

Yeomen and Clerics

The Yorkshire Puritan Ancestry
of Bishop Jeremy Collier

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I owe special thanks to Janet, who has had to put up with the Colliers since the discovery of my own descent from Josiah Collier (1595–1677) via his daughter Sarah and the Grimshaw family of Rawdon and Calverley.

Abbreviations

<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
YAS RS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series
YPRS	Yorkshire Parish Register Society

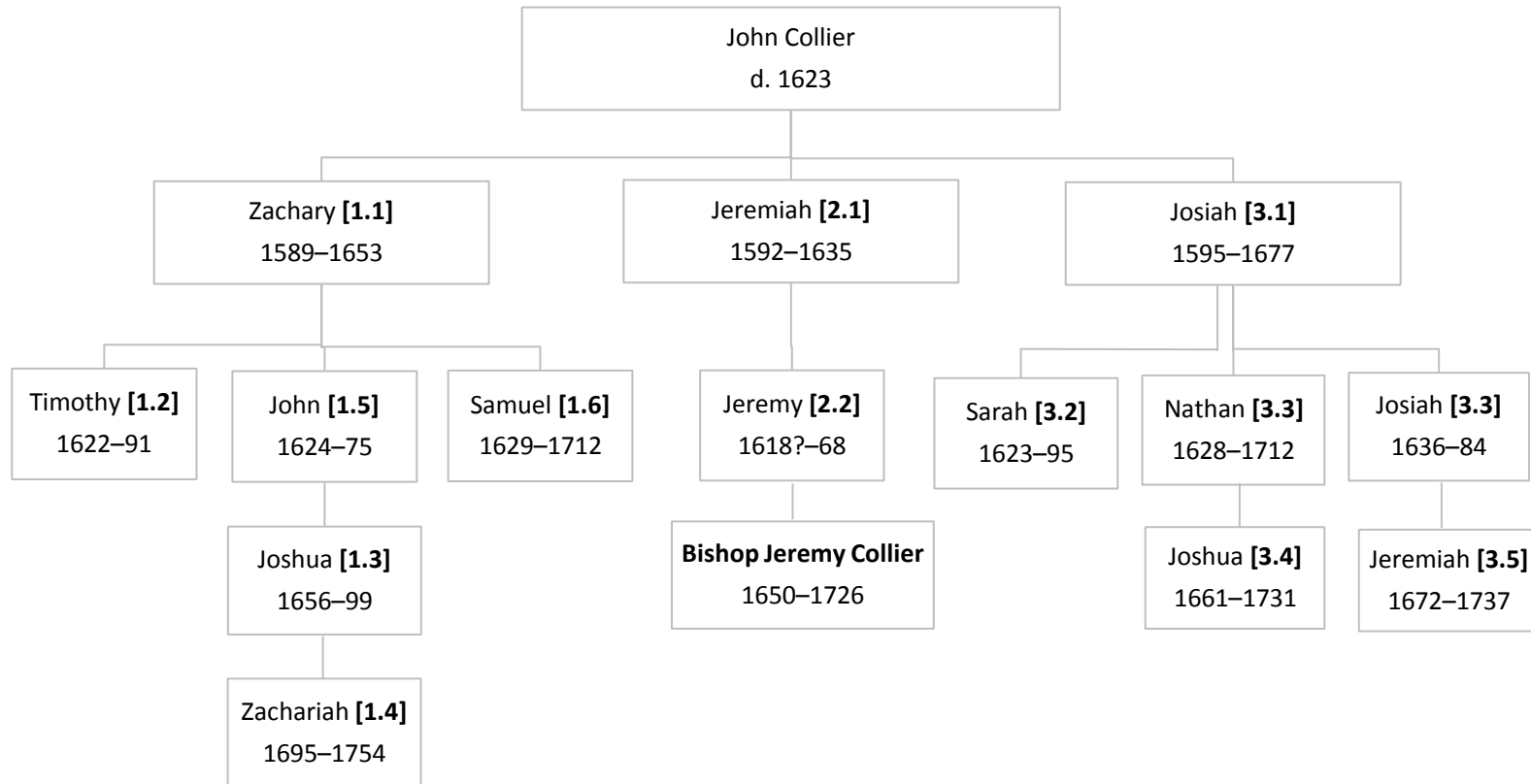
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Outline Collier Family Tree



Introduction

Jeremy Collier (1650–1726), bishop of the non-juring Church of England, historian, controversialist, and critic of the stage, has an entry in *Biographia Britannica* (1748) believed to be based on his own notes.¹ Near the beginning we find: ‘His father was a divine and considerable linguist, and some time Master of the free-school at Ipswich in the county of Suffolk. His grandfather likewise was a Clergyman, settled at Bradford in Yorkshire, where he lived in esteem for his function. He was born at Yeadon near Bradford, and descended from a gentleman’s family of that name, seated at Thrusk [Thirsk] in the same country, in the reign of Henry VIII.’² Surviving records do not appear to allow confirmation of the last statement, but a considerable amount is nevertheless discoverable about the Yorkshire family from which Jeremy Collier descends, beginning with his great-grandfather John Collier.

The Collier family lived at Nether or Lower Yeadon, a township on the north bank of the River Aire six miles north-east of Bradford and seven miles north-west of Leeds. The family seems to have lived in the area from at least the early sixteenth century, for people with the same surname occur in local records from that time onwards. Thus an earlier John Collier was bailiff of near-by Esholt Priory (for an annual salary of 13s 4d) at the time of its dissolution on 29 August 1539.³ He was also a tenant of the priory, and was seemingly prosperous, for he paid a high rent of 63s 4d under the terms of an indenture taken out in 1511.⁴ He is very likely the John Collyer taxed 15d (joint highest) in the 1525 lay subsidy roll for Yeadon, and he was no doubt related to the Wilfrid Collier who was taxed 3d (on £3) in the 1545 assessment (joint second highest) and who was involved in land transactions in Esholt in 1546 and 1556.⁵ It was probably the same Wilfrid Collier who appeared as a witness in two legal cases involving tithes heard in the Consistory Court at York in 1563–64, where Collier is described as a husbandman aged fifty, of Guiseley.⁶ A later Wilfrid Collier, ‘husbandman aboute the age of xlviii yeares’, is a

¹ See a letter from Samuel Jebb to Thomas Brett, 21 May 1726, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Th c. 29, ff. 139–140. I owe this reference to the work of Tania Boster (details at ch. 3, n. 31 below).

² *Biographia Britannica*, ed. by William Oldys, 6 vols (London, 1747–66), II (1748), p. 1406. The article on Collier in *ODNB*, by Eric Salmon, does not mention his grandfather.

³ H. E. Bell, ‘Esholt Priory’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 33 (1938), 5–33, p. 22. At the time of the dissolution he was owed 16s 8d for two and half quarts of malt; see J.S. Purvis (ed.), ‘A Selection of Monastic Rentals and Dissolution Papers’, *Miscellanea*, III, YAS RS, 80 ([Leeds], 1931), p. 84.

⁴ *A Transcript of the Court Rolls of Yeadon, 1361–1476, with the Early Rentals and Accounts of Esholt Priory*, ed. by Stephen J. Whittle and G. R. Price (Draughton, 1984); T. Illingworth, *Yeadon, Yorkshire* ([Horsforth], 1980), p. 6.

⁵ Illingworth, *Yeadon*, pp. 6–7; West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds (hereafter ‘Leeds Archives’), Stansfield muniments (WYL500/32–33).

⁶ See items CP.G.984 and CP.G.1093 in the York diocesan Cause Papers held at the Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York, available online at <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/causepapers/>. Yeadon was part of the parish of Guiseley.

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deponent in a case concerning a disputed right of way between Nether Yeadon and Esholt, to be dated probably to the 1580s rather than the 1590s surmised by Bradford Archives because a Wilfrid Collier died in 1590. Collier testifies that ‘he twenty tymes haith passed and repassed with waynes loden with donge & haye thorow the sayd layne or hye waye’.⁷

From a genealogical point of view the line to Jeremy Collier begins with his great-grandfather John Collier, the principal source of genealogical information being the registers of the parish of Guiseley (which survive from 1584), to which Yeadon belonged.⁸ On 16 July 1588 John Collier married Isad Ive, his bride’s first name probably a form of Isolde; she is likely to be the Essett Collier (another possible form) who was buried on 18 January 1597.⁹ There were five children of the marriage (Jeremy Collier being the grandson of the third son, Jeremiah), with baptismal dates as follows: Zachary, 9 November 1589; John, 14 February 1591; Jeremiah, 7 September 1592; Josiah, 15 June 1595; and Mercy, 23 January 1597. Of these, the second is probably the John Collier who was buried on 8 July 1613, of whom nothing more is known. The birth of Mercy, who was to marry John Holmes on 6 May 1623, was doubtless the cause of her mother’s death.

John Collier the father appears to have been a successful farmer. He is listed amongst the wealthiest members of the community in the 1610 and 1621 lay subsidy rolls for Yeadon, taxed 8d and 3s on goods worth first 16s and then £3, and in a deed of May 1613 he is described as a yeoman employing a husbandman, William Bateson.¹⁰ A ‘William Baitson of Colliers farmhould’ is listed immediately after John Collier in an undated late sixteenth-century document headed ‘Yeadon custome moneye for Tythe Haye’, which records against John that his obligation was discharged ‘by his Brother Thomas’ – very likely the Thomas Collier who was buried on 27 May 1599.¹¹ John and Thomas appear with others earlier the same year as joint purchasers of ten messuages with land in Yeadon, Rawdon, and Guiseley;¹² on 30 September

⁷ West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford (hereafter ‘Bradford Archives’), 23D98/5/20. For the burial of a Wilfred Collier on 7 August 1590, see the following footnote. The administration of the estate of a Wilfrid Collier of Yeadon was granted on 18 November 1590 (Borthwick Institute for Archives, probate records, Ainsty deanery).

⁸ *A Transcript of the Early Registers of the Parish of Guiseley in the County of York 1584 to 1720*, by William Easterbrook Preston and Joseph Hambley Rowe (Bradford, 1913). The original registers (including those post-1720) are held by Leeds Archives.

⁹ Throughout this study all dates are given in new style.

¹⁰ Illingworth, *Yeadon*, p. 7; Hull University Archives (held at Hull History Centre), DDCV2/77/43.

¹¹ Bradford Archives, 23D98/4/7 (cf. 23D98/4/6, seemingly a draft of the same). Thomas Collier is listed separately, with ‘ij^d refuseth to take yt’ against his name. The dorse of 23D98/4/7 adds to the document’s title the phrase ‘and which hath broken custom’.

¹² *Feet of Fines of the Tudor Period*, vol. IV, YAS RS 8 ([Leeds], 1890), p. 122 (Easter Term 1599). Thomas Collier and seven others (including a William Ive) made a substantial purchase of land in Rawdon, Yeadon, and Guiseley in Easter Term 1594; see *ibid.*, p. 7. He and a Stephen Collier sell a messuage with lands in Yeadon in Easter Term 1584; see *Feet of Fines of the Tudor Period*, vol. III, YAS RS 7 ([Leeds], 1889), p. 21. A Stephen Collier was buried in Guiseley on 18 August 1592.

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1598 he had purchased from Roger Walker a close in Yeadon ('in the west of Narr Ing') that he was already occupying.¹³ In autumn 1616, jointly with his son Zachary, he sold two messuages with lands in Yeadon.¹⁴ He was buried in Guiseley on 20 January 1623.

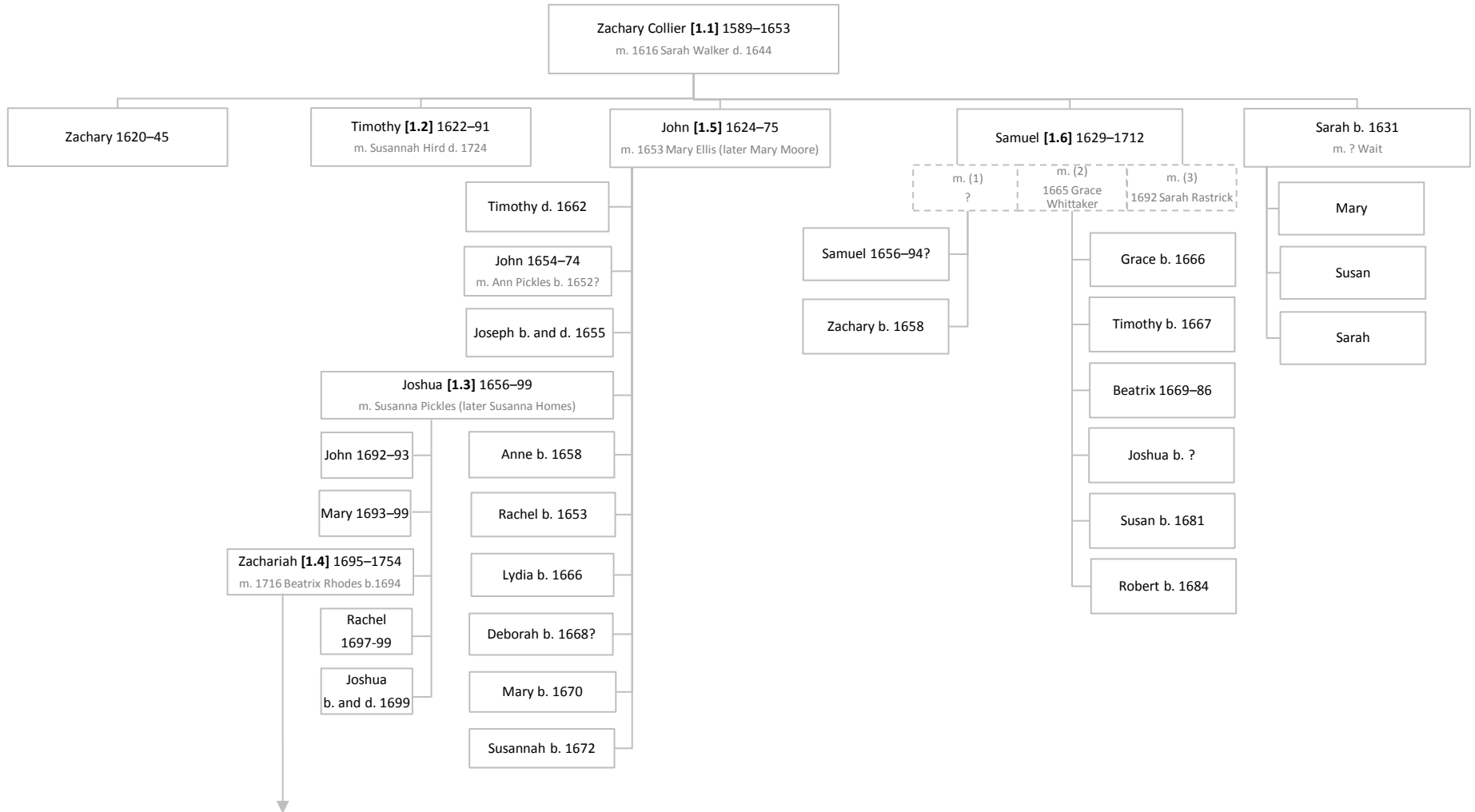
The following chapters study in turn the lives of John Collier's three sons, Zachary, Jeremiah, and Josiah, and of the principal members of their families, variously for one, two, or three further generations, depending on interest and circumstance. The investigation (which largely confines itself to the seventeenth century) reveals a mix of generally successful yeomen and Puritan clergymen and schoolmasters, along with a lay antinomian preacher and religious writer, whose daughter (and her family) joined the Society of Friends. The chosen method is 'vertical' rather than 'horizontal' within John Collier's family, the better to bring out the distinctive features of each line, including continuities between fathers and children.¹⁵ The result is a series of linked biographical sketches, with the main context being family relationships. General historical background is only minimally provided, as it is assumed that the reader will be aware of the developing religious and political conditions of the seventeenth century. The work concludes with a short appendix on bishop Jeremy Collier, derived from secondary sources.

¹³ Leeds Archives, WYL500/618.

¹⁴ *Yorkshire Fines for the Stuart Period*, vol. II, 1614–1625, YAS RS 58 ([Leeds], 1917), p. 67, Michaelmas Term 1616.

¹⁵ In the case of the names Zachary / Zachariah and Jeremy / Jeremiah, where the form varies in records referring to the same person, I have adopted one single form, partly to help differentiate people of the same name. Thus in section 1.1 I consistently use the form Zachary, and in 1.4, the form Zachariah.

Zachary Collier and his Family



1 Zachary Collier and his Family

For three generations Zachary Collier's family is mainly a line of increasingly successful yeomen farmers, in which Zachary himself (1.1) was succeeded in Yeadon by his son Timothy (1.2) and then by his grandson Joshua, Timothy's nephew (1.3). All three men were evidently prominent local citizens, especially Timothy and Joshua, who were commemorated by memorials in their local church and whose probate documents set out in detail the extent of their wealth. Timothy and Joshua's biographies end with short accounts of the later lives of their widows Susannah (formerly Hird) and Susannah (formerly Pickles, subsequently Holmes). Zachary's family is followed into the fourth generation because Joshua's son Zachariah (1.4), having married into the gentry, overreached himself in buying property, ran up huge mortgages, and was eventually bankrupted. Most space, however, is devoted to Joshua's father John Collier (1.5), who graduated from Cambridge before moving to London where he worked for a short while as an assistant to the educationist John Dury. During the Commonwealth he was employed first as Usher at Wakefield Grammar School and then as Master at Skipton Grammar School, before finishing his career (after the Restoration) as Curate of Haworth, having also accumulated a considerable amount of property. His widow Mary (formerly Ellis) subsequently married Richard Moore. The chapter ends with a short account of the family of his brother Samuel (1.6), Zachary Collier's youngest son.

1.1 Zachary Collier (1589–1653)

Zachary Collier was baptised on 9 November 1589, the eldest son of John and Isad Collier. On 13 August 1616, in Guiseley, he married Sarah Walker, the marriage producing five children who survived infancy: Zachary, baptised 2 July 1620; Timothy, baptised 25 August 1622; John, baptised 14 November 1624; Samuel, baptised 7 June 1629; and Sarah, baptised 4 December 1631.¹ The eldest son, of whom nothing more is known, is likely to be the Zachary Collier who was buried in Guiseley on 26 June 1645. Timothy Collier's will (for which see 1.2 below) reveals that after marriage his sister Sarah became Sarah Wait.

As John Collier's eldest son, Zachary Collier no doubt inherited his father's main property and assets. In the 1627 Yeadon assessment he is taxed at 6d compared to 3d for his brother Josiah² (as will be seen, their brother Jeremiah did not return to Yeadon after leaving the township in 1612). In a series of lists probably to be dated c. 1630 he is assessed at 12d or 1s in relation to the king's rent in Yeadon 'for landes purchased frome the Crowne by Mr Hopeay',

¹ The Guiseley Registers record the burial of two other children named Zachary Collier, in 1617 and 1619, born presumably to the same parents; their baptisms are not recorded, so they no doubt died as small infants.

² Illingworth, *Yeadon*, p. 9.

the fifth highest assessment out of a list of nineteen names.³ In a parallel list relating to the rent due to the king upon Mr Hemsworth's 'extent', one copy of which is dated 1634, he is down for 8d, the second highest out of seven names.⁴ His brother Josiah does not feature in these lists.

Surviving documents show that Zachary Collier began to build up his land-holdings in the late 1620s, one of his purchases, from Josiah (in 1630), apparently being the same close 'in the west of Narr Ings' that his father John had acquired in 1598 and which had presumably passed to the younger son.⁵ His main acquisitions, detailed in a number of surviving documents, were of the closes East Cockshott in 1629, Long Cockshott and New Close in 1630, and the Leys, Near Ing, and Far Ing (which together cost him £52) in 1631, the vendors variously being Thomas Layton and John Walker, who was very likely Collier's brother-in-law.⁶ The last-named three closes belonged to Gill House in Nether Yeadon, a property periodically associated with the Colliers throughout the seventeenth century. In 1599 it had passed from the Maude family to William Walker, following which in April 1631 John Walker sold the three closes to Thomas Layton, who sold them on to Zachary Collier on 8 July.⁷ Collier subsequently also acquired Mallin Flatts in Nether Yeadon from Thomas Broughe of Leeds, gentleman, by a bargain and sale dated 12 March 1632, paying £90 13s 4d.,⁸ and in 1641 he and John Ward were the main

³ Bradford Archives, 23D98/7/1 et seq., variously dated by the Archives c. 1600–1630 or c.1570–1600. A copy held as 23D98/4/2 has been assigned the date 1598–99, but these dates derive from the retrospective lists of tithes transcribed earlier in the document.

⁴ Bradford Archives, 23D98/7/9. A later version (23D98/7/10) is dated 2 January 1651, with Collier's assessment now being 9d for six acres held. See also 23D98/7/5, preserving other lists relating to the king's rent, in which he is assessed at 4d and 6d, in the first case relating to eight acres. Cf. Leeds Archives, WYL500/696, Letters Patent, 12 March 1628/29, granting to Robert Hemesworth, gent., lands in Upper and Lower Yeadon lately occupied by Edward Hoppey, and seized into the King's hands by a Writ of Extent issuing out of the Court of the Exchequer.

⁵ See Leeds Archives, WYL500/626.

⁶ Summarized in a historical memorandum drawn up in the earlier eighteenth century for the then lord of the manor Sir Walter Calverley, now Bradford Archives, 23D98/2/1/111. Surviving sale deeds are Leeds Archives, WYL500/623–24, 627, and 632–33. The Sarah Walker, daughter of William Walker, baptised in September 1591, is the only candidate in the Guiseley parish registers for Zachary Collier's wife; a John Walker, son of the same father, was baptised in May 1589.

⁷ Leeds Archives, WYL500/619–20 (1599, witnessed by John Collier), and 630–31, 632–33 (1631). The summary in Bradford Archives, 23D98/2/1/111, names the purchaser in 1599 as Roger Walker, but WYL500/620 makes it clear that the property passed to William Walker of Henshay House, Yeadon, 'cowper', Roger Walker (who does not feature in the Guiseley parish registers) being the occupier.

⁸ Bradford Archives, 77D77/742. Collier's ownership of Mallin Flatts is also recorded in a summary of his land-holdings included in the 'rent-free' section of a lengthy rental of Yeadon prepared for Francis Layton – who persistently bought up land in Yeadon, Rawdon and Horsforth in the pre-Civil War period – after he became lord of the manor in 1629 (Leeds Archives, WYL500/925h): 'Zachariah Collyer for lands purchased of Arthur Maude, John Walker and Mr Thomas Layton all of it beinge Maudes Landes. He is also the owner of Malin Flatt which came from Mr Edward Hoppey by purchase and as I suppose was free of the Prioress of Esholt Lands' (the Hoppeys were an earlier generation of prominent Yeadon land-owners). The rental, which is undated but must post-date 1632, is printed in an appendix to Roy Price, *A*

players in the acquisition of the old corn mill in Esholt from Walter Stanhope of Horsforth.⁹ In 1635, however, presumably for financial reasons, he sold most of the same closes that he had purchased in 1629–31, including those linked to Gill House, back to Thomas Layton.¹⁰

Zachary Collier's status in the community is confirmed by his appointment at the Pontefract sessions of 14 April 1640 to oversee (with others) the tax assessment of newly developed land in Idle, north-east of Bradford.¹¹ He served as a juror at the Wakefield sessions on 12 January 1642.¹²

Sarah Collier, Zachary Collier's wife, was buried in Guiseley on 6 January 1644. He himself was buried on 19 December 1653.

1.2 Timothy Collier (1622–91)

Timothy Collier was baptised on 25 August 1622. The Guiseley parish registers do not record his parentage, but the family relationship is made clear in his will (see below). From his baptismal date he was clearly the second son of Zachary and Sarah Collier. His will also gives the name of his wife, as Susan. Their marriage has not been found – presumably it did not take place in Guiseley – but Susanna Collier's will, dated 3 March 1720 and proved on 20 May 1724,¹³ shows her to have been a member of the prominent local Hird family. She is plausibly Susanna Hird, daughter of John Hird of Yeadon, baptised on 21 July 1633 (the register entry uses the spelling Heard), despite the age she would have been at death. There were no recorded children of the marriage.

As the eldest surviving son of Zachary Collier, Timothy Collier apparently inherited the greater part of his father's property and other assets. In 1654, a year after his father's death, he is named in his father's place in a document relating to the king's rent and the 'Hemsworth rent' (see above), paying 1s in one case and 3d in the other.¹⁴ On 25 April 1671 he is assessed for 8s 0d (sixth highest) in that year's lay subsidy assessment for Yeadon,¹⁵ and in the 1672 hearth tax return he is shown (with two others) as having four hearths, the highest number in

History of Yeadon (Yeadon, 1980), where it is wrongly numbered 925L. For the sale of the property from the Hoppey family to Broughe in 1626, see WYL500/690, where the land is said 'to be held of the King as part of his manor of East Greenwich'. It may therefore equate to 'the landes purchased frome the Crowne by Mr Hopeay' on which king's rent is due, mentioned above.

⁹ Leeds Archives, WYL500/94–95. Cf. WYL500/92–93 for related events of 1626 and 1637.

¹⁰ Leeds Archives, WYL500/634.

¹¹ *West Riding Sessions Rolls*, ed. by John Lister, 2 vols, II: *West Riding Sessions Records: Orders 1611–1642, Indictments 1637–1642*, YAS RS, 54 ([Leeds], 1915) p. 202.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 346.

¹³ Borthwick Institute for Archives, probate file of Susannah Collier of Yeadon, Ainsty Deanery, 20 May 1724 (microfilm 1143).

¹⁴ Bradford Archives, 23D98/7/11.

¹⁵ Bradford Archives, 23D98/4/10.

the township.¹⁶ Surviving deeds show him jointly purchasing a number of properties in Yeadon and Esholt in 1671, some of which had been leased to his younger brother John Collier (1.5 below) ten years earlier.¹⁷ A smaller purchase in 1674 was of the west end of a close called The Croft. More significant, for his future heirs, was the £30 mortgage that Samuel Walker, shoemaker, arranged with him on 7 November 1684 for the messuage in Nether Yeadon known as Gill House.¹⁸

As a prominent local citizen, Timothy Collier took his turn as Overseer for the Poor, serving in 1664, alongside his uncle Josiah Collier (3.1 below),¹⁹ and again in 1689–90; the Yeadon town records show that he and his colleague Isaac Walker presented their accounts and handed over to their successors on 17 May 1690.²⁰ Given the family's evident Puritanism, he is likely to be the Timothy Collier named in two (accepted) applications for premises to be registered as places of worship made at Leeds Sessions following the 1689 Toleration Act, one on 8 October 1689 ('Barn, Widdow Hill, at Windall in Calverley: Richard Simson, William Garth, Joshuah Sandall, Tim. Collier, John Hardacer, John Moore'), the other in July 1690 ('Barn in the occupation of Thos Beeston of Ashold in Otley Parish: Timothy Collier, John Hardacer, Josias Marshall, Richard Simson, John Moore').²¹

Timothy Collier's death on 1 March 1691 was recorded by the nonconformist West Riding preacher Oliver Heywood in his diaries: 'Timothy Collier that came from 'Heddon [Yeadon] in Guiseley parish dyed at Widow Brooksbanks in Shelf under Dr Threaplands hands of a cancer, March 1, carried home dead in a horse litter March 2, 90/1, aged 69, nephew to Mr Collier of

¹⁶ *Yorkshire West Riding Hearth Tax Assessment, Lady Day 1672*, ed. by David Hey and others, Index Library, 121 (London, 2007), p. 226. Illingworth, *Yeadon*, p. 10, gives the 1672 totals for Yeadon under the heading 1662.

