

Title	レスターシャーのピューリタニズム(I)
Sub Title	Puritanism in Leicestershire
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Publisher	慶應義塾経済学会
Publication year	1988
Jtitle	三田学会雑誌 (Keio journal of economics). Vol.81, No.1 (1988. 4) ,p.18- 55
JaLC DOI	10.14991/001.19880401-0018
Abstract	
Notes	論説
Genre	Journal Article
URL	https://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AN00234610-19880401-0018

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レスターシャーのピュウリタニズム（I）

中村 勝己

1

筆者は前稿「ピュウリタニズムの検出」において、1665年、1669年、1676年、および Declaration of Indulgence による申告・認可史料 State Papers, Domestic, Entry Books 27, 38A, 38 B, 及び State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, 320, 321 に言及し、その史料的信憑性について論じた。⁽¹⁾ 本稿はそれをうけて、1669年度のレスターシャーの非国教徒の調査 Leicestershire Certificates concerning Conventicles, 1669 (Lincoln Diocese Record Office ⁽²⁾ 所蔵) について、この直接教区牧師から調査した史料と、これを整理したカンターベリ大主教ロンドン公邸文書館 Lambeth Palace Library 所蔵文書とを比較し、その異同を明らかにし、Declaration of Indulgence の申告・認可史料と対照しつつ、⁽³⁾ ピュウリタニズムの社会的存在形態を知る手がかりを得ようとするささやかな試みである。⁽⁴⁾

レスターシャー主教区史料館所蔵の各教区牧師からの直接の報告を集めた“Leicestershire Certificates”と、それらをもとにこれを最終的に整理してとりまとめたランベス・パレス文書館 Lambeth Palace Library 本とを対照すると、別表（第1表）のとおりである。本表の左欄の Certificate と右欄のランベス・パレス本とを比較すると、次のような点が明らかとなる。

〔1〕 原報告 Certificates において非国教徒の存在が指摘されている教区について、ランベス・パレス本も非国教徒の存在を報告している場合でも、非国教徒の存在する旨の報告がなされている

注（1） 拙稿「ピュウリタニズムの検出——近世イギリス思想史研究序説(2)——」（『三田学会雑誌』第73巻第3号、1980年6月）。

（2） Evans, R. H., 'Nonconformists in Leicestershire in 1669'. (*Transactions, of Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. XXV, 1949, pp. 98-143).

（3） Turner, George Lyon (ed.) *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*. 3 vols., 1911-1914, Vol. I. に印刷されている。但しターナーの原史料からの転写ミスや脱落が少なからずあり、何人かの史家が訂正を試みている。たとえば、Nuttall, Geoffrey F., *Lyon Turners Original Records: Notes and Identifications*. (*Transactions of the Congregational History Society*, Vol. XIV, (1940-43), pp. 14-24, 112-122, 181-187; Vol. XV (May, 1945), pp. 41-44).

原史料の史料批判については、Turner, *Original Records*, Vol. III, pp. 69-151 参照

（4） Turner, *Original Records*, Vol. I, pp. 193-623 およびその史料批判 Vol. III, pp. 152-820.

教区について、原報告書 *Certificates* の詳細な報告内容がランベス・パレス本においては一部の削除ないし簡略化が見られる。それはカンタベリ大主教からの要求項目⁽⁵⁾に応じて原報告を簡略化したに過ぎないのか、調査要求項目に含まれていないからという理由で、ある種の内容を意図的にか、意図的ではないにしても、それにことよせて削除ないし簡略化したと考えるべきか、それは削除ないし簡略化された部分の内容を検討することにより明らかとなるであろう。削除ないし簡略化された部分は、第1表においてイタリックで示されている。すなわち、

① 非国教徒集会 *conventicles* の実態、すなわち集会の教派名、集会員数、集会員階層、指導者・教師名およびその職業、経歴などの概略を除き、集会場、集会の時間帯（日曜日の午後又は夜か、週日か）、会場提供者名、有力会員名についての具体的な、いきいきとした説明は削除されている。また集会員は ‘ordinary sort’, ‘meaner sort’, ‘meanest sort’, ‘inferior sort’ として下層無学な教区民、婦女子、他村から来た臨時参加者である旨を強調し、指導者・教師も場合によっては他処から来た者で、“excommunicated”, “ejected”, “silenced” された者であること、すなわち、教区牧師ではないことを強調している。

また一部の教区では共和政期の議員・軍人など危険人物と目されるものを特に指摘し、指導者および集会員ともに当教区の与り知らぬ外来者であるとするか、共和政期の危険人物が何らかの事情で当教区に流入または影響を及ぼしているのであって、当教区民は大部分平和的な忠良な臣民であり、非国教徒は当教区が生み出したものではないという弁明をするか、非国教徒の攻撃的・破壊的性格は度しがたいことを示そうとする。そこに報告者の非国教徒への敵意ないし憎悪、または教区牧師としての責任回避をよみとることができる。

② 非国教徒の集会⁽⁵⁾が教区教会の正規の礼拝時間帯とぶつかるか、日曜日の午後または夜間か、週日であるかについての説明は、“occasional conformists” ないし “temporary conformists” の問題と関連して、教区教会の礼拝とは別の時間帯に、多くは教区教会以外の個人の住宅などで自発的にやっているのだという指摘には、非国教徒をかばおうとする態度がうかがわれるか、または当教区の関知せざるところであるという態度が見られる。

非国教徒の存在が否定されている教区については、両者はほぼ一致しており、著しいくいちがいは見られない。これは原報告からランベス・パレス本にいたる過程が、形式および内容上の変

注(5) *Canterbury* の大主教から、ロンドン主教、リンコーン主教、レスターシャー副主教を経て教区牧師にいたる調査要求項目は、①タウンおよび教区内に開かれている非国教徒およびカトリックの集会 *Conventicles or unlawful Assemblys or Chursh-meetings* の種類と数、②通常そこに会合している会員の人数、③その職業、身分、④ *Ministers, Teachers, Heads or Governors* [名前、教派、被追放者については追放されたタウンまたは教区名]、⑤⑥集会の権限、意図（ロンドン主教とリンコーン主教は回答不要と指示し、レスターシャー副主教のみカンタベリ大主教の項目を復活させている）、⑦同一人が複数の集会に参加しているか否か、またそのために実際以上に多数に見られているのではないか。公権力の助けをかりて容易に弾圧できないのではないか。その大部分は〔女〕子供または下層階級ではないか。〔この⑦はレスターシャー副主教のつけた項目である。この質問の仕方に、ある種の回答を誘導的にひき出そうという意図が潜んでいないであろうか〕。Evans, “Nonconformists” pp. 116-121.

表 1

レスターシャー調査(1669)

ランベス・パレス調査(1669)

Akely Deanery		Akely Deanry				
Parish		Parishes & Conventicles	Sects.	Numbers	Qualitie	Heads & Teachers
	<p><i>Certificate of the Clergy concerning Conventicles taken at the visitation of Doctor Owtram Archdeacon of the Archdeaconry of Leicester held in St. Martin's Church Leicester upon Wednesday ye 13th day of October Ao Dom 1660 by William Foster Batchelour of Lawes official of the said archdeacon.</i> (以下同文につき[略]とする)</p>					
Ashby de la Zouch	Noe conventicle in this parish. Alex; Jones, Vic;	Ashby-de la-zouch		0		
Blackfordby	Noe conventicle within this parish. Alex; Jones, Vic;	Blackfordby		0		
Breedon cum membris	Noe conventicle within this parish. John Smith, Curate.	Breedon cum membris		0		
Belton	Noe conventicle within this parish. Edward Johnson, Churchwarden.	Belton		0		
Barrow super Soare	Noe conventicle within this parish. Theophilus Tompson, Churchwarden	Barrow super Soare		0		
Birstall	Noe conventicle within this parish. Jo; Jones vicar.	Birstall		0		
Coleorton	Noe conventicle within this parish. (M) Gawin Walker Churchwarden.	Coleorton		0		

Castle Dunnington	One conventicle of Anabaptists about 80 in number consisting of the meanest sort of people <i>most of them women & children they usually meeting at the dwelling house & Barne of John Pim husbandman on Sunday of divine service and lately in ye night</i> King of Coventry Elias Boyar of Raunston yeomn: [but] <i>their teachers their heads of them unknowne.</i> John Beardly, Vic;	Castle Dunnington i	Anabaptists	about 80	meanest sort	one King of Coventry & Elyas Boyar of Remston yeoman
Diseworth	Noe conventicle within this parish. (M) Laurence Gedd, Churchwarden.	Diseworth 0				
Dishley and Thorpe Ackre	Noe conventicles within this parish. Antonie Page, Churchwarden.	Thorpe Acrecum Dishley 0				
Hatherne	Noe conventicle within this parish. Tho: Allsopp, Rector	Hacherne 0				
Kegworth	Noe conventicle within this parish. John Edwards, curate.	Kegworth 0				
Lockington cum Hemington	A meeting of Quakers within this parish at the day <i>dwelling house of Wm: Howett Butcher they usually meet on the weekes day but verie uncertaine at what time</i> their numbers about ten their teachers <i>verie uncertaine and</i> not knowne their meeting consists of ordinary people their heads unknown sometimes they are silent at their sd meeting. William Coleborne, Vic;	Lockington cum Hemington i	Quakers	about 10	ordinary sort	not knowne, sometimes silent.
Loughborough	One Conventicle of Anabaptists about 30 consisting of a meaner sort of people their Teachers Wm Parker	Loughborough i	Anabaptists	about 30	meaner sort	William Parker

