



Title page of Robert Cushman's book, *The Cry of a Stone*, published posthumously in 1642. Courtesy of the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

PILGRIM ROBERT CUSHMAN'S BOOK,  
*THE CRY OF A STONE*

By Michael R. Paulick

About 1619, Robert Cushman, then the Pilgrims' agent in London for the *Mayflower* voyage, wrote a sixty-three page book entitled *The Cry of a Stone*. This is one of the few books written by a member of the Leiden Pilgrim congregation that described their Church in detail. Although *The Cry of a Stone* was not printed until 1642, about seventeen years after Cushman's death, it probably was read by others in manuscript form during his lifetime.

William Bradford, prominent Pilgrim and author of the well known *Of Plymouth Plantation*, deliberately omitted describing many of the Leiden events. He wrote "But seeing it is not my purpose to treat of the several passages that befell this people whilst they thus lived in the Low Countries (which might worthily require a large treatise of itself)..."<sup>[1]</sup> Therefore, Cushman's book provides a unique first-hand account of the Leiden years.

*The Cry of a Stone* includes a description of Cushman's ideal visible Church and his religious beliefs. For example, Cushman viewed his membership of the Pilgrim Church as "the neerest fellowship that the Saints can have in this world, and most resembleth heaven."<sup>[2]</sup> Accordingly, *The Cry of a Stone*, discovered by historian and author Stephen Foster in 1977,<sup>[3]</sup> deserves additional study by Pilgrim scholars and those interested in *Mayflower* Pilgrim history.

Cushman, in his Fore-Speech, first quoted the biblical verse, Luke 19:40, "But he answered, and said unto them, I tell you, that if these

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<sup>1</sup> William Bradford, and Samuel Eliot Morison, ed., *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647* (New York, 1998) [hereafter *Of Plymouth Plantation*], 19.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Coachman (i.e. Cushman), *The Cry of a Stone, or, a Treatise; . . . commonly called Brownists*. (London, 1642) microfilmed as part of early English Books Online, E.137.(32.) [hereafter *The Cry of a Stone*], 11.

<sup>3</sup> Stephen Foster, "The Faith of a Separatist Layman: The Authorship, Context, and Significance of *The Cry of a Stone*," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., vol. 34, no. 3 (July 1977) [hereafter *Foster 1977*].

should hold their peace, the stones would crie.”<sup>[4]</sup> Part of this verse may have been the inspiration for the origin of his book title. Alternatively, the cover of the *Admonition to Parliament*, published in 1571 before Cushman was born, includes “The stones should cry.” This book was reprinted by William Brewster, the Pilgrims’ printer, in Leiden in 1617. Cushman’s title may have been inspired by the original work, or, perhaps, the title was suggested by Brewster’s reprint.<sup>[5]</sup>

One can date the book’s origins to about 1619 based on history, documents, and clues within *The Cry of a Stone*. The last known record of Cushman in Canterbury, co. Kent, England was the baptism of his son Thomas at St. Andrew’s Church on 8 February 1607/8.<sup>[6]</sup> Cushman probably first joined the Pilgrim Church in Leiden, The Netherlands about 1609. Cushman described the Pilgrim Leiden Church and his “ten years” [1609-1619] as of living “under the purest orders and most profitable means that (I thinke) in this fraile life can be obtained.”<sup>[7]</sup> This coincided with his membership period in the Pilgrim congregation in Leiden as he had moved permanently to London in 1619.<sup>[8]</sup> Cushman also noted Thomas Taylor’s book which was not printed until 1619.<sup>[9]</sup>

The place of Cushman’s writing is less certain but there is one reference in *The Cry of a Stone* which most likely indicated that the work was written in London. Cushman is believed to have lived in London from 1619 until his death in 1625. He wrote of “passage boats” and “ferryboats.” Thomas Platter had described those vessels when he wrote of his visit to London in 1599:

[The Thames in London] was a river gay with pleasure crafts and ferry boats . . . Will Shakespeare took boat from Paris Gardens to Blackfriars. ‘And while a very long bridge is built across this stream, it is more customary to cross the water or travel up and down by attractive pleasure craft ...’<sup>[10]</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *The Bible* (London: Robert Barker, 1611).

<sup>5</sup> Lawrence D. Geller and Peter J. Gomes, *The Books of The Pilgrims* (New York, 1975), 8, plate 11.

<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth French, “Genealogical Research in England,” *NEHGR* 66 (1914): 185.

<sup>7</sup> *The Cry of a Stone*, The fore-speech to the Reader, A2, verso and recto.

<sup>8</sup> *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 38, footnotes 3 and 4.