¹⁷ Leeds Archives, WYL500/77, 76.

¹⁸ Bradford Archives, 77D77/743 (1674), 744 (1684). It would seem that the property comprising Gill House, which had passed from John Walker to Thomas Layton to Zachary Collier and then back to Thomas Layton in the 1630s, had again come into the possession of the Walker family. (The Guiseley registers record the baptism of a Samuel Walker, son of John Walker, in 1613.) In 1680 Walker had temporarily mortgaged the property to Timothy Collier and others (by a lease under which they were to pay only peppercorn rent) as security for a sum of money that he was holding in his capacity as Overseer of the Poor in Yeadon; see Leeds Archives, WYL2276, box 45, bundle with unnumbered deeds, 1600–1792.

¹⁹ Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MD 274, amongst papers received from Miss Barwick of Follifoot. The accounts in question are undated, but the figure for the previous year, 1663 (which survives alongside), appears at the foot of the document. One other of Timothy Collier's co-signatories is John Hird.

²⁰ Leeds Archives, Aireborough UDC 1/1 ('Yeadon Records, 1688–1752'). Lists at the back of this volume show that he was also on the rota for Constable, initially set down for 1697, but he did not live to hold this office.

²¹ See *The Nonconformist Register*, ed. by J. Horsfall Turner (Brighouse, 1881), pp. 144 and 149.

Bradford'.²² (The reference is to Jeremiah Collier, 2.1 below.) He was buried on 4 March. A memorial tablet currently fixed to the north wall of Guiseley Church, recording his death on 1 March 1690 old style and giving his age, correctly, as 68 (and seven months), reads as follows: 'Adjacent lyeth interred the body of Timothy Collyer late of Nether Yeadon who departed this life the 1st day of March 1690 Aetatis suae 68 Mens[es] 7'.²³

Timothy Collier's will, dated 5 November 1690 and proved on 16 April 1691, describes him as a yeoman of Yeadon.²⁴ He leaves legacies and bequests variously to Susan his wife, who is to have half his estate and use of his house and garden during her life; to Samuel his brother and various children of Samuel's (see 1.6 below); to his sister Sarah Wait and her children Mary, Susan, and Sarah;²⁵ and to the six daughters of his brother John, deceased (see 1.5 below). The residue of his estate is to go to his nephew and executor Joshua Collier of Haworth (1.3 below). The will refers also to Collier's three closes at 'Mollin Flats' – and so he must have held on to the property acquired by his father Zachary in 1632 – and another at Croft End, all in Yeadon. The inventory that accompanies the will lists in great detail the contents of Timothy Collier's evidently sizeable house and farm, including numerous animals and £85-worth of malt, in which he presumably traded. But the most striking entry is the huge sum of £787 6s 8d in 'Debts owing to the Deceased by Severall Persons', strong evidence that he was also engaged in the business of money-lending (cf. the mortgage he arranged for Samuel Walker in 1684, and see also p. 30 below). The overall value of his estate, excluding debts owed by Collier at his death (£24 5s 8d), is given as £1036 3s 10d.

Susan, or Susannah, Collier, Timothy's widow, lived on for more than thirty years; the Guiseley parish registers record her burial on 20 January 1724. A number of surviving documents attest to her wealth and position in society. Thus a notebook kept by the future Sir Walter Calverley records on 25 January 1692: 'I tooke a bond in, maid by my father [who died November 1691] to Timothy Collier, for pament of £100, with intrest, from Susanna Collier, and gave her new bond in my owne name, to be paid on (*blank*), and was to pay £5 for intrist sometime after, and there will be due to him [*sic*] in April next, £912'.²⁶ And on 9 April 1696 she

²² *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., 1630–1702: His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, ed. by J. Horsfall Turner, 4 vols ([Brighouse], 1881–85), II, pp. 157–58.

²³ Philemon Slater, in his *History of the Ancient Parish of Guiseley* (London, 1880), pp. 159–60, refers to a Collier tomb in the north aisle of the church, but if correct, that is no longer present. George John Armytage, 'Monumental Inscriptions – St Oswald's Church, Guiseley, Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, 6 (1881), 80–91, calls it a mural freestone monument, and deciphers arms, 'Sable a cross patée fitchée gules (Collyer)' (p. 87).

²⁴ Borthwick Institute for Archives, probate file of Timothy Collier of Yeadon, Pontefract Deanery, 16 April 1691 (microfilm 1664).

²⁵ His sister is to receive £40, and her daughters £20 each as they reach the age of twenty-one.

²⁶ 'Memorandum Book of Sir Walter Calverley, Bart.', [ed. by S. Margerison], in *Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, vol. II, Surtees Society, 77 (Durham, 1883), pp. 43–148 (p. 48). The original document is British Library, Add. MS 27418.

is named in a settlement regarding the marriage of her niece Hannah Kitching of Bradford to a John Hollings of Cottingley, under which she is to be paid £120 in respect of property.²⁷ The Yeadon town records show that in August 1709 she paid a fine of 40s to avoid taking on an orphaned or otherwise destitute apprentice.²⁸ In November 1716, by lease and release, she disposes of a large amount of property comprising houses in Kirkgate, Bradford, and Stone Close in Manningham, but the purchaser is Christopher Hird of Yeadon, almost certainly her brother (see below), and the witnesses include Christopher's son John. (The release is tripartite, naming also John Hollings the elder, tanner.)²⁹

Susannah Collier's will dated 3 March 1720, noted above, makes no mention of any Colliers; she may have felt that her husband's relations were well enough provided for by his own will. Instead she leaves £10 to her brother Thomas Hird, £100 to Mary, Thomas's daughter, in consideration of 'my Houseing and Lands in Bradforth and Manningham',³⁰ and £30 each to named daughters of her deceased sister Sarah. The bulk of her estate goes to Christopher Hird, son of her brother Christopher Hird deceased, who is also her sole executor.

1.3 Joshua Collier (1656–99)

Joshua Collier was baptised in Skipton parish church on 16 December 1656, probably the fourth-born son of Timothy Collier's next youngest brother John Collier and his wife Mary. He would have been brought up largely in Haworth, to where his father moved in 1660 (see 1.5 below). By the time of his marriage to Susanna Pighels, i.e. Pickles, in Keighley on 16 July 1691³¹ he was the only surviving son, and his father, too, had died. Presumably in consequence, Joshua Collier was the major beneficiary (residuary legatee and sole executor) under the will of his

²⁷ Bradford Archives, 47D75/5/14/10.

²⁸ Leeds Archives, Aireborough UDC 1/1. See also Illingworth, *Yeadon*, pp. 12, 89. See 1.4 below for her support for a scheme to establish a chapel of ease in Yeadon in 1714.

²⁹ Registry of Deeds, Wakefield, vol. K, p. 602, deed 813. The transaction is described as a settlement, but this is not explained in the surviving document. The Guiseley registers record the baptism of John, son of Christopher Hird, on 13 July 1685, and the burial of Christopher Hird of Lower Yeadon on 5 March 1717. The Christopher Hird who is appointed Susannah Hird's executor (see below), evidently John's brother, was baptised on 12 December 1689 and buried in the Baptist graveyard at Rawdon (Cragg Royd) on 21 August 1744. A copy of inscriptions from this burial ground (including also of John Hird's burial there on 28 December 1752) is held at the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (Thoresby Society MS box V23).

³⁰ Cf. T. T. Empsall, 'Land and Property Tax in Bradford, 1704', *Bradford Antiquary*, 1 (1888), p. 111: a 'Widdow Collier' with property in Manningham is taxed 5s. 0d.

³¹ *The Parish Registers of St Andrew's, Keighley*, vol. III, ed. by Ronald G. C. Livett, YPRS, 98 ([Leeds], 1935), p. 5. His bride was possibly a relative of the Ann Pickles named in the marriage licence application relating to his elder brother John (see p. 32 below). Pickles was a common name in the Keighley area, and baptisms under a version of the name Susan Pickles occurred in Haworth or Keighley in 1663, 1666, 1669, 1670, and 1672.

prosperous childless uncle, Timothy Collier of Yeadon, who died on 1 March 1691 (probate granted, 16 April). He is there referred to as Joshua Collier of Haworth, in which township he had inherited land from his father (see pp. 33–34 below). In this connection he is physically present as a suitor and sworn juror at the Haworth court baron of 12 June 1688, and also attends the subsequent court, held on 23 October 1690.³²

It seems clear that his sudden acquisition of wealth in 1691 resulted in Joshua Collier moving to Yeadon, very likely to one of Timothy Collier's properties, and it may also have enabled or prompted his marriage, at the relatively late age of thirty-four. The first indication of his new material status comes in February 1692, when, following an Act of Parliament passed in 1691, he is assessed to pay tax of £3 2s as part of the township's overall contribution of £48 12s. The following February he is assessed at £2 14s (out of a total of £42 4s) on the basis of an accompanying 1692 valuation, which lists the full-year value of his lands as £40 10s. And in 1694 he is assessed at £2 15s 10d, out of the same yearly total of £42 4s.³³ Collier appears in these lists as the third highest rated Yeadon householder, after Madam Frances Calverley and John Marshall.

His higher rank in society is also apparent from the way that some of the five children born to 'Joshua Collier of Yeadon' are recorded in the Guiseley parish registers. The entries are as follows: John, baptised 29 April 1692; Mary, born 17 June and baptised 12 July 1693; Zachariah, born 28 May and baptised 12 June 1695; Rachel, baptised 19 February 1697; and Joshua, baptised 6 February 1699. The inclusion of birth dates, though inconsistent, is an indication of status, and Rachel is said to be the daughter of Joshua Collier of Yeadon, gentleman.

A deed dated 30 October 1691 shows Joshua Collier's place of residence at that time to be 'Brackon Cliffe' in Nether Yeadon. Brackenclyff is the farm also known as Crowtree (or Crowtrees) that was later, in the 1740s, in the possession of Joshua Collier's son Zachariah (1.6 below), but which in the early eighteenth century was apparently the home of members of the Hird family, the family of his aunt Susannah Collier.³⁴ The deed in question relates to the transfer of a large amount of property, mainly in Bingley, to twelve trustees in order to provide for the maintenance of a schoolmaster at the free grammar school in Haworth.³⁵ By a legal device the owner, Thomas Fether, had sold the property three days earlier to Joshua Collier and Henry Pickles of Scholes in Keighley, perhaps an in-law of Collier's (the relevant deed is referred to but has apparently not survived). Collier and Pickles, who are said to be fulfilling a request made to them, are now selling the property back to the trustees, of whom Fether is one. Joshua Collier's involvement is no doubt a measure of his good standing in Haworth, but his father's probable association with the school in the 1660s (see 1.5 below) may also have been a factor.

³² *The Court Rolls of the Manor of Haworth*, ed. by Clifford Whone (Bradford, 1946), p. 20.

³³ Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MS 527/147–49.

³⁴ See D. C. Willcock, *A History of Rawdon: People, Places, and Prejudices* (Rawdon, 2000), ch. 5.

³⁵ Bradford Archives, HEA/A/189.

Further deeds show that between 1693 and 1695 Joshua Collier purchased Gill House, the property in Nether Yeadon that the shoemaker Samuel Walker had mortgaged to his uncle Timothy Collier in 1684: a quitclaim from Walker to Collier dated 24 June 1693 (for a payment of £10) is followed by a conveyance to him for £35 dated 25–26 December 1695.³⁶ The purchase is confirmed by an entry for April 1698 in a ‘Book of acknowledgements & payments’ kept by agents for Madam Frances Calverley in relation to passage through her lands in East Esholt, which refers to ‘Jonas Walker tenant to Joshua Collier of a house late in possession of Samuel Walker at the Ghill in Yeadon’.³⁷ This appears also to show that Joshua Collier himself never moved into Gill House.

Joshua Collier’s lands are referred to more generally in the notebook kept by Sir Walter Calverley already mentioned (p. 13 above). The following entries for 1693 concern the rating of land for the purposes of relief of the poor in Yeadon: 24 July, ‘The said referrers [i.e. assessors] mett and viewed the lands of John Marshall and most of Vid. Ward’s, and also Christopher Hird’s and Joshua Collier’s’; 20 September, ‘[Named assessors] mett again this day, about the assessments to poor in Yeadon referred to them, and viewed Joshua Collier’s lands at Stone top, my mother’s, and John Baildon’s; but did not make any new rates, for they could not find out how to do it more equally’; 28 October, ‘[Named assessors] mett about our assessments to the poor of Yeadon, and determined them: ... Joshua Collier, for own and Stone top, 3s. 11d.’.³⁸ Joshua Collier, with Timothy Cooper, was himself Overseer of the Poor for Yeadon for the year 1699–1700.³⁹ With William Rhodes he had fulfilled another civic office, that of Surveyor of the Highways, for the year 1694–95.⁴⁰

But Joshua Collier did not enjoy his prosperity and position in local society for long. Death had already taken his son John on 24 March 1693, ‘aged 47 weeks’ according to the gravestone now mounted on the north wall of Guiseley Church, and the same stone records the burial of John’s sister Rachel on 6 February [1699].⁴¹ Worse was to come, possibly the result of sudden infection. Two of Joshua and Susannah Collier’s three remaining children, Joshua and Mary, die on 15 and 16 November 1699; Joshua makes his will on the 22nd of the same month (naming Zachariah as his only son); and he himself dies two days later on the 24th. The three deaths are commemorated together in a separate tablet on the wall of Guiseley Church, which records that the two children were buried in a single coffin.

³⁶ Bradford Archives, 77D77/745–746.

³⁷ Within Leeds Archives, WYL500/919 (q). See also 3.4 below.

³⁸ ‘Memorandum Book of Sir Walter Calverley, Bart.’ (n. 26 above), pp. 56, 57, 60.

³⁹ Leeds Archives, Aireborough UDC 1/1. They make their first distribution of money on 24 April 1699.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* They present their final accounts on 14 January 1695 (n.s.).

⁴¹ The stone reads, with dates in old style: ‘Here lyeth the body of John the eldest son of Joshua Collyer of Nether Yeadon, who departed this life the 24 day of March Anno Domini 1692 aged 47 weeks. Also his sister Rachel borne the 4th of February 1696 and buried the 6th of Febru[ary ...]’. The bottom of the stone has gone, but the Guiseley parish registers confirm the year as 1699.

Susannah Collier, as her husband's executrix, obtained probate of his will on 10 January 1700.⁴² Unsurprisingly short, given the circumstances, it leaves her a third of Joshua's possessions; confirms her rights of dower in all his lands and property; arranges for his mother, specified as Mary Moore following her remarriage (p. 33 below), to have an annual sum of £3 and the use during her lifetime of all the property she now enjoys; and makes it clear that all his lands and property in Yeadon, Haworth, or elsewhere are to descend to 'Zachary Collier my onely son'. The accompanying detailed inventory calculates the 'goods cattells and chattells' found at Collier's house and farm to be worth a very substantial £233 17s 1d. Also noted are the debts owing to Joshua Collier at his death (£89 3s 1d) and debts owed by him (£62 12s).

One immediate practical result of her husband's death was that Susannah takes his place as an Overseer of the Poor, jointly presenting the accounts in April 1700 and making up a shortfall.⁴³ Fairly soon afterwards she remarries: an entry in the Guiseley parish registers for 16 October 1701 records a marriage between 'Mr Holmes & Susana Colyer of Yeadon'. Eight children resulted from the marriage, with birth dates ranging from 1702 to 1714, and in the last case the entry in the Guiseley registers names the father as 'Mr John Holmes of Lower Yeadon, Attorney at Law'.⁴⁴ He reappears in a deed dated more than forty years later (30 January 1744) in which Susannah, still alive, is described as 'Susannah Holmes of Keighley, widow (formerly wife of Joshua Collier late of Yeadon, gentleman, deceased and afterwards wife of John Holmes late of Eldwick, gentleman, deceased)'. The deed in question shows Susannah acknowledging the receipt of £40 from her son 'Zechariah Collier of Yeadon, gentleman', in exchange for cancelling her rights of dower in property formerly owned by Joshua Collier in Yeadon and Guiseley, and at Haworth Brow in the parish of Bradford.⁴⁵

1.4 Zachariah Collier (1695–1754)

Zachariah Collier, born 28 May and baptised 12 June 1695, was left without father or siblings at the age of four. A codicil to Joshua Collier's will, dated the day of his death, gives to his wife 'the custody & tuition' of Zachariah '& what belongs to him during his minority, hoping that she will take care that he be virtuously educated'. In practice the role is taken by his step-father John Holmes, who in 1705 acts on the ten-year-old Zachariah's behalf in agreeing that the future Sir

⁴² Borthwick Institute for Archives, probate file of Joshua Collier of Yeadon, Pontefract Deanery, 10 January 1700 (microfilm 1664).

⁴³ Leeds Archives, Aireborough UDC 1/1 ('Timothy Cowper and Susannah Collier then made their accounts, being Overseers of the Poor').

⁴⁴ The children are Sarah (1702), John and Thomas (twins, 1703), Samuel (1704), Susannah (1706), Henry (1709), Edward (1711), and Martha (1714). In view of these dates it is probable that their mother Susannah was born in 1672 (or possibly 1670) rather than earlier; cf. n. 31 above.

⁴⁵ Bradford Archives, 77D77/754. One of the witnesses is Edward Holmes (cf. the previous note).

Walter Calverley can build a dam across Gill Beck.⁴⁶ Holmes may also have been acting for his step-son in a deed said to be dated 1703 relating to the establishment of a school at Nether Yeadon on land rented from Henry Layton (d. 1705). According to the Guiseley historian Philemon Slater, the school was built 'owing chiefly to the efforts of John Marshall of Low Hall, Christopher Hird and Zachariah Collier of Yeadon, and Thomas Hird and Hugh Marshall of Rawdon'.⁴⁷ It is theoretically possible that the Zachariah Collier in question was Zachary, the second son of Samuel Collier (1.6 below), born in 1658, but no more is known of this man. It is more likely that the Collier family felt that the eight-year old Zachariah, as heir of Joshua Collier's lands, should be named in the deed despite his young age.⁴⁸

'Zacharias Collier' is then named in the rolls of the Haworth court baron held in August 1708, the first since 1690 when his father Joshua was present. The 'heirs of Joshua Collier' are not represented in person, and as a result Zachariah, who, it is noted, 'holds several messuages, lands and tenements of the Lord of this Manor by fealty', is 'laid in pain to do his fealty' and pay his rent at the next court, despite being a minor. In August 1711, when he would still have been only sixteen, he is again recorded as absent. Only at the following court, in January 1718, is it reported that Zachariah Collier 'hath done his fealty for his lands within this Manor'.⁴⁹ His coming of age in 1716 also results in his name appearing in the surviving Yeadon tithe lists, where he is assessed at £2 3s, one of the highest amounts, for the years 1716–17. He takes over from his step-father John Holmes, who had previously (1710–11, 1714–15) been listed as liable for the same sum.⁵⁰

In respect of Yeadon there is no doubt that Zachariah Collier was determined to continue the family tradition, play his part in civic life, and maintain the status of gentleman achieved by his father, and it is possibly for this reason that his preferred form of forename appears (from surviving documents) to be 'Zechariah', which may have been thought more distinguished. Though he may scarcely have been conscious of his part in founding Nether Yeadon school, he was nineteen years old when his name appears (as Zechariah Collier) amongst those of other

⁴⁶ Leeds Archives, WYL500/637, dated 20 September 1705. Cf. a follow-up deed dated July 1716 (WYL500/638).

⁴⁷ Slater, *History of the Ancient Parish of Guiseley*, p. 180. In Illingworth, *Yeadon*, p. 157, the five signatories are characterized as 'five prominent local Baptists'. See also Willcock, *History of Rawdon*, p. 38, where Zachariah Collier's residence is given as Gill House and the school described as 'a joint Quaker/Baptist and joint Rawdon/Yeadon effort'. The deed in question has not yet been traced.

⁴⁸ Cf. the presence of the name 'Mr Zach. Collier' under the heading 'Yeadon Free Rents' in a document listing the tenants of Henry Layton at the time of his death in 1705, reproduced in the printed Guiseley parish registers (see Introduction, n. 8 above), pp. 325–27, and in W. M. Cudworth, 'The Layton Family of Rawdon', *Bradford Antiquary*, 4 (1905), 142–51 (p. 148). The original document is Bradford Archives, DB5/C11/3.

⁴⁹ See *Court Rolls of the Manor of Haworth*, ed. Whone, pp. 23–30. He continues to be listed in records of the court up to 1748, though it seems that he never appears.

⁵⁰ Leeds Archives, WYL500/825a.

local notables in a proposal to establish a chapel of ease in Yeadon, on the grounds that the now populous township was too distant from the parish church in Guiseley. The document, dated 23 August 1714, is in the form of a draft conveyance whereby (taking advantage of a recent Act of Parliament) sixty acres of common land in Yeadon would be transferred to trustees in order to provide a stipend for a minister at the proposed chapel. Other named backers include Thomas Layton, Sir Walter Calverley, the rector of Guiseley (William Wilson), gentry from Headingley, various members of the Marshall family, John Holmes, Christopher Hird, and Susannah Collier of Yeadon, i.e. Timothy Collier's widow, Zachariah's great-aunt. The nominated trustees are exclusively gentry: Sir Walter Hawksworth, Cyril Arthington, John Stanhope of Horsforth, and John Rhodes of Menston. However, the scheme seems to have remained no more than a proposal.⁵¹

Zachariah Collier's marriage two years later, by licence on 10 July 1716, was to Beatrix Rhodes, John Rhodes's younger daughter.⁵² Over twenty years the marriage produced ten children (including two pairs of twins), of whom at least five did not survive infancy.⁵³ The Rhodes, of Low Hall, were one of the leading gentry families of Menston (three miles north-west of Yeadon), with links to the Fairfax and Breary families.⁵⁴ On 18 October 1718 Zachariah was witness to a marriage settlement preceding the marriage of his wife's brother Richard (heir to Low Hall) and Anne Dinsdale of Otley.⁵⁵ Another brother, John Rhodes, a Cambridge graduate, became vicar of Ilkley.

Collier appears to have been regarded as a pillar of Yeadon civic society as soon as he achieved his majority. A list of prospective constables has him set down to hold this office as early as 1716;⁵⁶ he did not in fact take this up, but another document shows that he signed that

⁵¹ See W. E. P[reston], 'A Proposed Chapel of Ease at Yeadon in the 18th Century', *Bradford Antiquary*, 6 (1921), p. 82; the original document is Bradford Archives, DB5/C8/16A.

⁵² Guiseley parish registers. She is entered as 'Mrs Beatrix Rhodes', an indication of gentry status, not of widowhood, while her husband is 'gent.'. Her baptism on 12 December 1694 is recorded in the Otley registers; see *The Parish Registers of Otley, Co. York*, ed. by William Brigg, vol. II, YPRS, 44 ([Leeds], 1912), p. 37.

⁵³ Recorded as follows in the Guiseley registers, with the father's name Zachariah given in a wide variety of spellings: (1–2) Mary and Susannah, twins, baptised on 23 October 1717, of whom Mary was buried on 10 March 1718; (3) Beatrix, baptised on 29 January 1720 and buried in February 1726; (4) Mary, baptised on 15 November 1721 and buried in December 1721; (5–6) Zechariah and Penelope, twins, baptised on 27 January 1722; (7) John, born on 17 March and baptised on 14 April 1725; (8) Wilfred, baptised 2 June 1727; (9) Mercy, baptised 14 June 1729 and buried February 1741; (10) Joshua, baptised 9 March 1731 and buried July 1732; (11) Beatrix, baptised 9 January 1733; and (12) Martha, baptised 20 April 1737. See <http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/YKS/Misc/Transcriptions/WRY/GuiseleyBaptisms1720-1739.html> for baptisms after 1720, and, generally, Philip H. Jackson, *Guiseley Parish Registers, 1721-1780: A Genealogical Abstract* [1988, held in typescript form at the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MS 1467].

⁵⁴ Alastair Laurence, *A History of Menston and Hawksworth* (Otley, 1991), pp. 71–73, 102–03.

⁵⁵ Hull University Archives, DWB/3/104.

⁵⁶ Leeds Archives, Aireborough UDC 1/1, list at back.

year to confirm approval of the constable's accounts.⁵⁷ In 1719–20 he exceptionally served two years as churchwarden, requesting at the end of this term 'that he might bee forborn being putt into an office till the time bee allowed to him for his extraordinary service'. His request was granted, for it was 1736–37 before he held this office again.⁵⁸ In 1718 his name had appeared amongst the trustees of a bequest made in 1717 by Mrs Sarah Hammond of Lower Yeadon for the benefit of the poor of that place, the trustees (in their role as Overseers of the Poor) to be responsible in turn for paying the interest on the sum of £10 left by Mrs Hammond.⁵⁹ It may be noted that one of his duties as churchwarden in 1720 was to act as tithe farmer for the township of Rawdon, as is recorded in the Sufferings for that year of Knaresborough Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends. He was thus responsible, in that office, for seizing goods from the Quaker Josiah Grimshaw, the son of his grandfather's cousin, Sarah Collier (2.2 below).⁶⁰ Elsewhere in the Yeadon town records he is recorded from time to time as having payments made to him, for example in 1726, 'Paid to Mr Collier for a man 2 horses & a sledge', when work to lay a causeway through Stone Top was in progress.⁶¹

Collier's major recorded purchase of land, adding to his inheritance, took place in 1725, when, for £685, he bought a large amount of property in Nether Yeadon and elsewhere (including a dwelling house and two cottages) from Henry Rhodes and family of the City of London, presumably relatives of the Rhodes of Menston.⁶² An agreement reached with Sir Walter Calverley on 5 October 1733 shows something of the extent of his land holdings in Yeadon at this time, and of the leverage this brought him. Collier agrees that the lord of the manor (who has lands in the valley below, in Esholt) can have a right of way for cattle-driving and other purposes 'from a place in Nether Yeadon called the Gill so up a lane the inheritance

⁵⁷ Leeds Archives, Aireborough UDC 3/1 (Miscellaneous Yeadon township papers, 1701–66), document dated 13 October 1716.

⁵⁸ Aireborough UDC 1/1. He presents his final accounts for his two spells as churchwarden on 21 November 1721 and 31 October 1737 respectively. Aireborough UDC 3/1 contains detailed accounts of Collier's disbursements on both occasions.

⁵⁹ Leeds Archives, Aireborough UDC 1/1 (Yeadon Records, 1688–1752); see also Slater, *History of the Ancient Parish of Guiseley*, p. 168. Collier's year was to be 1720. On 25 November 1723 he witnesses an agreement between Christopher Hird, Overseer of the Poor, and Thomas Hudson of Guiseley (Aireborough UDC 3/1).

⁶⁰ Leeds University Library, Carlton Hill Archives, C8 (Knaresborough Monthly Meeting Sufferings, 1711–70), p. 34.

⁶¹ Aireborough UDC 3/1.