Mountsorrill	Three Conventicles in this parish one of Anabaptists and the other Independent & ye other of Quakers the number of Anabaptists about 80 & of In[dependents] about 50 and the other about 40 all of them consisting of the better sort of people teachers of Anabaptists Adams gent teacher of ye Independents Edw: Smith yeom: teacher of ye Quakers not [∇∇] Thomas Jackson, curate.	Mountsorrill	3	Anabaptists Independents Quakers	about 80 about 50 about 40	better sort	one Adams gent Edward Smyth yeom not knowne, but thought to be a Jesuite.
Osgathorpe	Noe conventicles within this parish.	Osgathorpe	0				
Oneleape [Wanlip]	One Conventicle within this parish their sort unknowne their numbers about Tw[entry] or thirty consisting of the better sort of people and usually meet on the weeke dayes at the house of Arksdale Palmer Esq. their teachers & heads being Mr. Campion an ejected minister Mr. Wood an ejected minister Mr. James an ejected minister Mr. Bagshaw an ejected minister the place of their habitation unkn[owne] with severall others. Gilb: Woodward, Minister	Oneleape	i	Unknowne	about 20	better sort	one Campion, one Wood, one James, one Bagshaw, all ejected ministers.
Peckington [Pachington]	Noe conventicle within this parish. (M) Kohn Kidger, Churchwardens (M) Thomas Parker,	Peckington	0				
Snibston	Noe conventicle within this parish. (M) Richard Brup, Churchwarden.	Snibston	0				
Quorndon	Noe conventicles within this parish. Thomas Jackson	Quorndon	0				

Seale upper cu membris	Noe conventicles within this parish. (M) Edward Greene, } Churchwardens	Seale superior	0			
Seale inferior	(M) John Stanley, }	Seale inferior	0			
Swebstone cu membris cu capella de Snarston	Noe conventicles within this parish. John Geary, Rect.	Swebston cum capella de Snarston	0			
Sheapshead	Noe conventicles within this parish. John Alt, } John Smalley, } Churchwardens	Sheapshead	0			
Stanton Harold	Noe conventicles within this parish. (M) Charles Wilkins, Churchwarden.	Stanton Harold	0			
Thurcaston cu Crapston et Anstey	Noe conventicle within this parish. Robert Alfounder, Rector.	Thurcastoncum Crap- ston & Ansty	0			
[Isley Welton	Noe conventicle within this parish. John Meley, Churchwarden.	Isley Walton	0			
Whatton Longa	Noe conventicle within this parish.	Whatton longa	0			
Worthington	Noe conventicles within this parish. William Deanesley, Churchwarden.	Worthington	0			
Whitwicke	One Conventicle within this parish of Quakers their number about twenty <i>consisting of husbands and yeomen</i> their teachers being not knowne <i>theire</i> <i>heads being Edward Muckleton hus-</i> <i>bandman George Powers husbandman</i> <i>and George Power wheelwright they</i> <i>usually meet at the dwelling home of</i> <i>the said Edward Muckleton on the</i> <i>Sundayes and other weeke dayes.</i> Robert Keightley, Parisioner.	Whitwicke	i	Quakers	about 20	middle sort unknowne

Woodhouse	Noe conventicle within this parish. (M) William Stables, } (M) Thomas Roobwotham, } Churchwardens	Woodhouse	0						
Leicester: St. Martins in Leicr:	Noe conventicle within this parish. (M) John Hall, } John Goodall, } Churchwardens	St. Martin's Leicr	0						
St. Maries in Leicr:	Noe conventicle within this parish. Tobias Bond, vicar.	St. Maries, Leicr	0						
St. Nicholas in Leicr:	Noe conventicle within this parish. Tobias Bond, vicar.	St. Nicholas, Leicr	0						
All Saints in Leicr:	Noe conventicle lately held within this parish to my knowledge or that I can heare of. William Coltman, vicar.	All Saints, Leicr	0						
St. Margarets in Leicr: cu Capella de Knighton	Three conventicles at Knighton two of Anabaptists & one of Quakers either of the said meetings about forty in num- ber consisting of the inferior sort of people Wm Jug Wm Mugg and ffarmer of Kilby and Wm Wells jun teachers to the Anabaptists and Wm Christian of Leicr. teacher to the Quakers. Tho: Stanhope, Vic. W. ffoster, Archi: Leicr offic:	St. Margetts Leicr cum cap. de Knighton	3	{ 2 Anabaptists { i Quakers	about 40 about 40	inferior sort inferior sort	Willm Juge, William Wells Junior, William Mugg, one Farmer of Kilby, Willm Christian of Leicr		
Sparkenoe Deanery [譯格] (13日)		Sparkenoe Deanery							
Appleby	The Minister being sicke the Church- wardens certifie yt there is noe con-	Appleby	0						

Barwell	<p>venticle within this parish. Samuel Torrell, } Churchwardens. John Frunt, }</p> <p>Several conventicles have been of great numbers of people of all sorts held together in Mr. John Onebie & Mr. <i>Willm Pagets</i> houses the preachers usually Mr. Mathew Clarke and Mr. Shuttlewood both of Stoke Golding two ejected ministers and sometimes Mr. <i>Biggs of Earleshilton a labouring man who give no reason of the authority they pretend for such meetings. The same psons goe to several meetings wh might easily suppressed by the Civill magistrate.</i> J. Graserne, Curate.</p>	Barwell, Market Bosworth cum <i>capellis de Barlestone, Carleton, Shenton, & Sutton Cheney</i>	held together	great	all sorts	Mr Mathew Clarke & Mr Shuttlewood, both of Stoke-Golding & ejected ministers.
Market Bosworth	下段各capell: 参照。					
Bagworth & Thomton	Two unlawful assemblies consisting of Presbiterians and Anabaptists the number uncertaine Geo. Brotherhood teacher to the Anabaptists, not knowne who is teacher to the Presbiterians they usually meet at the houses of Nicholas Grundy Geo: Brotherhood & Daniel Cox					
Barleston	Market Bosworth 教区分教区					
Cadeby	Noe conventicle within this parish. John Ward, Rector	Cadeby			0	
Carleton	Market Bosworth 教区分教区					
Congeston	[noe conventicle]	Congeston			0	

[Dadlington	Hinkley 教区分教区]	Drayton-Feney	0				
Draiton feney	Noe conventicles within this parish. Robert Rowne.						
Earle Shilton	Two conventicles within this parish one of Presbyterians & an other Anabaptists either of them consisting of about 50 in number of the meaner sort of people <i>Mr. Math</i> : Clarke being teacher to the Presbyterians & <i>the other teacher</i> unknown. James Chamberlaine, Curate.	Earle-Shilton	2	Presbyterians Anabaptists	about 50 about 50	meaner sort	Mathew Clarke <i>gent.</i> Unknowne
Heather	Noe conventicle within this parish. Jonath. Say, Rector.	Heather	0				
Higham	Noe conventicles within this parish. William Sheerman, Rector.	Higham	0				
Hinekley	One conventicle of Presbyterians, usually held on every <i>Sunday in the afternoon at the dwelling of Samuel Ward</i> their numbers about twenty Mr. Nathaniel Stevens formerly minister of ffeney draiton now ejected being their preacher consisting of an ordinary sort of people <i>theire heads being Rob: Paure yeoman, Wm: Venable yeom: Wm: Brooks yeom: T: Robinson yeom John Robinson jun Alex Loosbie yeom: ffra: Thompson Marmaduke Ralph Robinson sen Ralph Robinson jun John Hurst jun Wth severall others.</i> Nailer, Vicar.	Hinckley cum cap: de Dadlington	1	Presbyterians	about 20	ordinary sort	Mr Nathaniel Stevens, ejected out of the Rectorie of Fency- Drayton
Hucklescote cu Dunnington	One Conventicle of Presbyterians theirre numbers about fforty consisting of ordinary people theirre teachers Mr. [William] Smith who was <i>formerly min-</i>	Hucklescote cum Dunnington	1	Presbyterians	about 40	ordinary	Mr William Smyth ejected out of the Vicaridge of Packington

