation. The relationship of the peace of England to the trials of biblical Israel made the nation a particularly important community within Harrold's devotional economy. This was

---

<sup>26</sup> Achsah Guibbory, *Christian Identity, Jews, and Israel in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2010), pp.104-6

<sup>27</sup> *Note book*, p.35 [November 1678].

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p.39.

<sup>29</sup> *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.106.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p.106.

supplemented when Dr. Wroe of the Collegiate Church in Manchester preached in the aftermath of the War of Spanish Succession and on a day designated for a thanksgiving for the peace secured between the European powers. On 7 July 1713, Harrold recorded that Wroe preached:

that God in his providence doth permit wars and confusion in ye world to chastise people and nations for yir sins, but he is a God of peace, and the author thereof to our nation, for wch we this day return him thanks and praise with al[] sincerity and devotion etc.<sup>31</sup>

Harrold's relationship with God was meditated through his membership of the nation. Much later in 1740 James Parker demonstrated how a sense of national communion was also drawn upon in commemoration of the Gunpowder Plot. He recorded that a 'Mr Ellinson' preached at Chorley on Esther 9:27-28. Parker copied out the verses in full as such:

Ye Jews ordained, and took upon them, and upon their Seed, and upon all such as Joyned themselves unto them, so as it should not fail, yt they would keep these two days According to their writing, and According to their Appointed time Every year and yt these days should be Remembered and Kept throughout Every generation, Every family, Every province, and Every City; and yt these

---

<sup>31</sup> 'For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints', 1 Corinthians 14:33; *Diary of Edmund Harrold*, p.80.

days of Purim should not fail from Among ye Jews, nor the memorial of them  
perish from their seed.<sup>32</sup>

The close association made here between Gunpowder Plot commemorations and the practices of the biblical Israelites spoke to a national communion among English Protestants. As conformists, Ellinson and Parker no doubt found this within the ordinances of the Church of England as set out by the Book of Common Prayer. The controversy of the restored liturgy continued to divide Protestants of the period but the nationalistic undertones of employment of this passage likened the English to the Jews as a nation. This device was arguably more encompassing than the boundaries of the established church were. Both Harrold and Parker, much as the nonconformist writers, understood the nation as an important devotional device. It mediated the communities to which they belonged, but also served as a focus of devotional affect.

\*\*\*

The role of the nation in the devotional practices of these Protestants demonstrates well the central contentions of this thesis. Firstly, it exhibits how Protestants of the period constructed a number of different identities for themselves. Some of these had little reference to the issue of conformity to the Church of England. Boundaries of community were drawn larger than denomination and appealed to culture and affective religiosity. Appeals to the nation as a discrete devotional community of its own also

---

<sup>32</sup> 'The Jews ordained, and took upon them, and upon their seed, and upon all such as joined themselves unto them, so as it should not fail, that they would keep these two days according to their writing, and according to their appointed time every year; And that these days should be remembered and kept throughout every generation, every family, every province, and every city; and that these days of Purim should not fail from among the Jews, nor the memorial of them perish from their seed', Esther 9:27-28; LRO, MS Hawkshead-Talbot of Chorley, DDHK 9/1/ 77, James Parker, n.p.

exhibited the second argument of this thesis: the central role of feeling in the religious lives of English Protestants between 1660 and 1740. More broadly, this thesis has demonstrated that new approaches to the religious cultures of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries are fundamental to assessing the religiosity of the period. Engaging with the developing discipline of the history of emotions and examining the life-writings of lay and clerical Protestants in the north west of England, it has questioned the utility of the historiographical narrative of a 'reaction against enthusiasm' within the period. Moreover, it has sought to demonstrate how despite the Great Ejection in 1662 and toleration of Protestant nonconformity in 1689, English Protestants were united by a common religious culture that transcended the line of conformity to the Church of England. Far from representing spiritual inertia in need of revival from the middle of the eighteenth century, the thesis has demonstrated how discourses of feeling were central to devotional practices among Protestants with varying levels of conformity to the established church. This represented a vibrant religious culture, where personal experience of God, mediated through feeling, remained central, and was not de-emphasized in favour of a more moralistic or formalistic approach to religion. This approach has informed two principal arguments. Firstly that the devotional practices of Protestants in the north west of England were constructive of five discrete, though interrelated, 'affective communities'. Personal religious practice, family religion, public worship, voluntary religion and clerical associations created communities which were characterised by an affective piety. Discourses of the heart abounded as did an understanding that religious activities were in part performed by feeling. The engagement of the affections and the heart were deemed essential to their fulfilment. Secondly, that these practices were spread evenly among English Protestants of different 'parties' and 'denominations'. Despite the emergence of politico-religious parties and denominations, they were united by a shared

culture and practice of devotion. The devotional habits of high-churchmen were not of significant difference to their nonconformist counterparts.

Within the period 1660 – 1740, strife between Protestants was notable in England, but cooperation was as common as conflict, if not more so, particularly on a local level. Certainly sectarian aggression could break out as it did in 1714, which saw the destruction of Cross-Street Chapel by a mob purporting to defend the Church of England. Moreover, the gentlewomen Lady Drake and Lady Bland defined their social groups by reference to their low-church/nonconformist and high-church affiliations. This was not universal. For all of his high-church sympathies, Edmund Harrold demonstrated little Jacobitism or hostility to the Hanoverian succession. The marriage to his third wife saw him attend St Ann's more frequently than he had before. Lay men and women, particularly nonconformists, continued to attend sermons promiscuously. The quality of the preacher often took precedence over his conformity to the Church of England. Conformists were perhaps rather more reluctant to attend nonconformist services, but they nonetheless read broadly and gadded outside of their parish when the time called for it. Moreover, clerics maintained personal and professional networks. They worked together in formal ways within the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, as well as nonconformists often attending the sermons of their successors. Mutual attendance at each other's funerals, ordinations and preaching excursions also demonstrated a shared culture by conformist and nonconformist ministers, even where this did not break the boundaries of conformity to the established church. They maintained personal friendly relationships as well, particularly while the Bartholomean generation still lived. This contributed to a sense of unity on the whole; certainly it was one that was sufficient enough to ensure that Henry Newcome could use his

connections to secure a position within the Church of England in spite of his own ejection.

The various parties of English Protestantism were united in their approach to personal religiosity. Their engagement with feeling on this front was more thorough than has been appreciated. In their personal devotions Protestants of significantly different outlooks shared an intense relationship with God, which was defined by the ability to appreciate the divine through the senses. Reason played an important role, but this was also approached through an affective understanding of the relationship between God and man. The heart was the centre of cognition and feeling which worked together in this pursuit. Meditative affect at familial devotions was understood as important by even high-churchmen; this despite family religion having a reputation as being attached to a more 'evangelical' agenda. The family was an important unit of devotion for Protestants of all stripes who even kept up communal religious activities even when they were separated from one another. The sequences of public worship were also similar, particularly in regards to the sacrament. The life-writers across confessional positions understood the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as the affective crescendo of the devotional economy. Public worship itself was the mediating aspect of the devotional lives of these Protestants. It was a source of strong affective reactions and also their primary object. Similarly, voluntary religious practice recommended a strongly affective religion to its adherents. Despite notions that religious societies sought primarily to instil moral values, personal devout affect was the aim of much of the literature of the SPCK. It was also a strong feature of devotional friendships. Personal relationships between individual Protestants were understood as important to their devotional affect. Friendly affections were thus conveyed to mutual prayer, yet prayer and religious exercise also characterised friendship. These devotional friendships

were of significant importance for the emotional lives of the Protestant life-writers and their spiritual estate. Clerical communities were similarly constructed over friendships between individual ministers. These were maintained strongly across the line of conformity. They permitted cooperation on the moral reform movement, but also on a local level could be exploited to promote career progression.

Further areas of study this thesis has pointed to include the exploration of devotional communities and how they were mediated in different parts of the country. The persistence of Catholic recusancy in the north west of England as well as the peculiarity of the parish structures in the north perhaps made cooperation between conformists and nonconformists more appealing. There have been studies regarding the relationship between conformity and dissent in a number of areas of England. These have not always, however, focussed on devotional culture and practice, but rather assessed the relative levels of conflict in these regions. A greater focus on the peculiarity of community-building and devotional habits in different English regions could provide further insights about the national cultures of Protestantism. A greater focus on the devotional and religious element inherent within eighteenth-century sociability might also be examined. The emergence of cultures of sociability has often pitted this culture against existing forms of fellowship and company, and pitched it as a motor of modernity, with at least a laicised or de-Christianised emphasis. The role of informal networks of association, linked by friendship and shared religiosity, however, seem to have persisted significantly. This was as true of conformists as nonconformists. As such, further areas of study might continue to address the novelty of the cultures emerging from the Evangelical Revivals. Methodism, in particular, has been understood as peculiarly emotional, engaging with new forms and languages of feeling. Yet, more precedents might be found within late seventeenth- and early eighteenth century



English Protestantism. This might also produce further reflections on the emergence of the evangelical movement, producing narratives of continuity rather than change.

