LINCOLN
Gentlemen, musicians and bakers

Though Lincoln has a distinct claim to fame as one of the earliest General Baptist churches, knowledge of it has been scanty in the extreme. This has been due essentially, as so often elsewhere, to the dearth of individual church and wider early denominational records: the first Lincoln church book - deposited with Lincolnshire Archives in 1959 - only has records dating from 1767, and in any case appears to have been a Particular Baptist offshoot from a church at Horncastle. In 1911 W.S. Linton, church secretary of the Thomas Cooper Memorial Church in Lincoln, attempted a ‘History of the General Baptist Church in Lincoln’ (a typescript copy is in the Angus Library at Regent’s Park College). But Linton did little more, for the period before 1700, than ransack Whitley and the older general histories for the sparse and uninformative general references to Lincoln to be found there.

In these unpromising circumstances, is it possible to recover aspects of a ‘lost’ history from hitherto neglected sources? In the diocese of Lincoln, it assuredly is possible. For among the diocesan records are not only a host of early wills and inventories, but also the records of ecclesiastical authority which enable names of the earliest Baptists to be discovered. Armed with these names, and with sometimes vivid detail from the records of visitation courts to hand, the wills and inventories flesh out character, place individuals in social and economic perspective, and enable not only a membership listing but also valuable clues to the tenor of the church to emerge.

The first widely-known evidence of General Baptist activity in Lincoln dates from 1626, and comes from an unlikely source, the Mennonite Archives in Amsterdam: these were early Dutch Anabaptists who - like the English General Baptists - rejected Calvinist belief in the elect alone being capable of salvation. They were followers of the Dutch theologian Arminius, who stated that all could be saved through their faith and God’s grace. The divide between the Calvinist belief in predestination to salvation or damnation, and the Arminian belief in the possibility of universal salvation, became one of the great battlegrounds of seventeenth-century theology, spilling over into politics and even warfare in both the United Provinces (Netherlands) and England. Ironically, both the General Baptists and their chief tormentor in the 1630s, Archbishop William Laud, were of Arminian views.

How did the Mennonites come to correspond with five English General Baptist churches, including Lincoln, in the 1620s? The chief reason was the career of John Smyth and his associates. Born of yeoman stock at Sturton-le-Steeple, near

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Gainsborough in Nottinghamshire, around 1570, Smyth graduated from Cambridge with an MA in 1593, and remained there as a Fellow until at least 1598. In 1600 he was elected by the common council of Lincoln as their full-time resident preacher, at a salary of £40 p.a. This argues that Smyth was well-known in the city, and had some powerful supporters. Despite some very pointed preaching in the Puritan tradition espoused by the common council, he was not removed until 1603, and then only after a series of lay and ecclesiastical court hearings. Some indication of his support then is that Lord Sheffield, who acted as arbitrator in this dispute, had Smyth’s next publication, A Paterne of True Prayer (1605) dedicated to him. After some time at Gainsborough, where he led a separatist congregation, Smyth and some followers left in 1606 for the freer religious conditions in Amsterdam. It was here that he became the famous ‘Se-Baptist’ by re-baptizing himself. Smyth later led a group who applied to join the Waterlanders (as the Mennonites there were then called), and their application was accepted three years after Smyth’s death in the city in 1615.

It is not, therefore, surprising that in the winter of 1624-5 the General Baptist church in London, whose leaders including Thomas Helwys had returned from Amsterdam earlier, should be writing to the Waterlanders. In 1626 five churches (in London, Coventry, Lincoln, Salisbury and Tiverton) wrote jointly to the Waterlanders: though united with the Mennonites on most points of doctrine, there were differences - over the legality of oaths and the right of church members to become magistrates - which prevented full unity. The last contact at this time was a letter from the Lincoln church to Amsterdam in 1630, acknowledging a letter to them from the Waterlanders.