⁶² Bradford Archives, 77D77/747, 749, 1–2 February 1725. The land in question was estimated at fifteen days' ploughing. The cottages may be the same as the two cottages in Yeadon that Collier sold (along with some other property) to Hannah and Grace Frankland of Esholt in February 1726: see Registry of Deeds, Wakefield, Vol. Y, p. 38, deed 52. A smaller purchase of adjoining land in Yeadon, from William Smith, rector of Melsonby, for £30 on 18–19 January 1728, is documented in 77D77/748, which includes the proviso that Collier is to pay 'the rent of one rid [*sic*] rose in the time of roses if the same be lawfully demanded'.

of the said Mr Collier to a tenement called Stone Top House', and he promises also not to divert a water-course running through his lands to the detriment of Calverley's mills or the interests of his tenant farmers. Calverley rather reluctantly grants certain privileges in return, including allowing Collier's claim to 'a garden stead taken of the wast of the gill aforesaid' and his wish to enclose part of Nether Yeadon common adjoining some of his lands.⁶³

But subsequent years see Zachariah Collier mortgaging substantial amounts of property for reasons that may be connected, at least in part, with his appointment as a trustee of the will of his brother-in-law Richard Rhodes of Low Hall, Menston, who died in 1734, and with his possible involvement in the financial affairs of Richard Rhodes's son and heir, John Rhodes, who embarked on a lavish rebuilding of Low Hall after he came of age in 1743.⁶⁴ Collier, as one of Richard Rhodes's trustees (jointly with the latter's brother William), is recorded as raising a mortgage of £400 in July 1737 on farms and other property in Menston and Otley devised to them in Richard Rhodes's will (the mortgage was redeemed in July 1744), and as party to a bond of £1000 agreed by John Rhodes in October 1743 in connection with the final administration of his father's estate.⁶⁵ The two trustees are still involved in April 1744 when parcels of Rhodes land in Menston and Otley are sold to another brother-in-law John Hird and his wife Elizabeth, to put into effect the direction in Richard Rhodes's will that his three daughters, Elizabeth, Ann, and Eleanor, should receive £100 each on coming of age.⁶⁶

When Collier begins to mortgage land on his own account it is also to a family member: in May 1736 his half-brother Samuel Holmes of Eldwick, born in 1704 as a result of his mother's marriage to John Holmes, advances him and his wife Beatrix £300 in respect of a large amount of property in Yeadon, Guiseley, and Haworth, including eight messuages, six cottages, four shops, nine barns, and 300 acres of land.⁶⁷ But Collier's financial situation must have continued

⁶³ Bradford Archives, 23D98/2/1/74–75. Calverley appends a note in his own hand: 'I was highly imposed upon by a certain person in the signing of this paper.' On the matter of rights of way, cf. the agreements reached in 1705 and 1716 (n. 46 above).

⁶⁴ Laurence, *History of Menston and Hawksworth*, p. 73.

⁶⁵ Hull University Archives, DWB/3/118; Bradford Archives, SpSt/5/1/184. The enrolled version of the mortgage deed is in the Registry of Deeds, Wakefield, Vol. KK, p. 498, deed 655. Collier and William Rhodes had earlier, in May 1736, sold seven acres of property in Otley to Henry Barker of Potter Newton, presumably also in their capacity as trustees of Richard Rhodes; see Registry of Deeds, Wakefield, Vol. JJ, p. 66, deed 81.

⁶⁶ Bradford Archives, SpSt/4/11/85/2–3. In a possibly related transaction, a deed of May 1744 then shows Collier purchasing property in Menston and Otley from John and William Rhodes, for £120 (Hull University Archives, DWB/3/129). As Laurence notes, John Rhodes did not enjoy his new grand home for very long as he died in 1751, and the house had to be sold to pay off the mortgage he had taken out with John and Elizabeth Hird. Bequests recorded in his will include one to his aunt Beatrice, wife of Zachariah Collier (probate copy in Hull University Archives, DWB/13/6).

⁶⁷ Bradford Archives, 77D77/750, a plea of covenant before the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster, dated 'from Easter day in fifteen days', Easter 1736 falling on 25 April (o.s.). The subsequent 77D77/751, dated 5 July 1736, making it clear that Zachariah and Beatrix can continue to occupy the land in question,

to worsen, as in October 1741 he takes out the first of several mortgages on his remaining property, including in this case his house 'Bracken Cliff / Crowtree'. The mortgagee, who advances £500, is a 'Thomas Holme of Wakefield, gentleman', who may be another member of his step-father's family. A second mortgage, for £600, on the property bought from the Rhodes family in 1725 and on other land holdings including Mallin Flatts acquired by his great-grandfather, follows in December 1742, the mortgagee being William Fenton of Leeds. A third mortgage dates from May 1744, when Collier mortgages a smaller amount of land in Nether Yeadon (for £300) to William Wrightson of Cusworth and John Smith of Newland, who are acting as the executors of the late John Smyth the younger of Heath near Wakefield.⁶⁸

Very soon afterwards, in June and August 1744, Zachariah Collier reassigns to Wrightson and Smith the mortgages arranged with William Fenton and Thomas Holme. In each case the original mortgagee's demand for repayment leads to Collier requesting financial assistance from the two partners, and in each case he takes the opportunity to ask for an additional sum, so that (with interest) the original £500 and £600 become £600 and £800. A further advance of almost £150 from Wrightson and Smith in February 1745, secured on the same property as first mortgaged to Holme in 1741, brings Collier's total exposure to the two lenders to over £1800.⁶⁹

A document from Michaelmas 1745 then reveals a further advance of £500 from Wrightson and Smith, and a long follow-up deed dated 12 February 1746 shows that Zachariah and Beatrix Collier have now mortgaged to them what is clearly the great majority of their property in Nether Yeadon, Stone Top, Guiseley, and Haworth (apparently including all the property first mortgaged to Samuel Holmes in 1736), with the total redemption value now said to be £2095. One provision of the second deed, evidently forced on the Colliers, is to exclude Beatrix from any claim on the lands if Zachariah dies with the mortgages unredeemed.⁷⁰

There is no respite. June 1746 sees a further mortgage of small amounts of land in Yeadon, for £90, raised with Joseph Greenwood of Horsforth, following which a very substantial deed of 9 October 1747 brings out the full extent of the Colliers' predicament. In summary, Zachariah Collier, who has not redeemed any of his land, is now liable to pay William Wrightson (John Smith having died) £2159, added to which is a request for a loan of a further £441, to which Wrightson agrees. As a result, Collier's total liability by 9 October 1748, set as the date for payment, is calculated to be £2717. The deed makes clear that none of his lands can be

strongly implies that the transaction involved mortgage, not outright sale. The relevant deed has not survived. The dates of Samuel Holmes's birth and baptism are recorded in the Guiseley parish registers.

⁶⁸ The three mortgage deeds are Bradford Archives, 77D77/752, 77D77/753, and 77D77/756. William Wrightson, 1676–1760, was MP for Newcastle. He built Cusworth Hall, near Doncaster, in 1740.

⁶⁹ Bradford Archives, 77D77/757, 77D77/758, and 77D77/755.

⁷⁰ Bradford Archives, 77D77/759, another plea of covenant before the Court of Common Pleas (dated 'from the day of St Michael in three weeks'), and 77D77/760.

recovered until the whole sum is paid, and if there is any default when demand for payment is made, Wrightson will take everything.⁷¹

On 7 May 1748 Collier wins a short respite, pushing back the date of the foreclosure first by reassigning to Wrightson the mortgage taken out in 1746 with Joseph Greenwood and then by arranging yet another loan with him (£316). Wrightson's lawyers take the opportunity to set out Collier's liabilities in full once again (now £3047 4s), always making it clear that Collier can redeem his lands by paying up in full (by 7 May 1749), but adding further financial penalties if the interim half-yearly interest payment is not made by an agreed date.⁷²

Inevitably, Collier cannot pay, and on 4 February 1749 he is declared bankrupt. The courts appoint John Rhodes of Menston, gentleman, Jeremiah Marshall of Guiseley, gentleman, and Anthony Foster of Otley, apothecary, as assignees to handle his affairs, and fifteen months later, on 25–26 May 1750, settlement is made. Zachariah and Beatrix Collier's extensive lands (including their house Brackencliff) are sold to John Bever of Wakefield, Esq., for the sum of £4400, and William Wrightson is paid the total of £3277 2s 6d by then cumulatively owing to him.⁷³ Whether Zachariah Collier had other creditors is unclear. The deeds in question describe him as 'late of Yeadon, maltster, dealer and chapman', suggesting that business failures may have contributed to his financial ruin.⁷⁴ His departure from Yeadon is confirmed by a document dated November 1752, a general quitclaim by Collier in favour of one John Carr, late of Upper Yeadon and now of Chelsea, in which Collier is described as 'of Bradford in the County of York, gentleman'.⁷⁵ The Guiseley parish registers, similarly naming his residence as Bradford, record his burial in October 1754.

⁷¹ Bradford Archives, 77D77/761 and 77D77/762. A complicating factor, revealed in a deed also dated 9 October 1747 (77D77/763), is a loan of £360 made to Collier some years earlier by a Mrs Mary Brooke of Bank-Top. She evidently resorted to litigation to try and secure repayment, and at Michaelmas 1745 the Court of Common Pleas awarded costs against Collier of an additional £720 6s. The deed of October 1747, a complicated five-party agreement in which some of Collier's lands are also brought into play, sees William Wrightson paying Mary Brooke £405 1s 4d out of the £441 added, the same day, to Collier's debt to Wrightson, and Mrs Brooke assigning the rest of the judgement in her favour (with its benefits) to one Joseph Lindley of Heath, gentleman.

⁷² Bradford Archives, 77D77/764, 77D77/765.

⁷³ Bradford Archives, 77D77/766, 77D77/767. In a final agreement, dated the Morrow of All Souls 1750, Zachariah and Beatrix Collier receive £160 from John Beever (Bradford Archives, 77D77/768).

⁷⁴ It is likely that earlier generations of Colliers had dealt in the same line. In 1697 Susannah, widow of Zachariah Collier's great-uncle Timothy, was the recipient of a general quitclaim granted her by one Isaiah Margetson, 'late of Bradford, now of the Castle of York, maltster' (Bradford Archives, 47D75/5/19/1), and the item of highest value in the inventory of Joshua Collier's goods (see p. 17 above) is 'Twenty quarters of molt', i.e. malt, valued at £29

⁷⁵ Leeds Archives, WYL 179/279.

1.5 John Collier (1624–75)

The account of Zachary Collier's family now returns to Zachariah Collier's grandfather John, who did not live the life of a yeoman farmer although he evidently became prosperous. John Collier was baptised on 14 November 1624, the third son of Zachary Collier. Like his uncle Jeremiah (2.1 below) he did not remain in Yeadon but attended Cambridge University, being admitted sizar at Trinity College on 16 June 1641. He graduated BA in 1645–46 and MA in 1649.⁷⁶ Documents in the voluminous archive of the educational reformer and philanthropist Samuel Hartlib show that after graduating in 1646 John Collier found employment in London with the educationist and ecumenist John Dury, partly on the recommendation of his cousin Jeremy (2.2), at that time a fellow of St John's, Cambridge.⁷⁷ The matter was not, however, straightforward, for the first evidence of this venture is a letter from Dury to Jeremy Collier sent on 10 August 1647, via Hartlib, expressing concern about John Collier's fitness, in various ways, for the job at court for which Hartlib and Jeremy Collier had recommended him, and requesting that he be found other employment. In the first place, it appears, Dury (who was employed at St James's from March 1647 to assist with the education of the king's children) does not feel securely able to confide in Collier regarding matters of trust:⁷⁸

Sir, yours of the 3 July I did receive a good while agoe, wherein I perceive the realitie of your affection towards your cousin: I did expect that you would have undertaken for him in respect of his fidelitie, but yow only give me a Large testimony of your confident opinion of him, & soe recomend him to me, to bee trusted in what may concerne my affaires. I have noe cause given me by him for to distrust him in any thing; for his carriage to me hath been faire: but this is not a sufficient ground to confide matters of trust to him: there is a medium betweene resposing trust & mistrusting; & that of a good Latitude; if he had any to undertake & that would bee repensable for him; I would have a ground of trust to bee put in him, but without some that will doe so, it is no prudencie to Confide.

But Dury is also worried about Collier's strength of character in the face of the temptations of court life:

⁷⁶ J. Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt 1: *From the Earliest Times to 1751*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1922–27), I, p. 372.

⁷⁷ See the CD-ROM *The Hartlib Papers: A Complete Text and Image Database of the Papers of Samuel Hartlib (c.1600–1662)*, Held in Sheffield University Library, Sheffield, UK, 2nd edn (Sheffield, 2002). For Dury, see *ODNB*, s.n. Durie, John.

⁷⁸ Hartlib papers, 4/1/5A–B (a copy letter). The letter (quoted here in full, from the CD-ROM transcription) is summarized in G. H. Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius: Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers* (Liverpool, 1947), p. 266.

But the truth is, that I am of opinion, that this Court Life will not bee fit & proffitable for him: hee must bee wakned from a sofft and drowzie spirit; which seemeth to bee upon him; & the ease and plentie of the Court life in Providing largely for the belly; will rather keep him in that disposition then awake him out of it, for since hee is come to a full dyet here, & doth not Command his appetit; hee is fallen into some fittes of sicknes occasioned by meere Repletion & want of lively motion; which have made him for the most part useles to mee, in any thing, and is wholly now become a burden.

And he criticises Collier's lack of suitable clothes:

I did expect that he should have beene provided with a sute of Cloaths, fitte to have made him appeare in places where others of his ranke are; & this was promised should bee done; but he hath neither cloaths nor any shift of Linnen where of he hath great need even for the conservation of his health; chiefly in those times of Infection, wherin cleanlynes is a great part of our preservation.

Nevertheless he will continue to 'provide him with nescesaries' until a more suitable way of life can be found for him:

I have (being now this week to goe out off London) recommended him to Mr. Hartlibs care againe by whom hee was recommended to mee; & have undertaken to provide him with nescesaries till some other course may bee taken for him, which will waken him to more industrie, then this way would have done, if he hadde stayed with me, for truly I conceive that this course of Court life, will utterly spoile him: if he should continue in it: therefore in Love to his well fare I shall recomend him to you againe as I have done to Mr. Hartlib; & commending you to the Gracious favour of God rest / Your affectionate & Loving / freind & servant / Iohn Durye.

This is strongly expressed, but Dury's evident affection for both Colliers is apparent, and is confirmed by a letter written a week later this time to Hartlib himself, which ends with concern about John's whereabouts:⁷⁹

Let me know what is become of Iohn Collier; hee came hither to Sion before I arriued here but hee spoke only to one or two & did not adresse himself to Mr Torshell. What hee cam hither for I know not.

⁷⁹ Hartlib papers, 4/1/6A-B.

From this it seems that Collier has indeed left Dury's service, but has (perhaps) attempted to contact him once more by calling at Sion House, the residence outside London (over the river from Kew Gardens) of the Earl of Northumberland, the official guardian of Charles I's children.⁸⁰

Collier may subsequently have returned to Yorkshire, but it has been proposed that the 'John' mentioned in two of Dury's later letters to Hartlib again refers to John Collier, suggesting his re-employment: one datable to late 1647 and the other dated 21 May 1649, Dury in both cases telling Hartlib that he is sending 'John' to collect papers that he had previously left with him.⁸¹ This possibility does not conflict with the next evidence for Collier's career, his appointment as Usher of the Free Grammar School at Wakefield on 20 March 1650, under the headmastership of the Revd Robert Doughty, a Cambridge MA of an earlier generation.⁸² We may suppose that John Dury (or Hartlib himself) encouraged him to become a schoolmaster. He apparently remained in this post until 1656, when the next recorded Usher is sworn, a span confirmed by developments in John Collier's personal life: he married Mary Ellis at All Saints, Wakefield, on 19 July 1653, and the first two of his many children were baptised in the same church, namely John (born 7 April 1654, baptised 15 April), and the short-lived Joseph (baptised 9 September 1655, died 22 September 1655).⁸³

However, it appears that by 1653 Collier, who was clearly in holy orders, had begun also to officiate at Haworth chapel (to which, as will be seen, he returned as curate later in his career), for the Haworth registers refer to marriages conducted there that year by John Collier, clerk.⁸⁴ In June 1654 the same registers record the appointment of Edmund Garforth as Minister of Haworth, but it is likely that Collier had merely been helping out during 1653 rather than now being ejected, as was once proposed;⁸⁵ it will be shown later that Garforth, subsequently vicar of Kildwick and of Gargrave, began a stormy relationship with Haworth chapel also in 1653, displacing a clergyman called John Odcroft.

⁸⁰ The letter is written from Sion. 'Mr Torshell' is Samuel Torshell (*ODNB*), Puritan-leaning clergyman and tutor to the king's children.

⁸¹ Hartlib papers, 4/1/10A–B, and 4/1/29A–29B; Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p. 266 (and p. 265 for the dating of the first letter).

⁸² M. H. Peacock, *History of the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth at Wakefield* (Wakefield, 1892), p.154.

⁸³ The registers of Wakefield All Saints church apparently remain unprinted. My source for the marriage is Peacock, *ibid.*, and for the baptisms, the IGI database, <https://familysearch.org>.

⁸⁴ Specific dates are not given. The registers of Haworth chapel for 1645–1727, as preserved in Bradford Archives, BDP48/1/1/1, are a copy made in 1786. At the time Haworth was a chapelry of St Peter's Church, Bradford.

⁸⁵ J. Horsfall Turner, *Haworth: Past and Present* (1879), pp. 38–39.

In 1656 Collier moved to Skipton Grammar School as Master, at a time when the governing body was essentially Cromwellian in nature.⁸⁶ Two further children were born to him there: Joshua, on 16 December 1656, and Anne, on 1 December 1658, their father in each case described in the parish registers as ‘Mr John Collyer, Schoolmaster of Skipton’.⁸⁷ The historian of Skipton Grammar School, A. M. Gibbon, writes that:

[Collier’s] only claim to our notice is that he let, in 1659, eight farms at Addingham on 99 years’ leases at mere nominal rents, securing for himself some £108 as a sort of present from the leaseholders – and leaving the total rents there at little more than £20 . . . Whether it was legal for the Master to tamper with the leases in this way was very doubtful and led to much litigation, but it certainly became a common practice. The letting of the Addingham leases, on the face of it, looks like very sharp practice on Collier’s part, but it is quite possible that he was more or less forced into it by Trustees or Wardens or both. Obviously much money was immediately required for repairs to the buildings, hence the temptation to take fines. There is, however, another aspect to this question that should not be overlooked and that is the vested interests of the tenants, who doubtless had friends among churchwardens and trustees and who also stood to profit by the fixing of the rents for the next 99 years at a very low figure.⁸⁸

Whatever the truth of the matter, Collier left the school the following year, 1660, but more likely as a result of changes brought about by the Restoration rather than detected ‘sharp practice’, because a former Master, Thomas Barker, now resumed his position.⁸⁹ Indeed the exhibit book compiled as part of the Archbishop of York’s visitation of his diocese in 1667 shows that by September 1660 Collier had moved to Haworth, where he was both admitted as a preacher and licensed to teach, no doubt at the free grammar school that had been founded there in 1637.⁹⁰

The state of affairs at Haworth chapel in 1660 was complicated, and Collier’s position is somewhat unclear until August 1662 when the elderly antinomian Robert Towne was formally

⁸⁶ A. M. Gibbon, *The Ancient Free Grammar School of Skipton in Craven* (Liverpool and London, 1947), pp. 38, 44–45.

⁸⁷ *The Parish Register of Skipton-in-Craven*, ed. by W. J. Stavert, 3 vols (Skipton, 1894–96), I, pp. 204, 208.

⁸⁸ Gibbon, pp. 44–45, citing documents held in the School Chest at Skipton Grammar School. The documents are still preserved at the school (now Ermysted’s Grammar School).

⁸⁹ Gibbon, p. 45; Barker reappears in the records from 1661. The *Cambridge Alumni Database* at <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/Documents/acad/intro.html>, describes Collier as ‘a Puritan intruder into the mastership of Thomas Barker’.

⁹⁰ Borthwick Institute for Archives, V.1667 Exh.Bk, fol. 31r. Cf. James Edwin Stephens, ‘Yorkshire Schools and Schoolmasters, 1600–1700: Aspects of the Control of Education’ (unpublished University of Leeds PhD thesis, 1975), Index of schoolmasters.

ejected from the curacy as a result of the Act of Uniformity.⁹¹ Collier (thus revealed as a more mainstream Puritan) replaced him: he was appointed deacon at the chapel on 14 August 1662 and curate on 23 November of the same year.⁹² In 1660, however, by which time it appears that Towne had ceased to play any active part, the question of who rightly exercised the cure of souls in Haworth was a matter of dispute. Two legal documents among the York diocesan Cause Papers show that Edmund Garforth, who, by his own testimony, began officiating at Haworth in May 1653, had not gone away, despite the arrival of Robert Towne as curate in 1655 – and despite also Garforth's becoming Vicar of Kildwick, north of Haworth, possibly in 1659 following the death of the previous incumbent, Robert Towne's brother John, and certainly by 1660.⁹³ Both documents record Collier as plaintiff and Garforth as defendant in a personal dispute between them. Neither document mentions Robert Towne.

The longer of the two documents, undated but probably close in date to the other (28 September 1660), sets out Collier's case against Garforth, who has evidently continued to act as if still the incumbent at the chapel.⁹⁴ The points are that (1) Collier is in holy orders and of good reputation in Haworth and the surrounding area; (2) Garforth is the Vicar of Kildwick; (3) Kildwick is more than four miles from Haworth, and one man cannot conveniently serve the two places; (4) the chapel at Haworth is maintained by the inhabitants of the township, and when it was destitute of a minister they unanimously appointed Collier to be their minister; (5) Garforth is a man much given to quarrelling and brawling, including with the inhabitants of Haworth (in particular he attacked a man called John Ambler); (6) for the last five years Garforth has taken upon himself to exercise the office of a minister or priest within the chapelry of Haworth, and to marry, baptise, and administer the sacraments, not being in holy orders; (7) contrary to the wishes of the people of Haworth, Garforth displaced a Mr John Odcroft, who had been serving the cure, by means of obtaining an order in his own favour from the late Protector, through General Lambert, Hugh Peters, 'and others of that faction'; (8) following a meeting between Garforth and the inhabitants of Haworth, on account of the cure of souls being neglected (because of his living so far distant from Haworth), Garforth promised that if they would pay him his wage due at Martinmas (being Martinmas last) he would leave the

⁹¹ For Robert Towne, see ODNB and A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced 1660–2* (Oxford, 1934), p. 489.

⁹² Borthwick Institute for Archives, V.1667 Exh.Bk, fol. 31r.

⁹³ See *The Parish Registers of St Andrew's, Kildwick-in-Craven*, vol. II, ed. by William Anderton Brigg, YPRS, 55 ([Leeds], 1916), pp. 97 and 107, and E. W. Brereton, *History of the Ancient and Historic Church of St Andrew, Kildwick-in-Craven* (Crosshills, 1909), p. 45. For a summary of Garforth's career, see Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt 1, II, p. 194, updated in the *Cambridge Alumni Database*. He matriculated from Cambridge in 1648 aged seventeen, and so cannot have served Kildwick before 1653, as Brereton speculates. For Garforth's having begun at Haworth in May 1653, see below.

⁹⁴ This particular document is held as Borthwick Institute for Archives, CP.H.5571. See <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/causepapers/causepaper.jsp?id=106239>, which gives access to images of the document.

place. The wage was accordingly paid, but Garforth, contrary to his promise, has since procured an admission to serve the cure at Haworth, contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants.

This is a very strong indictment, with Collier's assertion that Garforth was not in holy orders particularly surprising. (The extant document is perhaps a draft, as it contains crossings out and interlineations, and is in two scribal hands.) Point 7, relating to the order obtained from Cromwell, presumably explains the unusual declaration of the authority for Garforth's appointment entered in the Haworth parish registers for 1654, a declaration that now looks like self-justification on Garforth's part.⁹⁵

Mr Edmund Garforth began to officiate as Minister of Haworth by Commission from the Commissioners at London, ordained and impowered for the settling and approbation of public preachers, (He having been first approved of and recommended unto them by the Certificate of most of the substantial Inhabitants of the said Parochial Chapelry of Haworth) on the twelfth day of June this year.

It must presumably have been then that Garforth finally displaced John Odcroft, only for him himself to have to suffer Robert Towne's arrival in 1655, although point 6 strongly suggests that he continued to officiate at the chapel during Towne's curacy.

The second document, containing responses made by Garforth, is much shorter, and concentrates on the question of the Haworth curate's stipend, suggesting that Garforth is here answering a different written deposition, now lost.⁹⁶ The main points are that he believes that the maintenance of the minister at Haworth chapel derives chiefly from certain lands within the chapelry,⁹⁷ and that Mr John Odcroft who used to officiate at the chapel had a wife and children. The implication appears to be that Collier (who also had a wife and children) ought to find the income from the land sufficient.

No judgement is recorded on any of these issues and the matter may have lapsed, perhaps because Edmund Garforth soon moved further away – apparently before the end of 1660 – to become Vicar of Gargrave, four miles north-west of Skipton.⁹⁸ Collier evidently settled in at Haworth, being described in a deed of 14 October 1661 as John Collier of Haworth, 'clerke, preacher, and minister of Gods word there'. (He also preached at Bingley in 1661, for an entry

⁹⁵ Bradford Archives, BDP48/1/1/1.

⁹⁶ The document is held as Borthwick Institute for Archives, CP.H.5982, available at <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/causepapers/causepaper.jsp?id=46915>.

⁹⁷ Confirmed by the Parliamentary Survey of the parish in 1655, as quoted in Turner, *Haworth: Past and Present*, p. 40: 'Haworth Chappell is distant from its parish church seaven myles. Mr. Robert Towne is mynister there, being a constant preacher of God's word, and hath for his sallarye twenty-seaven pounds thirteene shillings and foure pence p. ann. arysing out of lands allotted for that use.'

⁹⁸ *The Parish Register of Gargrave in the County of York, 1558–1812*, ed. by W. J. Stavert, YPRS, 28 ([Leeds], 1907), p. 85, records the burial of Garforth's predecessor as vicar, John Waite, on 27 July 1660.

in the Bingley Churchwardens' book for 19 June that year notes that 6s. was 'paid to Mr Collier for Preachinge'.⁹⁹ The deed in question interestingly demonstrates that Collier had not lost touch with Yeadon and also that he did not lack money, as the transaction involves a William Bayldon of Esholt leasing him three closes in Esholt and Yeadon for a period of forty years in return for a capital payment of £60 and a peppercorn rent. The deal – which may confirm that Collier had benefited financially from his time at Skipton – appears to have been a form of mortgage to assist Bayldon financially in the short term, as provision is made for him to regain the property by 1667 if he pays £3 12s for each of five years followed by a final payment of £63 12s in September 1667. It is of additional interest that all the payments are 'to be had or made att or in the now [*sic*] dwelling house of Timothy Collier of Yeadon', further seeming evidence of the latter's role in providing financial services.¹⁰⁰

Another legal action preserved amongst the Cause Papers at York shows us John Collier at work as the curate of Haworth in 1664. The action takes the form of a series of separate suits, stretching from March 1664 to May 1665, brought on behalf of the churchwardens of St Peter's Church, Bradford, against various Haworth residents who had refused to contribute to the costs of repairing the church.¹⁰¹ The defendants' two main arguments against participating appear to be, first, that Haworth is not properly part of Bradford parish, and, secondly, that they were not given proper notice of a meeting in Bradford to which the inhabitants of Haworth were summoned.

Collier is a central witness in the second respect, and his deposition, made in September 1664, is repeated word for word across the several suits, save for the changing name of the particular defendant. Collier (described as aged 39, clerk, curate of the chapel at Haworth) recounts in detail how on a Sunday morning about twelve months ago, after the end of divine service and the dismissal of the congregation, a Mr Edward Bowling brought him a monition from Dr Thomas Burwell, Chancellor to the Archbishop of York, ordering an assessment (i.e. of parishioners' potential financial contributions) in relation to the need to repair the ruinous state of Bradford parish church. He also brought a related note from the churchwardens at Bradford, and he asked Collier to look over the two documents and read them out. Collier told him 'he was come too late', but he read them publicly at the communion table: the substance

⁹⁹ Turner, *Haworth: Past and Present*, p. 41, and the same author's *Ancient Bingley* (Keighley, 1897), p. 142. For the original document, see Bradford Archives, BDP7/9/1/1, p. 68.