The thesis has contributed to three strands of historiographical discussion. It has reacted to calls from Thomas Dixon to add more nuance to the understanding of pre-modern feeling and its linguistic construction. By examining the multiple forms of feeling in the pre-modern period it demonstrates how these were central to the practice of piety in the period.<sup>33</sup> It thus critiques the notion that the lexicological shift of the mid-eighteenth century (with its attendant valorisation of ‘sensibility’) produced faiths of a more inherently ‘emotional’ nature.<sup>34</sup> Instead, it suggests that the role of the affections and the heart remained central to the performance of devotional practice among a broad spectrum of Protestantism. The thesis has examined explicitly the linguistic construction and role of feeling within these texts, and within the practice of devotions in the period. It challenges the idea that greater or lesser emotionality can be attributed to particular religious movements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Rather the thesis, in part, rescues quiet emotions and those whose emotional display and range was on the more sedate side, from the enormous condescension of posterity. These Protestants, who valued an interior piety of intense religious experience, if without exuberant display, exhibited as strongly felt a religiosity, as those who routinely shed tears and convulsed with the Holy Spirit.

The thesis addresses Monique Scheer’s proposition that emotions were a form of practice.<sup>35</sup> Certainly in many of the episodes and extracts explored by the thesis these pre-modern Protestants understood feeling as a form of action. The influence of the

---

<sup>33</sup> Dixon, *From Passion*, pp.13-54.

<sup>34</sup> Mack, *Heart Religion*, pp.16-20.

<sup>35</sup> Scheer, ‘Are Emotions a Type of Practice’, pp.193-220.

affections upon the heart in devotional practice was important, not least as the heart was itself understood as a medium of action, promoting practice. Moreover, feeling was performative, in that the devotions engaged with by early modern Protestants were only understood to be functionally completed when their affections and their hearts had been engaged. It contributes to Barbara Rosenwein's exploration of emotional communities, demonstrating how Protestants moved between communities, and how multiple communities could be a quotidian aspect of life.<sup>36</sup> Individual Protestants were instrumental in forming a number of communities to which they belonged, depending upon which devotional practice they were exercising. In their personal, familial, public, voluntary and even clerical associations they were active in forging communities of faith which structured their mediation of the devotional economy. It thus seeks to question and qualify the rise of human ability and agency, at the expense of the experience of God and grace, within the faith of the period.<sup>37</sup> Understandings of reason were tinged by the regenerative power of grace over human understanding. Moreover, it was understood as imperative by Protestants of all persuasions to have divine truths affect the heart. Feeling was thus an indispensable aspect of cognition in the period, which had a strong impact upon devotional practice. Sermons and sacraments were not to be narrowly instructive in personal morality (as has been suggested of the low-church and Presbyterian traditions), nor were they to be engaged with in a mechanistic fashion that lauded practice as an end of its own (supposedly characteristic of the high-church tradition). Where there was a disagreement over form (ex tempore vs rote prayer for example) this was one over the best way to inform affect. As such, the thesis draws upon the languages of feeling in the period to demonstrate how these remained important to religious practice. By understanding how feeling was understood to work

---

<sup>36</sup> Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, pp.1-29.

<sup>37</sup> Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment*.

contemporaneously, it avoids stereotypes of the period, which have pointed to themes of emotion without exploring their linguistic and subjective construction.

The thesis also speaks to the historiography surrounding the settlement of 1662. It thus touches on the related issues of the nature of conformity and nonconformity, the fortunes of 'godly culture' and the characteristics of early modern Protestantism. It takes John D. Ramsbottom's thesis of partial-conformity and expands upon its scope, suggesting that it extended well into the eighteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, through reading practices the lines of conformity were further blurred. It suggests that despite narratives that have understood godly culture declining, particularly from 1689, it retained in its authentic form in a small remnant of Protestant nonconformity, all sections of English Protestantism continued to be influenced by its cultural habitus.<sup>39</sup> Even those of high-church persuasions continued to promote personal experience of God, extra-liturgical and extra-parochial practices such as family religion and voluntary association, even gadding to sermons. Despite the fall of the 'Puritan Revolution' and the Cavalier reaction in the early 1660s, the preoccupations of godly culture were adopted and/or maintained within and without the established church. A stricter sabbatarianism saw the end of 'permissible sports' of the Caroline and Laudian regimes. Tory bishops and their attendants were enthusiastic adopters of the moral reform movement, even engaging with dissenters in this pursuit. Focussing on devotional practices rather than polemic, the thesis finds little evidence of increasingly stratified or alienated religious cultures among English Protestants. In quotidian experience 'conformist', 'nonconformist', 'low-churchman', 'high-churchman', 'Presbyterian', 'Independent', 'congregationalist', 'non-juror' remained contested and fluid identities.

---

<sup>38</sup> Ramsbottom, 'Presbyterians and "Partial Conformity"', pp.249-270.

<sup>39</sup> Spurr, *English Puritanism, 1603-1689*; Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England*.

Authors of devotional texts continued to reference those of apparently contrasting devotional cultures to their own. The stress on an experiential piety, among all parties, demonstrated a shared culture, one that has important implications for the nature of early modern Protestantism. Much good work has been done on the communal nature of early modern Protestantism, which this thesis does not dissent from. It does, however, re-establish the role of individual experience within these narratives. Corporate devotions of English Protestants of this period were mediated by the individual and by the senses. The point was to cultivate a personal and strongly affective internal piety through collective practices. Personal experience was dependent upon the collective and social element of devotional practice. Yet this practice was itself intended to enhance personal experience as much as it was in the forging of a collective identity.

The thesis thirdly speaks to the historiography surrounding provincial cultures and the varying strength of the church in different parts of England. It seeks to revise Jan Albers' thesis, which understood religious allegiance as a source of conflict, by demonstrating how cooperation was as strong an aspect of this culture.<sup>40</sup> Undoubtedly, calls of the 'church in danger' and divides between conformists and nonconformists, as well as high- and low-churchmen were a potent source of division within political culture. In devotional culture however, Protestants in the region continued to share much. Protestantism was strong in the region, not merely as a proxy for political conflict, but also because the devotional lives of its adherents remained full and well-catered for by the conforming and nonconforming ministry. This is not to ignore the logistical issues faced by the Church of England in the period, many of which, as M. F.

---

<sup>40</sup> Albers 'Seeds of Contention'.

Snape points out, were not really addressed.<sup>41</sup> Many life-writers, however, reported full devotional lives mediated primarily by public worship.

Thus this thesis addresses two of the abiding narratives of Protestantism in the Restoration period and into the eighteenth century and re-evaluates their currency. Religion of this period has been shown to be vital; engaging the heart with very few concessions to the increasing 'rationality' of the age. In fact, the thesis has demonstrated how the relationship the Protestants explored here had to reason had significant Reformation and post-Reformation precedents, which were drawn upon. Secondly, the thesis has argued that unity among Protestants, however imperfect, was the primary mediating principle of this period and region between congregations of conformity and dissent; as opposed to narratives which have posited a descent into an alienated denominationalism among English Protestants between the re-establishment of the Church of England and the emergence of the Evangelical Revival.

---

<sup>41</sup> Snape, *Church of England*, pp.193-9.

## Bibliography

---

### **Primary Sources**

#### Archival Sources

##### **British Library, London**

Add MS 42849: 1661-1805, *Papers, Mainly of Philip Henry (1631-1696), nonconformist divine, his family and descendants 1661-1805* (henceforth: *Henry Papers*).

##### **Cambridge University Library**

SPCK MS D2/1, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Abstract Letter Books, 1699 -1701.

SPCK MS D2/3, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Abstract Letter Books 1708-1709.

SPCK MS D2/4, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Abstract Letter Books, 1708-1711.

##### **Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies (C.C.A.L.S), Chester**

DBASTEN (collection) Papers relating mainly to the Henry Family.