<p>Ibstock</p> <p>ister of Packington and Mr. [Mathew] Clarke formerly hee officiated at Narborough.</p> <p>Mr. Bee who did formerly officiate at Hanbury and are ejected for non subscription since the happy resecration & one Mr. Crosse an ejected minister Mr. Drayton & Mr. Hocraft of them ejected ministers.</p> <p>Robert Hall, Churchwarden.</p>	<p>Ibstocke—many</p>	<p>All sects</p>	<p>about 40</p>	<p>meane sort</p>	<p>MF Mathew Clarke who formerly Officiated att Narburrrough MF Bee, MF Cross, MF Drayton, & MF Hocraft all ejected min^{rs}.</p>
<p>There have been many Conventicles of presbiterians and all sorts within this parish about 10 in number at the houses of Joseph Taylor Wheelwright Elias Goadby mercer John Husband and John Erpe of Ibstock the resorters to these meetings a mixt multitude of all sorts, the teachers Mr. Willm Smith ejected out of Packington Mr. Matthew Clarke ejected out of Narborough Mr. Shuttlewood ejected out of Raunston in Derbyshire Mr. Drayton and others the numbers rather increase than decrease.</p>	<p>Ibstocke—many</p>	<p>All sects</p>	<p>about 40</p>	<p>meane sort</p>	<p>The said Wm Smyth Mathew Clarke, MF Sittlewood ejected out of Ravenstone in Derbyshire</p>
<p>Ibstock</p> <p>Tho: Ibstock name of the most considerable Conventiclers. John Paybodie husbandman Joseph Taylor Wheelwright Elias Goadby mercer John Erpe a Smith Thomas Erpe a Taylor John Belcher husbandman Tho: Padgett yeoman James Swinfield husbandman all of Ibstock Samuel Barnes dwelling in the parish Thomas Copshon of Ibstock yeoman The same psons that meet at Ibstock meet at severall other places, at Wellesborough lodge, Hugglescote & Normanton sup Heath.</p> <p>John Shakespeare, Curate</p>	<p>Ibstocke—many</p>	<p>All sects</p>	<p>about 40</p>	<p>meane sort</p>	<p>The said Wm Smyth Mathew Clarke, MF Sittlewood ejected out of Ravenstone in Derbyshire</p>

Kirkby Mallory	Noe conventicles within this parish. Robert Pane, Rectr	Kirkby Mallory	0		
Markfield	Noe conventicles within this parish. Will: Purefoy, Rector.	Markfield	0		
Nelston	Noe conventicles within this parish.	Melston	0		
Newbold Verdon	Noe conventicles within this parish. Jo: Pole, Rector.	Newbold Verdon	0		
Normanton sup Heath Norton juxta Twycrosse	Norton. 教区分教区 Noe conventicles within this p[ari] sh. (M) John Greene, gard.	Normanton Norton juxta Twycrosse	0 0 0		
Orton super Montern	Noe conventicles within this p[ari] sh. Robert Cort.	Orton sup. mont.	0		
Peckleton	Noe conventicles within this parish. Rector.	Peckleton	0		
Ratcliffe Culey	Noe conventicle within this parish. George Kent, Rector.	Ratcliffe Culey	0		
Sheepy Magna	Noe conventicle within this parish. George Kent, Rector.	Sheepy magna	0		
Sibbeston [Sibston]	A Presbyterian Independent and Anabaptistall Conventicle <i>usually held together at the house of Mr. Palmer uppon the Sundayes & weeke dayes</i> 40 meeters at the least the preachers are usually Mr. Meade an ejected Minister from Stepney near London, Mr. Matthew Clarke <i>formerly of Narborough.</i> Samuel Hall.	Sibbeston	3	Presbyterians Independts Anabaptists } about 40	Mr Meade an ejected minister from Stepney necre London & Mr Mathew Clarke afores ^d
Shakerston	[noe conventicle]	Shakerston	0		

Stoke Golding	Mr. Mathew Clarke a minister ejected out of Narborough and Mr. Shuttlewood minister ejected out of Raunston in the country of Derby did ordinarily preach at conventicles at the houses of the sd Mr. Mathew Clarke or Mis Abigail Jones about 200 meeters other ejected ministers have come amongst them Mr. [Fillongley] Wilson of Atherstone Mr. Brooke of fineley Com. Warwick & Mr. Leadbeater ejected out of Hinkley & Mr. Southwell of dadlington.	Stoke-Golding	i	about 200	thes, Mathew Clarke & Mr Shuttlewood
Shenton	Market Bosworth 教区分教区				
Stapleton	Barwell 教区分教区	Stapleton	0		
Sutton Chewell	Market Bosworth, 教区分教区				
Thornton cum Bagworth	Bagworth 教区分教区	Thornton cum Bagworth	2	Uncertaine	George Brotherhood
Twycrosse	Norton 教区分教区				
Witherley [Wetherly]	One conventicle lately kept in the night of presbyterians in the house of John King who with his wife have stood ex-communicate sixe yeares at wh meeting there was a considerable number of persons amongst wh were Hugh Kiffe & Anne his wife, the speaker was an ejected minister his name & place of aboade not knowne. About 40 meeters of the middle sort of people. William Bucknall, Rector W. ffoster Archin; Leicest: off:	Witherley	i	incōsiderable	An ejected minister. His name & place of abode, not knowne.

Gartree Deanery [同略] (口付不明)		Gartree Deanery				
Bringhurst eu Drayton	Noe conventicle within this parish.	Bringhurst cum Drayton	0			
Billesdon.	Noe conventicle within this parish. Willm Coles, Vic;	Billesdon	0			
Burton Over:	Noe conventicle within this parish. Henry Burdett, Rector.	Burton Overy	0			
Burrough super Montem	Noe conventicle within this parish. Henry Burrough, Rector.	Borough sup mont	0			
Bowden Magna	One conventicle of Presbyterians consisting of the better sort of people about two hundred meeters Mr. Matt; Clarke ejected out of <i>ye Rectory of Narborow</i> . Shuttlewood an ejected minister out of <i>the Recty of Raunston in Derbish</i> : Mr. Southall an ejected minister Mr. Kestion Langdall formerly curate of Bowden being their teachers <i>they usuall meete at ye dwelling house of Mr. Smith or John Teeton gent</i> Joseph Grey, Curate	Bowden Magna	i	Presbyterians	about 200	better sort
Carlton Curlieu	Noe conventicle within this parish. William Roberts, Rector.	Carleton Curlien	0			
Cranehoe	Noe conventicle within this parish. Caleb Howton, Curate.	Cranehoe	0			
[F] ffoxton	One conventicle of Presbyterians of about twenty in number consisting of the meaner sort Mr. Wilson ejected out of <i>ffoxton vic. for non subscription</i>	Foxton	1	Presbyterians	about 20	mean ^r sort
						the sd Mathew Clarke & Mr Shuttlewood one Mr Southall an ejected Minister Mr Kestyan, ejected out of the vicaridge of Gurnley Mr Langdale, formerly Curate of Bowden Magna Mr Willson, ejected out of the vicaridge of Foxton
						Mr Willson aforesaid

Glen Magna	being their teacher <i>they usually meet at ye house of Wm Chapman Baker and John Lewis former a captaine in Cromwell's army on Sunday in ye Time of divine service.</i> John Perkins, vic.	Glenn Magna	0			
[F] ffleckney	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Saml Knightley, vic.	Fleckney	0			
Glowston [Gloreston]	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Will Buckley, curat. John Sonesby, rector.	Gloreston	0			
Gumley	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Theop. Burdett, Rectr.	Gumley	0			
Husbands Bosworth	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Stephen Peck, parishioner.	Husbands Bosworth	0			
Halloughton	Noe conventicle within this parish. Andrew Butler } Rtors. Mountjoy Cradocke }	Halloughton	0			
Blaston	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Mountjoy Cradocke, Cur.	Blaston	0			
Horninghold	Noe conventicle within this parish. (M) Thomas Sharpe } Church- (M) Edward Palmer } wardens.	Horningold	0			
Houghton sup. Montem	Noe conventicle within this parish. John Cave, Rector.	Houghton sup. Mont	0			
Harborough [Market Harborough]	Two Conventicles i of Quakers about 20 of the meaner sort <i>they usually meet at ye dwelling houses of Goffe spinster & Mackerness Baker</i> but who	Harbrough & St. Mary in Arden	2	Quakers Presbyterians	about 20 about 100	not knowne The aforementioned Mr Mathew Clarke Chaplaine formerly