<sup>9</sup> *The Cry of a Stone*, 13, marginalia mentions Thomas Taylor, *A Commentarie upon the Epistle of Saint Paul written to TITUS* (Cambridge, 1619).

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Platter, translated and edited by Prof. Hans Hecht and Clare Williams, *Thomas Platter’s Travels in England 1599* (London, 1937), 133; *The Cry of a Stone*, 45-46.

The spelling of Cushman's name on the title page, "Robert Coachman," was simply one of many spelling variants of his surname. The obscure and localized Canterbury reference to the Gore case (described next); the detailed knowledge of the Leiden congregation; the reference to John Robinson,<sup>[11]</sup> pastor of the Pilgrims; and concurrence with Cushman's career, make it almost certain that "Robert Coachman" was Robert Cushman.

Thomas Wilson, the rector of St. George the Martyr, Canterbury was identified by Foster, in his excellent article.<sup>[12]</sup> Wilson was also the author of *A Christian Dictionarie*, which was used by the Pilgrims and found in the wills of a few of them.<sup>[13]</sup> The mysterious G.G., mentioned by Cushman in his book, has gone unidentified. He was Gilbert Gore, a freeman weaver in Canterbury. Records in the Canterbury Cathedral Archives detail Gore's heresy conviction, imprisonment and "Cittie weaver" freedom.<sup>[14]</sup> Peter Clark, a Kent historian, wrote "At Canterbury their [the non-conformists'] activity focused around Gilbert Gore who, for all the persuasive efforts of the Church courts and Puritan leaders, refused to agree even to nominal conformity."<sup>[15]</sup> Gore married, had many children baptized, and was a parishioner at St. George the Martyr, Canterbury. Robert Cushman had witnessed this Canterbury religious controversy. St. George the Martyr was also Cushman's parish until about 1603 before he moved about one hundred yards to St. Andrew's parish in Canterbury. Cushman's future brother-in-law, Thomas Reader, had testified that "Robert Cushman of Canterbury is also of Gore's opinion."<sup>[16]</sup> Cushman had married Reader's sister Sara in July 1606.<sup>[17]</sup> John Sheppard, a local shoemaker, also testified that Gore had corrupted "Robert Cushman of Canterbury St Andrew" and others.<sup>[18]</sup> Joseph Tilden, a domestic servant, and probably a later *Mayflower* merchant adventurer was another deponent

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<sup>11</sup> *Cry of a Stone*, 42.

<sup>12</sup> *Foster 1977*, 377, footnote 7.

<sup>13</sup> Michael R. Paulick, "The *Mayflower* Pilgrims and Thomas Wilson's Christian Dictionarie," *New England Ancestors*, Winter 2006: 35-40.

<sup>14</sup> Canterbury Cathedral Archives [hereafter **CCA**], DCb-J/Z/3.26, Precedent Book, ff37v-38v. Freeman weaver, see Burghmote/Council Minute Book, 1578-1602, CC/AC/3, 336.

<sup>15</sup> Peter Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics, and Society in Kent, 1500-1640*, (Sussex, Eng., 1977), 307.

<sup>16</sup> *CCA*, DCb-PRC/39/30, Deposition Registers, 1606-1609, fol. 168v.

<sup>17</sup> *CCA* U3-8/1/A/1, St. Alphege Parish, Composite Register, 1558-1653.

<sup>18</sup> *CCA* DCb-PRC/39/30, Deposition Registers, 1606-1609, fol. 172r.

in the Gore trial.<sup>[19]</sup> The following account of Gore's imprisonment was written by Cushman, and took place in 1606 when Cushman lived in Canterbury.<sup>[20]</sup>

I have also heard of a very excellent Preacher in Cantebury, who was both a lover of goodnesse and good men, and yet (partly by his owne mistaking, partly by others provocation) hee persecuted an honest religious man [G.G., Gilbert Gore, Gower, or Goare], and one of his Parish, causing him to be put from his office which he had in the City, then to be deprived of worke or any reliefe from honest men, afterwards caused him to be imprisoned, where he lay above a yeere, till himselfe, his wife and children were almost starved; and had starved but for some secret course, by which they were relieved, and afterward comming out of prison he caused him to be banished the City, and often threatened him with fire and faggot, and all for a triviall controversie, wherein there was ten times more heat of blood than weight of difference.<sup>[21]</sup>

Gore ran away but was captured and imprisoned, probably in the Westgate Prison, Canterbury, and was excommunicated in 1607.<sup>[22]</sup>