Notes made by the Waterlanders at this time survive in the Mennonite archives, and show that the five English churches - the first English General Baptist churches - ‘have not every one a minister’, so that ‘those that have no minister wait with the service till one is coming, therefore it is not possible to break bread every Sunday’. These fragments give the first glimpse of the Lincoln church. It was at least in some loose confederation with the other four churches, sharing ministers between them. The joint letter of 1626 needed drafting by their representatives, perhaps at a meeting. The Dutch notes also make it clear that the five English churches were both organized and disciplined: ‘They do not suffer that somebody teaches the congregation without being acknowledged that he is able to do it’; and also, ‘They make a difference between one that teaches and serves the sacraments, and one that stands in full service’.

Was this early Lincoln church in direct line from John Smyth? Some obvious evidence is to the contrary. Smyth was not yet a Baptist when he was at Lincoln, and did not decide to re-baptize himself until after his arrival in Amsterdam. None of the names of his followers in Amsterdam coincide with known names of the ‘Anabaptists’ at Lincoln in the 1620s and 1630s. Yet why was one of these first
Baptist churches established at Lincoln? Smyth was a well-known and controversial figure during his two or three years in the city. He had influential supporters then, and perhaps later. He later published several polemical works which might well have reached Lincoln. In this light it is fair to accept at least some influence in forming later separatist conviction.

The first local evidence of Baptists in Lincoln was in 1618, when Thomas Lauton, an apprentice in St Benedict parish, was presented as an Anabaptist, refusing to attend church. Though he was not to reappear in any church court record, there followed in 1623 a wave of prosecutions in the adjacent parish of St Swithin, where ten people were presented as Anabaptist recusants. But what alarmed the diocesan authorities even more was that an unlicensed school had been operating for the past two years at least, under Peter Finch, a known ‘Anabaptist’. No doubt under threat of excommunication, twelve parents admitted to sending at least seventeen of their children (including at least one boarder) to be taught by Finch, and four of them were further prevailed upon to sign a grovelling confession:

We ... doe acknowledge that wee have done amisse in communicating wth Peter Finch and especially in sending our children to be taught by hime being excommunicate and an Anabaplist ... and wee doe promyse to avoyde all conversation wth him ... and all other of that heresie ... We have also sworne to the obedience of the ecclesiastical lawes of this realme of England and the lawful commande of the Lord Bishop of Lincoln and all other his officers.

Peter Finch and his wife were the most likely immediate precipitants of this Baptist congregation so harassed by the authorities. Finch is not a Lincolnshire surname (though an ejected, later Independent, Vicar of Tetney, Lincs., was Martin Finch) and it is tempting to see Peter Finch as a missionary. By 1634 an informer reported another leader to Archbishop Laud: ‘For Lincoln itself ... there are many Anabaptists in it, and ... their leader is one Johnson a baker’.

Thomas Johnson (born c.1575, d.1580) was indeed a baker, and a wealthy one. From 1603, the date of his marriage to Ruth Fenwicke in Lincoln, he and his wife were presented at every recorded ecclesiastical visitation between 1623 and 1638, the last before the Civil War. Despite this, and the maintenance of at least three children - all presented as Anabaptists at various times, he was still prosperous in 1641, and by the time he made his will on 4 February 1648 he was living in the Cathedral Close of Lincoln, and possessed a second house in the city, tenanted by a fellow-Baptist, Christopher Preston. His younger son, Jonathan Johnson, also a baker, became a leader of the congregation in turn, being almost certainly one of the two Lincoln representatives signing the ‘Faith and Practice of Thirty [Midland] Congregations’ of 1651 as ‘John Johnjohns’. Jonathan also pursued a vigorous pamphlet war with the Lincoln Quaker, Martin Mason, in 1659, the flavour of which can best be captured by the titles of their tracts: Mason attacked with ‘The Boasting Baptist dismounted, and the Beast disarmed ... ’, while
Johnson retaliated in 'The Quaker Quash’d and his quarrel queld'!92 Jonathan Johnson made his will in 1670 and died shortly afterwards. He left his property in the hands of two trustees, his 'good friends', of whom one was Thomas Bishop, alderman and mayor, according to the will. The care taken to have two trust deeds drawn up argues for some wealth to protect, while the association with a prominent civic leader suggests that the Baptists were by no means without friends in high places even in an era of vigorous persecution.