EDV (collection) Dioceses of Chester Records.

Jones, P., *Richard Illidge, 1637-1709*, Private Publication by Peter Jones, PO Box 119 Nantwich CW5 5UD 2002 Illus, Ref: 21624.

MF (collection) Non-Parochial Registers.

MS. 201342, *The Diary of Robert Bulkeley of Bulkeley 30 August 1714 – 7 December 1729*, transcribed by C. E. Welch.

QRD (collection) Cheshire Quarter Session Records.

Z QSF (collection) City of Chester Quarter Sessions Records.

##### **John Rylands University Library Special Collections (JRULSC), Manchester**

Eng. MS 1041 (box 1), 1658-1811, *Nicholson Papers: Family Letters and Papers, (1658 – 1811)*.

##### **Manchester Libraries, Information and Archives, Manchester Central Library, Manchester**

MS 922.3.N21, *Diary of Henry Newcome (1650-1712), Rector of Tattenhall, Cheshire (1675-1701) and later Rector of Middleton, 1696-1713*.

##### **Lancashire Record Office (LRO), Preston**

DDHK (collection) MS Hawkshead-Talbot of Chorley.

## The Clergy of the Church of England Database

*The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835,*

<<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>>.

### Newspapers and Periodicals

*The Congregational Magazine*

### Printed Material

[Allestree, R.], *Whole Duty of Man* (London, 1704).

Addy, J., (ed.). *The Diary of Henry Prescott, LLB., Deputy Registrar of Chester Diocese, Vol. 1, 28 March 1704-24 March 1711*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol. 127 (Gloucester, 1987).

Addy, J., and McNiven, P. (eds.), *The Diary of Henry Prescott, LLB., Deputy Registrar of Chester Diocese, Vol. 2, 25 March 1711-24 May 1719*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire Vol. 132 (Oxford and Northampton, 1994).

Addy, J., Harrop, J., and McNiven, P., (eds.), *The Diary of Henry Prescott, LLB., Deputy Registrar of Chester Diocese, Vol. 3 Latin Diary 9 June 1689-31 July 1690, Miscellaneous entries 1683, 1691-1707, Appendices, Indexes*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire Vol. 133 (Stroud, 1997).

Ambrose, I., *The compleat works of that eminent minister of Gods word Mr. Isaac Ambrose, consisting of these following treatises, viz: prima, mediate ultima: or the first, middle and last things. Wherein is set forth: I the doctrine of regeneration, of the new birth. II. The practice of sanctification, in the means, duties, ordinances, both private and publick, for continuance and increase of a godly life. III. Certain meditations of mans misery, in his life, death, judgement, and execution: as also of Gods mercy, in our redemption, and salvation. With a sermon added, concerning redeeming the time. Looking unto Jesus, as carrying on the great work of mans salvation. War with devils, ministration of, and communion with angels* (London, 1674).

Anon., *A Letter from a Member of the Society for promoting of Christian Knowledge in London, to his friend in the Country, newly chosen a corresponding Member of that Society* (London, 1709).

Anon., *A pastoral letter from a minister to his parishioners being an earnest exhortation to them to take care of their souls, and a preparative in order to render all his future methods of instruction more effectual to their edification*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edn. (London, 1702).

Anon., *The Church Catechism Broke Into Short Questions: to which is Added, an Explanation of Some Words, for the Easier Understanding of It. Together with Prayers for the Use of the Charity-schools* (London, 1709).

B. A., *Reasons for uniting the church and dissenters: wherein the objections of those people against the Form of Baptism, Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Burial of the Dead, and other rights and ceremonies of the Church of England, are deliberately and impartially consider'd. To which is annex'd, a liturgy: Composed for the Use as well of the Church, as of Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, &c. In order to reduce those People to one Communion, for the Glory of God, and the Advancement and Promotion of Religion. Dedicated to Her Majesty* (London, [1730]).

- Baxter, R., *Saints everlasting rest*, edn. 6. part 2 (London 1656).
- Baxter, R., *The Certainty of the World of Spirits* (London, 1691).
- Beveridge, W., *A sermon concerning the excellency and usefulness of the common prayer preached by William Beveridge ... 27th of November. 1681* (London 1682).
- Beveridge, W., *The great necessity and advantage of publick prayer, and frequent communion. Designed to revive primitive piety. By the Right Reverend Father in God William Beveridge, D. D. Late Lord Bishop of Asaph* (London, 1708).
- Beveridge, W., *The nature and necessity of restitution. On Luke. XIX. 8. By the Right Reverend Father in God William Beveridge, D.D. late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph* (London, 1711).
- Bolde, S., *A sermon against persecution* (London, 1682).
- Bolde, S., *a plea for moderation* (London, 1682).
- Bradford, S., *A Discourse concerning Baptismal and Spiritual Regeneration* (London, 1708).
- Bray, T., *An appendix to the discourse upon the doctrine of our baptismal covenant being a method of family religion* (London, 1699).
- Bray, T., *A short discourse upon the doctrine of our baptismal covenant, being an exposition upon the preliminary questions and answers of our church-catechism* (London, 1700).
- Bray, T., *An appendix to the discourse upon the doctrine of our baptismal covenant being a method of family religion* (London, 1699).
- Burnet, E., *A method of devotion: or, rules for holy & devout living, with prayers on several occasions, and advices & devotions for the Holy Sacrament. In two parts* (London, 1708).
- Caulfield, B., *Essay on the immateriality and immortality of the soul* (London, 1778).
- Cawdrey, N., *Preparation for Martyrdom* (London, 1681).
- Cleaver, W., *A Sermon on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper Preached Before the University of Oxford at St. Mary's on Sunday, 25 November 1787*, 2nd edn. (Oxford 1790).
- Comber, T., *A discourse concerning daily frequenting the common prayer by Thomas Comber* (London, 1687).
- Cosin, J., *Works*, 4 vols., vol.1. (Oxford, 1863).
- Cottle, B., and Crossley Evans, M. J., 'A Nonconformist Missionary Journey to Lancashire and Cheshire in July 1672', in Kermode, J. I. and Philips, C. B. (eds.), *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, for the Year 1987*, Vol. 137 (Liverpool, 1988), pp.77-91.



Crawford, G. B., 'The Diary of George Booth of Chester and Katherine Howard, His Daughter, of Boughton, near Chester, 1707-1764', in *Journal of Chester Archaeological Society*, New Series, Vol. 28. (Part I., 1928).

*Crummes of Comfort and Godly Prayers with Thankful Remembrance of God's Wonderful Deliverances of this Land* (London, 1635).

Dawes, W., *Of the right use, and abuse, of the things of this world: a sermon preach'd before the Queen at her Royal Chapel at St. James's on Sunday, March the 16th, 1711/12. By William, Lord Bishop of Chester* (London, 1712).

Dean, R., *On the future life of brutes, introduced with observations upon evil, its nature and origin* (London, 1767).

*Diaries and letters of Philip Henry, M.A: of Broad Oak, Flintshire, A.D. 1631-1696*, Lee, M. H., (ed.) (London, Trench 1882).

Disney, J., *An Essay Upon the Execution of the Laws Against Immorality and Prophaneness: With a Preface Address'd to Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace* (London, 1710).

'Diary of Lieutenant Richard Illidge of Wybunbury: Administrative History,' <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/7f94d92c-d228-4f51-a064-f52910d68f19>, [last accessed 26/01/2017].

Donne, J., *A Sermon of Commemoration of the Lady Danvers* (London, 1627).

Earwaker, J. P., 'Extracts from the Registers of the Non-Conformist Chapel, Dukinfield, kept by the Rev. Samuel Angier, 1677 to 1713', in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Session 1880-81, Volume XXXIII (Liverpool, 1881), pp.169-194.

Edward, J., *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (London, 1746).

Flavel, J., *Sacramental Meditations upon divers select places of Scripture* (London, 1679).

Gibson, E., *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper Explain'd: Of the Things to be Known and Done, to Make a Worthy Communicant: with Suitable Prayers and Meditations ...* (London, 1705).

Gordon, A., (ed.), *Cheshire Classis Minutes 1691-1745 edited for the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire* (London, 1919).

Gouge, T., *The Principles of Christian Religion* (London, 1668).

Gouge, T., *The Surest & Safest Way of Thriving* (London, 1674).

Gouge, W., *Of Domesticall Duties* (London, 1622).

Hammond, H., *The works of the reverend and learned Henry Hammond* (Oxford, 1683).