	<p>their preachers we cannot say: ye other of Presbyterians & <i>Independents</i> consisting of a middle sort about 100 in number Mr. Clarke formerly chaplaine to Corneli Hacker Tho: Langdaile <i>ejected out of ye of Bowden Brudening</i> [or Browning] an ejected minister, Shuttlewood of <i>Raunston in darbiesh</i>: being their teachers. John Berry, minister.</p>			<p>to Colonell Hacker Thomas Langdale Mr <i>Browney</i>, an ejected minister & the said Mr Shuttlewood</p>
[St. Mary in Arden]	上記Harboroughに併合			
Knewston	Noe conventicle within this parish. John ffreer, Rect.	0	Knewston	
Lubenham	One conventicle of Anabaptists consisting of the meaner sort about in number Hen. Hartshorne husbandman being their teacher <i>they usually at the dwelling house of ye said Hartshorne on Sundayes in time of divine service.</i> John Perkins, vic.	i	Hubenham	mean ^r sort Henry Hartshorne husband;
Langton	Noé Conventicle within this parish. William Wright } Churchwardens Anthony Ward }	0	Langton	
Thorpe Langton	Noe Conventicle within this chappellry. William Smith, Churchwarden	0	Thorpe Langton	
Tur Langton	Noe Conventicle within this chappellry. Meartin Toulbis, Churchwarden	0	Turlangton	
Lawton	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Ed: Rawlins, Rtr	0	Lawton	
Medbourne	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Robert Carter } Churchwardens, John Innocent }	0	Medbourne	

Mowsley [Moseley]	Noe Conventicle within this chappellrie. Tho: Langham, Parishioner	Mowsley [Moseley]	0 0]			
Norton juxto Galby	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Tho: Riddington, Vic.	Norton juxto Galby	0			
Galby	Noe Conventicle within this parish. William Warner } (M) William davje } Churchwardens.	Galby	0			
Owston	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Edward Saunder, vic.	Owston	0			
Priekwell	Noe conventicle within this parish. Thomas Bricknoe, Churchwarden	Pickwell	0			
Stockerston	Noe conventicle within this parish. Richard Alunn, Rect.	Stockerston	0			
Slawston	Noe Conventicle within this parish. John Melross, Curate	Slawston	0			
Stanton Wyvell	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Joseph , Rector	Stanton Wyvell	0			
Shackton [Shankton]	Noe Conventicle within this parish. (M) William Groocock, Churchwarden.	Shankton	0			
Saddington	Two conventicles i of Anabaptists about 40 of an ordinary sort Wm Hanesworth of West Langton labourer Joseph Blithe of Arnesbie weaver Hen: Hartshorne of Lubnam yeo: their teachers ye other of Presbyterians and Independents <i>about</i> 30 in number of an ordinary sort of people their Teacher <i>knowne to bee an</i> <i>ejected minister</i> , but his name not knowne.	Saddington [sic]	0	Anabaptists	about 40	ordinary sort
Scraptoft	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Robert Lewis, vic.	Scraptoft	0	Presbyterians & Indepts		ordinary sort

Theddingworth	A Conventicle of Presbyterians & Independents consisting of a <i>meaner</i> sort of people about 50 in number Mr. Matt. Clark formerly Chaplaine to Colonel Hacker Southam an <i>ejected minister</i> Shuttlewood an <i>ejected minister</i> being their teachers <i>they usually meet at ye dwelling houses of John Cave husbandman & Edw. Marston husbandman.</i> Tho: Jenkyn, vic.	Theddingworth	i	of Presbyterians & Independents	about 50	<i>middle</i> sort	the said Mathew Clarke Mr Southam & Mr Shuttlewood
Thurnby	Noe Conventicle within this parish.	Thurneby	0				
Welham	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Walter Bromesgrave, Vic.	Welham	0				
Wistow	Noe Conventicle within this parish. (M) Richard ffreeman, Churchwarden.	Wistow	0				
Kibworth	i conventicle of Presbyterians & Independents consisting of a <i>middle</i> sort of people about 200 in number Mr. Math: Clarke & Shuttlewood & ffarmer husbandman of Kilby being their teachers as alsoe Southman an ejected minister <i>they usually meet at the houses of Isaac Davinport jun Wm Johnson husbandman Wm Jordan husbandman on Sundayes sometimes on the week dayes.</i> Robt. Edwards, Rr. Wm ffoster, Arch, Leicer. offic.	Kibworth	i	Presbyterians & Independent held together	about 200	<i>middle</i> sort	the sd Mathew Clarke Mr Shuttlewood one Farmer an husbandman & one Southam an ejected Minister.
Guthlakistan Deanery. [略] (14日)		Guthlakistan Deanery.					
Ailston	Noe conventicle within this parish. Henry Fletcher, Churchwardens (M) Thomas Fox	Ailston	0				

Arnesby	A Conventicle of Anabaptists <i>usually held on Sunday since these six years last past at the house of Joseph Blythe a poore weaver</i> their teacher one Richard farmer of Kilby yeoman <i>another Teacher</i> about 20 of the <i>meaneest</i> sort of people and <i>p[oor]</i> Tradesmen. Ezech: Smith, vic.	Arnesby	i	Anabaptists	20	<i>poorer</i> sort	Joseph Blythe weaver. Richard Farmer yeom.
Ashby Magna	A Conventicle of presbiterians or independents is <i>usually kept & unlawful</i> assemblies also by Mr. Matthew Clarke <i>an ejected minister sometimes Rector of Narborough</i> Mr. Southam Mr. Shuttlewood <i>both ejected ministers as I have credibly heard & do on Sundaies & other daies and nights in p[er]ticular at Edward Pratt Mathew Hubbard husbandman</i> houses the number about 100 of <i>all</i> sorts of p[er]sons most <i>whose children and are by them and not at the pish church baptized.</i> Thomas Mason, vic.	Ashby magna	i	Presbyterians & Independits	about 100	<i>ordinary</i> sort	M ^r Mathew Clarke M ^r Southall M ^r Shuttlewood
Ashby Parva	One Conventicle of Anabaptists consisting of the poorer sort of people about twenty in number Tho: Morris husbandman being their teacher <i>they usually meete on Sunday at the dwelling house of Roger Norman an excommunicate person.</i> Samuel Stiles, Rect.	Ashby pva	i	Anabaptists	about 20	<i>poorer</i> sort	Thomas Morris Husbandman
Aston fflamvill	Noe conventicle within this parish. Richard Pole, curate.	Aston Flamvile	0				
Broughton Astley	Noe conventicle within this parish. W. Cotton, Rector.	Broughton Astley	0				

Bitteswell	a presbyterian or independent Conventicle held about halfe a yeares since at the house of one Thomas Gill husbandman the number neare an hundred of the middle sort of people one Southam dwelling at Stoake preacher formerly an ejected minister. Geo. Castell, Vicar.	Bitteswell	i	of Presbyterians Independents & Anabaptists	about 90	middle sort	the aforesaid Southall
Bruntingthorpe	Noe conventicle within this parish. Edward Penton, Rector.	Bruntingthorpe	0				
Blaby Countis-thorpe	an anabaptistical meeting held at John ffoxon's house in Blaby & at the house of Wm Carver Taylor of the meaner sort of people about 40ty in number by one ffarmer a lay pson dwelling at Kilby. Daniel Frowey, Curate.	Blaby	i	Anabaptists	about 40	meane sort	Richard Farmer of Kilby
Claybrooke	No conventicle but one about halfe a yeare since. Eli; Stockton, Curate	Claybrooke	0				
Cottesbatch	No conventicle within this parish. In the absence of the minister he being sicke John , Churchwarden.	Cottesbatch	0				
Cattthorpe	A presbyterian or independent conventicle held on Sundayes in the afternoon frequently at the house of Mr. Joseph Lee in the said pish being an ejected minister from Cottesbatch in Leicshire of the meaner sort of people number 12 or 14. William Deane, Rector.	Calthorpe	i	Presbyterians & Independents	about 12	meane ^r sort	Mr Joseph Lee ejected out of the Rôry of Cottesbatch
Cosby	Conventicle of Quakers once at one Bodicotts house an excoicate pson. Eli; Stockton, Curate.	Crosby	0				

Croft	No conventicle within this parish. Daniel Frowey, Rector.	Croft	0		
Desford	病氣中。	Desford	0		
Dunton Bassett	No conventicle within this parish. Daniel Frowey, Vicar.	Dunton Bassett	0		
Enderby cum Whetston	An anabaptistical meeting <i>usually held at Wm Bodicotts house labourer in Whetston</i> in number about 20 or 30 <i>the one Cave a Taylor of Countisithorpe & one Kitchin of Lutterworth an iron-monger their Teachers and a presbyterian conventicle held by Mr. Matthew Clarke ejected from Narborough heire at Whetstone at the house of Edward Brooks & their at Widow Smithes house in Enderby</i> the number of the hearers of the middle sort of psons about 40 <i>tie.</i> John Ludlam, Vicar	Enderby cum Whetston	2	Anabaptists Presbyterians	about 20 about 40 middle sort middle sort
Elmesthorpe	Noe conventicles within this parish.	Elmesthorpe	0		
ffolesworth	An anabaptistical meeting <i>for several years held at house of Thomas Townsend of this pish kept by the same psons as in Leire do every fortnight</i> in number about 10 or 15 of the meaner sort. William Cooke, Rcr.	Ffolesworth	1	Anabaptists	about 10 mean ^r sort
ffoston	Noe Conventicles within this parish. Sam: Hopkins, Curate.	Foston	0		
Glenfield	Rector (投票中)	Glenfield	0		
Gilmorton	Noe Conventicle or unlawfull assembly within this pish. Thomas Welchman, Rector.	Gilmorton	0		