That there was wealth - at least among some early Lincoln Baptists - is instanced by other wills. In fact, the very act of will-making, and subsequent probate, by those in defiance of the established church argues some wealth and status. A remarkable number of their wills, considering the limited number of Baptists and the disruption after 1642, were proved at Lincoln: eight between 1628 and 1649 for known Baptists in the city. What can these add to our knowledge? Besides Thomas Johnson the baker, there was a weaver, a brewer of beer, a tailor, and a musician father and son.94 These five inventories were each under £30, but that for the city alderman, Stephen Mason 'gent.', who in 1623 had sent his daughter to Peter Finch’s academy, in 1629 was for £700. Besides his own house, Mason owned a house by the Stonebow in the city centre, also a ‘Rawsby House’, various closes in the city, and a leased farm at [Cherry?] Willingham.95

Though no inventory has survived for Nicholas Cawton the webster, he left a substantial amount of property in his will of 1631.96 The elderly Nicholas was not a poor weaver, for he left substantial inheritances, after his wife’s death, to his two daughters, Janne and Thomasin. In property alone these comprised his own and an adjoining house, an orchard leased from the ‘Minster’ (probably Dean and Chapter), and freehold land, together with a substantial ‘Capitall house’ in Newland, with its own garden, orchard and close in the occupation of Clement Harrington, and a further adjoining house there. Even after these generous dowries, Nicholas still had nother house in Newland with a leased tower in the grounds, left to Alice Thorp, a married daughter. His widow left a fine array of furniture and linen. The key to Nicholas’s wealth was that he possessed four linen looms, so most likely he was an employing weaver of the more expensive linen cloth.

Had Nicholas ended his allegiance to the Baptists before he died? There were compelling pressures. If a known Separatist and recusant, he was subject to fearsome legal sanctions, including distraint of his goods. His Minster lease and clear wealth suggest that Nicholas made some accommodation with the authorities. He was one of the signatories to the 1623 confession of error and promise of future obedience, having sent his children to Peter Finch’s school for the past two years. Though he does not appear as a recusant or other offender at any later court hearing of which there is a record, he had supported a known Baptist seminary for two years. There is a clue in his will: possession of a ‘best bible’ is not conclusive, but one of his witnesses in 1631 was a known Baptist, William Hill, while another,
Thomas Mason, had a Baptist name and was 'the writer' of the will of the leading Baptist, Richard Bell the musician, in 1628. Nicholas himself witnessed this will. This evidence strongly suggests that Nicholas Cawton's conformity after 1623 was no more than formal; he apparently did enough to keep out of trouble, secure his Minster lease, and accumulate the wealth so evident in his will. Meantime he maintained close links with, and secret membership of, the Baptists in the city, at least two of whose supporters were of proven wealth.

There is even some evidence of the beliefs and attitudes of the Lincoln Baptists. In terms of conformity, a few may naturally have lapsed into the established church under court pressure and threats. Of the four men who signed the confession of error of 1623, one, William Wood, never appears again. Others were either silently or vocally defiant. Richard Bell, junior, the tailor, whose father, Richard senior, and brother Henry, were both musicians and Baptists, also signed that confession and promise but, according to another churchwarden, he was contemptuous of church authority in 1629. When it came to notice that the wife of Robert King was running a school while an Anabaptist, and parents were again contacted, as in 1623, Bell reportedly said that he would have

... overthrown the court meaning the Ecclesiastical court and that anabaptists may teach scolle wether the court will or not & that he cared not for the court ii
d w'h words he uttered the xvi'h Junii 1629 in contemp of his maiesties laws Ecclesiasticall ... 97

It is almost certain that those cited for recusancy did not conform, as no submissions are noted after 1623, and sometimes excommunication is specifically noted.