Henry, M., 'A Brief Account of the Life and Death of Doctor John Tylston', in *The Miscellaneous Works of Matthew Henry: Containing in Addition to Those Heretofore Published, Numerous Sermons, Now First Printed from the Original manuscript; an Appendix, on What*

*Christ is Made to Believers in Forty Real Benefits and a Preface*, Williams, J. B., (ed.) (London, 1830), pp.959-966.

Henry, M., *A Church in the House, A sermon concerning family-religion. Publish'd at the request of some who heard the substance of it preach'd in London* (London, 1704).

Henry, M., *An account of the life and death of lieutenant Illidge, chiefly drawn out of his own papers by M. Henry*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn. 'Corrected' (London, 1720).

Henry, M., *An Exposition of All the Books of the Old and New Testament... in Six Volumes*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edn. Vol. I (London, 1725).

Henry, M., *An Exposition of the Five Poetical Books of the Old Testament viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Solomon's Song*, Vol. III (London, 1725).

Henry, M., *Directions for daily communion with God: in three discourses, shewing how to begin, how to spend, and how to close every day with God* (London, 1715).

Henry, M., *Self-consideration necessary to self-preservation:: or, the folly of despising our own souls, and our own ways; Open'd in two sermons to young people* (London 1713).

Henry, M., *The Communicant's Companion: Or instructions and Helps for the Right Receiving of the Lord's Supper* (London, 1704).

Henry, M., *An account of the life and death of Mr. Philip Henry, minister of the gospel near Whitechurch in Shropshire, who dy'd June 24, 1696, in the sixty fifth year of his age* (London, 1698).

Hoadley, B., *A Persuasive to Lay-Conformity, Or the Reasonableness of Constant Communion with the Church of England, Represented to the Dissenting Laity* (London, 1704).

Hoadly, B., *A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper* (London, 1735).

Hopkins, E., *The almost Christian discovered...* (London 1693).

'House of Commons Journal Volume 9: 12 January 1674', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 9, 1667-1687* (London, 1802).

Hunter, J., (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester; Commencing at the time of his elevation to that See August MDCLXXXVI and terminating with the visitation of Mary Magdeleine College, Oxford, October MDCXXXVII*, Camden Society (London, 1843).

Jackson, L., *An Examination Of a Book intituled The True Gospel of Jesus Christ Asserted, By Thomas Chubb: And also of His Appendix on Providence* (London, 1739).

Jolly, T., *A Vindication of the Surey Démoniack* (London, 1698).

Jolly, T., *The Surey Démoniack: or, An Account of Satan's Strange and Dreadful Actings in and about the Body of Richard Dugdale of Surey, near Lancashire* (London, 1697).

Kermode, J. I. and Philips, C. B. (eds.), *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, for the Year 1987*, Vol. 137 (Liverpool, 1988).

Kimber, E., *The Life and Adventures of James Ramble* 2 vols., Vol. I. (London, 1755).

Lavington, G., *A Sermon preach'd before the House of Lords* (London 1747).

Le Clerc, J., *Five letters concerning the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures translated out of French* (London, 1690).

Lewis, J., *The Church Catechism Explain'd* (London, 1702).

Matthews, A. G., (ed.), *Calamy revised : being a revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford, 1934).

McNiven, P., (ed.), *Jacobites and Jacobins; Two Eighteenth-Century Perspectives*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol. CXLII (2006).

Mead, M., *En oligi Christianos: the Almost Christian Discovered* (London, 1662).

Moss, R., *Sermons and discourses on practical subjects: never before printed. By Robert Moss, Late Dean of Ely, and preacher to the Honourable Society of Greys-Inn. Publish'd from the Originals at the Request of the said Society. With a preface giving some account of the author by a Learned Hand*, 4 Vols., Vol. 1. (Cambridge 1732).

Nichols, J., (ed.), *Bishop William Nicholson's Episcopal Correspondence*, 2. Vols. (London, 1809).

Norris, J., *Practical Discourses upon several Divine Subjects* (London 1691).

Norris, J., *Practical discourses upon several divine subjects. Written by John Norris, M.A. rector of Newton St. Loe, near Bath, and late Fellow of All-Souls College in oxford. Licens'd, July 16, 1691. Z. Isham* (London, 1691).

Payne, W., *Family religion: or, the duty of taking care of religion in families, and the means of doing it: recommended in a sermon preached at guild-hall chappel before the lord mayor and court of aldermen, on Sunday February 22th 1690/91* (London, 1691).

Rawlet, J., *The Christian Monitor containing an earnest exhortation to an holy life, with some directions in order thereto: written in a plain and easie style, for all sorts of people* (London, 1686).

Rawlet, J., *The Christian Monitor*; Thomas Bray, *The acts of Dr. Bray's visitation held at Annapolis in Maryland May 23, 24, 25 anno 1700* (London, 1700).

Scot, J., *The Christian life from its beginning to its consummation in glory: together with the several means and instruments of Christianity conducing thereunto, with directions for private devotion and forms of prayer, fitted to the several states of Christians* (London, 1681).

Scot, J., 'Of the Christian Life, Part III', in *The works of the reverend and learned John Scott, D. D. Some time Rector of St. Giles's in the Fields. In two volumes. Containing the several parts of The Christian life; with his sermons and discourses Upon many Important Subjects. To which is added, a*

*sermon preach'd at his funeral, by Z. Isham, D.D. With a large index: Of Texts of Scripture purposely insisted on, or occasionally explain'd: And an Alphabetical Table of the Principal Matters contain'd in the Whole*, Vol. I. (London, 1718).

Sharp, T., *The Life and Times of John Sharp D. D. Lord Archbishop of York...* Vol. 1 (London, 1825).

Shower, J., *Family religion in three letters to a friend* (London 1694).

Shower, J., *Sacramental Discourses* (London, 1702).

Slater, S., *An earnest call to family-religion, or, A discourse concerning family-worship being the substance of eighteen sermons / preached by Samuel Slater* (London, 1694).

Stanley, W., *The Faith and Practice of a Church of England-Man* (London, 1688).

Taylor F.S.A., H., 'An Unpublished Diary of the Rev. Peter Walkden in 1733-4', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society* (JCAS) New Series, Volume 3 (1890), p151-161.

Taylor, J., *Works*, Heber, R., (ed.), 15 Vols., Vol. 5 (London, 1828).

Taylor, Z., *Popery, Superstition Ignorance and Knavery Confess'd and fully Prov'd on the Surey Dissenters* (London, 1699).

Taylor, Z., *The Surey Impostor, being an Answer to a Late Fanatical Pamphlet entituled The Surey Demoniacke* (London, 1697).

*The Autobiography of Henry Newcome*, M. A., Parkinson, R., (ed.), In Two Volumes, Chetham Society O.S. Vol. 26, Vol. I and II (Manchester, 1852).

*The Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England: together with The psalter, or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches* (London, 1662).

*The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington, master of Jesus College, Cambridge, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Etc., Etc.*, Vol. 2, Part. 1 Crossley, J., (ed.), Chetham Society Publications, O.S. Vol. 36 (Manchester, 1855).

*The Diary and Letter Book of the Rev. Thomas Brockbank 1671-1709*, Trappes-Lomax, R., (ed.), Chetham Society, New Series Vol. 89 (Manchester, 1930).

*The Diary of Edmund Harrold, Wigmaker of Manchester 1712-15*, Horner, C., (ed.) (Aldershot, 2008).

*The diary of James Clegg of Chapel en le Frith, 1708-1755*, 3 Vols., Doe, V. S., (ed.), Vols.1-3 (Matlock, 1978-1981).

*The Diary of Richard Kay, 1716-51, of Baldingstone, near bury, a Lancashire Doctor*, Brockbank, W., and Kenworthy, F., (eds.), Chetham Society, Third Series, Vol. 16 (Manchester, 1968).

*The Diary of Roger Lowe of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire 1663-74*, Sasche, W. L., (ed.), (London, 1938).

*The diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome: from September 30, 1661, to September 29, 1663*, Thomas Heywood (ed.) (Manchester, 1849).

“‘The life of Timothy Cragg of Chappelhouse in Wyresdale written by himself’ – transcribed from the original mss by his great grandson David Cragg in 1797 – transcribed by Timothy E Cragg of Greenbank Canada grandson of the above mentioned Timothy Cragg in 1886. ‘The writings of the Cragg Family of Wyresdale’, Navickas, K., (ed.), in Oates, J., (ed.), *Jacobites and Jacobins; Two Eighteenth-Century Perspectives*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol. CXLII, (2006), pp.47-52.