Kilworth	No Conventicle in this pish. William Bassett, Rector.	North Kilworth	0			
South Kilworth	No Conventicle in this pish. Wm Richardson, Rector.	South Kilworth	0			
Kimcote	No Conventicle in this pish. Tho: Hunt, Rector.	Kimcote	0			
Knaptoft cu Shearsby	<i>Certified as by Mr. Whasson Rector as upon the file, he being very sick at the visitation there is none in Shearsby that keepe conventicles.</i> Robert	Knaptoft cum Sheatsby	0			
Lutterworth	No Conventicle within this pish. <i>I certi- foe in the absence of the minister.</i> (S) Robt: Weale, gard;	Lutterworth	0			
Leyre [Leare]	One Conventicle of Anabaptists of the poorer sort of people about 20 in num- ber. John Kitchin of Lutterworth Iron- monger being their teacher <i>they usual- ly meet on Sundayes at the dwelling house of Elisha Lord husbandman.</i> Richard Pyke, Cur.	Leyre	i	Anabaptists	about 20	poorer sort John Kitching of Lutterworth, Ironmonger
Misterton	No Conventicle in this pish. Fr: Meres, Rectr.	Misterton	0			
Narborough	Noe Conventicle within this parish <i>but what is expected in the Certificate wich see upon the file.</i> Jo: Bendy, Rect.	Narborough	0			
Peatling Magna	No Conventicle within this pish. John Allen, Vicr.	Peatling magna	0			
Peatling Parva	No Conventicle within this pish. Jo: Wigfall, Rect.	Peatling parva	0			

Shawell	<i>An unlawfully assembly held in the afternoon in the said pish church without my knowledge about two months since to the number of 40 or thereabouts this by Mr. Campian as I heare an ejected minister of the meaner sort.</i> William Astell, Rector.	Shawell	0			
Swinford	No Conventicle within this pish. John Wyerstale, Vicar.	Swinford	0			
Sharnford	No conventicle in this pish. Edw Barnes, Rect.	Sharnford	0			
Sapcote	A presbiterian conventicle and an anabaptistcall conventicle held within this pish as in the Certificate is certified by me. Will: Burrough.	Sapcote	i	Presbyterians & Independent	about 40	vulgar sort Mr Mathew Clarke John Kitching. Ironmunger
Stony Stanton	No Conventicle within this pish. Thomas Bunning, Rectr.	Stony Stanton	0			
Thurlston	No Conventicle within this pish but neare thereunto there have been severall at certain odd houses used as meeting houses & Edward Laurence Esq. 4 miles or lesse of the burrough of Leicr, about 100 in number of the meaner sort of people consisting of Quakers sometimes of Anabaptists & some presbyterians or Independents. ffran: Jones, Rector.	Thurleston	0			
Willoughby Waterles	No conventicle or unlawfull meeting within this pish but once by one Ogtesby who came from London & there did continue for five or six and together in the house of one John Reyner according to the certificate. Vic.	Willoughby Waters	0			

Wigston Magna	Noe conventicle within this parish. Sam Hopkins, vicar.	Wigston magna	0			
Odeby	Noe conventicle within this parish. Tho: Weston, Curate. W. ffoster: offic:	Odeby	0			
<i>Goscote Deanery</i> [略] (15日)						
Asfordby	No Conventicle within this parish. Hen: Allen, Vic.	Asfordby	0			
[Ashby Folville]	[Noe conventicle]	Ashby Folville	0			
Allexton	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Mountjoy Cradocke, Rector.	Allexton	0			
Barsby cum membris	Three conventicles kept on <i>Sundaies</i> <i>within this pish about halfe yeare since</i> <i>consisting of anabaptists about 20 in</i> <i>number meeting at George Muggs</i> <i>wearer Robert Simkin a chaundler &</i> <i>James Darbshire sheppard of the vulgar</i> <i>sort of people their speaker a shoe-</i> <i>maker of Darby but his name I know</i> <i>not.</i> Thomas Rawson, Vicr.	Barkby cum membris	i	Anabaptists	about 20	vulgar sort shoemak ^r of Derby whose name is not knowne
Beeby	No Conventicle within this parish. William Pickle, churchwarden. <i>The curate being absent and the</i> <i>rector also.</i>	Beeby	0			
Brookesby	No Conventicle within this pish. Amb: Kipling, Capel:	Brookesby	0			
Belgrave	No Conventicle within this pish. Jo: Jones,	Belgrave	0			

Cussington	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Will Staneley, rectr.	Cussington	0
South Croston	No Conventicle within this parish. Paul Balgaye, Rectr.	South Croston	0
Dalby Chalcomb	Noe Conventicle within this pish. St: Aldorman, Vicar.	Dalby Balcomb	0
ffrisby super Wreake	No Conventicle within this pish <i>to my knowledge.</i> John Williams, Churchwarden.	Frisby sup Wreake	0
Hoaby	No Conventicle within this pish. Henry Mather, Churchwarden absen, Vic.	Hoaby	0
[Hungerton]	[No Conventicle]	Hungerton	0
Humberston	No Conventicle within this pish. Roger Chapman, Vic.	Humberston	0
Hoton	<i>Vacat a Curate & member of prest- wolve:</i> no conventicle within this pish. William Crashey, gardian.	Hoton	0
Loseby	No Conventicle within this parish.	Loseby	0
Loddington	No Conventicle within this parish. Nath: Berry, vic.	Loddington	0
Prestwold	Rect no Conventicle within this parish. William Cox, Churchwarden gard.	Prestwold	0
Queniborough	No Conventicle within this parish. ffrancis Squire, vicar.	Queniborough	0
Rotherby	No conventicle within this parish, William Adams, churchwarden[非居住] Vicar[病氣中]	Rotherby	0

Rearsby	One Conventicle of Presbyterians about 20 in number consisting of an ordinary sort of people <i>Mr. Woodhouse & Mr. Grace</i> ejected out of the Rtory of Rearsby <i>who usually meet at the house of Clement Needham a captaine in the late Rebellion.</i> C. Fanes, Rector.	Rearsby	i	Presbyterians	about 20	ordinary	Mr Grace, ejected out of Rearsby
Ratcliffe sup Wreake	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Hen; Bolte, vic.	Ratcliffe sup Wreake	0				
Ragdale	No Conventicle within this pish. John Bransom Churchwarden [非居住] curate.	Ragdale	0				
[S]ileby	Two Conventicles or unlawfull assembles one of Quakers the other of Anabaptists the <i>at the house of William Smith</i> the other <i>at Willim Kendales of this pish on the Sundaies & dates in the weeke for these 2 or 3 years of the less substantial</i> people in the pish and some vulgar people <i>from other places</i> their numbers about sixtie the said Kendall [William?] Smith being their Teachers. Thomas Jackson, Curate.	Sileby	2	Quakers Anabaptists	vulgar sort better sort	number 60	William Smyth & William Kendall
Saxelby	an unlawfull Conventicle held within this parish <i>at the house of George on Sundayes ether before or after Divine Service</i> but what their sects are wee cannot tell they consist of an ordinary sort of people and their numbers about 50 Mr. John Woodhouse being their teacher. Rich Kirkby, Rector.	Saxelby	i	not knowne	about 50	ordinary	John Woodhouse <i>gent.</i>

Skeffington	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Tho: Wright, curate.	Skeffington	0			
Syston	Some silent meetings at the houses of <i>John Whateffe & Matthew Whateffe</i> of an unlawfull Assemblie of a sort called Quakers their numbers about 12. <i>Their speaker a woman whose name I know not their meetings on Sundais & other daies</i> of the meaner sort of people. David Parry, Vicar.	Siston	i	Quakr's	about 12	mean ^r sort silent
Seagrave	<i>See the file for the certificate.</i>	Seagrave	0			
Thrussington	Noe Conventicles within this parish. Samuel Webster, Vicar.	Thrussington	0			
Tugby	<i>See the file for the certificate.</i> No con- venticle for this pish.	Tugby	0			
East Norton	No Conventicle within this pish.	East Norton	0			
Tilton	No Conventicle within this pish. John Grey, Vicar.	Tilton	0			
Twyford cu Thorpe Satchfeild	No Conventicle within this pish. James Wright, Vicar.	Twyford cum Thorpe Satchfeild	0			
Thurmaston	No conventicle within this pish. William Barton, Curate.	Thurmaston	0			
Wymeswold	an assembly of Quakers about 4 or 5 in number meete at one <i>Richard Frere</i> a <i>shoemaker weekly on Sundais for a yeare last past.</i> Richard Meke	Wymeswold	i	Quakers	about 4	