¹⁰⁰ Leeds Archives, WYL 500/76. William Bayldon would appear to have regained his property under these terms, as in April 1671 the same three closes ('Deadman reynes, Damme Inge and Over Pighell') form part of a larger amount of land purchased from William and Prudence Baildon by William Sayle of Esholt and Timothy Collier of Yeadon (WYL 500/77). At this date the land is said to be in the occupation of a William Dawson.

¹⁰¹ The documents in which Collier features are Borthwick Institute for Archives, CP.H.2452, CP.H.2454, CP.H.2456, CP.H.2503, CP.H.2557, CP.H.2570, CP.H.4952, and CP.H.4952A. All are available online via <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/causepapers/>.

of the note was that the inhabitants of Haworth should meet at the parish church of Bradford on 1 October last past (i.e. October 1663) in order to view the ruins and decays at the church, and to make an agreed assessment towards the costs of the necessary repairs.

Collier deposes that he then handed the two documents back to Mr Bowling, but whether anyone was present in the chapel and heard him when he was reading them out he cannot say; and as for the particular defendant he believes he had no notice of the day of the meeting aforesaid, neither did he give any further notice to the inhabitants of Haworth, nor was he required by Mr Bowling to give any further notice because the latter took the documents away again.

He finally deposes that he has known Haworth chapel for the last twenty years. He is uncertain as to whether or not it is situated in or belongs to the parish of Bradford, but he knows that all the offerings and Easter dues collected at Haworth are paid to the Vicar of Bradford along with fees for christenings, marriages, and burials. He has been curate there for three years past and more, and has been accustomed to account for the various fees with Mr Corker, Vicar of Bradford.

Unlike with some other witnesses, any subsequent interrogation of Collier is not recorded, and no blame appears to have been attached to him in respect of the lack of notice of the crucial meeting, although Edward Bowling's own testimony is slightly different: he deposes that he took the documents to John Collier on a Sunday immediately after morning prayers and the sermon were ended, at which time both he and divers of the inhabitants of the said chapel were present in the chapel, and he asked Collier to read them, which he did; but 'the inhabitants going fast away' he (Bowling) took hold of one John Rishworth, being a chapel warden there, 'and willed him to stay for that it concerned him', and he stayed and heard the documents read, and Bowling willed Rishworth to remember the date appointed. And he afterwards informed other of the inhabitants of Haworth of the date. (Rishworth is not one of the defendants.)

It may be noted that one other witness is Edmund Garforth (34, clerk, Vicar of Gargrave), who deposes that he has known the chapel at Haworth for the last ten years, that he believes it to be within the parish of Bradford, that he served the cure of souls there from about May 1653 to about August 1660, and that payments were regularly made to Bradford during that time.

From 1662 entries for members of John Collier's family start to appear in the Haworth parish registers, beginning with an entry for August 1662 recording the burial of 'Timothy, son of the Revd John Collier'. No record of the birth of this son has been traced, and the lines of Latin that accompany the burial note – signalling his father's university education – suggest that he was not an infant: 'Si qua Fata aspera rumpas, / Tu Marcellus eris. Deus dedit & abstulit.' The first eight words are a quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid* (VI.882), i.e. (in Dryden's translation) 'Ah couldst thou break thro' Fate's severe decree, / A new Marcellus shall arise in thee'. Marcellus was the Emperor Augustus's nephew and prospective heir, who died in 23 BC as a youth of

potentially great abilities, and Collier's use of the lines may imply that he saw a bright future ahead for a Timothy who is likely to have already been a teenager and whom he regarded as his heir. If so, his birth must have predated Collier's marriage to Mary Ellis and may have resulted from a marriage or other relationship during his time in London.

The Haworth registers go on to record the birth and/or baptism of four further children, often with more circumstantial detail than is normal: (1) July 1663, 'Rachel, daughter of Mr John Collier, born at 6 o'clock at night of the 7th instant and baptized on the 19th'; (2) April 1666, 'A daughter of John Collier' (unnamed);¹⁰² (3) June 1670, 'Mary, daughter of Mr John Collier'; (4) November 1672, 'Susannah, daughter of Mr John Collier, born the 10th (?) day, about 7 at night'. Then on 28 June 1674 there is the record of another death: 'Mr John Collier, Son of Mr Jo. Collier, obiit Anno Aetat. 20th' – clearly the John who was born in Wakefield in April 1654. A later hand has inserted above the line the words 'Called Laureate on his Grave Stone'; it may be assumed that this addition was not in the original registers but was taken from a memorial stone that is known to have read, fragmentarily: 'JOHN COL / LAVREAT / SON: TO: / MINIST'.¹⁰³ Presumably a tribute by his father, 'Laureate' may imply that this (second?) son was already showing promise as a scholar. Even though his age (and that of his intended bride) does not exactly match, this younger John must be the man for whom a 1672 marriage licence application is recorded (the marriage itself has not been traced): 'John Collyer, gen., 20, Haworth, and Anne Pickles, spinster, 22, Otley – either place'.¹⁰⁴ Ann Pickles, who does not appear in the Otley parish registers, is likely to be the Ann Pighells baptised on 31 March 1652 in Keighley, the daughter of Richard Pighells.¹⁰⁵ It is tempting to link the entry for 'Mr John Colyer' in the 'Empty and noe distress to be had' category of the 1672 hearth tax return for Haworth to the possibility that the groom suddenly absented himself from the township, but it is more likely that the owner of the property in question is here being recorded, not the last known occupant.¹⁰⁶ There is another entry for 'Mr John Colyer' in the main section of the

¹⁰² The brevity of this entry is very likely the result of physical deterioration in the original registers by the time the 18th-century transcript was made; see n. 84 above. Given the four-year gap between 1666 and 1670, the daughter is probably the first of the two out of the six daughters of John Collier who are named in his brother Timothy's will and not now recorded by name in the registers (Lydia and Deborah; see below).

¹⁰³ Turner, *Haworth: Past and Present*, p. 39, where the fragment, 'formerly in the churchyard', is now said to be 'reared against the pulpit'.

¹⁰⁴ *Paver's Marriage Licences*, vol. II, ed. by John W. M. Clay, YAS RS, 43 (Leeds, 1911), p. 174.

¹⁰⁵ *The Parish Registers of St Andrew's, Keighley*, vol. II, ed. by Wm. Anderton Brigg, YPRS, 82 ([Leeds], 1927), p. 5. Two further Ann Pighills were born in Haworth in 1646 and 1647, but it is more likely that marriage licence applicants would have added years to their ages rather than subtracting them.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *Surveying the People: The Interpretation and Use of Document Sources for the Study of Population in the Later Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Kevin Schurer and Tom Arkell (Oxford, 1992), p. 32.

Haworth return, presumably for the father's actual residence, although unexpectedly only one hearth is recorded there.¹⁰⁷

John Collier himself died not long afterwards, in 1675: '10 Oct., Revd John Collier, curate, buried'.¹⁰⁸ In anticipation, on 22 April of the same year he had entered into a detailed legal agreement with Robert and John Heaton, members of the prominent Heaton family of Ponden, Haworth, in effect putting all his property into trust with them. Based explicitly on the 'trust and confidence' that he reposes in them, the deed in question makes over to the Heatons the whole of his property, but retains the right for him or his wife to sell property for particular purposes, including to provide money for their children's education.¹⁰⁹ Three years later we find Mary Collier putting this provision into effect by means of a new trust deed, dated four days before the date of a marriage settlement between her new husband-to-be, Richard Moore of Dockroyd in Keighley, and, again, Robert and John Heaton (in the settlement Moore leases Dockroyd to the Heatons to raise money for a marriage portion for his wife).¹¹⁰ The new deed, dated 15 April 1678, was presumably necessary because on her re-marriage all her property would pass to her second husband. Signed personally by Mary Collier, it refers back to the 1675 deed, and again conveys all of John Collier's property to the Heatons, this time specifically for the raising of 'portions' for her children (named as Joshua, Rachel, Lydia, Deborah, Mary, and Susan) 'in consideration of the natural love and affection' that she bears towards them.¹¹¹ Her and her late husband's complete trust in the Heatons is again made explicit, and no financial or other arrangements to benefit the children are specified.

These two deeds are valuable in demonstrating the extent of John Collier's lands. Several houses are specified, including not only his own house at Haworth Bank, but 'Burwin farmhold' occupied by Jonas Mitchell, a cottage and adjoining land occupied by Margaret Bynns, and another house occupied by James Thompson. It may be that Collier had indeed gained financially from the sale of leases in Addingham when he was employed at Skipton Grammar School. His son Joshua, at least, was able to inherit property in Haworth, presumably through the agency of the Heatons, for the record of the court baron of the manor of Haworth held on 12 June 1688 refers to 'Joshua Collier ... who holdeth several messuages and lands there

¹⁰⁷ *Yorkshire West Riding Hearth Tax Assessment, Lady Day 1672*, pp. 262–63.

¹⁰⁸ He did not leave a will, but administration of his estate was granted to his widow, 'Mary Collyer', on 9 May 1676 (Borthwick Institute for Archives, probate records, Craven deanery).

¹⁰⁹ The deed is Bradford Archives, HEA/A/167 (22 April 1675).

¹¹⁰ The new trust deed is Bradford Archives, HEA/A/171 (15 April 1678), and the marriage settlement, HEA/A/170 (19 April 1678).

¹¹¹ Her daughter Anne, born in 1658 as noted on p. 27 above, is not listed. She may possibly be the 'Amie' Collier recorded as marrying Thomas Milner in Bradford on 27 February 1677; see T. T. Empsall, *A Transcript of the Marriage Registers of Bradford, Yorkshire* [for 1596–1708] ([Bradford, c. 1900]). The births of Joshua, Rachel, Mary, and Susan(nah) were all noted earlier, together with the probability that Lydia was the daughter born in April 1666. For Deborah, see Timothy Collier's will, as cited on the next page. She was probably born in the gap between Lydia and Mary.

belonging, late the lands of John Collier, a Clergyman, his late father, deceased, at a yearly rent to the Lord of the Manor of ijs. id. ob. hath done fealty for the same'.¹¹² As already noted, this Joshua Collier (1.3 above) is the principal beneficiary of the will of his uncle Timothy Collier (1.2 above), a will that also names, as receiving £20 each (and therefore living in 1690), six daughters 'of his brother John Collier deceased', namely Anne, Rachel, Lidea (i.e. Lydia), Deborah, Mary, and Susan.

1.6 Samuel Collier (1629–1712)

John Collier's younger brother Samuel was baptised on 7 June 1629, the fourth and final son of Zachary Collier. His marriage has not been traced, but he was evidently the father of two sons recorded in the Otley parish registers: Samuel, son of Samuel Collier of Stead, baptised 21 December 1656, and Zachary, son of the same, baptised 21 December [sic] 1658.¹¹³ Stead is a farming hamlet between Burley in Wharfedale and Ilkley, five miles north-west of Yeadon. The will made by Timothy Collier in 1690 refers to his brother Samuel, and to the latter's sons Samuel and Zachary, and also to the children of Samuel's second wife (Timothy, Joshua, Robert, Grace, and Susan), all apparently as living. They are to receive, respectively, £80; £40 each; and £20 each. In the case of the four youngest children the money is to be held until they reach twenty-one, except that 12d in the pound interest is to be paid to them in the interim, to help with their education.

The death of Samuel Collier's first wife has not been traced, but his second marriage, to Grace Whitaker, is recorded in the parish registers of St Peter's Church, Bradford (now Bradford Cathedral), on 29 June 1665. The baptisms of their three oldest children occur in the same registers: Grace, 11 April 1666, Timothy, 17 May 1667, and Beatrix, 21 October 1669.¹¹⁴ The family would appear to have left Bradford before Joshua's birth, which has not been traced, and at some point they moved to Harden, six miles north-west of Bradford within the parish of Bingley, where the registers record the baptisms of Susan (17 July 1681) and Robert (31 August 1684); the burial of 'Betteris Collyer' – clearly Beatrix, who is not named in Timothy Collier's will – on 22 October 1686; and the burial of their mother Grace on 18 December 1686.¹¹⁵ Samuel

¹¹² *Court Rolls of the Manor of Haworth*, ed. Whone, p. 18.

¹¹³ See *The Parish Registers of Otley, Co. York*, vol. I, ed. by William Brigg, YPRS, 33 ([Leeds], 1908), pp. 112, 115.

¹¹⁴ See Empsall, *Transcript of the Marriage Registers of Bradford*. The baptism registers appear to be unpublished. I am grateful to Astrid Hanson of Bradford Cathedral for allowing me to inspect the originals. Grace's date of birth in 1666 conflicts with her inclusion, in Timothy Collier's will, amongst those children of Samuel who are not yet twenty-one. Her brother Timothy may be the Timothy Collier whose marriage to Mary Marshall is recorded in the Guiseley parish registers under 7 June 1697.

¹¹⁵ See *The Parish Register of Bingley in the County of York, 1577–1686*, ed. by W. J. Stavert, YPRS, 9 ([Leeds], 1901), pp. 227, 231, 305, and 306.

Collier seems not to feature in surviving property records and he is absent from the 1672 hearth tax returns. He is very likely the Samuel Collier whom the Bingley registers record as marrying Sarah Rastrick – who would then be his third wife – on 2 October 1692, and who was buried in Harden on 15 November 1712, by which date he would have been eighty-three.¹¹⁶

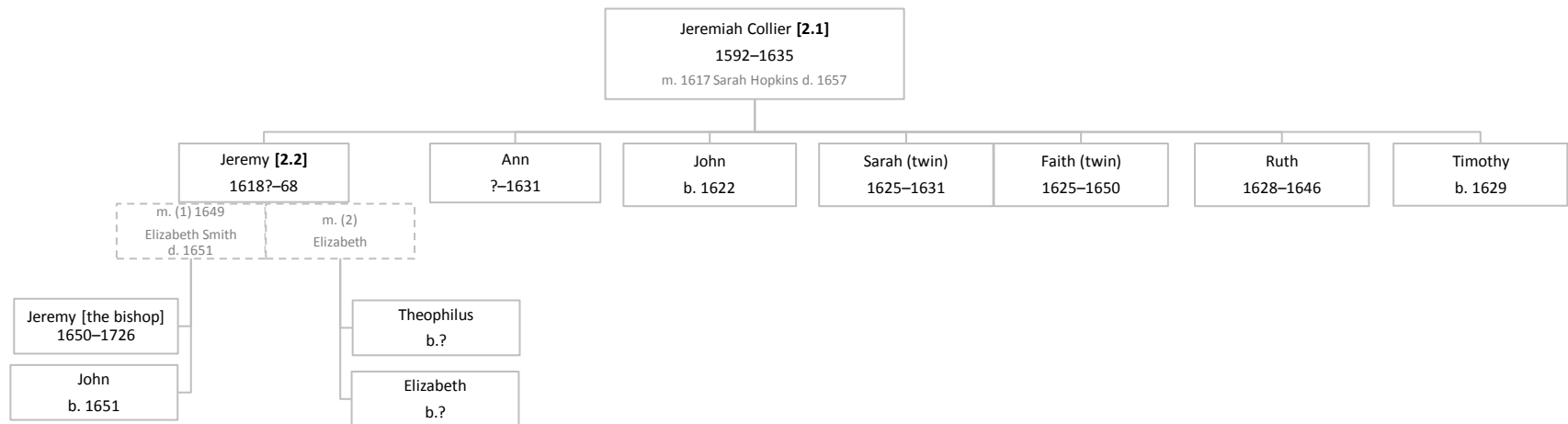
The will survives of a Samuel Collier of Bradford, cordwainer, probate being granted to his widow Jane on 8 May 1694,¹¹⁷ and it is possible that this is Samuel Collier's elder son by his first marriage, born in 1656. He leaves to his son, another Samuel, the house in which he lives, but if the latter dies before the age of twenty-one or without issue it goes instead to his wife Jane. She receives his other two tenements (occupied by others) to sell if she wishes, for her and Samuel's maintenance.¹¹⁸ The Bradford parish registers show that this youngest Samuel was baptised on 11 September 1692, apparently the couple's sole surviving child. An inventory accompanying Samuel Collier's will lists the contents of his shop and names his debtors, one of whom is a Joshua Collier (owing 13s), who is conceivably his cousin Joshua (1.3 above).

¹¹⁶ For the marriage, see Bradford Archives, BDP7/1/1/3, registers of Bingley All Saints, 1687–1740, and for the burial, Brian Jones, *Bingley All Saints, Burials 1707 to 1722* (typescript, 1999, copy in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society library), p. 8. A Sarah Collier, presumably Samuel's widow, was buried in Harden on 17 March 1714 (*ibid.*, p. 10).

¹¹⁷ Borthwick Institute for Archives, probate file of Samuel Collier of Bradford, Pontefract Deanery, 8 May 1694 (microfilm 1690). Samuel does not sign but makes his mark.

¹¹⁸ She may be the 'Widdow Collier' of Bradford, taxed at 4s. 4d. in 1704 (Empsall, 'Land and Property Tax in Bradford, 1704', p. 110). The parish registers record the burial of a Rachel Collier, daughter of Jane Collier of Bradford, on 12 June 1705 (the father is not named). The Registry of Deeds, Wakefield (Vol. F, p. 408, deed 552), records Jane Collier of Bradford, widow, and her son Samuel Collier of Leeds, carpenter, selling three messuages in Westgate, Bradford, to Robert Hodgson in October 1713.

Jeremiah Collier and his Family



2 Jeremiah Collier and his Family

Jeremiah Collier's family is followed for only two generations, because this study does not deal with Bishop Jeremy Collier (Jeremiah's grandson). The two generations in question were both also clerical. Jeremiah himself (2.1), having attended Cambridge University, returned to Yorkshire where, first at Elloughton (East Riding) and then in Bradford, he became a well-known Puritan preacher while employed also as a schoolmaster. Some evidence of his sermons survives in written form. His son Jeremy (2.2), at Cambridge in his turn, was made a fellow of St John's College during the Civil War period and earned a considerable reputation as a Latinist, translating books for the reformer Samuel Hartlib (one of which was published) and assisting the minor poet Edward Benlowes. He, too, had periods of employment as a schoolmaster, at Boston, Aldenham, and Ipswich (where his son Jeremy was educated), but he appears to have been difficult to work with. His last post was as Vicar of Pampisford in Cambridgeshire.

2.1 Jeremiah Collier (1592–1635)

Jeremiah Collier, third son of John and Isad Collier, was baptised on 7 September 1592. No doubt encouraged by the Puritan rector of Guiseley, Robert More, who may be presumed to have had a hand in the education of both Jeremiah and his brother Josiah (3.1 below), he was admitted as a pensioner to Christ's College, Cambridge, at Easter 1612, graduating BA in 1615–16.¹ He then spent the years 1617–22 as Vicar of Elloughton in the East Riding of Yorkshire, north of the Humber between Goole and Hull. Elloughton was in the peculiar jurisdiction of the Wetwang prebendary of York Minster, and so Collier's appointment as vicar (on 6 February 1617) is recorded in the Chapter Acts rather than in the diocesan records.² His subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles and to 'the three articles of 1605' took place on 26 February 1617, and he presumably made a special journey to York to sign the two subscription books.³ That same year he married Sarah Hopkins, who is described in the licence application as being of St John's Church, Beverley; Collier is entered as Clerk, Vicar of Elloughton.⁴ The marriage is likely to have taken place at Elloughton,⁵ but contemporary marriage registers do not survive for that church,

¹ Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt 1, I, p. 372. For More, see Wilfrid Robertshaw, 'Robert More: Puritan Rector of Guiseley', *Bradford Antiquary*, n.s. 42 (November 1964), 39–51, and Ronald A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560–1642* (London, 1960), pp. 20–21, 212–14, and 263–64.

² York Minster Archives, H4 (Chapter Acts, 1565–1634), fol. 518r.

³ York Minster Archives, S3/4 (a), p. 103, and S3/4 (d), fol. 16v.

⁴ J. W. Clay, 'Paver's Marriage Licences, Part XIV', in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 14 (1898), 458–506 (p. 465).

⁵ The marriage was licensed to take place at either Elloughton or Beverley, but it is not to be found in the records of St John's, Beverley.

as they do not also for baptisms. Consequently there is no record of the birth of Jeremiah and Sarah's son Jeremy (2.2 below), who must have been born c. 1618, or of their daughter Ann, who is likely also to have been born in Elloughton (see p. 40 below).

During Archbishop Matthew's Visitation of 1619, held in Beverley, Jeremiah Collier was accused of Puritanism 'for not observinge the order of the booke of Common praier, for neglecting the Churchinge of women, not wearinge the surplisse at prayers and sacraments, nor vsing the signe of the Crosse in baptisme' – all classic Puritan traits.⁶ Collier replied 'that he is doubtfull and not resolued of the premisses', and in consequence he was ordered to confer with a Mr Rhoades, i.e. Richard Rhodes, Lecturer at the church in Beverley from 1614 (who was himself a Puritan). A later note dated 23 August 1621 records that he was absolved, but the Chapter Acts show that Collier had left Elloughton by August 1622, for unknown reasons.⁷

An indication that Collier was already making a name as a preacher during his time in the East Riding comes in notes made much later by the historian Ralph Thoresby about the life of Dr Samuel Winter (1603–66). Thoresby writes that Winter was an assistant to Ezekiel Rogers at Rowley (some five miles from Elloughton), 'in which parts were also other eminent ministers, viz. Mr Rhoades at Beverley, Mr Colyer (after of Bradford), by which ministry many of the good people who could not satisfy themselves with staying at home, were effectually called to Christ if a holy and obedient walking according to the Laws of God be an Evidence thereof'.⁸ Winter's time at Rowley did not overlap with Collier's at Elloughton, because it was 1623 before the former even went up to Cambridge, but Thoresby may not mean to say that they were active in the East Riding at the same time, simply that all the preachers in question had a reputation in the area.⁹

From Elloughton, Jeremiah Collier moved to an appointment as Curate at Idle Chapel in the parish of Calverley, Idle lying three miles north of Bradford and three miles south-east of Yeadon. He is described thus in a suit brought against him in June 1623 in the Court of High Commission at York, but the nature of the suit – presumably linked to continuing Puritanism – is

⁶ Borthwick Institute for Archives, V.1619 CB, fol. 159. Cf. the entry for Collier in Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts*, p. 239.

⁷ He was succeeded on 7 August 1622 by James Bynkes; see York Minster Archives, H4, fol. 588r. For Richard Rhodes, see Marchant, *ibid.*, p. 271–72, and for the conduct of visitations in the diocese at this time see Ronald A. Marchant, *The Church under the Law: Justice, Administration and Discipline in the Diocese of York, 1560–1640* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 114–46.

⁸ British Library, Add. MS 4460, fol. 34r, quoted in John Anthony Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York (excluding Nottinghamshire), 1603–1640' (unpublished University of London PhD thesis, 1956), p. 431.

⁹ Newton, p. 431, notes that Thoresby was depending upon second-hand information deriving from 'Mr John Coppendale of Morley, son to Capt Coppendale of North Cave' (North Cave is again close to Elloughton). For Samuel Winter and Ezekiel Rogers, see *ODNB*. Rogers was appointed Rector of Rowley in 1621. For Winter's appointment there (not in *ODNB*), see Newton, p. 62, apparently drawing on the unpublished Yorkshire clergy list held in York Minster Library.

seemingly not recorded.¹⁰ An entry in the Calverley parish registers recording the baptism of 'John Collier, son of Jeremie Coliar', on 15 September 1622, confirms that he had moved to the parish straight after leaving Elloughton.¹¹

By later in 1623 it is probable that Collier was in Bradford itself, functioning as both a minister at the parish church and master at the grammar school. The latter may have been his principal appointment, as when his twin daughters Sarah and Faith are baptised on 2 January 1625 he is described in the Bradford parish registers as 'Jeremie Collier of Bradford scholem(aiste)r'. Collier would appear to have succeeded William Halstead (or Hastead), who had been master since at least 1596 and who was buried on 30 June 1623.¹² Halstead's entry in the burial registers describes him also as 'scholemaister' and notes that he was buried 'in ecclesia' – as would have been expected, the parish church was closely involved in running the grammar school, which was situated close at hand.¹³ Collier seems to have established something of a reputation as a schoolmaster, as surviving admission registers record that at least two boys who entered Cambridge University in this period had been taught by him: first, William Huntley from Newcastle upon Tyne, who matriculated at St Catharine's College in 1629 (before migrating to St John's College in 1631) after schooling in Bradford for two years under 'Mr Collyer';¹⁴ and second, James Sale from Pudsey, who was admitted to Christ's College in 1636 having been at school in Bradford under 'Mr Collier' for four years before a final two years of schooling in Wakefield.¹⁵ There is some uncertainty, however, about whether Collier taught throughout at the grammar school in Bradford, because Archbishop Neile's visitation of his diocese in 1632–33 lists Collier under 'Thornton-in-Bradford-dale', not under Bradford, and records his position there as schoolmaster, licensed on 20 August 1629.¹⁶ This suggests that he

¹⁰ Borthwick Institute for Archives, HC.AB.16 (1612–26), fol. 311v; cf. Newton, p. 432, citing the document as AB 9.

¹¹ Samuel Margerison, *Registers of the Parish Church of Calverley*, 3 vols (Bradford, 1880–87), I, p. 90.

¹² The Bradford parish registers are unpublished, but are available for consultation in Bradford Cathedral by appointment. For Halstead, see William Claridge, 'Bradford Grammar School before the Charter of Charles I', *Bradford Antiquary*, 6 (= n.s. 4) (1921), 65–81 (p. 74), though Halstead's year of death is there given as 1621. Collier is not mentioned in the article.

¹³ See William Claridge, *Origin and History of the Bradford Grammar School* (Bradford, 1882).

¹⁴ See A. F. Leach, 'Schools', in *Victoria County History: Yorkshire*, vol. I (London, 1907), pp. 415–500 (p. 472), and *Admissions to the College of St John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1882–1931), pts 1–2: 1629/30 – July 1715 (1893), ed. by J. E. B. Mayor, p. 3.

¹⁵ John Peile, *Biographical Register of Christ's College, 1505–1905*, ed. by J. A. Venn, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910–13), I: 1448–1665, p. 445. Sale was later a nonconformist preacher who was silenced in 1662; see J. Horsfall Turner, *Nonconformity in Idle* (Bradford: [s.n.], 1876), p. 16.