Richard Bell the tailor, ever outspoken, also stated his views at length in his will of 1631, giving a remarkably full summary of his fervent faith:

I pore miserable sinner standing before thee being perswaded by thy precious blood of Jesus Christ to have confort both of soule and body ... by which means I trust to be saved both in soule & bodie, First I do believe that God hath ordained before the foundation of the world that they that will beleive in Jesus Christe & doers of the same worde that is written shall be saved; Secondly I doe beleive by the same worde that Jesus Christ would have all people to be mercyfull and then we shall have mercie I have desired to doe as I would be done to and if I have failed Through Weaknese I desire the lorde to forgive me for the love is mercifull and one his mercie doe I Reste as Jacob wrestled with the Angell & would not let him goe till he had blessed him see I trust the lorde will not let his holy spirit parte from me nor from my fammillie till we see the lord face to face and our soules delivered into his hands and our bodies at rest If I have in what I could do and in my weakness failed I trust the lorde will except the will for the deed now concerning my worldly buissines ... 98

This is an impeccable orthodox Protestant statement of faith, which bears tribute to the standard of teaching (by Peter and Elizabeth Finch?) among the Baptists. That
it is not demonstrably Baptist in tone is natural, for not only were Baptist principles still being worked out, but also even the bold Richard Bell might have hesitated before exposing his widow and family to the forfeiture of goods belonging to a dead notorious heretic. That the will was accepted into the consistory court is itself remarkable after Richard’s outspoken dart at ecclesiastical authority only two years before. Perhaps some in high positions were not so implacably opposed to the Baptists as the court transcripts suggest.

Though most of the other preambles in the eight wills of known Baptists dating before 1650 are more conventional, with just a hint of distinctive faith (e.g. Nicholas Cawton’s ‘Trusting ... to be saved at the generall judgment day of our Lord god ...’), there is one other remarkably full preamble. This is Stephen Mason’s, from another stratum of society in his role as alderman:

... my soule I do wholy comitt & comend to God my onely Saviour & Redeemer, I hope hee will not leave it, wch many yeares hee hath taught in the wayes of salvation, and therefore I am assured nowe at my dissolvinge that my soule shall bee received into his heavenly kingdome, there to remayne for ever amongst his Saints and chosen

It is possible to see, in both Richard Bell’s and Stephen Mason’s preambles, a double meaning. On the surface there is a simple faith in predestination to salvation, taking its protestant inspiration from Luther and Calvin. But at a hidden level, for those with inner knowledge, the believers - those who number among Mason’s ‘Saints and chosen’ - are none other than those who later called themselves ‘Baptized believers’ or Baptists, in the only true apostolic succession. It was, after all, to ensure this purity of faith that the little community in Lincoln had withdrawn from legal public worship to form an illegal conventicle, as such gatherings came to be called.

In what ways did this group of Baptists operate as a community, apart from presumably worshipping together as regularly as the vigilance of the authorities allowed? They were cited to appear at the ecclesiastical court together at regular intervals, and it is generally accepted that this kind of harassment fostered cohesion in a group defiant under threat. One other set of clues exists, for no less than six of the eight probates have some reference to other known Baptists, whether as witnesses, beneficiaries or appraisers for inventories. This argues quite powerfully for a group operating with quite close ties of friendship, and even kinship. Both the Cawtons and Bells were related by marriage to Coddingtons, while the Bells were also related to another Baptist couple, the Leaches, by marriage. All this prefigures the later ‘closed’ and endogamous General Baptists of Lincolnshire and elsewhere.

So the first Baptist group in the county was not a downtrodden one of unrelievably rude origins and lowly status. They were defiant, despite the worst that ecclesiastical authority could throw at them at the heart of the diocese, and no doubt a standing reproach to the bishop, dean and chapter on the Hill. For all the prosecutions over a fifteen-year span, the number of Anabaptist recusants cited to
court had exactly doubled to no less than twenty in 1638. They even dared to bring their wills to the consistory court to be probated, and seemed to have got away with this effrontery. Part of their cohesion stemmed from family links. Apart from intermarriage, the eight Hill members and seven Johnsons demonstrate the blood-links which bound them.