Walton sup Wolds	No Conventicle within this pish. Thomas Grinston, churchwarden <i>in the absence of the minister.</i> W. ffcester officialis Arcuinat. Leieestrensis.	Walton sup Wolds 0				
[Fram]land Deanery. [略] (日付不明)		Framland Deanry.				
Ab Kettleby cu Holwell	No Conventicle within this pish. Will. Cl.	Abkettleby cum Holwell 0				
Broughton Inferior	One Conventicle of Quakers about 40 <i>in of people their teachers not knowne sometimes silent house of John Wilford millar on Sundays.</i> Thos Bleay, Cura	Broughton inferior i Quak'rs	about 40	poorer sort	not knowne	
Bramston	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Joh. Beardmore, Rector.	Bramston 0				
Bottesford	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Elisha Sanderson, Curate,	Bottesford 0				
Buckminster cu Dewsterne	Noe Conventicle within this parish. (M) Wm John Walker, Churchwardens.	Buckminster cum Sewsterne 0				
Burton Lazars	Noe Conventicles within this chapellrie.	Burton lazars 0				
Claxton Longa	One Conventicle of Quakers about 20 in number consisting of a middle sort of people their teachers not knowne <i>they constantly meet at the dwelling house of Edward Allum husbandman.</i> John Reay, Vic.	Claxton Longa i Quak'rs	about 20	midle sort	not knowne	

Croxton Kerial	Mins mort. Noe Conventicle within this parish. (M) Edward Briggs, Churchwarden.	Croxton Kerial	0			
Cold Overton	Noe Conventicle within this parish. John Cave, Rector.	Coldoverton	0			
Coston	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Ralph Denton, Churchwarden.	Coston	0			
Dalby pva	Noe conventicle within this parish. John Muston, vic.	Dalby pva	0			
Edmundthorpe	Noe Conventicles within this parish. (M) Wm Sansome, Churchwarden.	Edmundthorpe	0			
Eastwell	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Hugh Wright, Rector.	Eastwell	0			
Eaton	Noe Conventicle within this parish. John Holten, Curate.	Eaton	0			
ffreaby	Noe Conventicle within this Chappellrie. Zachariah Fenton, Curate.	Freaby	0			
Garthorpe	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Anthony Kirksby, Churohwarden.	Garthorpe	0			
Goadbie Marwood	Noe Conventicle within this parish. John Richardson, Rector.	Goadby Marwood	0			
Hose [Hoose]	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Ric: Simson, vicar.	Hopc	0			
Harby	One Conventicle of Quakers about 20 in number consisting of the poorer sort] of people Wm Smith a <i>stranger</i> Eliz: Hooton a <i>stranger</i> Levison Patrick a <i>stranger</i> be their teachers <i>they usually meet at ye dwelling house of Chr Levis</i>	Harby	i	Quakers	about 20	poorer sort Willm Smyth, Elizabeth Hooton Levison Gatricke

Hartstone	<i>husbandman.</i> (M) John Seaborough, (M) Ralph Waight Churchwardens	Hartstone	0			
Kirby Bellars	Noe Conventicle within this parish. William Crasse, Churchwarden.	Kirby Cellars	0			
Knipton	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Thomas Richardson, Churchwarden.	Knipton	i	Anabaptists	about 8	meane Tobyas Watson, Carpenters
[Melton Mowbray]	One Conventicle of Anabaptists about 8 in number consisting of a mean sort of people Tobias Watson Carpenter being there teacher <i>they usually meet at the dwelling house of ffra: Templeman husbandman on Sunday in Time of divine Service.</i> (M) George Smith, Churchwarden.	Melton Mowbray	0			
[Musson]	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Richard White, Churchwarden.	Musson	0			
Normanton	[Noe] venticle within this parish.	Normanton	0			
Plungar	Noe Conventicle within this chapellicie.	Plungar	0			
Redmile	Noe Conventicle within this parish. John Bond } Churchwardens. William Passmith }	Redmile	0			
Somerbie	Noe conventicles within this parish. (M) Thomas Adcocke } Churchwardens. (M) William Burton }	Somerby	0			
Stapleford	Noe Conventicle within this parish. John Hudson, churchwarden.	Stapleford	0			

Saltby	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Willm: Love, Churchwarden.	Saltby	0			
Statherne	Noe Conventicles within this parish. Ephr: Garthwaite, Curate.	Statherne	0			
Scalford	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Willm Cole, vicar.	Scalford	0			
Stonesby	Noe Conventicle within this parish. William Wright } Churchwardens. (M) Thomas Sprat }	Stonesby	0			
Sproxton	Noe Conventicle within this parish. vic.	Sproxton	0			
Saxby	Noe Conventicle within this parish. (M) Edward Brackenberrie, Churchwarden	Saxby	0			
Thorpe Arnold cu Bruntingby	No Conventicles in this parish. Tho: Briggs, vic.	Thorpe Arnold cum Brentingby	0			
Wymondham	Noe Conventicle within this parish. ffrancis Alderman, Schoolemaster.	Wymondham	0			
Waltham sup Wolds	One Conventicle of Anabaptists about 40 in number consisting of an ordinary sort of people Hen: Redgate taylor Tobias Watson of <i>Garthorpe</i> joyner being their Teachers <i>they usually</i> <i>meet at ye dwelling of ye sd Hen:</i> <i>Redgate on Sundays in time of divine</i> <i>service.</i>	Waltham sup Wolds	i	Anabaptists	about 40	ordinary sort Henry Redgate, Taylor Tobias Watson, Joyner
[W]elby	Noe Conventicles within this chappel- erie. Jos: Bickhead, Curate.	Welby	0			

Wifordby	Noe Conventicle within this parish. Robert Harris, Rector Edw: Bunny, Churchwarden.	Wifordby	0			
Witchcocke [i.e. Withcote]	One Conventicle of Quakers about 20 consisting of an ordinary sort of people their Teachers Wm Munneys ffarmer Wm Cant Shepard <i>they usually meet at the dwelling house of the sd Wm Moneys.</i> Ed Saunder, Rector. W. ffoster offlis. Archinat: Leicestrensis.	Witchcock	i	Quakers	about 20	ordinary sort William Munneys Farmer William Cant, Shepard
[Gurfeild at the widow West's house]		Gurfeild. At the widow West's house.	i	Quakers	50 or 60	middle sort Thomas Curtis Joseph Cole, one Gulpin, John Raunce, Practicer in phisick

Sources: Evans, R.H. 'Nonconformists in Leicestershire in 1669'

(*Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society*)
(Vol. XXV, 1949, pp. 98-143

Lambeth Palace Library, Tenison MSS. 639

(Turner, George Lyon, Original Records of Early

Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence, 3 vols. 1911,

(Vol. I, pp. 69-77

(M) は "The mark of" の略

(S) は "Signed" の略

左欄「レスター調査」中の空白箇所は原マニユスクript自体の空白箇所である。

更ないし整理はしても、報告教区自体における非国教徒の有無については削除または加筆はほとんどしていないことを示すものである。

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地理的分布

〔I〕 レスターシャーにおける非国教徒の地域的分布は次の通りである。

1) まずレスター市を中心にして、ソー Soar 河沿いにラフバラ Loughborough からマーケット・ハーバラ Market Harborough を結ぶ北西から東南に走る線の以西および以南にかけて、非国教徒が多く分布する教区が密集している。この地方は大領主の乏しい、繁栄する中位ジェントリーの多い非古典荘園地域であった。1279年には領主直営地の比重が低く、賦役比重が低く、自由保有農が慣習保有農より、高い比重を占めていた。⁽⁶⁾ 1450～1550年および1550～1750年（厳密には1485～1530年および1580～1607年）までにエンクロージャーが進行して、村落共同体的規制も解体してしまつた地域が多く、非国教徒の多い教区とこれら上段階のエンクロージャー地域とは、地域的にはほとんど重なりあっている。非国教主義と共同体規制の強度との関連はきわめて興味ある課題であり、近年イギリス経済史学界でも注目され、秀れた研究があらわれている。⁽⁸⁾

ラフバラでは近隣の余剰農産物の穀物市場であつただけでなく、麦芽醸造業に加えて、刷毛業および靴下編業が繁栄し、後に1790年には194家族を雇用し、1802年には Messrs, Paget and Sons は刷毛工40名を雇用し、作業場内には some hundreds of hands を雇用したといふ。⁽⁹⁾

注(6) Kosminsky, E. A., *Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century*, Oxford, 1956, pp. 132-3, 184-5, 194; Hilton, R. H., *Economic Development of Some Leicestershire Estates in the 14th and 15th Centuries*, Oxford, 1947; Hoskins, W. G., *Provincial England; Essays in Social and Economic History*. (Papermac, ed. 140) 1965, pp. 53-67; 『大塚久雄著作集』第4巻, 第5巻, 1-14ページなど。

(7) V. C. H. Leicestershire, Vol. II, *Agrarian History*, pp. 199-228; Hoskins, W. G. (ed.) *Studies in Leicestershire Agrarian History (Leicestershire Archaeological Soc. 1948)* 所収論文 Parker, L. A., *The Agrarian Revolution at Cotesbach, 1501-1612*. Plate No. 1; Hoskins W. G. *Midland Peasants*. (Papermac ed. 107) 1965, Chaps. V-VII, pp. 89-215.