¹⁶ Borthwick Institute for Archives, V.1633 Exh. Bk., fol. 41v, which also describes him as Master of Arts. Cf. Newton, p. 432 (citing the outdated reference 'R. VI. C. 11'), and Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts*, p. 239. Probably in consequence, the Index of schoolmasters in Stephens, 'Yorkshire Schools and Schoolmasters, 1600–1700' (see ch. 1, n. 90 above), identifies Collier with 'Thornton, Bradford', rather than Bradford itself (see also his p. 132), though with faulty references.

may have transferred to Thornton, four miles west of Bradford, in that year (although its grammar school was not founded until 1672), giving way at Bradford Grammar School itself to William Wilcock, who is said to have died as schoolmaster there in 1635.¹⁷ Thornton was a dependent chapelry within the parish of Bradford.¹⁸

Jeremiah Collier is named as minister in the Bradford registers from as early as 1624.¹⁹ He was employed at the church as a preaching minister, and was never vicar, this post being held by the Puritan John Okell from 1615 until his death in 1639. In relation to his own family Collier is described as 'Minister' in the baptism record of another daughter Ruth on 16 March 1628; as 'Preacher' in that of his son Timothy on 9 March 1629; and as 'Preacher' again in the burial record of his daughter Sarah on 29 May 1631. Six days earlier, on 23 May, another daughter Ann (see above) had been buried, but in that case he is recorded simply as Mr Collier.²⁰ From 1630 a Joshua Hill, minister, appears in the registers, but he was evidently an addition to the staff, not a replacement for Collier. This expansion – and the healthy state of affairs at the church – is corroborated by a letter from the (no doubt biased) Rector of Guiseley, Robert More, written to Lord Fairfax in September 1633, in which he states that the people of Bradford are 'furnished with two worthy preachers, and a right able and honest schoolmaster, and a very sufficient clerk for both learning and life'.²¹ Collier was presumably one of these preachers, though probably not the schoolmaster, as has been seen. Once again, however, he attracted the attention of the church authorities, because the act book of the Chancery Court at York records on 8 February 1633 that he had been pronounced contumacious. Again the nature of the charge is left unclear. Collier failed to appear at subsequent sessions of the court later the same month, and it seems that no action was taken against him.²²

A property transaction dated 22 January 1628 (probably 1629 new style) reveals that Jeremiah and Sarah Collier lived very close to Bradford parish church on Stott Hill, the lane that runs behind it. The document in question records that a Bradford clothier called William Greene and his wife Elizabeth made over to 'Jeremy Collier and Sara his wife' the whole use of a messuage in Stott Hill, together with two gardens and a croft, the property having previously

¹⁷ Leach, 'Schools', p. 472, and Claridge, 'Bradford Grammar School', p. 74.

¹⁸ Where Collier may have served. For a further Thornton connection (a volume of manuscript sermons), see p. 42 below.

¹⁹ 'Ministers and Churchwardens Named in the Bradford Cathedral Registers of the Seventeenth Century', *Bradford Antiquary*, 10 (n.s. 8) (1952–60), p. 292.

²⁰ Ann and Sarah are both said to have been buried 'in ecclesia'.

²¹ *The Fairfax Correspondence*, vol. I: *Memoirs of the Reign of Charles the First*, 2 parts (London: Bentley, 1848), I, p. 334, quoted also in Bryan Dale, 'Ministers of the Parish Church of Bradford and its Three Chapels during the Puritan Revolution', *Bradford Antiquary*, n.s. 2 (1905), 124–34 (p. 124). Dale provides a little information about Jeremiah Collier in a footnote on p. 128, wrongly stating that he 'accompanied the noted Puritan minister Ezekiel Rogers, of Rowley, East Riding, in his emigration ... to Boston in 1638'.

²² Borthwick Institute for Archives, Chanc.AB.25 (1633–35), fols 14r, 21v, 26r.

been occupied jointly by the Colliers and Greenes. Collier is described in the deed as ‘of Bradford, Master of Arts’.²³ The property is very likely the same site as was later occupied by Stott Hill Hall (or House), of which illustrations survive and which was demolished in 1877. Earlier in the nineteenth century it bore a date-stone inscribed ‘JWA 1660’, referring to Jonas and Anna Waterhouse, he being Vicar of Bradford at that time, which suggests that the property remained in church hands. It is unknown whether the substantial house shown in the illustrations was that lived in by the Colliers or whether it was built by Jonas Waterhouse.²⁴

Jeremiah Collier, dying at the young age of forty-three, was buried in Bradford parish church on 21 October 1635, described as ‘Mr Collier preacher of Gods word at Bradforde’. He was remembered in the registers as ‘late minister at Bradford’ on the burial of his daughter Faith on 30 October 1650 and of his widow Sarah on 1 May 1657,²⁵ and his reputation was evidently long-lasting. When recording the death of Josiah Collier (3.1 below) in February 1677, the preacher Oliver Heywood described him as ‘Mr Collier of Bradford’s brother’, and it was noted earlier that Heywood characterized Timothy Collier (1.2 above) on his death in 1691 – fifty-five years after that of Jeremiah Collier – as ‘nephew to Mr Collier of Bradford’.²⁶

Jeremiah Collier’s sermons seem to have played a major part in this enduring reputation: he was associated with the well-known West Riding preaching exercises of the 1620s (when nonconformist preaching of this kind was tacitly supported by the tolerant Archbishop Toby Matthew), and records of some of his sermons have survived.²⁷ Evidence of Collier’s close

²³ The transaction is summarized in Wilfrid Robertshaw, ‘Stott Hill Hall and its Associations’, *Bradford Antiquary*, 7 (= n.s. 5) (1933), 193–215 (p. 195), and in Bradford Archives, Preston Papers 7/19/b, miscellaneous nineteenth-century notes on the Collier family assembled from various sources. Both of these secondary sources refer to a Bradford Manor Court roll, which cannot now be traced.

²⁴ Robertshaw, ‘Stott Hill Hall’, pp. 195–97 and preceding illustration. Robertshaw provides other information about Jeremiah Collier, correctly speculating that he was the former Vicar of Elloughton and that he was the brother of Josiah Collier (3.1 below). He goes wrong, however, in his supposition that the non-juring bishop Jeremy Collier and his father Jeremy (2.2 below) were descended from Josiah Collier rather than Jeremiah. A correct link between Bishop Jeremy Collier and Jeremiah Collier, Vicar of Elloughton, was made in passing by Henry Curtis, ‘The Ancestry of John Payne Collier (1789–1883)’, *Notes and Queries*, 1 August 1925, pp. 76–79 (p. 78). Curtis was unable to show that John Payne Collier, literary editor and forger (*ODNB*), derived from the family.

²⁵ On 10 January 1639 a Sarah Collier (very likely the same) was named at the Wakefield Sessions as a victim of theft: ‘Philip Harrison of Bradford, labourer, for stealing there on 4th Dec 1638 a shirt value 4s and a smock val. 3s, the property of Sarah Collier’; see *West Riding Sessions Rolls*, ed. Lister, II, p. 104. A burial entry for the Colliers’ other daughter, Ruth (b. 1628), has not been found, but she appears to be the ‘Ruth Collyer’ for whom an administration dated 15 July 1646 (apparently granted to ‘Sarah Collyer’) survives in the York probate records held at the Borthwick Institute for Archives.

²⁶ Cf. also the sentence from the *Biographia Britannica* entry about Bishop Jeremy Collier that was quoted at the beginning of this study: ‘His grandfather likewise was a Clergyman, settled at Bradford in Yorkshire, where he lived in esteem for his function.’

²⁷ For references to the exercises, which were particularly associated with Halifax, see, for example, James G. Miall, *Congregationalism in Yorkshire* (London, 1868), pp. 22–26 (Collier is mentioned in

involvement is provided by descriptions by Ralph Thoresby of two manuscripts in his own collection. One, Thoresby's quarto manuscript 141 (present whereabouts not known), is entered as: 'Sermons preached about 1630, by Mr Hooker, Shepherd, Rogers of Rowley, Rayner of Lincoln, Collier of Bradford, Anderson, Mickelthwait, Roberts, Shaw, etc. ...'.²⁸ The other is Thoresby's octavo manuscript 202, described as follows:

Sermons preached at the Exercise at Hallifax, by Dr Favour, vicar there, Alex. Cook, vicar of Leedes, Mr Colyer of Bradford, Mr Lister of Wakefield, Elk. Wales of Pudsey, Sam. Wales of Morley, Joseph Hill of Bramley (father to Joseph of Rotherham), Edw. Hill of Hothersfield, John Jackson of Bewick, Will. Styles of Pontfract, Mr Nutter of Sir John Savile's, Rathband, Barlow, Gibson, Wilkinson, Boyse, Power, &c., in three vols. writ by the two brothers El. and Sam. Wales.²⁹

This manuscript (apparently rebound in two volumes) is now British Library, Add. MS 4933 A–B, to be discussed below. A third relevant manuscript is British Library, Add. MS 45671, one of a number of sermon compilations (to quote a modern flyleaf note) 'mostly in the handwriting of John Hall of Kipping, Thornton, near Bradford, Yorks (1630–1709)'.³⁰ Most of the sermons it contains are from the second half of the seventeenth century, and represent fair copies of sermons first taken down in shorthand, but Hall has included one by 'Mr Collier at Bradford', the only sermon in the volume that he could not have heard himself. Shorthand notes at the end include the dates '1632 or 1633' and '1634 or 1635', which may represent suggested dates for the sermon, which occupies fols 110r–17r. Collier's text was '2 Cor. 13. 5', beginning 'Examine yourselves whether yow be in the faith; pur your own selves'.³¹

passing on p. 26); Newton, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of York' (n. 8 above); Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts*, pp. 30–31; and William Sheils, 'Provincial Preaching on the Eve of the Civil War: Some West Riding Fast Sermons', in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 290–312 (297–98).

²⁸ Quoted from *Musæum Thoresbyanum, or, A Catalogue of the Antiquities and of the Natural and Artificial Rarities Preserved in the Repository of Ralph Thoresby ...* (London, 1713), included within Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis; or, The Topography of the Ancient and Populous Town and Parish of Leedes* (London, 1715), p. 533.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 539.

³⁰ Add. MS 45671 has a spine label reading 'Hall MSS vol. III. Bequeathed by Prof. G. C. Moore Smith, Litt. D.'. See British Museum, *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, 1936–1945*, 2 vols (London, 1970), I, pp. 217–18, and Bryan Dale, 'John Hall, "Doctor" of Kipping', *Bradford Antiquary*, 4 (1905), 493–510, esp. p. 497.

³¹ This sermon is summarized in Tania Boster, 'Better to be Alone than in Ill Company: Jeremy Collier the Younger: Life and Works, 1650–1726' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 2008), pp. 6–8, where attention is drawn to Jeremiah Collier's Puritan emphasis on self-examination and the importance of the individual conscience. Boster is aware that Jeremiah Collier of Bradford is the grandfather of Jeremy Collier the non-juring bishop.

Add. MS 4933 A and B are described in the relevant British Library catalogue as ‘Notes from sermons apparently all preached in the West Riding, in several hands, chiefly that of the Rev. Elkanah Wales, Perpetual Curate of Pudsey, nr. Leeds; circa 1609–1661’.³² An important component of the manuscript is detailed notes, in Wales’s small hand, of organized series of sermons delivered on particular occasions by named preachers, who take responsibility for expounding sequential blocks of verses from given biblical chapters.³³ Such sermons in MS 4933A, delivered in places including Pudsey, Otley, Farnley, and Halifax, principally comprise a long sequence on Timothy (continuing a series begun in MS 4933B), in which Collier was not involved. Relevant instead is a sequence on Romans 3–6, which begins on fols 98v–100v of MS 4933A (3. 1–10), and continues on fols 179r–203v of MS 4933B (3. 29 – 6. 21).³⁴ Forty-one sermons are noted, delivered by sixteen different preachers, but in this case the places of delivery are not named, nor are dates given. The preachers, whose names recur according to what was presumably a pre-arranged roster, each expound a few verses at a time. Elkanah Wales himself preached on eight occasions and his brother Samuel (Curate of Morley) on another seven, the former referring to himself as ‘Ipse’ (once ‘I expounded’) and to Samuel as ‘Frater’ or ‘My brother’. The other preachers are referenced by ‘Mr’ followed by their surnames, with ‘Hoth’ (i.e. Huddersfield) or ‘Bramley’ added to distinguish the brothers Edward and Joshua Hill. Jeremiah Collier preached five times (his surname given as ‘Colyer’ or ‘Collyer’), the next highest number after Elkanah and Samuel Wales. His texts were Romans 4. 20–21 (fols 182–83r), 5. 9–10 (fols 189v–90r), 5. 15–17 (fols 192r–93r), 6. 6 (fols 197r–98r), and 6. 20–21 (fols 202v–03v). Without exception Collier appears, in each recurring sequence, either directly after the two Wales brothers or after one other intervening preacher. Others whose names occur more than once are Edward Hill, Vicar of Huddersfield, Joshua Hill, Curate of Bramley, and Anthony Nutter, minister at Woodkirk near Batley (three times each); and Alexander Cooke, Vicar of Leeds, and (probably) James Lister, Vicar of Wakefield (twice each).³⁵

³² See British Library, *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, 1756–1782* (London, 1977), p. 287.

³³ The manuscript is one of the main sources used in Newton, ‘Puritanism in the Diocese of York’; see especially his Appendix II (pp. 420–49) for a detailed analysis. For Elkanah Wales (1588–1669), see Miall, *Congregationalism in Yorkshire*, pp. 334–36; Bryan Dale, *Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity: Illustrated by the Lives of the Ejected Ministers, 1660 and 1662*, ed. by T. G. Crippen (Bradford: Mr Dale’s Literary Executors, [1909?]), pp. 159–64; Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts*, p. 289; and Newton, pp. 422–23, 441. Wales was Curate at Pudsey from 1616 to 1662, when he was ejected.

³⁴ Newton, p. 428, wrongly makes out that the sequence on Timothy, which in MS 4933B occupies fols 156r–78v, continues for a further nine sermons, up to fol. 182v. It may be noted that one of the sermons on 1 Timothy 1. 9 (MS 4933A, fol. 163v) was preached by ‘Mr Brierlay’, evidently Roger Breereley, to be discussed in connection with Josiah Collier (3.1 below). Another preacher on Timothy, in MS 4933A, was ‘Mr Rhodes’, very likely (despite the distance) the Richard Rhodes of Beverley mentioned on p. 38 above (see Newton, pp. 59, 438–39).

³⁵ Most of the sixteen preachers involved have entries in the List of Puritan Clergy in Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts*. See also the detailed identifications provided in Newton, pp. 428–43. James

The dating of the sermons on Romans, and thus of Jeremiah Collier's involvement, can be narrowed down with reference to the lives of the preachers involved. The *terminus a quo* may be taken to be Collier's return to the West Riding in 1622, and the *terminus ad quem* is determined by Samuel Wales's death in 1627. More narrowly, 'Mr Maud' (one sermon) is almost certainly Timothy Maude, Vicar of Wakefield from 1620, who died in 1625; James Lister, having been Usher at Wakefield School, became a licensed preacher only in 1624/25 before succeeding Maude in 1625; Ralph Marsden, Curate of Coley, Halifax, from 1617, departed for Lancashire after being forced out c.1624; and John Barlow, lecturer at the church in Halifax during the last years of its well-known vicar, Dr John Favour (d. 1623), is 'thought to have removed to Plymouth when Dr Clay succeeded to the vicarage',³⁶ which he did in 1624. Taken together, this evidence suggests 1624 as the likely year for the sermons on Romans recorded by Elkanah Wales, that is to say, quite soon after Jeremiah Collier's arrival in the Bradford area.³⁷ Pudsey and Calverley are adjacent parishes, and Collier, already with a reputation as a preacher, presumably made a good impression on Wales at an early stage.

2.2 Jeremy Collier (1618?–68)

Jeremy Collier, presumed eldest child of Jeremiah and Sarah Collier, is likely to have been born c. 1618 in Elloughton in the East Riding of Yorkshire, where his father was Vicar. As noted above (p. 38), baptism records for the period do not survive. He may have been partly educated by his father after the family moved to Bradford c. 1623, before being admitted to Trinity College,

Lister seems the best fit for 'Mr Lister', but Thoresby (followed by Marchant, pp. 223 and 260) records that William Lister, Vicar of Wakefield 1598–1620, 'was a very frequent Preacher at the Exercises ... at Halifax' (Ralph Thoresby, *Vicaria Leodiensis: or, The History of the Church of Leedes in Yorkshire* (London, 1724), p. 65). William Lister was Canon of York 1614–22 and died in 1624. Marchant does not record him in the West Riding after 1620.

³⁶ Marchant, p. 227, quoting Heywood, *Autobiography* (see above ch. 1, n. 22), IV, p. 16. Timothy Maude is Newton's candidate for 'Mr Maud'. Other preachers involved, not mentioned above, were Hugh Ramsden, Rector of Methley; William Styles, Vicar of Ledsham in 1621 and of Pontefract, 1624–42; either Nathaniel Rathband (as assumed by Marchant) or William Rathband (as suggested by Newton); an unidentified 'Mr Storer'; and, probably, the Timothy Jackson who was Vicar of Wragby, near Wakefield, 1622–25 (suggested by Newton), rather than the John Jackson proposed by Marchant, p. 257. The latter was Vicar of Stainton, 1592–1629, but the only possible Staintons are distant in North and South Yorkshire. Thoresby believed the preacher at the exercises to be John Jackson of Barwick in Elmet (*Ducatus Leodiensis*, p. 539), but Marchant shows that this is chronologically unlikely.

³⁷ Newton, discussing dates, considers all the sermons recorded by Wales to be a single body of material, and suggests (pp. 421–22, 433) that the 'Mr Gibson' who preaches the penultimate sermon on Timothy noted down in MS 4933B (fols 176v–78r) is most likely Jeremiah Gibson, Curate at Coley before Ralph Marsden, who died in 1616 (Marchant, p. 248, concurs), which he takes to be significant for the whole collection. But although the style of recording the sermons does not noticeably differ, there is a definite textual break (and change in ink colour) between fols 178 and 179, where the series on Romans begins.

Cambridge, as a sizar in 1636, a year after his father's death; he graduated BA in 1639–40.³⁸ Thereafter he embarked on a career mainly as a schoolmaster, and does not seem to have returned to Yorkshire.

In March 1641 Jeremy Collier was appointed Usher of Boston Grammar School in Lincolnshire, where he was granted five pounds 'for his encouragement in regard he hath bene at expences in comeinge hither and in regard the profits of the school are now very small'.³⁹ During his time there, in 1643, he proceeded MA. However, in September 1644 we find him returning to a strongly parliamentary Cambridge that was now being purged of those of royalist sympathy.⁴⁰ Collier, clearly an adherent of Parliament, was intruded as a fellow of St John's College in place of an expelled royalist, a Mr Buckley.⁴¹ The Master of St John's from 1644 to 1653 was a Calvinist, John Arrowsmith, who was convinced, with other heads, 'that the vocation of Cambridge was to produce Puritan preachers'.⁴² The college admission registers show that Collier acted as tutor and/or surety for three St John's students admitted in May and June 1645, namely Richard Hudson, Jonas Waterhouse, and Paul Greenwood, the last two having been at school in Halifax.⁴³ (In 1650 Jonas Waterhouse was appointed Vicar of St Peter's, Bradford, the church in which Collier's father had served as minister.)⁴⁴ Other college archives record Jeremy Collier's appointment on 29 September 1646 as a catechizer (or catechist), i.e. one who gave instruction in the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments.⁴⁵ There is no record of his being elected to a higher-status preachership.

³⁸ Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt 1, I, p. 372.

³⁹ Quoted from George S. Bagley, *Floreat Bostona: The History of Boston Grammar School from 1567* (Boston, 1985), p. 27.

⁴⁰ This episode is described with greater contextual detail in Boster, 'Better to be Alone than in Ill Company' (n. 31 above), pp. 9–11, as part of a chapter-length speculative intellectual biography of the Jeremy Collier now under discussion.

⁴¹ See Thomas Baker, *History of the College of St John the Evangelist, Cambridge*, ed. by John E. B. Mayor, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1869), I, p. 296, recording that Collier was admitted as a fellow by an order dated 16 September 1644 and that he took his place on 20 September. S. W. Carruthers, *The Everyday Work of the Westminster Assembly* (Philadelphia, 1943), p. 145, gives the date of his approval by the Westminster Assembly (as one of the new fellows of St John's) as 17 September 1644. *A History of the University of Cambridge*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1988–2004), II, 1546–1750, ed. by Victor Morgan (2004), p. 190, states that Christ's, St John's, and Trinity colleges all had links with the northern counties of England, and that St John's had a particular link with Bradford Grammar School. Collier was formally replaced as Usher at Boston School in December 1644 (Bagley, *Floreat Bostona*, p. 28).

⁴² Morgan, p. 480. See also J. D. Twigg, 'The Parliamentary Visitation of the University of Cambridge, 1644–1645', *English Historical Review*, 98 (1983), 513–28, and generally John Twigg, *The University of Cambridge and the English Revolution, 1625–1688* (Woodbridge, 1990).

⁴³ See *Admissions to the College of St John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge*, pts 1–2, ed. Mayor (n. 14 above), p. 71.

⁴⁴ Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt 1, IV, p. 345. For Waterhouse, see also Dale, 'Ministers of the Parish Church of Bradford', pp. 129–32, and p. 41 above for his house on Stott Hill, Bradford.

⁴⁵ *History of the College of St John the Evangelist, Cambridge*, ed. Mayor, I, p. 335.

Of much greater significance are the intellectual contacts that Jeremy Collier made while at St John's, namely with John Hall, John Dury, and Samuel Hartlib. Hall, a precocious poet and essayist (1627–56), entered St John's as a student in February 1646 and left again, for Gray's Inn, in May 1647.⁴⁶ While at Cambridge he began corresponding with the social and educational reformer Samuel Hartlib, and undertook two Latin translations for him, completed before the end of 1646 and printed early in 1647.⁴⁷ Collier was evidently also a more than competent Latinist – justifying the description of him as a 'considerable linguist' in his son's entry in *Biographia Britannica* – because when Hartlib asked Hall for further translations he declined the work (in a letter of 17 December 1646), saying instead that:

I haue got one Gent. his name is Collier a Fellow of our howse fitt for it especially in Latin, <Hee> wold quickly engage wold you be pleasd to Direct one short letter of Acquaintance to him by my hands & after Refer him to my Intelligence.⁴⁸

Subsequent letters from Hall to Hartlib, of February and March 1647, reveal that the latter had indeed engaged Collier to translate Tommaso Campanella's *Civitas Solis*, a piece of work apparently complete by the end of March, and that Collier had then agreed to translate the *Orthographia* and *Ichnographia* sections of Comenius's *Pansophiae Diatyposis* – despite the difficulty of finding a copy in Cambridge.⁴⁹ Letters from April 1647 show Hall confirming to Hartlib that Collier will undertake a second commission ('Let me onely tell yow Mr Collier hath vndertaken the Translation') and subsequently apologising for the latter's slowness: 'Yow wold doe well to spurr Mr Collier with a letter for he is slow & goes not on with that speed you require.'⁵⁰

Other references to Jeremy Collier in the Hartlib papers have nothing to do with John Hall. In August 1647, as has already been shown (pp. 24-25 above), Collier received a letter from Hartlib's associate John Dury (sent via Hartlib, who retained a copy) expressing concern about

⁴⁶ For Hall, see *ODNB*.

⁴⁷ For details of the correspondence, which survives amongst the Hartlib papers, see G. H. Turnbull, 'John Hall's Letters to Samuel Hartlib', *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 4 (1953), 221–33.

⁴⁸ Hartlib papers, 60/14/4A, quoted here from the CD-ROM transcription (see ch.1, n. 77 above).

⁴⁹ Turnbull, 'John Hall's Letters', p. 226; Hartlib papers, 60/14/22A (15 February), 60/14/7A (11 March), and 60/14/39A (late March). Another letter from Hall (9/10/5B, 29 March?) appears to show that he and Collier were jointly proposing to either translate or transcribe 'Philander Philanax' for Hartlib, presumably Johannes Seyffert's *De natura, fine, mediis Jesuitarum* of 1619, published under that pseudonym (again, there was difficulty finding a copy). Hall seems often to have acted as intermediary in the communication between Collier and Hartlib, but it is clear that Collier on occasions wrote directly to the latter; however, none of these letters survives amongst the Hartlib papers. Boster, 'Better to be Alone than in Ill Company', pp. 11–14, discussing Collier's translations for Hartlib, presents him as a central member of the Hartlib circle, but brings forward no other evidence.

⁵⁰ Hartlib papers, 60/14/29B (5 April), 60/14/30A (13 April), and 60/14/32B (20 April), the last of these merely commenting, 'I shall not fail of discharging your Commands to My Tutor & Mr Collier'.

the suitability of his cousin John Collier for a post at court, for which both Hartlib and Jeremy Collier had recommended him.⁵¹ Dury, at the time a member of the Westminster Assembly as well as tutor to the younger royal children, signs himself 'Your affectionate & Loving friend & servant', suggesting a close relationship between the two men. Regard for Collier on Hartlib's part is borne out by a surviving note in Hartlib's hand listing possible 'Commissioners for the Act of the Counsel for schooling'; there are eight numbered names, among them 'Mr Dury' and 'Milton' (i.e. the poet John Milton), and including 'Collier secretary'. The note is undated, but G. H. Turnbull, proposing 1647 or the years immediately following, suggests it may refer to a scheme put forward by Hartlib for consideration by the Commonwealth but never accepted.⁵² These references imply that Jeremy Collier was known personally to Dury and Hartlib, and not simply through correspondence.

It was almost certainly also during his time at St John's that Collier got to know the poet and college benefactor Edward Benlowes, to whose work *Theophila* (1652) he later contributed, as will be seen in more detail below. Like John Hall – who worked so rapidly that he completed the task in a single day – Collier turned a stanza of *Theophila* into Latin. Harold Jenkins writes that 'The elder Jeremy [Collier] was another man of St John's College who must have been taught to honour this much-celebrated college benefactor'.⁵³

In 1648, however, St John's College was asked to nominate three candidates for the vacant Mastership of Aldenham School, near Watford in Hertfordshire (as it was constitutionally bound to do), and Jeremy Collier was elected.⁵⁴ The move may possibly have been personally and financially advantageous, as the following year (5 June 1649) he married Mrs Elizabeth Smith of what is now Stow-cum-Quy in Cambridgeshire ('Mrs' being probably an indication of social status). Their son Jeremy was born there on 23 September 1650 – despite his father's employment at Aldenham – and the entry for the future non-juring bishop in *Biographia Britannica* indicates that his mother's family was comfortably off.⁵⁵ But according to the historian of Aldenham School, R. J. Evans, 'Collier took over a thankless task in which he achieved no success'. Both school and parish were in crisis as a result of the upheavals of the 1640s; the previously elected Master, Christopher Smyth, had disappeared; and Collier took over from an unofficial elderly deputy, Robert Cresswell, who appears to have then been dismissed. To quote Evans further:

⁵¹ Hartlib papers, 4/1/5A–B.

⁵² Hartlib papers, 47/13/4A. See Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p. 40, and also William Riley Parker, *Milton: A Biography*, 2nd edn ed. by Gordon Campbell, 2 vols (Oxford, 1996), I, p. 312, who suggests that Hartlib's note was 'probably made at some time in 1647'.

⁵³ Harold Jenkins, *Edward Benlowes (1602–1676): Biography of a Minor Poet* (London, 1952), p. 213.

⁵⁴ See R. J. Evans, *The History and Register of Aldenham School*, 10th edn (Aldenham, 1969), p. 25.

⁵⁵ 'His mother was Elizabeth Smith of Qui in Cambridgeshire, where her family were possessed of a considerable interest.'

In 1650 [Collier] asked for an increase in his stipend, which was refused, but he was given a special donation of £3; and in 1652 'having not his health' he was allowed a deputy. In the next year, however, he was dismissed on petition of the parish 'for negligences and misdemeanours and for shutting up the School, and shutting out the Usher and his Schollers because he had only two gramer schollers to teach'.⁵⁶

As Evans speculates, Collier's failure and lack of interest in the post (he calls him 'a square peg in a round hole') may well have been connected with his continuing involvement in literary activity, but the parish registers of St John the Baptist, Aldenham (incidentally showing that the family had indeed moved to the town), record the burial of Elizabeth Collier, wife of Jeremiah Collier, on 21 November 1651.⁵⁷ Her death was almost certainly the result of childbirth, because the same registers record the (presumably delayed) baptism of John Collier, son of Jeremiah Collier, 'Scoolemaster', on 19 December 1651.⁵⁸ It would not be surprising if the loss of his wife, and the need to find care for his two sons, seriously affected Collier's work at Aldenham School.