*The Miscellaneous Works of Matthew Henry: Containing in Addition to Those Heretofore Published, Numerous Sermons, Now First Printed from the Original manuscript; an Appendix, on What Christ is Made to Believers in Forty Real Benefits and a Preface*, Williams, J. B., (ed.) (London, 1830).

*The Nonconformist’s Memorial* (London, 1802).

*The Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly A.D. 1671-1693, Extracts from the Church Book of Altham and Wymondhouses A.D. and an Account of the Jolly Family of Standish. Gorton, and Altham*, Fishwick, H., (ed.), Chetham Society New Series Vol.33 (Manchester, 1894).

*A Directory for the Publique Worship of God throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Together with an ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer: and for establishing and observing of this present directory throughout the Kingdome of England, and dominion of Wales. With propositions concerning church-government, and ordination of ministers.* (London, 1650).

*The works of the reverend and learned John Scott*, 2. Vols. Vol. 1. (London, 1718).

Tillotson, J., *Six sermons* I. *Stedfastness in religion.* II. *Family-religion.* III. IV. V. *Education of children.* VI. *The advantages of an early piety : preached in the church of St. Lawrence Jury in London / by ... John Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.* (London 1694).

Tong, W., *An account of the life and death of Mr. Matthew Henry, minister of the gospel at Hackney, who dy’d June 22, 1714 in the 52d year of his age* (London, 1716) .

Wall, W., *The History of Infant-Baptism in Two Parts* (London, 1705).

Welchman, E., *The husband-man’s Manual: directing him how to improve the several action of his calling, and the most usual occurrences of his life, to the glory of God, and the Benefit of His Soul. The Third Edition corrected and enlarged,. Written by a minister in the country for the use of his parishioners* (London, 1706).

Whitby, D., *The protestant reconciler* (London, 1683).

Whitby, D., *The protestant reconciler: part two* (London, 1683).

Williams, A. M., *Conversations at Little Gidding* (Cambridge, 1970).

Wilson, T., *Plain and Short Directions and Prayers For Particular persons, For Families, For the Lord's-Day, For the Lord's Supper, For the time of Sickness &c., in the Language and for the use of the Diocese of Man* (London, 1707).

Wilson, T., *The principles and Duties of Christianity: being A Further Instruction for Such as have Learned the Church-catechism, For the Use of the Diocese of Man. In English and Manks. Together with Short and Plain Directions and Prayers For Particular persons, For Families, For the Lord's-Day, For the Lord's Supper, For the time of Sickness &c.* By Thomas, Lord Bishop of Sodore and Man (London, 1707).

Woodward, J., *An Account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners...* (London, 1699).

## **Secondary**

Achilleos, S., 'Friendship and Good Counsel: the Discourses of Friendship and Parrhesia in Francis Bacon's *The Essayes of Counsels, Civill and Morall*', in Classen, A., Sandridge, M., and De Gruyter, W., (eds.), *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Explorations of a Fundamental Ethical Discourse* (Berlin, 2010).

Albers J., 'Seeds of Contention: Society, Politics and the Church of England in Lancashire, 1689-1790', PhD Dissertation, Yale University (1988).

Albers, J., 'Papist Traitors' and 'Presbyterian Rogues': religious identities in eighteenth-century Lancashire' in Walsh, J., Hayden, C., and Taylor, S., (eds.) *The Church of England c.1689 – 1833, From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993).

Alberti, F. B., *Matters of the Heart: History, Medicine, and Emotion* (Oxford, 2010).

Allen W.O. B., and McClure, E., *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898* (New York, N.Y. 1971).

Appleby, D., *Black Bartholomew's Day: preaching, polemic and Restoration nonconformity* (Manchester 2012).

Ashcraft, R., 'Latitudinarianism and Toleration: historical myth versus Political History', in Kroll, R., Ashcraft, R., and Zagorin, P., (eds.), *Philosophy, Science and Religion in England, 1640-1700* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.151-177.

Baines, E., *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster* (London, 1836), Vol. II., p.667.

Ballor, J. J., David Sytsma and Zuidema, J., (eds.), *Church and School in Early Modern Protestantism: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Muller on the Maturation of a Theological Tradition* (Boston, 2013).

- Barrie-Curien, V., 'The clergy in the Diocese of London in the Eighteenth Century', in Walsh, J., Hayden, C., and Taylor, S., (eds.) *The Church of England c.1689 – 1833, From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.86-109.
- Barry, J., 'Public Infidelity and Private Belief? The Discourse of Spirits in Enlightenment Bristol, 1640-1714', in De Blécourt, W., and Davies, O., (eds.), *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe* (Manchester, 2004), pp.117-143.
- Baskerville, S. W., 'The Political Behaviour of the Cheshire Clergy, 1705-1752', *Northern History*, Vol. 23 (1987), pp.74-97.
- Bebbington, D., *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London, 1989).
- Bedford, R., Davis, L., and Kelly, P., *Early Modern English Lives; Autobiography and Self-Representation, 1550-1660* (Aldershot, 2007).
- Bennett, G. V., and Walsh, J. D., (eds.), *Essays in Modern English Church History. In Memory of Norman Sykes* (London, 1966).
- Bermingham, A., and Brewer, J., (eds.), *The Consumption of culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text* (London, 1995).
- Bitzel, A., 'The Theology of the Sermon in the Eighteenth Century', in Van Eijnatten, J., (ed.), *Preaching, Sermon, and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century* (London, 2009), pp.57-94.
- Boddice, R., review of *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, (review no. 1752), (DOI: 10.14296/RiH/2014/175), <<http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1752>>, [last accessed: 24/01/ 2017].
- Bolam, C. G., Goring, J., Short H. L., and Thomas, R., (eds.), *The English Presbyterians, From Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism* (London 1968).
- Bray, A., *The Friend* (London, 2003).
- Bulman, W. J., *Anglican Enlightenment: Orientalism, Religion and Politics in England and its Empire, 1648-1715* (Cambridge 2015).
- Cambers A., and Wolfe, M., 'Reading, Family Religion, and Evangelical identity in late Stuart England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 47: 4 (2004), pp.857-896.
- Cambers, A., 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580–1720', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 46, 4 (October 2007).
- Cambers, A., *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580–1720* (Cambridge, 2011).
- Carrera, E., (ed.), *Emotions and Health, 1200-1700* (Boston, 2013).

- Carrera, E., 'Anger and the Mind-Body Connection in medieval and Early Modern Medicine', in Carrera, E., (ed.), *Emotions and Health, 1200-1700* (Boston, 2013), pp.95-146.
- Chartier, R., *Cultural History Between Practices and Representation* (Cambridge, 1988).
- Clark P., *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000).
- Clark, J. C. D., 'Providence, Predestination and Progress: Or, Did the Enlightenment Fail?' *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Winter, 2003), pp.559-589.
- Clark, J. C. D., *English Society 1660-1832*, Second Edition (Cambridge 2000).
- Clark, J. C. D., *The Language of Liberty 1660-1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World, 1660-1832* (Cambridge, 1994).
- Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000).
- Clark, P., *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200-1830* (London, 1983).
- Clarke, P., and Claydon, T., (eds.) *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul*, Studies in Church History, Vol.45 (Woodbridge, 2009).
- Classen, A., Sandidge, M., and De Gruyter, W., (eds.), *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Explorations of a Fundamental Ethical Discourse* (Berlin, 2010).
- Claydon, T., 'The Church of England and the Churches of Europe, 1660-1714', in Tapsell, G., (ed.), *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714* (Manchester, 2012), pp.173-194.
- Claydon, T., 'The Sermon Culture of the Glorious Revolution: Williamite preaching and Jacobite Anti-Predaching, 1685-1702', in McCullough, P., Adlington, H., and Rhatigan, E., (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011), pp.480-494.
- Claydon, T., and McBride, I., (eds.), *Protestantism and National Identity* (Cambridge, 1998).
- Claydon, T., *Europe and the Making of England, 1660-1760* (Cambridge, 2007).
- Cliffe, T., *Puritan Gentry Besieged 1650-1700* (London, 2002).
- Coffey, J., 'Puritanism, Evangelicalism and the Evangelical Protestant Tradition', in Haykin, M. A. G., and Stewart, K. J., (eds.), *The Emergence of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities* (Nottingham, 2008), pp.252-277.
- Coleman, P., 'Introduction: life-writing and the legitimization of the modern self', in Coleman, P., Lewis, J., and Kowalik, J., *Representations of the Self from the Renaissance to Romanticism* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.1-15.
- Colley, L., *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn. (London, 2005).