In his writing, Cushman reached the sole conclusion that "it is a sequestration, and not a reformation that will heale us, helpe us, and give us a right Church estate for to joyne unto."<sup>[23]</sup> Another significant reason was given for his separation, or as he called it, a "sequestration." That was intended to prevent mixing "light and darkness" and to "delight . . . only in the Saints."<sup>[24]</sup> William Bradford wrote on the first page of his *Of Plymouth Plantation* that the "light of the gospel" rather than "the darkness of popery" had spread. This reference would have been immediately understood by his Christian readers to have included this same verse

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<sup>19</sup> CCA DCb-PRC/39/30, Deposition Registers, 1606-1609, fol. 166r, 167r, 168v, 169r, 170r, 171r, 172r, 172v, 173r, 173v. Various Gore heresy case depositions.

<sup>20</sup> Joseph Meadows Cowper, ed., *The Register Booke of the Parish of St: George the Martyr Within the Citie of Canterburie of Christenings Marriages and Burials. 1538-1800*, (Canterbury, Eng., 1891).

<sup>21</sup> *The Cry of a Stone*, 36.

<sup>22</sup> *The Cry of a Stone*, 36; marginal notes show Mr. T.W. and G.G.; CCA DCb-J/X/4.4B, pt. 2, Archdeacon's Court *Comperta et Detecta* (Canterbury) 1603-1607, fol. 137, account of Gore's flight; CCA DCb-Box/9/45, for Gore's excommunication.

<sup>23</sup> *The Cry of a Stone*, 17.

<sup>24</sup> *The Cry of a Stone*, 13 and margin.

quoted by Cushman.<sup>25]</sup> This was a very common biblical reason for separation amongst many Pilgrims.

We can be almost certain that Robert Cushman did not see his work printed before his death in 1625. No copy dated prior to 1642 has been found. The few original copies that remain are in specialized libraries, but some, especially large university libraries, have freely available electronic copies for personal study.

*Michael R. Paulick is a Californian researcher who may be reached at [mrpca17@aol.com](mailto:mrpca17@aol.com)*



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<sup>25</sup> The Bible (London: Robert Barker, 1611), II Corinthians 6: 14; *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 3.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL ARCHIVES:  
ROBERT CUSHMAN'S LIBELS OF 1603

*Introduction by Michael R. Paulick*  
*Transcriptions by Simon Neal*

Libels, or derogatory verses, were posted on the Church doors throughout Canterbury, co. Kent, in 1603. They caused such a stir that John Whitgift, the Archbishop charged with keeping religious order and “his Magesty’s commission for causes ecclesiastical,” ordered that the “lewd and seditious persons” responsible for the postings should be identified and arrested.<sup>[1]</sup>

Robert Cushman, who had been apprenticed as a grocer to George Masters since 1596, was deposed, along with several others, regarding their involvement in the libels.

Based on the depositions, which follow this introduction in full, it would seem that Robert Cushman wrote several libels, one apparently reading “Lord have mercy upon us,” and delivered them to Peter Masters, who was the son of George Masters—the grocer to whom Cushman had been apprenticed. Peter Masters then took the libels to Helkiah Reader, son of Thomas Reader and a servant to Samuel Ferrys, tailor, to post on the church doors. Others accused of being similarly involved in the scandal included Thomas Hunt, Nicholas Gibson, and Joseph Tilden.

Hunt, Reader, and Cushman were imprisoned in the Westgate Prison in Canterbury, and the others were dismissed with warnings. Cushman was no stranger to religious controversies. He was presented by the churchwardens of his parish Church of St. Andrews, Canterbury, in November 1603 for not attending his parish because he could not “be edified.” He was excommunicated for that offense in 1604.<sup>[2]</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Kent [hereafter *CCA*], DCb-PRC/44/3,7, a book containing the minutes of the diocesan Court of High Commission for Canterbury Diocese.

<sup>2</sup> *CCA* DCb-J/X/4.4B, Pt. 2, Archdeacon’s Court *Comperta et Detecta*, Canterbury, 1603-1607, fol. 31.

Joseph Tilden, one of the men who were deposed, was a brother-in-law and servant to John Stransham. He later became a merchant adventurer of the Plymouth, New England venture.<sup>[3]</sup> Tilden was Robert Cushman's step-brother through his father's marriage to Ellen (Cowchman) Evernden, a widow from Rolvendon, co. Kent.<sup>[4]</sup> He was also a brother to the well-known Tildens, originally from Tenterden, co. Kent, who settled in Scituate.<sup>[5]</sup>

A couple years after these depositions, on 31 July 1606, Robert Cushman married Sara Reader, sister of Helkiah Reader, and daughter of Thomas Reader.<sup>[6]</sup>

### CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL ARCHIVES

DCb/PRC/44/3, folios 125-133, 202.