By the same year, slow or not, Collier had completed his translation of Comenius for Hartlib, and his version of sections of the *Pansophiae Diatyposis* appeared in print in 1651 as *A patterne of universall knowledge, in a plaine and true draught: or A diatyposis, or model of the eminently learned, and pious promoter of science in generall, Mr. John Amos Comenius. Shadowing forth the largenesse, dimension, and use of the intended worke, in an ichtnographicall and orthographicall delineation*. The translator is described on the title-page as 'Jeremy Collier, Mr. of Arts, late fellow of St. Johns Colledge in Cambridge', and the book has a preface dedicating the work to Hartlib. It is headed, 'To his much honoured, and highly esteemed Friend, Mr. Sam. Hartlib, Esq.', and signed 'Your entirely loving, and duly regarding Friend, J.C.'. The preface praises Hartlib in general, and in particular for his efforts in making Comenius's works known in England.⁵⁹ The book itself is a modest production in octavo format, with [xii], 180 pages and a frontispiece portrait of Comenius. Curiously it survives with two separate imprints: on the one hand, 'London: printed for T.H. and Jo. Collins, and are to be sold in Little Brittain, neare the church, 1651', and on the other, 'London: printed by T.H. and are to

⁵⁶ Evans, *History and Register of Aldenham School*, p. 25. Boster, 'Better to be Alone than in Ill Company', pp. 21–22, notes that St John's College nominated three replacements for Collier on 6 September 1653 (she cites Cambridge University Archives, Lease Book, 1649–69, pp. 227–28).

⁵⁷ See *The Parish Registers of Aldenham, Hertfordshire, 1559–1659*, transcribed by Kenneth F. Gibbs (St Albans, 1902). The entries are available via the FreeREG website (<http://www.freereg.org.uk/>).

⁵⁸ There is an unusual note in the register reading, 'Elizabeth Daughter has been crossed out with the words "This Rectified by Joseph Sone Vicar"'. It may be that the parish clerk still had the burial of Elizabeth Collier in mind when making the entry.

⁵⁹ It also regrets that Comenius did not receive the 'preferment' that 'certaine Honourable and active Patrons of Learning in this present Parliament' had intended for him when he visited London (in 1641), 'in regard of the great distractions which happened in the State at that juncture of time when he came over'.

be sold by Thomas Collins, book-seller in Northampton [*sic*], 1651'.⁶⁰ The booksellers Thomas Collins and John Collins were presumably related.⁶¹ A possible scenario is that Collier went to London to find a printer and bookseller for his book, and reached an agreement with T.H. and John Collins, following which Thomas Collins, learning of the book's existence, arranged to have some copies run off with a different imprint for his own sales purposes in Northampton. Copies with that imprint must, however, have been on sale in London as well, because the 'Northampton' copy now in the British Library bears the handwritten date of acquisition ('Nouemb. 25th') of the London-based bookseller and collector George Thomason.⁶²

The surviving Hartlib papers make no reference to Collier's book appearing, but three notes from 1651 in Hartlib's 'Ephemerides' (his manuscript diary) show that Collier has evidently kept Hartlib in touch with his activities. One entry, probably from April, records information from Collier about a Mr Kempe, a schoolmaster at Hitchin ('Mr Colliers acquaintance'), whom Collier, it appears, has begun to inform about various of John Dury's educational publications.⁶³ The other entries provide valuable evidence of the scale of Collier's literary or scholarly ambitions, though neither project seems ever to have been realised, at least not in print. Some time in early 1651 Hartlib notes, 'Mr Collier Master of the free-schoole at Aldenham in the brewers company gift 14 or 16. miles from London is about a Lexicon Etymologicum et Harmonia Linguae Anglicae which is to bee very big'.⁶⁴ Harder to interpret – and less certainly datable to 1651 – is a draft quasi-title-page for a poem about silkworms 'to bee turned ... into a pleasant Oratorical Discourse by Collier etc', possibly by way of translation.⁶⁵ Hartlib's interest in silkworms was manifested by his *The Reformed Virginian Silk-Worm* (London, 1655), but the English poem on the subject printed at the end of this work is signed I.F.⁶⁶

The year 1652 saw Collier's second and apparently final appearance in print, when he contributed to Edward Benlowes's major work, *Theophila, or Loves Sacrifice. A Divine Poem*, the subject of which is the soul's desire for and eventual union with God. Quite unlike Collier's own

⁶⁰ The two imprints have separate entries (C5528 and C5527) in Donald Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Wales ... 1641–1700*, 2nd edn, 4 vols (New York, 1972–98) (hereafter 'Wing').

⁶¹ See Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1907), pp. 50–51 (where Jeremy Collier's book is cited as an example of Thomas Collins's output), and cf. their entries in the British Book Trades Index (<http://www.bbti.bham.ac.uk/>).

⁶² It is catalogued as Thomason Tract E.1304(1). Thomason bought new books immediately, so the date must refer to 1651.

⁶³ Hartlib papers, 28/2/14B. The entry continues: 'Hee hath a very great schoole and 30. or 40. borders, is very ingenious but cannot have much time to helpe the advancement of Learning. Mr Collier.'

⁶⁴ Hartlib papers, 28/2/10A.

⁶⁵ Hartlib papers, 61/7/4A, one of a number of seeming drafts for title-pages, undated, written on the back of a printed preface dated 24 Feb. 1650/51.

⁶⁶ Wing H1000. The work was also issued as the second part of Hartlib's *The Reformed Commonwealth of Bees* (1665, Wing H997).

A patterne of universall knowledge, this was an expensive, handsome, folio production, illustrated with high-quality engraved plates produced on the rolling press installed at Benlowes's country house, Brent Hall, in Essex.⁶⁷ Although a royalist, Benlowes (1602–76) was apparently welcomed at St John's, Cambridge, during the 1640s because of his numerous benefactions, and it is likely that Collier became a member of his circle at this time. Collier contributed one of the prefatory poems to *Theophila*, 'A Friends Eccho to his Fancie upon Sacrata', which is signed 'Jer. Collier, MA. and Fell. of S. Johns Coll, Camb', suggesting it was written no later than 1648. The poem, on the primacy of spiritual love, comprises seven stanzas of six lines, the final one (in larger type) praising Benlowes and his work:

Of Paradise before the Fall
This Saint is Emblematical
Then, Fancie, give Her due Renown,
She's Queen of Arts; This Book, her Crown.
SACRATA turns CASTARA unto us,
And BENLOVVES (Anagramm'd) BENEVOLUS.

– a style suggesting that Collier shared Benlowes's love of conceits and anagrams.⁶⁸

The younger man, however, also translated a whole canto of *Theophila* into Latin, and Benlowes, clearly impressed, included the result towards the end of his book, where it appears on pp. 254–66 as 'Theophilae Amoris Hostia, Cantio VII, A Domino Jeremiâ Colliero in Versus latiales traducta, Contemplatio'. Like Benlowes's English original on pp. 95–108 it consists of exactly one hundred three-line stanzas. Harold Jenkins, describing the production of *Theophila*, states that Collier was headmaster of Aldenham School when he carried out this translation, presumably on the basis of the date of publication, but he may well be right in implying that Collier was involved in Benlowes's project over a number of years. Indeed he credits Collier with a central place in bringing *Theophila* to fruition:

He was by that time a friend of Benlowes, perhaps a close friend and certainly one of the circle who took pleasure in the by now traditional anagram of Benlowes and 'benevolus'. He not only had parts of *Theophila* in his possession, but he would seem to

⁶⁷ *Theophila* (Wing B1879) bears the imprint: 'London : printed by R[oger]. N[orton]. Sold by Henry Seile in Fleetstreet, and Humphrey Moseley at the Princes Arms in S. Pauls Church-yard, 1652'. Its catalogue entry in ESTC notes that 'It is said that no two copies are exactly alike as to number and position of illustrations'. For the production of *Theophila*, see Jenkins, *Edward Benlowes*, pp. 186–233, and *ODNB*.

⁶⁸ Jenkins, p. 213, writes of these verses: '[Collier] had read Benlowes' introductory poem to his Fancy and had written a poem echoing its sentiments. In it he neatly praised the poet who did not rob gardens of their flowers or strip the sea of coral to give them to his mistress's cheek and lips but preferred instead to describe the radiations of the soul'.

have been consulted about the preparation of the folio; for he wrote some verses to be engraved on one of the illustrative plates.⁶⁹

Jenkins is here referring to a plate in which an illustration of Theophila gazing to Heaven is accompanied by both Latin verses and an English verse translation signed 'Jer. Collier'.⁷⁰ That Collier had parts of Benlowes's poem in his possession is presumably Jenkins's deduction that Collier would need to have borrowed text from Benlowes before publication in order to translate it.

If Collier was indeed closely assisting Benlowes, and moving in his social circle, it is another reason for him to have neglected his schoolmastering duties. As noted above, he left Aldenham School in 1653 and does not seem to have taken another appointment until ten years later. His activities in the intervening decade remain virtually unknown, the only reference deriving once again from the Hartlib papers: Hartlib's diary for 1654 records that on 11 July that year Collier called on him in London in the company of Mr Benlow, but Hartlib's business is with the latter – clearly Edward Benlowes, with whom Collier must have kept in touch – and the mention of Collier is incidental.⁷¹ Hartlib's only other references to Collier are as a source of information, first in February 1655 about John Ogilby's proposed translation of Homer and then later the same year about the publication of Thomas Willis's 'Anglicismes'.⁷²

It is more than likely that Collier occupied himself in the years 1653–62 with scholarly projects, perhaps mainly the 'Lexicon Etymologicum' to which Hartlib refers. Income deriving from his late wife may have been sufficient to allow him this way of life, but he may well have undertaken private tutoring. Eventually, in June 1663, following the Restoration, he was appointed Master of Ipswich School after what was apparently a lengthy search for a suitable candidate,⁷³ but his career there turned out to be considerably shorter than at Aldenham. The historians of Ipswich School, I. E. Gray and W. E. Potter, after describing him as 'a linguist of considerable eminence', write that 'his brief and stormy career at Ipswich suggests a man of

⁶⁹ Jenkins, p. 213.

⁷⁰ See further Jenkins, p. 340. He implies that Collier composed both the Latin and the English versions, which may well be the case. The plate in question faces the beginning of Canto XIII, 'The Pleasure of Retirement' (p. 235), in the copy of *Theophila* in Yale University Library reproduced in EEBO (*Early English Books Online*) and in the copy in the Brotherton Collection of Leeds University Library, but Jenkins notes that it is found in other positions in some copies.

⁷¹ Hartlib papers, 29/4/20B.

⁷² Hartlib papers, 29/5/11B–12A and 29/5/47B. Willis's *Proteus vincetus. Sive Aequivoca sermonis Anglicani ordine alphabetico digesta* ..., which uses the running title 'Anglicisms latinized', was published in 1655 (Wing W2819). Ogilby's version of the *Iliad* did not appear until 1660 and his *Odyssey* not until 1665. It may be noted that the reference to 'Mr Colliers penning' in a letter from John Dury to Hartlib dated 1 April 1655 and preserved as Hartlib papers 4/3/89A–B is not to Jeremy Collier but to the Baptist preacher Thomas Collier.

⁷³ For this and what follows, see I. E. Gray and W. E. Potter, *Ipswich School, 1400–1950* (Ipswich, 1950), pp. 61–62.

uncompromising temperament'. He quickly fell out with his Usher – a new one was appointed – and soon gave cause for concern in other ways: in January 1664 a committee was appointed to look into the standard of Latin being attained by scholars at the school, as part of which they were to visit once a week. To quote Gray and Potter:

Either this system of inspection was not to Mr. Collier's taste, or the committee found matter for criticism. In April he was given notice that the Town would appoint a new Schoolmaster at Michaelmas; this must have led to open warfare, for on 24 May the Assembly abruptly decided that "Mr. Collier shall this weeke be dischargd of beinge Scholemaster ... And Mr. Wallis and Mr. Pemberton ... to acquainte him that he is dischargd of attending any longer upon the Schole".

Jeremy Collier the younger, born in September 1650, is recorded as having received his schooling nowhere else than at Ipswich, under his father, and he would seem to have stayed on after his father's dismissal in May 1664 until he was admitted as a sizar to Caius College, Cambridge, on 6 June 1666.⁷⁴ He was formally re-admitted, aged eighteen, on 10 April 1669, and the early date of his first admission, not mentioned in *Biographia Britannica*, may reflect difficulties still existing at Ipswich.⁷⁵ The entry in the college admissions register describes him as the son of 'Jeremiah Collier, clerk, of Papworth ('Pansworth'), Cambs' (Collier must have been in Holy Orders at least from the time of his fellowship at St John's in the 1640s), but the place-name – apparently referring to either Papworth Everard or Papworth St Agnes, west of Cambridge – is a mistake: Jeremy Collier was at the time Vicar of Pampisford, a village about eight miles south of Cambridge, a post to which he had been appointed on 21 April 1666 (by Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely), some six weeks before his son was first admitted to Caius College.⁷⁶ The mistake, along with the latter's second admission to Caius in 10 April 1669, may

⁷⁴ *Biographica Britannica*, II (1748), s.n. Collier (Jeremy): 'He was educated under his father at Ipswich, from whence he was sent to Cambridge'. Cf. *ODNB*, which names no other school. For details of his admission to Caius, see *Admissions to Gonville and Caius College in the University of Cambridge, March 1558–9 to Jan. 1678–9*, ed. by J. Venn (London, 1887), p. 263. Boster, 'Better to be Alone than in Ill Company', p. 33, asserts that the Colliers 'were quick to transfer to Blockley, Worcestershire, after departing Ipswich', but she cites only an entry in the Gonville and Caius College records to the effect that a Richard Baker, admitted in 1670, was schooled in Blockley 'under Mr Collier, four years' (see *Admissions to Gonville and Caius College*, p. 272). This, however, must refer to Giles Collier (1622–78; *ODNB*), who at the time was vicar of Blockley (now in Gloucestershire), where he also kept a school.

⁷⁵ Evidence presented in David Cressy, 'School and College Admission Ages in Seventeenth-Century England', *History of Education*, 8 (1979), 167–77 (p. 174), shows that 14% of entrants to Caius College, 1600–40, were aged fifteen.

⁷⁶ His appointment as preacher at and as Vicar of Pampisford is recorded in the Clergy of the Church of England Database, <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/index.html>. The original documents are held in Cambridge University Library (EDR A/5/2), and see also National Archives, E331/Ely/10. Collier's status and licence to preach were renewed upon Wren's death in 1667 by his successor, Benjamin Laney (CUL

be related to Jeremy Collier's death on Christmas Day 1668 and to the grant of probate of his will to his widow on 5 April 1669.

Collier at death would have been about fifty years old. His will, drawn up on 9 November 1668, describes him as 'Jeremy Collier of Pampisford in the County of Cambridge, Clerke'; the accompanying inventory, which records his death on 25 December 1668, calls him 'minister'.⁷⁷ The principal beneficiary of the will is his wife Elizabeth Collier, indicating that he had been married for a second time (again to an Elizabeth). This is reflected in the distinction the will goes on to make between a son Theophilus and a daughter Elizabeth on the one hand, and his sons Jeremiah and John on the other, who are recorded as having had 'other provision' already made for them. No record of this second marriage and of these other births has been found, but the youth of Theophilus and Elizabeth is apparent from their father's desire that his widow should 'maynteyne & educate my two youngest children'.⁷⁸

Collier's main bequest, unexpectedly, is of the advowson of the rectory and parsonage of Wicken Bonhant (today, Wicken Bonhunt) in Essex.⁷⁹ The terms in which it is described make it clear that the bequest is not simply of the right of presentation to the benefice, but of income deriving from the property. No other document connecting Collier with Wicken Bonhunt has been found. Under the terms of the will the advowson passes to Theophilus Collier if his mother remarries or after her death, on condition that he pay his sister Elizabeth fifty pounds when she reaches the age of twenty-one; if he fails to do this, the advowson passes to her. If both of them die before reaching twenty-one, then it passes to their half-brother Jeremy. The subsequent sentence ('Item I give to my son Jeremiah Collyer & John Collyer five shillings a piece haveinge already made other provision for them') is problematic in that the words 'John Collyer' have been written in by a different hand, not filling all of the space that had been left. It

EDR B/2/67). Boster, 'Better to be Alone than in Ill Company', p. 34, writes of Collier's 'association' with Wren and Lacey, and speculates that he, like them (and like his son, in due course) may have opposed the 1661 revision of the prayer book.

⁷⁷ Collier's will is listed in Clifford and Dorothea Thurley (compilers), *Index of the Probate Records of the Consistory Court of Ely, 1449–1858*, pt 1: A–E, ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Rosemary Rodd, Index Library, 103 (London: British Record Society, 1994), p. 256. The will itself is held by Cambridgeshire Archives.

⁷⁸ Jeremy Collier the non-juring bishop, who made his will on 23 December 1724, leaves £5 to his sister 'Mrs Elizabeth Muriell' (the only beneficiary other than his wife Cecilia), who is presumably the daughter Elizabeth born to his father's second wife. (The will, proved on 7 May 1726 in the Archdeaconry Court of London, is held by London Metropolitan Archives.) She might be the Elizabeth Muriel who was the wife of the Revd George Muriel, Rector of Papworth Everard near Cambridge, except that her age at death (1739) on the monumental inscription in Papworth Everard church is given as sixty-six (<http://www.murielfamilyely.co.uk/page1/page3/page3.html>).

⁷⁹ The rector of Wicken Bonhunt from 1627 until his death in 1668 was Theophilus Aylmer. The Clergy of the Church of England Database (see n. 76 above) shows that when he was first appointed the advowson was held by the Crown, and that in 1668, at the institution of his successor, Laurence Fogg, the patron was said to be Aylmer's widow, Elizabeth – which conflicts with the evidence of Collier's will.

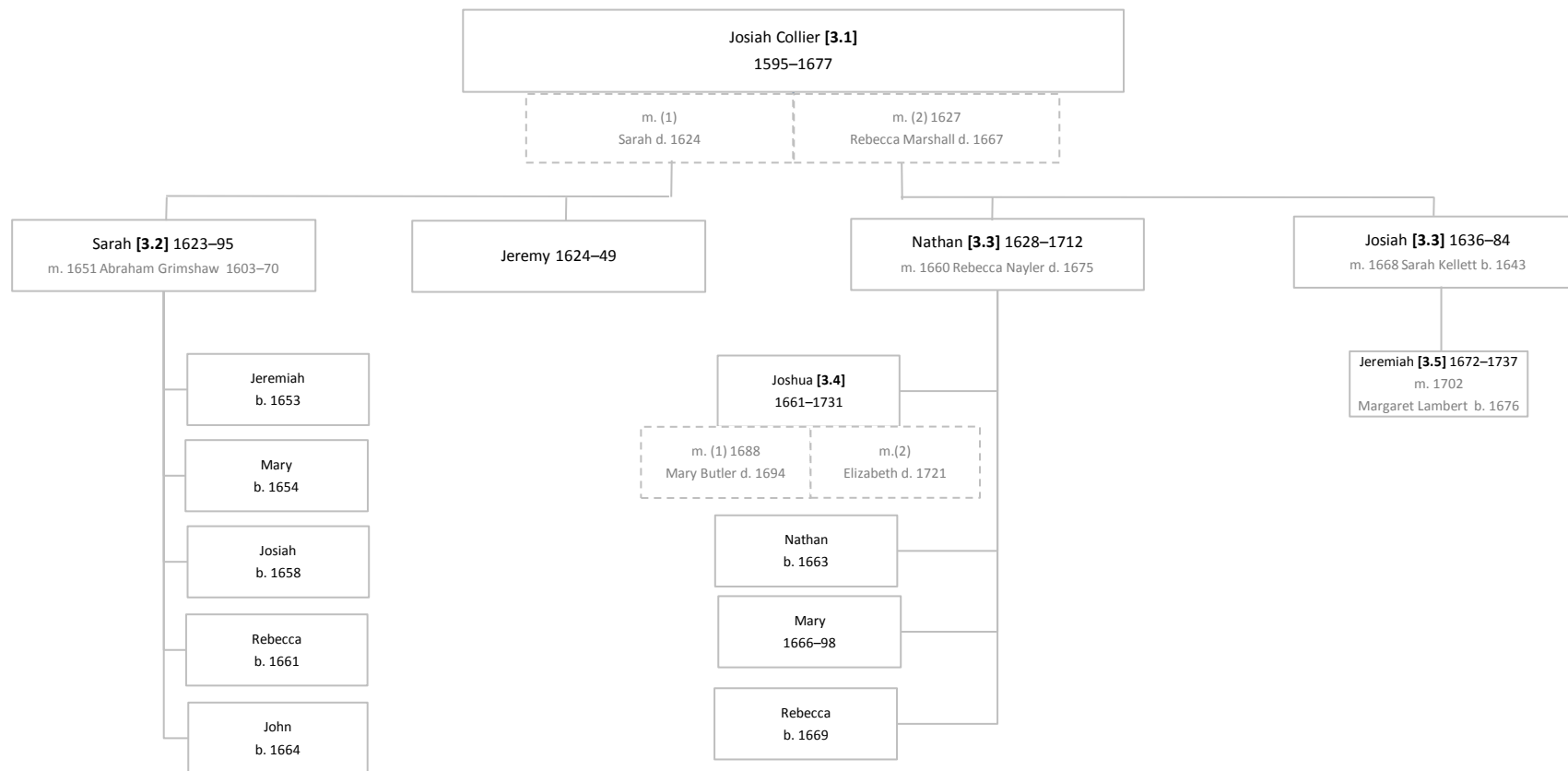
Jeremiah Collier and his Family

may be that the lawyer attending the ailing Jeremy Collier was not clear about his instruction when the will came to be written out, and that the matter was clarified only when it was brought back for signing and witnessing. The wording 'my son' before 'Jeremiah Collyer' suggests that a second 'my son' was originally meant to be inserted before 'John Collyer'.

The will finally bequeaths all of Collier's other property, including his plate and jewels, to his wife. The inventory of his goods and chattels lists, in greater or lesser detail, the clothes, rings, books, furniture, and other household goods in the various rooms of his home.⁸⁰ By far the greater part of the total valuation of £286 comprises 'bands [i.e. bonds] and good debts', collectively valued at £195. Also listed are £30 of 'desperate debts'.

⁸⁰ The books are not itemized, but grouped as '25 large bookes and 25 smaller bookes', valued at £11 5s, and 'one truncke with small bookes', valued at £1.

Josiah Collier and his Family



3 Josiah Collier and his Family

The members of Josiah Collier's family, finally, display another mix of Puritan religion and farming. Josiah himself (3.1) was a follower of the controversial antinomian clergyman Roger Brekeley (1586–1637). Although never ordained (and not university educated) he was active locally as a lay preacher and religious writer. Most importantly, he collected and edited Brekeley's sermons and poems for publication, alongside prose and verse writings of his own (there are three surviving editions). Other of his own compositions survive in manuscript form. His daughter Sarah (3.2), of Rawdon, in due course converted to Quakerism, and she and her family can be traced extensively in Quaker records. Josiah's sons Nathan and Josiah (both treated under 3.3) apparently had no such interests. They moved from Yeadon to Esholt, where their apparently prosperous farms were eventually taken over by their respective sons Joshua (3.4) and Jeremiah (3.5).

3.1 Josiah Collier (1595–1677)

Josiah Collier, the youngest son of John and Isad Collier, was baptised on 15 June 1595 and appears to have lived in Yeadon until about 1670. The Guiseley registers show him as the father of a daughter Sarah, baptised on 29 June 1623, and of a son Jeremiah, baptised on 24 December 1624, the same day as the burial of Josiah's wife, Sarah, evidently as a result of childbirth. A record of their marriage has not been found. On 11 May 1627 he married Rebecca Marshall of York at St Michael-le-Belfry in that city, following an application for a marriage licence.¹ This marriage resulted in two further sons, Nathan, baptised on 30 March 1628, and Josiah, baptised on 17 January 1636. The Jeremy Collier of Yeadon buried on 11 February 1649 is likely to be Josiah's eldest son, born in 1624, of whom nothing more is known.

Unlike his eldest brother, Zachary, Josiah Collier does not appear to have built up land holdings, and it will be seen that his interests lay elsewhere. (It was noted on p. 10 above that in 1630 he sold a close 'in the west of Narr Ings' to Zachary.) On 10 November 1636, in a deed transferring ownership of land from John Hoppey of Esholt to the lord of the manor Francis Layton, he is named as renting four acres at St Mary Royd in Yeadon, which adjoin lands of his own.² On 31 March 1641 he is described as of Nether Yeadon in a deed (in which he is a minor

¹ *The Register of St Michael le Belfrey, York*, ed. by Francis Collins, vol. I, YPRS, 1 ([Leeds], 1899), p. 161; J. W. Clay, 'Paver's Marriage Licences, pt XVI', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 17 (1903), 155–91 (p. 171).

² Leeds Archives, WYL500/676.

party) relating to the purchase of the old corn mill in Esholt by his brother Zachary and John Ward, and in 1645 he is listed amongst Francis Layton's Yeadon tenants, paying £1 10s in rent.³

On 8 April 1651 the marriage of his daughter Sarah Collier (3.2 below) to Abraham Grimshaw took place in Baildon, two miles west of Esholt,⁴ but this does not mean that he himself had moved there, though Esholt is where his son Nathan made his home after his marriage in 1660 (see 3.3 below). He clearly remained in Yeadon, as in 1663 he served as an Overseer of the Poor for the township, writing some of the accounts himself and signing at the head of the list of four names.⁵

Two years later he would have reached the age of seventy, and his whereabouts in the last part of his life becomes more difficult to establish. His second wife Rebecca died in 1667, and his youngest son, also Josiah Collier, married Sarah Kellett in 1668.⁶ In 1672 the older Josiah Collier, probably long established as a lay preacher (see below), made an application under the terms of Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence for Sarah Grimshaw's house in the parish of Guiseley to be registered as a nonconformist meeting place, giving his denomination as Independent; the licence was granted on 28 October.⁷ The house in question was in Rawdon (which like Yeadon was part of Guiseley parish), and it may be that he simultaneously moved to live with his daughter. He may, however, have moved to Rawdon at the time of his youngest son's marriage four years earlier, letting the newly wedded couple take over his house, in which case the single entry for 'Josias Collyer' in the 1671 lay subsidy assessment for Yeadon (for the sum of 4s 6d) would refer to his son.⁸ The latter is described in the Guiseley registers as Josiah Collier 'of Yeadon' when his own son (and only child) Jeremiah is baptised on 31 March 1672.

³ Leeds Archives, WYL500/94; *Yorkshire Royalist Composition Papers*, vol. I, ed. by J. W. Clay, YAS RS, 15 ([Leeds], 1893), p. 32. For Francis Layton, see also above, ch. 1, n. 8.

⁴ The Baildon registers, held by Bradford Archives (BDP3/1/1/1), are badly stained and faded, with dates (especially years) frequently illegible. Various leaves are also bound out of order. However, an analysis of the typescript transcript held by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (YAS PRT) enables a correct and datable sequence of entries to be established. (The transcript of marriages at Baildon published by the Wharfedale Family History Group (2005) incorrectly gives the year as 1653.)