- Collinson, P., 'Critical Conclusion', in Spufford, M., (ed.), *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.388-396.
- Collinson, P., 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture', Durston, C., and Eales, J., (eds.) *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp.32-57.
- Collinson, P., 'From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: The Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation', in Marshall, P., (ed.), *The Impact of the English Reformation, 1500-1640* (London, 1997), pp.278-308.
- Condie, K., "'Light Accompanied with Vital Heat": Affection and Intellect in the Thought of Richard Baxter', in Ryrie, A., and Schwanda, T., (eds.), *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World* (Hampshire, 2016), pp.13-46.
- Cooper, K., and Gregory, J., (eds.), *Revival and Resurgence in Christian History*, Studies in Church History Vol.44. (Woodbridge, 2008).
- Cornwall, R. D., 'Wagstaffe, Thomas (1645–1712)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008  
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28400>, last accessed: 17/04/2015].
- Crawford, P., *Blood, Bodies and Families in early Modern England* (Harlow, 2004).
- Cressy, D., *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989).
- Cressy, D., *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980).
- Crowley, J. E., *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities & Design in Early Modern Britain & Early America* (London, 2000).
- Cruikshanks, E., *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism 1689-1759* (Edinburgh, 1982).
- Cummings, B., and Sierhuis, F., (eds.), *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture*, (Farham, 2013).
- Curtis, T. C., and Speck, W. A., 'The Societies for the Reformation of Manners: A Case Study in the Theory and Practice of Moral Reform', *Literature and History*, Vol. 3 (Mar 1, 1976), pp.45-64.
- Davies, O., *Witchcraft, Magic and Culture, 1736-1951* (Manchester, 1999).
- De Blécourt, W., and Davies, O., (eds.), *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe* (Manchester, 2004).
- De Krey, G. S., 'Reformation in the Restoration Crisis, 1679-1682', in Hamilton, D. B., and Strier, R., (eds.), *Religion, Literature, and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540-1688* (Cambridge, 1996), pp.231-252.

- Deconinck-Brossard, F., “‘We live so far North’: the Church in the North-East of England”, in Gregory J., and Chamberlain, J. S., (eds.), *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660-1800* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.223-242.
- Deconinck-Brossard, F., ‘The Art of Preaching’, in Van Eijnatten, J., (ed.), *Preaching, Sermon, and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century* (London, 2009), pp.95-132.
- Ditchfield, G. M., *The Evangelical Revival* (London, 1998).
- Dixon, T., *From Passion to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category*, (Cambridge, 2006).
- Dragstra, H., Ottway, S., and Wilcox, H., (eds.), *Betraying Our Selves: Forms of Self-Representation in Early Modern English Texts* (London, 2000).
- Duncan-Page, A., and Prunier, C., (eds.), *Debating the Faith: Religion and Letter Writing in Great Britain, 1550-1800* (Dordrecht, 2013).
- Durston, C., and Eales, J., (eds.) *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996).
- Earle, R., (ed.), *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1660-1945* (Aldershot, 1999).
- Farooq, J., *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London* (Woodbridge, 2013).
- Farrer, W., and Brownbill, J., (eds.), *A History of the County of Lancaster*: Vol. 8 (London, 1914).
- Farrer, W., and Brownbill, J., (eds.), *A History of the County of Lancaster*, Vol. 3 (London, 1907).
- Ferrell L. A., and McCullough, P., (eds.). *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2000).
- Findon, J. C., ‘The nonjurors and the Church of England, 1689–1716’, unpublished DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford (1978).
- Foster, J., *Alumni oxonienses; the members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714*, Vol. II (Oxford, 1891).
- Foster, J., *Alumni oxonienses; the members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714*, Vol. III (Oxford, 1891).
- Foster, J., *Alumni oxonienses; the members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714*, Vol. IV (Oxford, 1891).
- Fox, A., *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2000).

Ginn, R. J., 'Scott, John (1638/9–1695)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008  
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24889>, last accessed: 16/05/2016].

Goldie, M., 'Review Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol.67. 2. (2016), pp.443-444.

Goody, J., (ed.) *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1968).

Gordon, A., (ed.), *Freedom after Ejection, A Review (1690-1692) of Presbyterian and Congregational Nonconformity in England and Wales* (Manchester, 1917).

Goring, J., 'The Break-Up of the Old Dissent', in Bolam, C. G., Goring, J., Short H. L., and Thomas, R., (eds.), *The English Presbyterians, From Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism* (London 1968).

Gowland, A., 'Melancholy, Passions and Identity in the Renaissance' in Cummings, B., and Sierhuis, F., (eds.), *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture* (Farham, 2013), pp.75-93.

Greaves, R. L., 'Gouge, Thomas (1605–1681)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008  
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11131>, last accessed: 16/07/2015].

Greaves, R. L., 'Harrison, Thomas (1617/18–1682)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008  
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12449>, last accessed: 19/01/2017].

Greaves, R. L., 'Henry, Philip (1631–1696)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12976>, last accessed: 10/12/2015].

Gregory J., and Chamberlain, J. S., (eds.), *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660-1800* (Woodbridge, 2003).

Gregory, J., "“For all sorts and conditions of men” the social life of the Book of Common Prayer during the long eighteenth century: or, bringing the history of religion and social history together', *Social History*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (February 2009), pp.29-54.

Gregory, J., 'Gender and the Clerical Profession', in. Swanson, R. N., (ed.), *Gender and the Christian Religion*, Studies in Church History, Vol.34 (Woodbridge 1998), pp.258-270.

Gregory, J., 'The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of Anglican clergy after 1689', in Walsh, J., Hayden, C., and Taylor, S., (eds.) *The Church of England c.1689 – 1833, From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.67-85.

Gregory, J., *Restoration, Reformation and Reform, 1660-1828; Archbishops of Canterbury and their Diocese* (Oxford, 2000).

Guibbory, A., *Christian Identity, Jews, and Israel in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2010).

Haigh, C., 'Liturgy and Liberty: The Controversy over the Book of Common Prayer, 1660–1663', *Journal of Anglican Studies*, Volume 11, Issue 01 (May 2013), pp.32-64.

Haigh, C., "'Theological Wars': 'Socinians' v. 'Antinomians' in Restoration England", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 67:2 (2016), pp.325-350.

Hailwood, M., *Alehouses and Good Fellowship in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2014).

Halley, R., *Lancashire: its puritanism and nonconformity*, Vol. II. (Manchester, 1869).

Hamilton, D. B., and Strier, R., (eds.), *Religion, Literature, and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540-1688* (Cambridge, 1996).

Hammond, G., 'The Revival of Practical Christianity: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Samuel Wesley, and the Clerical Society Movement' in Cooper, K., and Gregory, J., (eds.), *Revival and Resurgence in Christian History*, Studies in Church History, Vol.44 (Woodbridge, 2008), pp.116-127.

Handley, S., 'Apparitions and Anglicanism in 1750s Warwickshire', in Clarke, P., and Claydon, T., (eds.) *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul*, Studies in Church History, Vol.45 (Woodbridge, 2009), pp.311-322.

Happé, P., 'The Vocacyon of John Bale: Protestant Rhetoric and the Self', in Dragstra, H., Ottway, S., and Wilcox, H., (eds.), *Betraying Our Selves: Forms of Self-Representation in Early Modern English Texts* (London, 2000), pp.45-58.

Harmsen, T., 'Hickes, George (1642–1715)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008  
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13203>, last accessed: 17/04/2015].

Harris, B. E., (ed.), *A History of the County of Chester*, Volume III. (Oxford, 1980).

Hart, A. T., *The Life and Times of John Sharp, Archbishop of York* (London, 1949).

Haydon, C., 'Bishop George Lavington of Exeter (1684–1762) and *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists*, *Compar'd*, *Southern History*, Vol.37 (2015), pp.60-85.

Haykin, M. A. G., and Stewart, K. J., (eds.), *The Emergence of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities* (Nottingham, 2008).

Heilke, T., 'From Civic Friendship to Communities of Believers: Anabaptist Challenges to Lutheran and Calvinist Discourses', in Lochman, D. T., López, M., and Hutson, L., (eds.), *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700* (Farnham 2011), pp.225-238.