They looked outward from Lincoln too. At the centre of the county’s road network, they used this centrality to cultivate out-of-town interests. Nearby, there was Stephen Mason’s farm at Willingham: probably Cherry Willingham three miles to the east, where there was a Baptist licence in 1672. Martin Gateworth came from a Canwick family, south of the city, the only family of that name in the county. The Bells were related to Coddingtons at Harmston and South Hykeham, again to the south; there was another Baptist licence for the latter place in 1672. There are two links with the early Baptist centre at Kirton Lindsey: a brother-in-law of Richard Bell junior was Thomas Bland of Kirton Lindsey, where also a Richard Bell married Marie Blow in 1628. This could have been Richard Bell senior, the musician, whose clerk and substantial legatee was a Thomas Blow. A Bell family were indeed prominent at Kirton Lindsey at this time, so the Lincoln Bells could well have migrated the fifteen miles south, along Ermine Street, to Lincoln. Some of these connections might be false Baptist trails, but we have here clear evidence of contacts enjoyed in their business and personal life by the band of Lincoln Baptists.

We leave the Lincoln pioneers with a look at the 1640 inventory of Henry Bell, the musician brother of Richard the tailor, as one who would have enjoyed a wide range of contacts. Who knows for whom the eight wind instruments and a violin played, inside and out of the city in the 1630s? More seriously, who read the two Bibles and ‘other ould books’ that the Baptist had in his house at his death?

Here is yet another proselytiser among the small band, with good claim to be the earliest provincial Baptist bandleader. With the cause in Lincoln in such enthusiastic hands, it is not surprising that the history of the Baptists in Lincoln is a continuous one from the 1620s.

This continuity existed even in the era of renewed persecution after 1660. A William Lillie, or Lilley is first noted when in 1634 he disclaimed the right to arms at the Heralds’ Visitation, being then of [Cherry] Willingham, the later Baptist stronghold just outside the city. This Lincoln ‘gent.’, whose will of 1672 was accompanied by an inventory of £420, mentioned three of his properties in Lincoln and two more in Upton, near Gainsborough. Lilley did not - perhaps wisely in this age of intermittent but fierce persecution and confiscation of property - parade his Baptist beliefs in his will, his religious preamble being the laconic, ‘In the Name of God, so be it’. Bequests are family ones only, and no witness is a known Baptist. Yet William Lilley was a Baptist leader of some weight, widely known in Baptist circles. He almost certainly subscribed - as ‘William Zillye’ - to the ‘Second Humble Address from Lincoln’ to Charles II, dated 16 January 1661. When John Kelsey, Baptist leader of a congregation at Kirton [Lindsey] lay in Nottingham
Gaol in 1676, he mentioned the past kindness of 'Brother Lilly'. Daniel Cheeseman of Bradley, near Grimsby, making his will in 1668, appointed William Lilley as one of his trustees for a legacy of forty shillings to 'divers pore Bredren' in four Baptist congregations. A few months after William's death, his widow Elizabeth licensed her home as a Baptist place of worship. Among Elizabeth's debtors in 1679 was a 'Mr William Smyth, late of the Castle of Lincoln, jaler', which raises the clear possibility that the Lilleys were helping imprisoned Baptists by showing favour to their gaolers.

Traces of other Baptists at this time in Lincoln are fewer than when the ecclesiastical courts were pursuing them relentlessly in the period before 1640. But Ezechiel Hill and his wife, previously cited as Anabaptists in visitations of 1637-8, were still 'not coming to church' in 1664. Licences were issued following the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, besides that for the Lilley's house, to Nicholas Archer and Roger Fawne, both in their own houses: the latter was a well-connected merchant of Boston when he died in 1681. This turn of national events, with local consequences, greatly alarmed Bishop Fuller of Lincoln, so much so that his two anguished letters to London are powerful external evidence of nonconformist growth in 1672:

... five houses are licensed in Lincoln for Anabaptists, but no preacher named; pray let me know who are licensed for those five. All these licensed persons grow insolent and increase strangely. The orthodox poor clerby are out of heart. Shall nothing be done to support them against the Presbyterians, who grow and multiply faster than the other? ... Both Presbyterians and Anabaptists, with the Quakers, are exceedingly increased Insomuch that if there be not a sudden stop put to their daring growth, I dread to write the consequence.