⁵ Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MD 274. Josiah Collier's name appears also in the accounts for what must be the following year, when he served with his nephew Timothy Collier; see p. 12 above. On 25 April 1656 he is recorded as witnessing a bond made between residents of Otley and Guiseley (Hull University Archives, DDEV/51/37), but his place of residence is not given.

⁶ Their marriage in Guiseley church on 26 October 1668 was preceded by an application for a marriage licence, in which the younger Josiah Collier is described as a clothier aged (wrongly) twenty-eight and his bride as a spinster of Calverley aged twenty-four. See *Paver's Marriage Licences*, II (ch. 2, n. 104 above), p. 129. His bride must be the Sarah Kellett who was baptised on 27 August 1643, the daughter of Samuel Kellett of Idle; see Margerison, *Registers of the Parish Church of Calverley*, I, p. 118. The Calverley registers are now online at: <http://www.calverley.info/cr.htm>.

⁷ *Nonconformist Register*, ed. Turner (ch. 1, n. 21 above), p. 111.

⁸ Bradford Archives, 23D98/4/10.

The matter is complicated by the 1672 hearth tax return, made on Lady Day, a week before the child's birth, which lists no Josiah Collier under Yeadon, but a single Josiah Collier (with two hearths) under Hawksworth, a township to the south-west that for hearth tax purposes included the village of Esholt, where the younger Josiah's brother Nathan was already established.⁹ One explanation would be that the younger Josiah and his family had very recently moved, or were in the process of moving; that is to say, their house in Yeadon had already been sold but it was still natural for the parish clerk, when registering the baptism, to associate the father with Yeadon. There is no doubt that the younger Josiah Collier and his family were living in Esholt by 1675 (see 3.3 below), and no reason to think that the older Josiah had temporarily moved there.

Josiah Collier was evidently living in Rawdon in the year of his death, 1677, as Oliver Heywood records in his diaries that he was preaching there on 24 January that year when he received what turned out to be the mistaken news of the death of his two sons, and that he was comforted 'by discourse with Josiah Collier (82 yeares of age) Mr Collier of Bradford's brother, a great antinomian and preacher'.¹⁰ Collier himself, described in the Guiseley registers as 'Josiah Collier of Rawdon', suggesting a settled residence, was buried four weeks later, on 19 February 1677.

Heywood's comment on Josias Collier's antinomianism is confirmed by the major part he played in preserving the writings of Roger Brereley (1586–1637), who was curate of Grindleton, in the parish of Mitton, in Craven, from c. 1616 to c. 1623, and who came to be regarded as the leader of the so-called Grindletonian movement.¹¹ This comprised, in the words of Nigel Smith:

a group of like-minded believers in the area who believed in the overwhelming power of the Holy Spirit in their religious experience, over and above the letter of the Scripture, and in particular the stated law of the Ten Commandments. They were thus identified from an early state as Antinomians, believing that Christ's atonement freed believers from the moral restraints of the law. Released from the taint of original sin, they believed they were reborn into Paradise in this life.¹²

⁹ *West Riding Hearth Tax Assessment, Lady Day, 1672*, ed. Hey and others (ch. 1, n. 16 above), p. 206.

¹⁰ Heywood, *Autobiography*, III (ch. 1, n. 22 above), p. 177. The reference is to Jeremiah Collier, 2.1 above.

¹¹ Collier's role in disseminating Grindletonian teachings is discussed in Nigel Smith, 'Elegy for a Grindletonian: Poetry and Heresy in Northern England, 1615–1640', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 33 (2003), 335–51, and David R. Como, *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil War England* (Stanford, CA, 2004), ch. 8 and Appendix A. Smith was not aware of the Chetham's Library manuscript, described below. Como, p. 310, gives Collier's date of death as 26 September 1684, confusing him with his son Josiah (3.3 below). The spelling of Brereley's name varies in modern scholarship and catalogues; the general consensus is for Brereley, but in *Blown by the Spirit* Como uses the form Brearley.

¹² Smith, 'Elegy for a Grindletonian', p. 335.

Collier's initials, 'J.C.', sign the preface to *A Bundle of Soul-Convincing, Directing and Comforting Truths*, which was printed in Edinburgh for sale in Glasgow in 1670 and describes itself as 'A brief Summary of several Sermons preached at large, by that faithful and pious Servant of Jesus Christ, M. Rodger Breirly, minister of the Gospel at Grindleton, in Craven'.¹³ Collier would seem to have acted as compiler and editor. Following the twenty-seven sermon summaries, two out of the three copies of the book recorded in the *English Short-Title Catalogue* have a second sequence of pages containing three poems,¹⁴ one of them by Brereley (pp. 1–74), one (as it will appear) by Collier himself (pp. 75–88, headed 'The Lord's Reply'), and one, 'Self Civil War', also unattributed (pp. 89–94), being a slightly abridged version of a poem by Josuah Sylvester (1563–1618) first printed in 1621.¹⁵ Further editions of *A Bundle of Soul-Convincing, Directing and Comforting Truths* followed in 1676 (printed and sold in Glasgow) and 1677 (printed in London).¹⁶ The single recorded copy of the 1676 edition contains only the sermon summaries, whereas all known copies of 1677 have both the summaries and the poems.¹⁷

Josiah Collier has also left us two manuscripts of his and Brereley's writings. These will form the subject of a separate study, but a brief account of their contents can be given here.

Chetham's Library, Manchester, MS A.2.24 begins with the same poem by Brereley as in the printed editions ('Of true Christian liberty and libertinism')¹⁸ and then a fuller version of the same poem by Collier (headed 'The soul's complaint and God's reply', here attributed to 'Josias Colyer'). Then follow three further poems ('The voice of the gospel', 'The participation of the cross', and 'A description of Babel's whore') and three prose pieces, namely 'An epistle to a friend', 'An answer to certain queries propounded by a friend', and 'A declaration of my own understanding concerning certain propositions propounded by a loving brother'. All are attributed to (in the most common spelling) 'Josiah Collyer'.

¹³ The book is Wing B4658 (for Wing, see ch. 2, n. 60 above).

¹⁴ See <http://estc.bl.uk>, where the book is R213090. ESTC does not note that the poems are missing from the British Library's copy.

¹⁵ In *Du Bartas his diuine weekes, and workes with a compleate collectio[n] of all the other most delightfull workes translated and written by yt famous philomusus, losuah Syluester Gent:* (London, 1621), pp. 1119–23. Sylvester is here translating a poem by George Goodwin.

¹⁶ Wing B4658A and B4659 (ESTC R173282 and R1288). The 1677 edition is noticed in *The Journal of Nicholas Assheton of Downham in the County of Lancaster, Esq.*, ed. by F. R. Raines, Chetham Society, 14 (Manchester, 1848), notes to pp. 89–96, where there is substantial quotation from Collier's preface and, especially, Brereley's poem 'Of true Christian liberty', along with an account of Brereley and his family.

¹⁷ In this edition the poems are physically integrated into the book in terms of printer's signatures, whereas in 1670 they comprise a separate sequence of signatures and were evidently printed separately, perhaps to facilitate separate publication, if required. For locations of known copies of the 1676 and 1677 editions, see <http://estc.bl.uk>.

¹⁸ A second manuscript version of this poem, in a fragmentary state, exists in Chetham's Library, MS A.2.132.

Lambeth Palace Library MS 3461 contains, in order, a short poem by Collier ('The round, the cross, the angle and the square', signed 'J.C. '); a slightly shorter version of the preface to the published editions, signed, as there, 'J.C. '; twenty-five summaries of sermons by Brekeley (mainly dated, to the period 1630–32), sixteen of which correspond to summaries in the printed editions;¹⁹ a prose letter by Brekeley 'to Anne Pethye of Newcastle'; a poem on the death of Brekeley 'by William Aglin minister';²⁰ a short poem by Collier (with 'J.C.' embedded in the text by way of signature) paying tribute to Aiglin and Brekeley, both now dead; a long poem signed 'J.C.' which on the manuscript's contents page is entitled 'An advertisement to the childhood state, the youthful state, the old age state'; a short poem on the old and new law, unattributed but presumably by Collier; two prose treatises 'by Josiah Collyer', one headed 'A testimony to the two witnesses of god', the other a quasi-sermon headed 'I am the true vyne, and my father is the husbandman'; and finally two short poems ('God of his love such love to man hath born' and 'The tree of life in paradise that grew'), unattributed but presumably by Collier.

Leaving aside later additions on flyleaves, the two manuscripts are clearly written by the same practised hand. Where 'by Josiah Collyer' or similar appears at the end of items by way of attribution, the hand is also the same. At the foot of the contents page in the Chetham's manuscript – where Brekeley's poem, listed first, is separated off from the remainder of the contents by a horizontal rule – 'By Josiah Collyer' is noticeably larger, but it matches the letterforms used elsewhere and appears to be a deliberate assertion of authorship, possibly added later. The strong suspicion that the handwriting of the two manuscripts is Collier's own is strengthened further by an inscription on the end pastedown of the Chetham's manuscript, as follows:

Josiah Colliar
his booke lent to
Mr Alexander
Fetherstone late
minister of Gods worde
att Benthame

Josiah Collyar

¹⁹ The printed summaries represented in the manuscript are nos 1–2, 4–16, 27, which are nos 1–13, 25, 24, and 18 in the manuscript. Como, in a confused account of the contents of the Lambeth and Chetham's manuscripts vis à vis the printed editions (*Blown by the Spirit*, pp. 55–56), erroneously states that the former manuscript contains 'the full complement of sermons eventually published by Collier'.

²⁰ This poem is the main focus of discussion in Nigel Smith's 'Elegy for a Grindletonian'. Como uses the form of name Aiglin (as does Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* (ch. 2, n. 1 above), p. 224), and this is the version adopted here.

Here the handwriting appears rather different and the spelling of the name Collier ends in -ar, but many of the letter-forms of 'Josiah Colliar' are recognisably the same as previously, and it may be that he wrote the inscription late in life.²¹ It is additionally problematic in that the Fetherstone normally recorded as minister at Bentham (on the edge of the Forest of Bowland, near the Yorkshire / Lancashire border) is Christopher (d. 1653), who was instituted as rector there in 1616. His son Alexander (born c. 1617) had his own ecclesiastical career, which culminated in his appointment as a canon of Lichfield in 1660. He became Vicar of Wolverton, Bucks, in 1673, and was buried there in 1684.²² But although Bentham does not feature in the principal summaries of his career, one of the sources cited for the parish in the unpublished Yorkshire clergy lists maintained by York Minster Library does name 'Alexander Featherstone' as having begun to officiate there on 2 September 1659 – to be succeeded on 25 August 1660 (when he would have moved to Lichfield) by Robert Lowther.²³

On the strength of the two manuscripts, and *A Bundle of Soul-Convincing, Directing and Comforting Truths*, David Como makes much of Josiah Collier as a devout follower of Roger Breereley, characterising him and William Aiglin as 'veterans of the first days of Breereley's ministry' and very likely 'two of the chief Grindletonian preachers'. Collier, he writes, 'probably preached and taught in private'. His writings – 'copious and formidable treatises of theological argument' – provide 'the closest thing we have to a systematic account of Grindletonian theology'.²⁴ Basing himself on the signed preface to *A Bundle*, which contains an account of Breereley's first trial before the High Commission in York in 1616–17 (on a charge of doctrinal heterodoxy), Como suggests that Collier may even have 'witnessed the events as a young man'.²⁵ However, the information given is not so detailed that Collier could not have learned it from Breereley himself at a later date. There is no doubt that he knew Breereley personally – 'And to this I bear report', he writes, when describing the powerful effects of Breereley's preaching – but the 'few head-notes' making up the sermon summaries 'came to my view', he says, only after the preacher's death (in 1637). As noted above, the summaries preserved in the Lambeth Palace manuscript are generally dated 1630–32 (the printed versions are undated), but if, as seems the case, Collier did not prepare the summaries himself (unless he is being modest),

²¹ The hand of the two manuscripts, and their typical form of the signature 'Josiah Collyer', also matches that of Collier's handwriting in the 1663 accounts of the Overseers of the Poor for Yeadon, referred to on p. 57 above.

²² See *Alumni Oxoniensis: the Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*, ed. by Joseph Foster, 4 vols (Oxford, 1891–92), II, p. 494, and John Le Neve, *Fasti ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1541–1857*, vol. X: *Coventry and Lichfield Diocese*, comp. by Joyce M. Horn (London: Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 2003), p. 28. For his father Christopher Fetherstone (d. 1653), see Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt 1, II, p. 135.

²³ Unfortunately the source named on the relevant page of the clergy lists is unclear.

²⁴ Como, pp. 281, 309. He quotes passages from Collier's works, both prose and verse, on pp. 299–301, 304, and 466–67.

²⁵ Como, pp. 275, 309.

these dates are of little help in determining his first involvement with Grindletonianism. Como suggests, though without evidence, that Collier's own writings date from the 1640s and 1650s, and it may indeed be reasonable to suppose that Breereley's death prompted Collier to make his own attempt at formulating the truths of Grindletonian teaching. It appears that William Aiglin died in 1663, which entails an obviously later date for Collier's poem in tribute to him and Breereley.²⁶

When might Josiah Collier first have encountered Roger Breereley? It was shown above (pp. 41-44) that Josiah's brother Jeremiah participated, probably c. 1623–24, in the Halifax-centred preaching exercises that attracted Puritan ministers from a wide area, and that Breereley was apparently one of the other participants. It is possible that Josiah, perhaps already interested in theological discourse, went to hear his brother preach and met Breereley then. But Breereley at this time (1623–31) was curate of Kildwick in Craven, about twelve miles west of Yeadon – his other ecclesiastical appointments were held in modern-day Lancashire – so there could have been other opportunities. David Como points out that Kildwick remained an antinomian stronghold for several decades, clearly as a result of strong lay support. John Towne, an antinomian like his brother Robert, served there in the 1650s (cf. p. 28 above), and in 1672 the well-known antinomian preacher James Hartley was living there. (He, like Josiah Collier, applied that year for a licence to preach at a house in Guiseley, suggesting a connection.) Another relevant figure may be the polemicist and radical writer John Webster, curate at Kildwick in the 1630s (later schoolmaster and physician in Clitheroe), who dated his conversion to Grindletonianism to his time in the parish.²⁷ Alchemy and Rosicrucianism were among Webster's interests, and it may be significant that the Lambeth Palace manuscript mentioned above contains a drawing of a complex geometric symbol illustrating Collier's poem 'The round, the cross, the angle and the square'. It is at least probable that Collier knew these men.²⁸

For the most part we can only speculate about his other personal and religious contacts, which may have included his nephew, the Cambridge-educated John Collier (1.5 above). From 1650 to 1656 the latter was employed as Usher at Wakefield Grammar School, and it is curious that the long-serving headmaster of the day, Revd Robert Doughty, was husband to Roger Breereley's sister Alice. Furthermore, their daughter Susan Doughty married a minister called Richard Coore, whom Como describes as 'the prime example of a "second-generation" Grindletonian', adding that 'It is tempting to wonder whether [Robert Doughty], too, was not given to Breereley's and Coore's style of divinity'.²⁹ Two of Breereley's sons, John and Roger, were

²⁶ Como, pp. 296, 466; and (for Aiglin's date of death) 308.

²⁷ For the above, see Como, pp. 313–15. For Webster (1611–82), see *ODNB*.

²⁸ For these and other antinomians from the same area, see also Smith, 'Elegy for a Grindletonian', p. 337, and Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1947), pp. 178–80.

²⁹ Como, pp. 321–22 and p. 322 n. 196.

educated at Wakefield Grammar School before proceeding to Cambridge.³⁰ The latter matriculated in 1652, so would have encountered John Collier.

Richard Coore, Robert Towne, William Aiglin, and other acknowledged antinomians preached together at an exercise at Bingley, south-east of Kildwick, in 1651.³¹ One of the other antinomian participants was Edmund Moore, curate since 1649 at Baildon chapel (only three miles from Bingley), and it is possible that his presence in Baildon was a reason for the marriage of Sarah Collier and Abraham Grimshaw taking place there in April 1651. (In 1675 Moore succeeded John Collier as curate of Haworth, remaining there until his death in 1684.)³² There is no doubt that Josiah Collier knew Moore's probable patron, Jane Baildon (daughter of Sir Richard Hawksworth), who became lady of the manor of Baildon in her own right after her husband Francis's death in 1669 and who lived on into the late seventeenth century.³³ The contents page of Lambeth Palace Library MS 3461 is headed, in the main hand of the manuscript, 'Madam Baildon booke', strong evidence that Josiah Collier made this selection of his and Brereley's writings especially for her.³⁴ Como postulates that 'she probably served as a patroness to West Riding antinomianism in its second generation', but she is associated also with the more mainstream Puritan minister Oliver Heywood, who records in his diaries that he preached at her house on 26 October 1683, and (10 October 1687) that one of the twelve leather-bound copies of his newly published book *Baptismal Bonds* was destined for her.³⁵

Names later written on to the front and back pages of the Lambeth Palace manuscript include 'William Garth His Booke 1697', 'Thomas Ledgard Booke 1697', and 'John Stead 1697' (these all on the rear pastedown), suggesting a form of shared ownership not long after Jane Baildon's presumed date of death. These three men are all known or probable local

³⁰ See Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt 1, I, p. 209, and Roy Price, 'Roger Brierley and the Grindletonians', at http://archive.oneguyfrombarlick.co.uk/article_read143d.html?item=108 (accessed, 5 February 2013).

³¹ Como, pp. 321–23. For Coore's antinomianism, see further Dale, *Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity*, pp. 43–45.

³² For Moore, see W. Paley Baildon, *Baildon and the Baildons: A History of a Yorkshire Manor and Family*, 3 vols (n.p., n.d. [privately printed, 1912–27]), I, pp. 175–76; Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt 1, III, p. 204; and Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 352. For his antinomianism, see Heywood, *Autobiography*, I, p. 184. Moore, born in Lancashire, completed his schooling at Wakefield under Robert Doughty, and was admitted to Christ's College, Cambridge, aged seventeen, in June 1640.

³³ The latest reference to her is from April 1691; see *Baildon and the Baildons*, II, pp. 321–26. Her marriage to Francis Baildon can be dated to 1649 or earlier, as their only child Mary was baptised in January 1650.

³⁴ Como, p. 323, appears to think the words are an ownership inscription added later, suggesting that Collier's presence a few miles from Baildon 'perhaps explains how [the manuscript] might have come into her hands'.

³⁵ For the latter, see Heywood, *Autobiography*, III, p. 53. For the former, see [J. Horsfall Turner], 'Oliver Heywood's Diaries (Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 24,486, fo: 89', *Yorkshire Genealogist*, 2 (1890), 51–57, 109–14, 239–40, 252–59 (p. 257), this article forming a supplement to the diary entries in the four-volume *Autobiography*.

nonconformists. William Garth is listed with Timothy Collier (1.2 above) as one of those applying for the registration of a barn in Windhill, parish of Calverley (south-east of Baildon), in October 1689 following the Act of Toleration of that year.³⁶ Thomas Ledgard and John Stead similarly applied for the registration of the former's house in Idle, also in Calverley parish.³⁷ However, that Thomas Ledgard (with whom the nonconformist clergyman Oliver Heywood lodged on his preaching tours, and who received books distributed by Heywood) apparently died in 1690;³⁸ the signatory in the manuscript is perhaps his son.

The presence in Lambeth Palace MS 3461 of a poem commemorating William Aiglin shows that that manuscript was written after his death in 1663. David Como is probably correct in surmising that Collier 'appears to have tried to consolidate scattered Grindletonian writings in the 1650s and 1660s',³⁹ as these are indeed plausible decades for the compilation of the two surviving manuscripts. Now in late middle age, with grown-up children – and with the turmoils of the Civil War at an end – it is reasonable that Collier should have turned at this time to making copies of his and Brereley's writings. The Chetham's Library manuscript, in which the handwriting is more regular, was possibly written first. Further work is needed to determine the relationship between the manuscripts and the printed *A Bundle of Soul-Convincing, Directing and Comforting Truths* (1670), but all the indications are that the manuscripts came first. The circumstances surrounding the publication of the book in Scotland remain obscure. It is conceivable that Jane Baildon or a comparable patron encouraged its production and made funds available to Collier, and it is understandable that he (or others) should have sought a publisher remote from Yorkshire or London given establishment hostility to Puritanism following the Restoration settlement and the Licensing Act of 1662. But no evidence survives to suggest how contact was made with an Edinburgh printer or with 'James Brown, book-seller in Glasgow', the only name in the imprint of the two editions.⁴⁰

³⁶ *Nonconformist Register*, ed. Turner, p. 144, and see p. 12 above.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.141. Ledgard had earlier licensed his house following the 1672 Act of Indulgence (*ibid.*, p. 113).

³⁸ See Heywood, *Autobiography*, I, pp. 268, 273; II, pp. 52, 113, 212, 215; and III, p. 55.

³⁹ Como, p. 55.

⁴⁰ James Brown seems primarily to have been a Glasgow bookbinder, recorded in the Scottish Book Trade Index (<http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/scottish-book-trade-index>) as active between 1661 and 1685. He is named in the imprints of seven books printed between 1670 and 1685, the majority of them printed in Edinburgh. In most cases the books are said to have been printed 'for' James Brown (as with the two editions of *A Bundle*, where no other bookseller is named), but this does not necessarily mean that he was the instigator or bore the main financial risk. I am grateful to Dr Annette Hagan of the National Library of Scotland for drawing my attention to two of Brown's books not recorded in ESTC at the time of correspondence (December 2012).

3.2 Sarah Collier (1623–95)

Sarah Collier, the eldest child of Josiah Collier (by his first wife Sarah), was baptised in Guiseley on 29 June 1623. As already recorded, she married Abraham Grimshaw on 8 April 1651, the marriage taking place at Baildon. He is almost certainly the Abraham Grimshaw baptised in Guiseley on 5 July 1603, making him twenty years older than his wife. It is likely that this was his second marriage, for the birth of his apparently eldest son Abraham, who died in 1708, has not been traced, and it is probable that this birth and Abraham Grimshaw's first marriage took place elsewhere in Yorkshire.

The Grimshaws were a Rawdon family, and it is likely that Abraham and Sarah lived in the smallholding later known as Ivy House that the family continued to occupy as tenants into the nineteenth century.⁴¹ Six children were born to them, all recorded in the Guiseley registers: Jeremiah, baptised 21 July 1653, Mary, baptised 15 October 1654, Sarah, baptised 11 May 1656, Josiah, baptised 25 April 1658, Rebecca, baptised 23 June 1661, and John, baptised 23 November 1664.⁴² Abraham Grimshaw, Sarah Collier's husband, died relatively soon afterwards, in March 1670, and two years later, as noted above, her father Josiah Collier made an application for her house to be registered as a nonconformist meeting place. Given that the 1672 hearth tax returns for Rawdon record Sarah Grimshaw as having only one hearth while Abraham Grimshaw (her presumed step-son) has two,⁴³ it is probable that the latter took over as head of household at Ivy House following his father's death, and that Josiah Collier's application for registration refers to a smaller dwelling, to which his daughter very likely moved, despite the young age of some of her children

At some later date Sarah Grimshaw and her family became Quakers. I have discussed this matter at length elsewhere,⁴⁴ so relatively few details will be given here, and for the same reason the lives of her children are only incidentally touched on. In brief, her son Jeremiah became a prominent Yorkshire Quaker, whose death in 1721 produced two testimonies to his life that go into detail about his early religious experiences. These record that Jeremiah, at 'about Eighteen or Nineteen Years of Age' (i.e. c. 1672), 'met with a People cald Antinomians ... whose Assemblies he frequented for some time' – evidently under the influence of his

⁴¹ His probable father Edward Grimshaw, who married Dorothy Rayner in 1602 and who was buried in 1635 (Guiseley parish registers), is recorded as a tenant of Francis Rawdon in 1620 (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MD 274, Rawdon deeds), and the piece of land in question may be the same.

⁴² Jeremiah, Josiah, and John Grimshaw are named as his brothers in the will of the Abraham Grimshaw who died in 1708 (Borthwick Institute for Archives, probate file of Abraham Grimshaw of Calverley, Ainsty deanery, 3 August 1708 (microfilm 1664)). It is noticeable that Jeremiah, Josiah, and John, unlike Abraham, are all traditional Collier family names.

⁴³ *West Riding Hearth Tax Assessment, Lady Day, 1672*, ed. Hey and others, p. 221, where she is listed as 'Widd Grimshaw'.

⁴⁴ Oliver Pickering, 'The Problem of Edward Grimshaw: Tracking a Seventeenth-Century Yorkshire Quaker Family', *Quaker Connections*, 49 (March 2010), 6–17.

grandfather Josiah Collier and presumably also his mother – ‘yet had no true Satisfaction there’ until ‘dureing the time of his exercise and weary Travell he heard of a Meeting of the People called Quakers to which he resorted’.⁴⁵ Jeremiah Grimshaw first features in the record of Quaker Sufferings (the penalties imposed on Quakers for their particular acts of nonconformity) in 1682, followed by his mother Sarah in 1683.⁴⁶ Given that the wording of the testimonies to his life implies that Jeremiah took some time to work through his spiritual journey from antinomianism to Quakerism, and that antinomian influence is likely to have remained strong while his grandfather remained alive (i.e. until 1677), it is reasonable to conclude that the family did not make the move to Quakerism until the end of the 1670s or beginning of the 1680s.

Sarah Grimshaw appears in the record of Sufferings for the years 1683–86 and 1688–89. In each case she has corn taken from her because of her refusal to pay tithes, to the value, successively, of £1 15s, £1 12s, £1 10s, 10s, 15s, and £1 6s. She is the only member of the family to feature in this way at the time, and it can be deduced with some degree of certainty, especially given these values, that she is again acting as head of household at Ivy House, because of family circumstances. In July or August 1682 Jeremiah Grimshaw had been accused of speaking or preaching in conventicles, and when he refused to swear the Oath of Allegiance he was committed to prison in York Castle until April 1683. He spent a further six months imprisoned in Scarborough Castle in 1684.⁴⁷ His presumed step-brother Abraham also refused to swear the Oath when brought to the Wakefield sessions in January 1683 with other Quakers from Rawdon, and was apparently held until April 1686.⁴⁸ Jeremiah married in March 1685 and moved to Kirkbymoorside on the North York Moors, while Abraham married in May 1686, immediately on his release, and moved to Calverley.⁴⁹ It is therefore reasonable to conclude that Sarah Grimshaw returned to Ivy House at a time of family crisis, convinced in her own Quakerism by the stand her son and step-son had taken, and that she remained there for several years. From 1690 onwards her place in the record of Sufferings is taken by her second

⁴⁵ Leeds University Library, Clifford Street archives, I 11.1, Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, Testimonies concerning deceased ministers. The first phrase is from the testimony signed by John Grimshaw, Jeremiah’s brother, the remainder from the testimony prepared by Knaresborough Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends. The present writer intends to publish a separate account of Jeremiah Grimshaw.

⁴⁶ Leeds University Library, Carlton Hill archives, C 7, Knaresborough Monthly Meeting, Record of Sufferings 1654–1710.

⁴⁷ Clifford Street archives, V 1.1, Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, Book of Sufferings 1651–95, p. 45. Fuller details are preserved in Hull University Archives, DQR/10/22, Scarborough Preparative Meeting, Account of Sufferings, 1669–1754.

⁴⁸ For these summonses and imprisonments, see Carlton Hill archives, C 7, p. 140.