Heller, B., 'The "Mene People" and the Polite Spectator: The Individual in the Crowd at Eighteenth-Century London Fairs', *Past and Present*, 208 (August, 2010), pp.131-157.

Herbert, A. E., *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (London, 2014).

- Heyd, M., 'The Reaction to Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of Modern History*, 53 (1981), pp.258-280.
- Hibbert, S., Palmer, J., Whatton, W. R., and Gresswell, J., *History of the foundations in Manchester of Chirst's College, Chetham's Hospital, and the Free Grammar School*, Vol. 2. (London, 1834).
- Hindmarsh, B. D., *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2005).
- Houlbrooke, R., 'The Puritan Death-bed, c.1560–c.1660', in Durston, C., and Eales, J., (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp.54-75.
- Houston, R. A., *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1985).
- Ihalainen, P., 'The Political Sermon in an Age of Party Strife, 1700-1720: Contributions to the Conflict', in McCullough, P., Adlington, H., and Rhatigan, E., (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011), pp.495-516.
- Jones, M. G., *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action* (Hamden, 1964).
- Karant-Nunn S., *Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford, 2010).
- Keeble N. H., *'Settling the Peace of the Church': 1662 Revisited* (Oxford, 2014).
- Klein, L. E., 'Politeness for plebes: Consumption and social identity in early eighteenth-century England' in Bermingham, A., and Brewer, J., (eds.), *The Consumption of culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, (London, 1995), pp.362-382.
- Klein, L. E., *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994).
- Kroll, R., Ashcraft, R., and Zagorin, P., (eds.), *Philosophy, Science and Religion in England, 1640-1700*, (Cambridge, 1992).
- Levack, B. P., *The Devil Within: Possession and Exorcism in the Christian West*, (London, 2013).
- Lewis, C. P., and Thacker, A. T., (eds.), *A History of the County of Chester, Volume V, Part 2 The City of Chester – Culture, Buildings, Institutions* (Woodbridge, 2005).
- Lewis, C. P., and Thacker, A. T., (eds.), *A History of the County of Chester, Volume V, Part 1, The City of Chester General History and Topography*, (Woodbridge, 2003).
- Lochman, D. T., López, M., and Hutson, L., (eds.), *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700* (Farnham 2011).

- Lord, E., 'Clegg, James (1679–1755)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5587, last accessed: 28/08/2013].
- Mack, P., *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment; Gender and Emotion in Early Methodism*, (Cambridge, 2008).
- Manning, D., 'Review of: The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680–1730', *Reviews in History* (August, 2015), <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1813> [last accessed: 14/03/2017].
- Marshall, J., 'The Ecclesiology of the Latitudinarians 1660–1689: Stillingfleet, Tillotson and "Hobbism"', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Volume 36, Issue 03 (July 1985), pp.407–427.
- Marshall, P., (ed.), *The Impact of the English Reformation, 1500–1640* (London, 1997).
- Marshall, P., *Mother Leakey and the Bishop: A Ghost Story* (Oxford, 2007).
- Martin, J., and Ryrie, A., (eds.), *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham, 2012).
- Mather, F. C., 'Georgian Churchmanship Reconsidered: Some Variations in Anglican Public Worship 1714–1830', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 36, 02 (April 1985), pp.255–283.
- Mawdesley, J., 'Laudianism in the Diocese of Chester: Revisiting the Episcopate of John Bridgeman', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, clxii (2013), pp.221–228.
- Mawson, D. J. W., 'Todd, Hugh (c.1657–1728)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27490, last accessed: 5/10/2016].
- Mayo, C. H., 'The Social Status of the Clergy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), pp.258–266.
- McCullough, P., Adlington, H., and Rhatigan, E., (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011).
- Monod, P., *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688 - 1788* (Cambridge, 1989).
- Nightingale, B., *Lancashire Nonconformity, Or Sketches, Historical Descriptive, of the Congregational and Old Presbyterian Churches in the County*, Vol. I. (Manchester, 1890).
- Noll, M. A., Bebbington, D. W., and Rawlyk, G. A., (eds.), *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond 1700–1900*, (Oxford, 1994).
- Null, A., 'Official Tudor Homilies', in McCullough, P., Adlington, H., and Rhatigan, E., (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011), pp.348–365.

Nunn, C., 'Jollie, John (1640?–1682)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14974>, last accessed: 21/10/2015].

O'Day, R., *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession 1558-1642*, (Leicester, 1979).

Plamper, J., *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford, 2015).

Pullin, N., 'The Lord hath joined us together': Spiritual friendship and Quaker women's alliances', *History of Emotions Blog* (20 March, 2014), <<https://emotionsblog.history.qmul.ac.uk/2014/03/the-lord-hath-joined-us-together-spiritual-friendship-and-quaker-womens-alliances/>> [last accessed: 02/10/2015].

Rack, H. D., 'Stratford, Nicholas (bap. 1633, d. 1707)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26646>, last accessed: 05/10/2016].

Ramsbottom, J. D., 'Hall, George (bap. 1613, d. 1668)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11957>, last accessed: 07/05/2015].

Ramsbottom, J. D., 'Presbyterians and 'Partial Conformity' in Restoration Church of England', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Volume 43, Issue 2 (April 1992), pp.249-270.

Rivers, I., *Reason, Grace and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660-1780*, Vol. I. (Cambridge, 2000).

Rogers, N., 'Riot and Popular Jacobitism in Early Hanoverian England', in Cruickshanks, E., *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism 1689-1759* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp.70-88.

Roper, L. 'Beyond Discourse Theory', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 19, No.2, (2010), pp.307-319.

Rose, C., 'The origins and ideals of the SPCK, 1699-1716', Walsh, J., Hayden, C., and Taylor, S., (eds.) *The Church of England c.1689 – 1833, From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.172-190.

Rosenwein, B. H., 'History of Emotions: Religious Emotions across the Medieval/Early Modern Divide - Barbara Rosenwein' video lecture University of Warsaw, 20 October 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CqeQFbjTSgw> [last accessed: 28/11/2014].

Rosenwein, B. H., 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', *Passions in Context: Journal of the History and Philosophy of the Emotions*, Vol.1. (2010), pp.2-32.

Rosenwein, B. H., *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Bristol, 2007).

Rosenwein, B. H., *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions 600-1700* (Cambridge, 2015).

- Russell, A., *The Clerical Profession* (London, 1980).
- Ryrie, A., and Schwanda, T., (eds.), *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World* (Hampshire, 2016).
- Ryrie, A., *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford, 2013).
- Scheer, M., 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory*, Vol. 51, 2 (May 2012), pp.193-220.
- Schildt, J., 'Reading the Bible in Seventeenth-Century England: A Nonconformist Case-Study', *Bunyan Studies*, Vol. 15. (2011), pp.53-63.
- Schneider, G., 'Introduction', in Duncan-Page, A., and Prunier, C., (eds.), *Debating the Faith: Religion and Letter Writing in Great Britain, 1550-1800* (Dordrecht, 2013), pp.1-18.
- Schofield, R. E., *The Enlightenment of Joseph Priestley: A Study of His Life and Work from 1733 to 1773* (University Park, PA, 1997).
- Schofield, R. S., 'The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England', in Goody, J., (ed.) *Literacy in Traditional societies* (Cambridge, 1968), pp.311-325.
- Shami, J., 'Anti-Catholicism in the Sermons of John Donne', in Ferrell L. A., and McCullough, P., (eds.). *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2000), pp.136-158.
- Sharpe, K., *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (London, 2000).
- Sheils, W. J. and Wood, D., (eds.), *Voluntary Religion*, Studies in Church History, Vol.23 (Oxford, 1986).
- Shuger, D., 'Life-writing in seventeenth-century England' in Coleman, P., Lewis, J., and Kowalik, J., *Representations of the Self from the Renaissance to Romanticism* (Cambridge, 2000).
- Sirota, B., *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730*, (London, 2014).
- Smith, A. D., *Chosen Peoples, Sacred Sources of National Identity* (Oxford, 2003).
- Smyth, A., *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010).
- Snape, M. F., 'Poverty and the Northern Clergy in the Eighteenth Century: The Parish of Whalley, 1689-1789', *Northern History*, 36 (2000), pp.83-97.
- Snape, M. F., *The Church of England in Industrialising Society: The Lancashire Parish of Whalley in the Eighteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2003).