The Declaration of Indulgence was revoked a year later, but renewed persecution by no means extinguished the Lincoln Baptists. When Elizabeth Lilley died in 1679, she named two of 'my well beloved friends' who were to administer twenty shillings for 'such of my Christian friends on acquaintance as are in want'. These were John Dent of nearby Cherry Willingham (also mentioned by John Kelsey in 1676), of a Baptist family prominent later in the South Marsh area now known to lie around the Baptist church of Monksthorpe, and Richard Sharpe, whose own will showed him to be a substantial cordwainer, also owner in 1717 of a Baptist Meeting House in the city. As Joseph Veal had also built a chapel with burying ground in St Benedict's parish in the city in 1701, and bequeathed this property to trustees for the Baptists in 1703, the state of affairs in Lincoln at the turn of the century seemed healthy and prospering.
3 White, English Separatist Tradition, p.117.

B. Evans, Early English Baptists. 1864. Vol.II. pp.21-44.

7 ibid.
9 Lincolnshire Archives Office. Episcopal Visitation 1618. f.71.
10 ibid. E.V. 1623, f.4; and Archdiocesan Visitation 1623. f.18.
12 R. M Butterfield (née Clifford), ‘The Royal Commission of King Jesus’, BQ 35, 1993, p.69; originally from SP 16/274/12. It is possible that the Johnsons of Lincoln were related to Francis and George Johnson, leaders of the Baptists in Amsterdam around this time, but the surname is very common.
13 House of Lords Record Office. Main Papers. 22 December 1641. Lincoln poll tax certificate.
14 I.G.I., and same for subsequent references to baptisms and marriages in Lincolnshire and elsewhere.
15 L.A.O., Dean & Chapter Wills 9/84.
17 Hill, op.cit., p.12.
18 L.A.O., Lincoln Consistory Court Wills (LCC) 1670/ii/588.

19 ibid., 1628/ii/153 & LCC Inventory [Inv.] 134/49 (Richard Bell, menuzician); 1631/39 7 Inv.139/223 (Richard Bell, taylor); 1631/41 & Inv.144/137 (Nicholas Cawton, webster: inventory of his widow); 1638-40/13 & Inv.150/6 (Henry Bell, musician); 1643-4/448 & Inv.153/84 (Martin Gateworth, bearbrewer); 1643-4/374, no inventory (William Hill).
20 L.A.O., LCC 1629/207 & Inv.135/324.
21 ibid.. 1631/41 & Inv.144/137.
24 ibid., 1631/41.
25 ibid.. 1629/207.
26 ibid.. Inv.150/6.
27 ibid.. LCC 1672/ii/50 & Inv.175/218.
28 Whitley, op.cit., pp.xxxx, xliii.
30 L.A.O., LCC 1667/ii/455.
32 L.A.O.. LCC 1679/ii/190.
33 L.A.O., Churchwardens’ Presentments 1664 (Episcopal) Lincoln St Mark.
34 L.A.O., LCC 1681/ii/346. He was owed money by Joseph Dion of Burgh le Marsh, a known Baptist surname and place.
35 Hill, op.cit., p.16.
36 L.A.O., LCC 1679/ii/190.
37 ibid., 1717/ii/123; also Wills O 994 for his Inventory of £121, which included over 300 pairs of shoes, valued at £40.

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ANGUS ACQUISITIONS continued from p.70

TENTERDEN, Zion Baptist Church Church records of Zion Baptist Church, Tenterden, 1897-1974, and papers of Blue Bell Hill and Walderslade churches to 1993 (deposited by the Revd G. Breed, Kent Baptist Association).

WALLINGFORD, Baptist Church Church records of Wallingford Baptist Church 1794-1981 (deposited by Mr F. Law, Church Secretary).