⁴⁹ The marriages referred to here, and Sarah Grimshaw’s death in 1695, are recorded in the Quaker birth, marriage, and burial registers for Yorkshire, of which an original copy of the digest version prepared in the 1830s is held in Leeds University Library. The registers themselves are in the National Archives, at class RG6.

son Josiah, who married in the same year, and who has corn removed from him at much the same value as had been applied to his mother (1690, £ 10s; 1691, £1 12s; 1692, £1 6s). Clearly he has now assumed the role of head of household.

Following the passing of the Toleration Act, Sarah Grimshaw's house in Rawdon was one of the 'Quakers' places' registered for meetings in October 1689.⁵⁰ On balance this is likely to have been Ivy House, and it may be that it continued in use for this purpose until the establishment of Rawdon Quaker Meeting House and Burial Ground in 1697, in which both Abraham and Josiah Grimshaw were closely involved.⁵¹ Sarah herself features from time to time in the minutes of Knaresborough Women's Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends, which survive from 1677.⁵² In November 1688 and again in August 1691 she is appointed to enquire into the clearness of Quaker women intending marriage (i.e. their 'clearness' from men other than the intended husband), and in 1690 she twice signs to confirm that such clearness has been established.⁵³ From 1694 onwards, however, the numerous references to Sarah Grimshaw are more likely to be to the former Sarah Ibbitson, the wife of her son Josiah, who became a prominent Monthly Meeting female Quaker.⁵⁴ The former Sarah Collier died in 1695 at the age of seventy-two, and was buried (21 November) in the Friends Burial Ground at Dibhouse, Yeadon.

3.3 Nathan Collier (1628–1712) and Josiah Collier (1636–84)

Nathan Collier, Josiah Collier's first son from his second marriage to Rebecca Marshall, was baptised in Guiseley on 30 March 1628. His marriage to Rebecca Nayler on 13 December 1660 is recorded in the Bradford parish registers, presumably reflecting his bride's place of residence,⁵⁵ and thereafter the couple moved to Esholt within the township of Hawksworth. Four children were born to them, of whom the baptism of the eldest, Joshua, is entered in the Baildon registers: 'Joshua son of Nathan Collier in the higher Eshhold, born Oct 14, 1661'. The baptisms of their other children, Nathan (2 December 1663), Mary (10 October 1666), and Rebecca (4 May 1669), are recorded in the Otley registers (their father as 'of West Esholt'), with the entry for Mary noting specifically that she was baptised at Baildon.

⁵⁰ *Nonconformist Register*, ed. Turner, pp. 145–46.

⁵¹ See the copy indenture in Carlton Hill archives, T 19, Knaresborough Monthly Meeting, Abstract of deeds 1660–1880, p. 60, and more generally, *Quakers in Rawdon, Essays and Notes, 1697–1997*, ed. by Joanna Guise, 2nd edn (Rawdon, 1998).

⁵² Unlike the minutes of the corresponding men's meeting, which survive only from 1721, or those of Rawdon meeting itself, which survive from 1700.

⁵³ Carlton Hill archives, A 20, Knaresborough Women's Monthly Meeting, Minutes 1677–93, pp. 124, 151, 139, 140.

⁵⁴ Carlton Hill archives, A 21, Knaresborough Women's Monthly Meeting, Minutes 1694–1723.

⁵⁵ Empsall, *A Transcript of the Marriage Registers of Bradford, Yorkshire* (ch. 1, n. 111 above).

Some aspects of the life of Nathan Collier's younger brother Josiah, who was baptised in Guiseley on 17 January 1636, were referred to on pp. 57-58 during the discussion of their father Josiah; that is to say, he married Sarah Kellett by licence on 26 October 1668 (when he is described as a clothier), and he appears to have lived in Yeadon until 1672, when the couple moved to Esholt with their only child Jeremiah, baptised (in Guiseley) on 31 March 1672.

There is no evidence that Josiah Collier's sons shared their father's and step-sister's radical religious interests, and they seem essentially to have been sufficiently prosperous farmers and clothiers. Nathan and Josiah Collier are recorded under Hawksworth as having respectively three and two hearths in the 1672 hearth tax returns, and they are both listed as jurors and free tenants in the records of Esholt manorial court for 1675-79.⁵⁶ They are subsequently named in a formal agreement of 12 November 1683 between Walter Calverley (d. 10 November 1691, father of Sir Walter Calverley) on the one part, and eight residents of Upper Esholt on the other, concerning the right to use a lane passing through Calverley's lands. Permission is granted for seven years, in return for which the men promise to collect and transport materials for a new stone 'causey' (causeway), eighteen yards long and three yards wide, for which Calverley will otherwise pay.⁵⁷

The following year Josiah Collier died, both the Guiseley and Otley parish registers recording the burial of 'Josias Collier of Esholt' on 26 September 1684. Administration of his estate was granted to his widow Sarah on 20 May 1685.⁵⁸ No further children had been born to them, and in due course their only child Jeremiah (3.5 below) took over his father's farm.

Nathan Collier easily outlived his brother. On 17 May 1691, the agreement over the right of way having expired, Nathan Collier and others petition Walter Calverley once more. Describing themselves as tenants of Sir Nicholas Sherburne (1658-1717, of Stonyhurst, but lord of the manor of Esholt), they ask for leave of passage through Calverley's grounds in East Esholt 'and to return the same way with our lime and coals', each promising to carry out a day's shearing for Calverley in time of harvest.⁵⁹ Collier's relative prosperity at this time is apparent from parliamentary assessments made in 1691-92, following the passing of Land Tax legislation. Out of the total sum for Hawksworth township of £72 18s 8d, he is rated at 13s a quarter (the fifth highest), equivalent to £2 12s annually.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Bradford Archives, 23D98/1/10. For the hearth tax returns, see *West Riding Hearth Tax Assessment, Lady Day, 1672*, ed. Hey and others, p. 206.

⁵⁷ Nathan and Josiah Collier are among the signatories at the end; see Leeds Archives, WYL500/919 (m).

⁵⁸ Borthwick Institute for Archives, probate records, Ainsty deanery. As noted above (n. 11), Como, *Blown by the Spirit*, p. 310, mistakenly gives 26 September 1684 as the date of death of the elder Josiah Collier.

⁵⁹ Leeds Archives, WYL500/919 (o).

⁶⁰ Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MS 527/133, a list for 1691 that includes alterations for 1692 in a second column. An assessment for 1693 also survives (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MS 527/138), but Collier and his neighbours are not now listed individually and are apparently included within the general heading, 'Sir Nicholas Sherburne for his lands & tenements & his mill, being reputed papist, £28

Nathan Collier's wife Rebecca died in 1675, her burial on 24 May being recorded in both the Guiseley and the Otley parish registers, in the latter case as 'Rebecca wife of Nathan Collier of Esholt, buried at Guiseley by Mr Harrisons licence'. Their sons Joshua and Nathan were married on 29 January 1688 and 21 May 1696 (to Mary Butler and Alice Pollard, respectively), and their daughter Mary was buried unmarried on 14 April 1698.⁶¹ No further record of their daughter Rebecca has been found. The younger Nathan Collier may have moved to Rawdon after his marriage, as the Guiseley registers record the baptism of another Nathan, son of Nathan Collier of Rawdon, on 25 April 1708. The father is presumably the man who is listed as a tenant of Henry Layton of Rawdon at the time of the latter's death in 1705, paying a rental of £24 p.a.⁶² The older Nathan Collier was buried (as Nathan Collier of Esholt) on 13 October 1712, having possibly handed over his farm to his elder son c. 1693 – when he would have been sixty-five – as it is Joshua Collier, not his father, who figures in documents regarding rights of way from 1694 onwards (see below).

3.4 Joshua Collier (1661–1731)

Joshua Collier, elder son of Nathan Collier and his wife Rebecca, was born on 14 October 1661, as recorded in the Baildon parish registers. The family home was in Upper Esholt. Joshua Collier married Mary Butler, the wedding taking place by licence on 29 January 1688, in Calverley,⁶³ after which the couple appear to have settled in Esholt. The birth of their daughter Rebecca, on 15 October 1690, is recorded in the Otley parish registers. She, however, was their only child, as the Guiseley registers record the burial of Mary Collier, wife of Joshua Collier of Esholt, on 23 September 1694. Joshua's three subsequent children, recorded in the Otley registers, are therefore the result of a second marriage, so far untraced, to the Elizabeth whose burial as his wife is recorded in the Guiseley registers for November 1721.⁶⁴ These children were Zachary, baptised on 24 November 1711,⁶⁵ Lidia, baptised on 20 March 1714, and Hannah, baptised on 3 November 1716. Zachary lived only until 5 January 1721, when the record of his burial in the Otley registers gives his father's occupation as farmer. A marriage entered in the Otley parish

16s.'. For the legislation, see J. V. Beckett, 'Land Tax or Excise: The Levying of Taxation in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century England', *English Historical Review*, 100 (1985), 285–308.

⁶¹ Recorded in the Guiseley registers, where she is simply 'Mary Collyer of Eshold'. The burial entry for 'Mary daughter of Nathan Collyer of Eshold' on 7 January 1696, before Nathan's marriage to Alice Pollard, evidently refers to a child.

⁶² Cudworth, 'The Layton Family of Rawdon' (ch.1, n. 48 above), p. 147.

⁶³ Margerison, *Registers of the Parish Church of Calverley* (see ch. 2, n. 11 above), III, p. 100.

⁶⁴ Jackson, *Guiseley Parish Registers, 1721–1780* (see ch. 1, n. 53 above).

⁶⁵ Wrongly said in the published version of the Otley registers to be the son of Joshua Collier's cousin Jeremiah (3.5 below), whose wife gave birth to a son only six months earlier, in May 1711. See *The Parish Registers of Otley, Co. York*, II, p. 37 (full reference at ch. 1, n. 52 above).

registers under 17 January 1717, between Jonas Walker of the parish of Guiseley and Rebecca Collier of the parish of Otley, very likely refers to Joshua Collier's eldest child, Rebecca.

Joshua Collier's farm in Upper Esholt was evidently close to that of his somewhat younger cousin Jeremiah (3.5 below). Like their fathers, they were tenants of Sir Nicholas Sherburne, lord of the manor of Esholt, as appears from several documents relating to the question of right of way (once again) through lands at East Esholt belonging to Madam Frances Calverley, widow of Walter Calverley. The cousins are among signatories to a petition dated 8 May 1694, in which leave is sought to pass through her grounds with their 'loadens & horses, carts & carriages this summer until Michaelmas next', in return for which they each promise to devote two days to shearing corn for her at harvest time.⁶⁶ Their performance of this duty in August 1694 is then entered in a contemporary memorandum book that records 'acknowledgements & payments' relating to passage through Madam Calverley's grounds.⁶⁷ Jeremy and Joshua Collier, together with John and Samuel Marshall, are said to inhabit the 'capital messuage' at Upper Esholt.

A further agreement must have followed, for a subsequent entry relating to the same tenants of Sir Nicholas Sherburne, dated February 1695, records that:

each of them by themselves or servants came with their severall draughts, & plowed one day worke of land each of them for Madam Calverley in her Close called St Leonards Holme in Hawkesworth to be sowed with corn, for which they had no payment but was done by them for & in consideration of leave to be granted to them next summer to go with their horses & carts down the bridlestyes through her grounds to Leonard Walker's of Apperley Lane, & to return again same way for fetching coals & other necessaryes to their severall houses or dwelling places at Upper Esholt next summer.

Two later entries naming Joshua Collier, dated 1698, must, however, refer to his second cousin Joshua Collier of Yeadon, who is said to own a house in 'the Ghill', i.e. Nether Yeadon Gill, not far away but across the township border (see p. 16 above).⁶⁸

Joshua Collier appears to have farmed less land than his cousin Jeremiah, and after 1700 he appears less frequently in the surviving records. When Jeremiah, in 1720–21, sells his farm to

⁶⁶ Leeds Archives, WYL500/919 (q).

⁶⁷ Also held within WYL500/919 (q). The full heading is 'A booke of acknowledgements & payments to & for the use of Madam Frances Calverley widow for liberty of way through her grounds belonging to East Esholt up the bridlestyes from Apperley Bridge, etc.'. Entries begin in September 1693 and end in September 1701.

⁶⁸ A separate document, assembling evidence of trespass by William Lang of Upper Esholt (Leeds Archives, WYL500/919 (p)), includes evidence dated 29 December 1692 submitted by a Timothy Collier, who is unable to sign his own name. This is probably the Timothy Collier recorded in the Guiseley parish registers as marrying Mary Marshall on 7 June 1697. He is conceivably the Timothy Collier born in 1667, the son of Samuel Collier and Grace Whitaker (see 1.6 above).

Sir Walter Calverley (see 3.5 below), Josiah is mentioned incidentally: his cousin, in providing information to Calverley, notes that 'Jos. Collier has a way up our Barn Close' and 'Joshua Collyer felled two trees out of the fences at East end of Ashley Park'.⁶⁹ A related document, undated, which is headed 'A computation of the days work of land in each farm in Upper Esholt and a value thereupon as rented or otherwise the purchase mony', assesses a farm described as 'J[ohn] Lobleys was Jos. Collyers' at sixty days' work and £35 in value, showing that Joshua Collier had sold his farm also. An entry under Hugh Marshall's farm notes 'Stack Close as far Well Close lett to Jos. Collier'.⁷⁰ A list of 'Privy tythes of West Esholt' for 1728 includes 'Joshua Collier late Farm', 1s 6d.⁷¹

The following year, now described as Joshua Collier of Esholt, husbandman, he sells to John Butler of Baildon, yeoman (no doubt a relative of his first wife), the dwelling house in Layth Close, Esholt, in which he is then living, a transaction dated 16 January 1729.⁷² Joshua Collier would then have been sixty-seven years old; having raised money from the sale he may have continued to live in the house. He was buried in November 1731 (Guiseley registers), as Joshua Collier of Esholt.

3.5 Jeremiah Collier (1672–1737)

Jeremiah Collier, only child of Josiah Collier (1636–84) and his wife Sarah, was baptised on 31 March 1672. As noted on p. 68 above, his parents are likely to have moved to the village of Esholt shortly before his birth, and his father died when he was only twelve. On 13 May 1702 he apparently married Margaret Lambert at Harewood,⁷³ but the baptism of his eldest child, Sarah (described as the daughter of Jeremiah Collier of Esholt), is entered in the Guiseley registers on 6 September 1701. The baptisms of six further children are recorded principally in the Otley registers: Mary, on 15 April 1703, Hannah, on 9 June 1705, Josiah, on 28 February 1708, Jeremiah, on 27 May 1711, Margaret, on 10 October 1714, and Grace, on 14 July 1717.⁷⁴

In the final case Jeremiah Collier's occupation is given as husbandman. He was evidently an independent farmer before his marriage, but he is not listed alongside his uncle Nathan Collier in the Hawksworth parliamentary assessments of 1691–92 (see p. 68 above), and so may not

⁶⁹ Bradford Archives, 23D98/2/1/59 and 23D98/2/1/64. Copies of the same two documents are preserved within Leeds Archives, WYL500/805.

⁷⁰ Similarly preserved within Leeds Archives, WYL500/805, but not replicated amongst the papers of Sir Walter Calverley preserved as Bradford Archives, 23D98/2/1.

⁷¹ Bradford Archives, 23D98/2/1/163.

⁷² Registry of Deeds, Wakefield, vol. BB, p. 288, deed 398.

⁷³ *The Parish Registers of Harewood, Co. York*, Vol. I, ed. by William Brigg, YPRS, 50 ([Leeds], 1914), p. 185. The Guiseley registers show that a Margaret Lambert was baptised there on 13 April 1676, the daughter of Thomas Lambert.

⁷⁴ The exception is Hannah, recorded at Guiseley. As noted above (n. 65), a son Zachariah, baptised on 24 November 1711, is wrongly put down as a member of the same family.

have taken over his father's holdings until he came of age. He in turn was a tenant of Sir Nicholas Sherburne, lord of the manor of Esholt, and is named alongside his cousin Joshua Collier in the documents of 1694–95 described at 3.4 above, to do with rights of way. A separate entry in the memorandum book kept by Madam Calverley's agents, dated 1 March 1695, records a special request for passage through her lands on the part of Jeremiah Collier:

Jeremy Collier of Upper Esholt this day requested leave to goe down the bridlestyes through Madam Calverleys grounds between Upper Esholt & Apperley Bridge to carry the dead body of Grace Goodall his grandmother to be buryed at the parish church of Calverley the day after, & for himselfe & those which should attend the funerall; and in consideration of such leave given promised to be in Madam Calverley's will for satisfaction.⁷⁵

Calverley parish registers indeed record the burial of a Grace Goodall, widow of Idle, on 2 March 1695, but the memorandum book entry shows that she apparently died at her grandson's house in Esholt. The reference must be to Jeremiah Collier's maternal grandmother, the mother of Sarah Kellett (whose marriage to his father was noted on pp. 57 and 68 above).⁷⁶

Evidence of the extent of Jeremiah Collier's prosperity, showing him to have farmed on a larger scale than his cousin, begins to survive from 1717, when he evidently negotiates a new lease with Sir Nicholas Sherburne. The agreement, dated 16 May, relates to a capital messuage in West Esholt totalling forty-five acres (together with all related buildings, gardens, orchards, etc.) currently occupied by Jeremiah Collier and William Young, but apparently now to be rented by Collier alone. The lease is for twenty-three years at an annual rent of £26 8s. Collier is to be responsible for maintenance of the property, and must plant six oak or ash trees every year.⁷⁷

However, Sir Nicholas died on 14 December 1717, and the lordship of Esholt (and of Guiseley) passed to his daughter Mary, Duchess of Norfolk, and her husband, who proceeded to sell the manors, in 1719, to four local yeomen, two from Upper Esholt and two from Guiseley.⁷⁸ But it had been agreed earlier that Upper Esholt Hall and certain other property should pass to Sir Walter Calverley, and an assignment concerning this matter dated 26 October 1719 includes the information that the hall – evidently the capital messuage referred to in 1717 – was then in

⁷⁵ Leeds Archives, WYL500/919 (q). The final phrase apparently means that he promised to submit to whatever she requested by way of recompense. Cf. *OED*, *will*, n. 1, 17b, recorded as a Scottish usage.

⁷⁶ As recorded in n. 6 above, Sarah Kellett was the daughter of Samuel Kellett of Idle. Bradford parish registers record the marriage of Samuel Kellett and Grace Moore on 16 November 1642 (Empsall, *A Transcript of the Marriage Registers of Bradford, Yorkshire*, p. 59). Grace Kellett must subsequently have remarried.

⁷⁷ Leeds Archives, WYL500/43.

⁷⁸ Leeds Archives, WYL500/44, 48, and 53.

the occupation of Jeremiah Collier.⁷⁹ He is still the occupier in 1726 when Calverley mortgages a considerable amount of local property, including Upper Esholt Hall and its associated buildings and lands, to Thomas Duncombe of Duncombe Park near Helmsley.⁸⁰

Other documents around this time reveal, importantly, that Sir Walter Calverley purchased Jeremiah Collier's farm, which appears to show that the latter held land separately from tenancing the hall and its grounds. (A right-of-way petition addressed to Calverley at an unspecified date in 1719, beginning 'We whose names are here subscribed being freeholders, tenants, and owners of lands in Upper Esholt', includes Collier as one of the signatories, and it is likely that he fell into more than one category.)⁸¹ The documents bearing on the sale were referred to on p. 71 above, and take the form of two assessments of the farm and 'A computation of the days work of land in each farm in Upper Esholt', which also shows each farm's related value.

The three papers in question are preserved firstly as loose sheets, with an overall heading of 'Papers about Upper Esholt land and valuation part of Colliers, and about the ways and priviledges there', and secondly (but in this case the first two only) in the form of documents bound into a large volume of manuscript material bearing on Sir Walter Calverley's affairs.⁸² The first document is dated 24 April 1720 and gives the amounts of money 'paid at a lay for Jeremy Collier farme', itemizing the different liabilities as church lay, constable's lay, land tax (said to be 12s 11¼d a quarter in 1719), private tithes (2s 6d yearly), modus in place of common tithes, and window money.⁸³ There then follows a short account of the farm's privileges, mainly relating to rights of way enjoyed and granted.

The second document is a more detailed 'account about the fences and other ways and priviledges in Jeremy Collyer farm', said to have been handed by Jeremiah Collier to T. Strother, apparently Sir Walter Calverley's agent or estate manager, on 10 May 1721. Both parties sign at the foot. Collier's statement, largely given over to information about who has responsibility for which fences and gates, includes the detail that 'Jeremy Collyer ancestor has led there corn throw Lobley new wood close'.

The third document, the computation (which is undated), lists one farm as 'Sir Walter Calverley's he bought of Jer. Collier', itemizing the main component parts in terms of day's work

⁷⁹ Leeds Archives, WYL500/54. Upper Esholt Hall is now a listed building ('The Old Hall') in Esholt village, formerly known as Upper Esholt.

⁸⁰ Leeds Archives, WYL500/63.

⁸¹ Leeds Archives, WYL500/919 (q). In return the petitioners promise to assist Calverley by loading stones to repair the lane in question.

⁸² The loose documents are Leeds Archives, WYL500/805. The bound volume is preserved as Bradford Archives, 23D98/2/1, where the first two documents have the specific reference numbers 23D98/2/1/59 and 23D98/2/1/64. For references to Joshua Collier in the three documents, see p. 71 above.

⁸³ 'Lay' is apparently a dialectal survival of the word *lay*, n.5, 'bill', 'reckoning', attested in *OED* by a single quotation from c. 1400.

and value. A summary list at the end repeats the main information, namely that the farm is assessed at ninety days' work and as having a rental value of £42.

Despite the dates of 1720 and 1721 on the first two documents, there is evidence that the sale to Sir Walter Calverley may have taken place in 1719 (when Calverley was evidently expanding his land holdings), and that the assessments were requested subsequently. The loose copies of the first two documents are annotated 'See the Great Memorandum Book', which would appear to refer to the volume containing the bound-in copies. This latter volume also contains a brief memorandum dated 24 April 1719 that itemizes the following amounts:⁸⁴

List of monies tendered by Jeremy Collier	£249 11s
Tendered on the behalf of William Tiddiswell	£12 13s 6d
Money paid to Jeremy Collier, 24 April 1719	£260.

The wording of the first item is obscure, but, given the other evidence that Jeremiah Collier's farm changed hands, the sequence would seem to show the price that Sir Walter Calverley paid as against the sum that Collier requested; it appears that the latter had 'tendered' (i.e. put forward for acceptance) a list of valuations of what he was selling. It seems that he also acted as intermediary (and receiver) on behalf of a William Tiddiswell, and that Calverley negotiated a round figure payment slightly smaller than the total sum being sought.⁸⁵ The list of 'Privy tythes of West Esholt' for 1728, referred to in respect of Joshua Collier (p. 71 above), has an adjacent entry reading 'Jeremiah Colliers late Farm', confirming that this too was habitually referred to by the name of its former occupier. The sum in question, 2s 6d, agrees with that in the 1720 assessment.

As shown above, Jeremiah Collier continued to live at Upper Esholt Hall, which was evidently a separate property, and came separately into Sir Walter Calverley's possession, though also in 1719. The Guiseley parish registers record Jeremiah Collier's burial on 28 March 1737, a few days short of his sixty-fifth birthday.

⁸⁴ Bradford Archives, 23D98/2/1/66.

⁸⁵ William Tiddiswell, or Tidswell, is named in the 1719 assignment and 1726 mortgage referred to above (Leeds Archives, WYL500/54 and WYL500/63) as farming a messuage mentioned in these documents.

Summary of the Life of Bishop Jeremy Collier (1650-1726)

Jeremy Collier was born on 23 September 1650 in Stow-cum-Quy, Cambridgeshire, and educated at Ipswich School and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Following his graduation (BA, 1673, MA, 1676), he was ordained deacon in September 1676 and priest in February 1678. He was chaplain to Mary Sackville, Countess of Dorset, from 1677 to 1679, and rector of Ampton, Suffolk, from 1679 to 1685, in which year he moved to London.

In 1689 Collier refused to swear allegiance to William III and Mary II, believing that his oaths to James II were still valid. He began to publish pamphlets questioning the legitimacy of William and Mary's succession, arguing that James had been forced to leave the country and so could not be said to have abdicated. As a result Collier was imprisoned for several months, but he was released without trial and continued to write pamphlets attacking the revolution settlement. He argued that the Church of England, in cooperating with the 1688 revolution, had in effect broken away from the true church, which in his view was represented by non-jurors like himself; and that by rebelling against the divine authority embodied by James's kingship it had created the likelihood of moral and civil disorder. By 1693, however, Collier had accepted that the revolution was probably permanent.

A fresh round of trouble with the authorities occurred in 1696, when Collier and two other non-juring clergymen gave absolution to Sir John Friend and Sir William Parkyns before their execution at Tyburn for taking part in a plot to assassinate William III. Collier went into hiding to escape arrest and was outlawed, a legal status he retained until he died, although he was able to re-enter normal life in 1697 without further punishment.

In the 1690s Collier and many other churchmen became increasingly concerned about the decline of moral standards in society. Both Anglicans and dissenters were active in the new societies for the reformation of manners, which sought to provide the moral discipline that was seen to be lacking. There was particular criticism of the stage for putting examples of immoral conduct and profane speech before the public. Between 1698 and 1708 Collier published six books or pamphlets attacking the contemporary theatre, most famously *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (1698), where he set out his arguments and examples with great directness and clarity. Collier held the essentially Puritan view that 'The business of Plays is to recommend Virtue and discountenance Vice'; their purpose was to instruct, not to please, a position clearly opposed to that set out in 1668 by John Dryden, one of the playwrights he was attacking, in his *An Essay of Dramatick Poesie* and *A Defence of an Essay*. Dryden himself did not reply directly to Collier's attack, but other dramatists did, including William Congreve and John Vanbrugh, and Collier in turn wrote defences of his position. In the end his view prevailed: his criticisms of the stage became widely accepted, including by the playwrights Richard Steele and Colly Cibber, and had a lasting influence on drama throughout the eighteenth century and beyond.

Summary of the Life of Bishop Jeremy Collier

Collier's other major publications were *The Great Historical, Geographical, Genealogical and Poetical Dictionary*, first published in 1701 and closely based on Louis Moréri's *Grande dictionnaire historique*; and *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain* (2 vols, 1708, 1714), which argued that the English church, as represented in his view by the non-jurors, had an unbroken tradition (derived from the early church) that was far older than that of the existing civil power, which he believed to date only from the time of the Norman Conquest. Both publications sold well and provided Collier with income.

Collier consistently refused to take the oaths in the face of approaches made to him during Queen Anne's reign to rejoin the established church, and he continued to support the non-juring church and its episcopate. He himself was consecrated a bishop of the non-juring Church of England in May 1713 (a 'catholic bishop', with responsibility across diocesan borders), and in July 1716 he succeeded George Hickes, the non-juring Bishop of Thetford, as so-called *primus* of the whole non-juring communion. In that position he was involved in protracted negotiations for his church to enter into union with the Eastern Orthodox churches, but these came to an end after the death in 1725 of the Russian emperor Peter the Great, who had been acting as an intermediary. In 1717 Collier in effect brought about a schism among the non-jurors by introducing a new form of eucharistic liturgy derived from the 1549 English prayer book and influenced also by his study of early Christian writers. Despite initial opposition from most of the non-juring clergy, Collier's changes became generally accepted.

Collier continued to publish into old age despite worsening health, and he remained firm in his beliefs. He died in London on 26 April 1726, leaving a widow Cecilia, whose first husband had died in 1706; the date of Collier's marriage to her is not recorded. He had no descendants.

This summary is indebted to 'Collier, Jeremy (1650–1726)' by Eric Salmon, a detailed 11-page article included in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford University Press, 2004).