- Snell, K. D. M., *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700–1950* (Cambridge, 2006).
- Southcombe, G., ‘Dissent and the Restoration Church of England’, in Tapsell, G., (ed.), *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714* (Manchester, 2012), pp.195-216.
- Spaeth, D., *The Church in an Age of Danger: Parsons and Parishioners, 1660-1740* (Cambridge, 2001).
- Spufford, M., ‘The Importance of Religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, in Spufford, M., (ed.), *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.1-102.
- Spurr, J., “‘Rational Religion’ in Restoration England”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1988), pp.563-585.
- Spurr, J., “‘Latitudinarianism’ and the Restoration Church”, *The Historical Journal*, Volume 31, Issue 01 (March 1988), pp.61-82.
- Spurr, J., ‘From Puritanism to Dissent, 1660 – 1700’, in Durston, C., and Eales, J., (eds.) *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp.234-265.
- Spurr, J., ‘The Lay Church of England’ in Tapsell, G., (ed.), *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714* (Manchester, 2012), pp.101-124.
- Spurr, J., *English Puritanism, 1603-1689* (Basingstoke, 1998).
- Spurr, J., *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (London, 1991).
- Steedman, C., ‘A woman writing a letter’, in Earle, R., (ed.), *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1660-1945* (Aldershot, 1999), pp.111-133.
- Steers, D., ‘Arminianism among Protestant Dissenters in England and Ireland in the Eighteenth Century’, in Van Leeuwen, T. M., Stanglin, K. D., Tolsma, M., (eds.), *Arminius, Arminianism, and Europe: Jacobus Arminius (1559/60-1609)* (Leiden 2009), pp.159-202.
- Stephens, I., ‘Confessional Identity in Early Stuart England: The “Prayer Book Puritanism” of Elizabeth Isham’, *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 50, Issue 01 (January 2011), pp.24-47.
- Stevens, R. M. C., ‘Anglican Responses to the Toleration Act, 1689-1714, Unpublished PhD Thesis University of Cambridge (2014).
- Sullivan, E., ‘The Watchful Spirit: Religious Anxieties towards Sleep in the Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington (1598-1658)’, *Cultural History*, Vol.1, 1 (2012), pp.14-35.
- Swanson, R. N., (ed.), *Gender and the Christian Religion*, Studies in Church History, Vol.34 (Woodbridge 1998).

- Sytsma, D. S., 'The Logic of the Heart: Analysing the Affections in Early Reformed Orthodoxy', in Ballor, J. J., David Sytsma, Zuidema, J., (eds.), *Church and School in Early Modern Protestantism: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Muller on the Maturation of a Theological Tradition* (Boston, 2013), pp.471-488.
- Tadmor, N., 'The concept of the household-family in eighteenth-century England', *Past and Present*, Vol.151 (1996), pp.111-140.
- Tapsell, G., (ed.), *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714* (Manchester, 2012).
- Thacker, A. T., 'Medieval Parish Churches', in Lewis, C. P., and Thacker, A. T., (eds.), *A History of the County of Chester, Volume V, Part 2 The City of Chester – Culture, Buildings, Institutions* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp.133-56.
- Thacker, A. T., 'The Diocese of Chester - 1660-1726', in Harris, B. E., (ed.), *A History of the County of Chester*, Volume III. (Oxford, 1980), pp.37-50.
- Thomas, R., 'Presbyterians in Transition', in Bolam, C. G., Goring, J., Short H. L., and Thomas, R., (eds.), *The English Presbyterians, From Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism* (London 1968), pp.113-218.
- Thomas, R., 'Parties in Nonconformity', in Bolam, C. G., Goring, J., Short H. L., and Thomas, R., (eds.), *The English Presbyterians, From Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism* (London 1968) pp.93-112.
- Thomas, R., 'The Break-up of Nonconformity' in Nuttall, G. F., et al. (eds.) *The beginnings of Nonconformity* (London, 1964), pp.33-61.
- Thomas, R., 'The Rise of the Reconcilers', in Bolam, C. G., Goring, J., Short H. L., and Thomas, R., (eds.), *The English Presbyterians, From Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism* (London 1968), pp.46-72.
- Thompson, A. C., *Britain, Hanover and the Protestant Interest, 1688-1756* (Woodbridge 2006).
- Todd, M., 'Humanists, Puritans and the Spiritualized Household', *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture*, Vol. 49, Issue 1 (March, 1980), pp.18-34.
- Van Eijnatten, J., 'Getting the Message: Towards a Cultural History of the Sermon' in Van Eijnatten, J., (ed.), *Preaching, Sermon, and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century* (London, 2009), pp.343-388.
- Van Leeuwen, T. M., Stanglin, K. D., Tolsma, M., (eds.), *Arminius, Arminianism, and Europe: Jacobus Arminius (1559/60-1609)* (Leiden 2009).
- Venn J., and Venn, J. A., (eds.), *Alumni cantabrigienses; a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900, Part 1. Vol. I* (Cambridge, 1922).

Venn, J., and Venn, J. A., (eds.), *Alumni cantabrigienses; a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900*, Part. 1, Vol. II (Cambridge, 1922).

Venn, J., and Venn, J. A., (eds.), *Alumni cantabrigienses; a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900*, Part 1. Vol. III (Cambridge, 1924).

Venn, J., *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College: 1849-1897*. Vol I. (Cambridge, 1897).

Vickery, A., *The Gentleman's Daughter, Women's Lives in Georgian England* (London, 1998).

Walsh, J. D., 'Elie Halévy and the Birth of Methodism', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5<sup>th</sup> ser., 25 (1975): 7, pp.1-20.

Walsh, J., "Methodism" and the Origins of English- Speaking Evangelicalism' in Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, George A. Rawlyk (eds.), *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990* (Oxford, 1994) , pp.19-37.

Walsh, J., 'Origins of the Evangelical Revival', in Bennett, G. V., and Walsh, J. D., (eds.), *Essays in Modern English Church History. In Memory of Norman Sykes* (London, 1966), pp.132-162.

Walsh, J., Hayden, C., and Taylor, S., (eds.) *The Church of England c.1689 – 1833, From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993).

Walsh, J., 'Religious societies: Methodist and evangelical 1738-1800', in Sheils, W. J. and Wood, D., (eds.), *Voluntary Religion*, Studies in Church History, Vol.23 (Oxford, 1986), pp.279-302.

Walsham, A., *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999).

Watts, M. R., *The Dissenters: Volume I: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1985).

Westaway, J. H., 'Bradshaw, James (bap. 1635, d. 1702)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004  
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3199>, last accessed: 6/03/2015].

Westley, F., *The Manchester Socinian Controversy* (London, 1825).

White, H. C., *English Devotional Literature, 1600-1640* (Madison, 1931).

Whyman, S., "Paper visits": the post-Restoration letter as seen through the Verney family archive', in Earle, R., (ed.), *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1660-1945* (Aldershot, 1999), pp.15-36.

Whyman, S., *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural World of the Verneys 1660-1720* (Oxford, 1999).

Wilcox, H., “‘Her Own life, Her Own Living?’; Text and Materiality in Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen’s Autobiographical Writings’, in Dragstra, H., Ottway, S., and Wilcox, H., (eds.), *Betraying Our Selves: Forms of Self-Representation in Early Modern English Texts* (London, 2000), pp.105-119.

Williams, J. B., *Memoirs of the life and character of Mrs. Sarah Savage : To which are added memoirs of her sister, Mrs. Hulton* (London, 1828).

Williamson, G., *Seventeenth-Century Contexts* (London, 1960).

Winner, L. F., *A Cheerful and Comfortable Faith: Anglican Religious practice in the Elite Households of Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (London, 2010).

Wreford, J. R., *Sketch of the history of Presbyterian nonconformity in Birmingham* (Birmingham, 1832).

Wrightson, K., and Levine, D., *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700* (Oxford, 1995).

Wykes, D. L., ‘Subscribers and non-subscribers at the Salters’ Hall debate (act. 1719)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/95681>, last accessed: 18/11/2016].

Wykes, D. L., ‘Tong, William (1662–1727)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27534>, last accessed: 23/10/2015].

Yallop, H., ‘Representing Aged Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century England; The “Old Man” of Medical Advice’, *Cultural and Social History*, Volume 10, Issue 2 (2013), pp.191-210.

Yallop, H., ‘The Idea of Aging in Eighteenth-Century England’, unpublished PhD dissertation, King’s College London (2009).

Zaret, D., ‘Religion, Science and Printing in the Public Spheres in Seventeenth-Century England’, in Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.212-235.