(8) Thirsk, Joan, 'Seventeenth-Century Agriculture and Social Change' (Thirsk, J. ed., *Land, Church, and People: Essays presented to Professor H. P. R. Finberg. Agricultural History Review*, Vol. XVIII, 1970, Supplement.) pp. 175-177. (のち, Thirsk, *Rural Economy of England: Collected Essays*, Hambledon Press, 1984, pp. 183-216 所収); Thirsk, J. 'Industries in the Countryside' (Fisher, F. J. ed., *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England*, in Honour of R. H. Tawney, Cambridge U. P. 1961) (のち, Thirsk, *Rural Economy of England* 所収, pp. 217-243); Everitt, Alan, 'Nonconformity in Country Parishes, (Land, Church, and People 所収, pp. 178-199); 住谷一彦『共同体の史的構造論』(未来社, 1963)において信州佐久の用水慣行と福音の問題, 隅谷三喜男編『日本近代化の諸側面』(日本YMCA同盟出版部, 1965) 所収諸論文で提起された問題は、次第に見失われてきていることは遺憾である。

(9) Nichols, John, *The History and Antiquity of the County of Leicester*. London, 1798, 4 vols. in 8, Vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 884-905, 特に p. 890.

マーケット・ハーバラはドームズデイ・ブックには挙げられていないが、これは必ずしも事実上すでに存在しなかったことを意味しない。1176～77年の Pipe Roll には姿を現わし、レスターとノーザンプトンをおよぶ市場町として計画的に建設された。13世紀には市場開設料を支払っているし、週市開設日を月曜日から火曜日に変更している。マーケット・ハーバラの市場町としての発展は、レスターシャーおよびノーザンプトンシャーの周辺20マイルの諸村落の自由な農民層から流入した人口に由来し、富裕な商人たちの姓も Stonton, Corly, Theddingworth, Cotes, Oxenden, Ranby から流入した者であることを示している。マーケット・ハーバラの市場町としての発展は商業・交通ルートの変遷、他市場町の開設と絡みあっていたが、4つの歳市開設権と2つの週市開設権をもつ Hallaton 村を凌駕していった。黒死病による全般的衰退を経て、マーケット・ハーバラは、Ashby de la Zouch や Loughborough, Melton Mowbray とともに旧市場村 Hallaton をしのいで、レスターシャー南東部の新市場町として発展していった。その発展とテューダー期の牧羊エンクロージャーとの関連は牧畜・皮革業との関係によみとることができる。⁽¹⁰⁾

マーケット・ハーバラでは革命期に王党派の領主財産の売買とならんで、王党派貴族所有の教会録の没収と取消、王党派教区牧師の追放と議会による新たな牧師 Thomas Templer と Thomas Lawrey [Lowrey] の任命と無牧状態をはさみ、ついで[?] Wright を経て、王政復古を迎えることとなる。⁽¹¹⁾

マーケット・ハーバラには Presbyterians と Quakers と Methodists の meeting-houses が存在した。

1564年にマーケット・ハーバラは78家族、1764年には260戸、人口約1,150、その内、非国教徒は Independents 約80家族、Methodists が6家族、Sandimanins 2、クエイカー1、カトリック1、ユダヤ教徒1家族であった。⁽¹²⁾

2) レスター市とラフバラおよびマーケット・ハーバラは手工業者が多く、かつ周辺農村の余剰生産物の市場町であった。レスター市についてみれば、第2表、第3表の示すように、皮革工業、織物業・衣料工業、食品加工業などが高い比重を占め、16世紀を通じて局地的分業の結節点であった。⁽¹³⁾

ラフバラ、マーケット・ハーバラについてもかなりの手工業者を検出することができる。

Loughborough は14世紀には小市場町、15世紀中葉にも Market Harborough や Ashby de la Zouch とならんで、小市場町とされていたが、州北部の経済的中心地として姿を現わし、領主ハントンドン伯 Henry de Beaumont の死後訊問(1413年)に際しては僅か4軒の家屋はほとんど

注 (10) Hoskins, W. G., 'The Origin and Rise of Market Harborough' (Provincial England, Chap. III, pp. 53-67.)

(11) Nichols, Ibid., Vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 496-7, 499.

(12) Nichols, Ibid., Vol. II, pt. 2, p. 599.

(13) Hoskins, Provincial England, 所収論文, Chap. IV, "English Provincial Towns in the Early Sixteenth Century", Chap. V. 'An Elizabethan Provincial Town: Leicester'.

第2表 Leicester 市の主要職業の構成 1511-1603

	1511-40	1559-80	1580-1603
tanners	11	28	35
butchers	27	25	38
shoemakers	24	22	31
glovers	10	21	22
tailors	18	32	35
merciers	16	18	18
shearmen	7		
weavers	16	18	12
bakers	15	16	21
millers	7		
barbers	7		
chandlers		12	8
smiths	7	8	12
計	172	200	232
人口	約 3,000		
trades	60		

Source: Hoskins, The Age of Plunder, p. 97, Table 4-2
Hoskins, Provincial England, p. 95.

第3表 Leicester 市の職業構成 1559-1603

Trades	1559-80 Admissions (%)	1580-1603 Admissions (%)	
clothing trades	91 (23%)	109 (22%)	
food drink trades	69 (17½%)	98 (19½%)	
leather	46 (11½%)	53 (10½%)	
textile	32 (8%)	27 (5½%)	
housshod goods	27 (7%)	29 (6%)	
building trades	24 (6%)	29 (6%)	
distributive trades	30 (7½%)	30 (6%)	
rural	18 (4½%)	26 (5%)	
miscellaneous	62 (15%)	98 (19½%)	
計	399 (100%)	499 (100%)	898

Source: Hoskins, Provincial England, p. 94.

廃屋と見られ、1334年から1446年にかけて戸数 200 戸の市場町に発展していき、やがて羊毛市場町に特化していった。⁽¹⁴⁾

Loughborough には非国教徒の集会所が 4 つあった。Presbyterian 1, certain General Baptist 1, Wesley の followers 1, Quakers 1 であった。⁽¹⁵⁾

3) さらに Charnwood Forest をこえて、森林の西側および北側にかなりの密度で非国教徒の

注 (14) Hoskins, The Midland Peasant, pp. 6, 60, 66, 83-5, 90; Everitt, A., The Marketing of Agricultural Produce (Thirsk, J. ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales. Vol. IV, 1500-1640. Cambridge U. P. 1967.) pp. 466-592) p. 42.

(15) Nichols, Vol. III, pt. 2, p. 899.

多い教区がある。西側の Ashby de la Zouch をはじめ、Packington, Whitley, Osgathorpe, Loughbough, Wymeswold, Castle Donington, Hemington, Lockington がそれである。たとえば Lockingham [cum Hemington] は Quaker の申請をしている。Kegwath は Presbyterian, Breedon on the Hill, Tong は Congregational, “Certificates” に挙げられている Castle Donington は Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist の申請を, Hemington は Baptist の申請をしている。このように Certificates に報告されなかった教区にも, 3年後には教師又は集会場の申請を行なっているように, 恐らく “Certificates” には何らかの理由でかくされていた教区が3年後には姿を現わして来たのである。

逆に, Melton Mowbray は “Compton Census” (1676年) には conformists 1077, papists 0, nonconformists 5, と報告されているにも拘らず, “Certificates” には “Noe Conventiale within this Parish” とあり, 報告者又は調査者の問題があることを推察させるものがある。

4) つぎに, レスター市からリンコンシャー方面にかけて, 州北東部の Melton Mowbray, Waltham on the Wolds, Croxton Kerrial, Knipton, Harby などがそれである。この中 Wymeswold, Harby は Quakers が信教自由令による申告をしているが, 3年前の Certificates には「集会なし」とされている。

〔II〕 非国教徒の全く又はほとんど見られない地域は,

① レスター市北西の “Charnwood Forest” である。この森林は前カンブリア期の岩石の露出した丘陵の瘦せた土地で, 標高400フィート, 高い所は900フィートに達し, 近隣村落の放牧地として

注 (16) Whiteman, Anne, *The Compton Census of 1676. A Critical Edition.* Oxford U. P. 1986 (The British Academy, *Records of Social and Economic History, New Series, XI*). 本 Census の史料批判については, G. L. Turner の Original Records のほか, Chalklin, C. W., (ed.), ‘The Compton Census of 1676; The Dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester’ (*Kent Records: 17 th Century Miscellany, Records Publication Committee of the Kent Archaeological Society, Vol. XVII, 1960. pp. 153-174*) pp. 154-160, 172-174; Dobson, Mary J., *Original Compton Census Returns—The Shoreham Deanery (Archaeologia Cantiana, Vol. XCIV, 1987, pp. 61-73)* pp. 66-67; Peyton, S. A., ‘The Religious Census of 1676’ (*English Historical Review, Jan., 1933*) pp. 100-101; Ruddle, C. S., ‘A Census of Wilts in 1676’ (*Wiltshire Notes and Queries, Vol. III, 1899-1901*); Spufford, Margaret, ‘Note on the Compton Census’ (*Proceedings of Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society, Vol. LXI, 1968*); Do., ‘Dissenting Churches in Cambridgeshire from 1660 to 1700’ (*Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society, Vol. LXI, 1968*); Wykes, David, ‘A Reappraisal of the Reliability of 1676 “Compton Census” with respect to Leicester’ (*Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, Vol. LV, 1979-80, pp. 72-77*) などを参照。“Conformists” と “Nonconformists”, とくに後者の調査規程が曖昧かつ教区ごとに差異があったから “Religiows Census” 又は “Puritan Survey” として利用し難いことは多くの史家の認めるところであるが, だからといって, いきなり Conformists プラス Papists プラス Nonconformists=教区人口統計 (但し16歳以上, servants を含む場合と然らざる場合とあり) としてなら利用できるとして, “Population statistics” として用いることは差支えないというのは短絡的であろう。‘noe Conventicle within this Parish’ という教区の取扱いは簡単ではないからである。しかもこの種の教区報告は全教区の実に3/4に達していたのである。

(17) Evans, ‘Nonconformists’ p. 142.

(18) Turner, *Original Records, Vol. II, pp. 771-2.*

用いられ、人口稀薄で、Barrow, Groby, Whitwick および Shepshed の4つの大荘園を含むのみで、強いカトリック的傾向をもつ地域であった。⁽¹⁹⁾

②つぎにレスター市西部の“Leicester Forest”は木材に欠け、主として牧羊用放牧地および兎飼育地として用いられていた。⁽²⁰⁾

③第三にレスター市の東の Rutland 州にかけての高地も非国教徒の全く見られない地域である。これらの三地域は、レスター市のニューアーク牧師管轄区外教区 extra-parochial Newarke とともに、内戦当時カトリックが多数を占めた地域であった。⁽²¹⁾

〔III〕州の境界地方は国教会当局を無視する者にとり有利な場所であった。Northamptonshire は Peterborough 主教区に属し、Warwickshire と Staffordshire は Lichfield 主教区に属し、Leicestershire は Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire とともに Lincoln 主教区に属し、Peterborough 主教区を中にはさんで、飛地のような位置を占めていた。主教区 diocese の境界線の近くに住む者は、主教区の外側に出れば所轄教会裁判権に抵触することを免れることが容易であった。例えば Easton, Leicestershire [Market Harborough の北東7マイル]の住民は僅かに3マイルはなれた Ashley, Northampton [Market Harborough の北東4マイル]のピュウリタンの集会に出席した。それゆえに Sir John Lambe のごときピーターバラ主教区⁽²²⁾の強硬派の主教代理 vicar-general が弾圧の手をふるったわけである。ともあれ教会裁判権の境界線の両側は、非国教徒住民にとって、良心の自由を守るための恰好の盲点となったことは明白である。

3

「非国教徒集会が全く存在しない」教区。

1) 最後に、「非国教徒集会は存在しない Noe conventicle within this parish」という報告は、全教区中の約77%を占めているが、これは果して真実の報告なのであろうか。研究史上この種の“Episcopal Returns”は、そもそも「非国教徒の教区牧師が作成したもの」であり、それが deanery → archdeaconry を経て、カンタベリ大主教にまで報告されたから、この間に何度か人為的意図が加えられたと考えられている。

たとえば本“Certificates”の冒頭に出てくる Ashby de la Zouch は V. C. H., Leicestershire に

注 (19) A. R. Barker and R. A. Butlin (eds.), *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles*. Cambridge U. P., 1973 pp. 236-8; V. C. H. Leicestershire, Vol. II, p. 268; H. C. Darby, and I. B. Terrett (eds.), *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*. Cambridge U. P. 1954, p. 317.

(20) Barker and Butlin (eds.), *Ibid.*, pp. 237-8.

(21) Welch, C. E., 'Early Nonconformity in Leicestershire' (*Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. XXXVII, 1961-2) p. 30.

(22) Welch, *Ibid.*, p. 30.

おいて三回も “stronghold of Puritanism” と指摘されている⁽²³⁾にもかかわらず、1669年の “original return” にも “Noe conventicle within this parish”, “Lambeth Palace 本” にも “0” と記されている⁽²⁴⁾が、それから僅かに3年後の1672年の「信教自由令」による集会開設許可申請をみると、Medburn の rector Thomas Doughty が Presbyterian の teacher 及び meeting-place の申請をし、認可されている⁽²⁵⁾。彼は国教会に服した “after-conformist” (Calamy) と見られていた。又 Sibbetson から追放されたエマニュエル・コレッジ出身の Presbyterian の Samuel Doughty が teacher と meeting-place の申請をし、認可されている⁽²⁶⁾。カラミーによれば、国王から自宅で説教する認可を得ているにも拘らず、Lord Beaumont と Sir Robert Shirley により処罰され、集会場に20ポンド、説教に対しても20ポンドの罰金を課され、四季巡回裁判所に不当な処置の撤回を訴えたが、とりあげられず、国王に訴えたが、遂に救済措置はとられなかった⁽²⁷⁾。さらに Presbyterian の William Hood’s house が meetingplace として申請され、認可されている⁽²⁸⁾。さらに、4年後の “Compton Census” (1676年) では Ashby de la Zouch には conformists 672, papist 1, nonconformists 5 と報告されている⁽²⁹⁾。これをもっても1669年度の Episcopal Return 中で “Noe conventicle” と報告されている場合も、Thomes Richards がウェイルズのコンプトン・センサス⁽³⁰⁾について考えているように、その報告者たる教区牧師又は中級聖職者の思想・信仰の調査・弾圧への反応を示すものと考えた方がよいであろう。

2) 1669年の Episcopal Return と1672年の Declaration of Indulgence による “teacher” および “meeting-place” の申告と認可の間にも著しい相違が見られる。たとえば Loughborough は69年に Anabaptists の集会が1、会衆数 “meaner sorts” が約30名、“Head & Teacher” は William Parker とされているが、3年後の認可申請は Presbyterian として William Cross が teacher と meeting-place を、Ferdinand Poole が teacher として、William Hardment が meeting-place を、Samual Statham が teacher として、その母 Mrs. Mary Statham (widows) が meeting-place を申請し、Richard Iteland が meeting-place を申請している。Baptist でも前出(69年)の William Parker が teacher として、one [Richard] Adams も teacher として申請している。69年は Baptist のみが報告され、72年には Presbyterian の姿が大きく現われてきている。

注 (23) V. C. H. Leicestershire, Vol. I, Ecelesiastical History, pp.373-376, 389.

(24) Turner, Original Records, Vol. I, p.69; Evans, ‘Nonconformists in Leicestershire in 1669’ (T. L. A., N. S., Vol. XXV, 1949) p.121.

(25) Turner, Ibid., I, p.566, II, p.756; Matthews, A. G., Calamy Revised, Oxford, 1934, p.168; Palmer, Samuel, Edmund Calamy’s The Nonconformist’s Memorial, 3 vols., 1802, Vol. I, p.401.

(26) Turner, Ibid., I, p.566, II, p.756; Matthews, Ibid., p.168.

(27) Turner, Ibid., I, p.547, II, p.756.

(28) Palmer, Edmund Calamy’s The Nonconformist’s Memorial, II, pp.128-9.

(29) Whiteman, Anne (ed.), The Compton Census of 1676. p.328.

(30) Richards, Thomas, The Religious Census of 1676: An Inquiry into its Historical Value mainly in Reference of Wales (Cymmrodorion Society Publications, 1927), pp.1-50. 特に pp.49-50.

一般に Declaration of Indulgence による認可申告および認可は Presbyteren に多く、Congregational これに次ぎ、Baptists や Quakers は Charles II の如き人物に認可を申請し、許可を与えられるがごときは恥辱であると考えていたから、申請数も少なく、認可も与えられることも少なく、かつ困難であった。このような事情を考慮するにしても、こうした '69年と '72年の乖離は顕著であり、'72年の場合も「申請」の方が「認可」より実情に近いと考えるべきであろう。

この種の作業は膨大かつ複雑を極めるが、続稿において逐次分析成果を発表していくつもりである。
(つづく)

[本稿は昭和61、62年度の慶應義塾学事振興資金による研究の一部である。]

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