[folio 125]

On the 18th day of the month of November in the year of the lord 1603 before the reverend and venerable masters lord Thomas Nevill, professor of sacred theology, dean of the cathedral church of Christ, Canterbury, Charles Fotherbie, bachelor of sacred theology, archdeacon of Canterbury, John Boys, esquire, and George Newman, doctor of laws, royal commissaries, etc, in the house of the said lord dean within the precinct of the cathedral church of Christ, Canterbury, in the presence of me, Alexander Norwood, notary public, etc.

The office against Thomas Hunt }  
Canterbury }

The office of the said lords against Thomas Hunt of the city of Canterbury. On which day and place there appeared a certain John Farleye, learned in letters, sufficiently appointed to the below-written matters by the said lord commissioners, who exhibited the mandate of the said lords for the taking of the body of the aforesaid Thomas Hunt, executed according to the tenor of the same. As for the afore-named said Hunt, he appeared, in whose presence the aforesaid lord commissioners

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<sup>3</sup> Henry F. Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England* (Boston, 1885), 1: 71, Tilden will, 1642.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth French, "Genealogical Register in England," *NEHGR* 68 (1914): 183.

<sup>5</sup> Committee on English Research, "Genealogical Research in England," *NEHGR* 65 (1911): 326-332, at 327 is the Stranshame/Tylden marriage.

<sup>6</sup> *NEHGR*, 68 (1914): 183.



assigned James Lakes, notary public, as the necessary promoter of their office against the aforesaid Hunt. Which charge the said Lakes accepted upon himself. And immediately the said Lakes, promoting the said office, gave articles in writing, together with certain reported libels annexed to the same, which the lords admitted in so far as, etc. In the presence of the said Hunt disagreeing, after the articles had been then repeated and admitted by the lords at the petition of Lakes, the said Hunt, answering says that he does not believe that these articles contain the truth. Then the aforesaid James Lakes, promoting the office of the said lords, upon the aforesaid articles and reported libels, produced the said Hunt as the principal party, and he sought that Hunt gives his oath concerning faithfully answering these articles. Then the lords deferred to the said Hunt this oath concerning faithfully answering, etc, and the said Hunt refused completely to undergo the oath so deferred to him. Then the lords at the petition of Lakes warned the same Hunt again and again to offer oath concerning faithfully answering the aforesaid articles. Which same Hunt, having been so warned, expressly refused to undergo this oath. Then the lords at the petition of Lakes ordered the said Hunt and again and again warned him to offer the aforesaid oath, who, having been so ordered and warned, again refused to offer the aforesaid oath. Then finally the lords at the petition of Lakes interrogated the said Hunt as to whether he wishes to offer the aforesaid oath. And the said Hunt, having been so warned, ordered and interrogated, expressly renounced and refused to offer the aforesaid oath. Whereupon the lords at the petition of Lakes, accusing the said Hunt of contumacy, pronounced him contumacious, and in the presence of the lord decreed the same Hunt be committed to prison and they committed him to prison, namely to the prison called Westgate within the city of Canterbury, and they decreed that he be kept and detained there until certification had been made to the reverend archbishop of Canterbury and until the further will of the said reverend will have made known to them as to what should be done.

The office against Thomas Reader            }  
 Canterbury    }

The office of the lord against Thomas Reader of the city of Canterbury. On which day and place it is acted and proceeded in all things, as above, against Thomas Hunt, and the said Reader is committed to prison, as the said Hunt.

[folio 126]

The office against Robert Cushman        }  
 Canterbury    }

The office of the said venerable lords against Robert Cushman of the city of Canterbury. On which day and place, viz the day and place, described in the preceding page, and before the said venerable masters mentioned there, the aforesaid John Farlie, learned in letters, exhibited the mandate of the said lords for the taking of the body of the said Cushman, executed according to the tenor of the same. The afore-named Cushman appeared, in whose presence the lords assigned the aforesaid James Lakes, notary public, as the necessary promoter of their office against the same Cushman, which charge the said Lakes accepted upon himself. And by immediately promoting the office of the said lords, the said Lakes gave articles in writing, together with certain reputed libels annexed to the same articles, which the lords at his petition admitted in so far as they may be lawfully admitted, in the presence of the said Cushman disagreeing and answering to the said articles, that he does not believe that the same contain the truth. Then Lakes, promoting the said office, produced the aforesaid Robert Cushman upon the articles and schedules or reputed libels annexed to the said articles, which Cushman the lords charged on oath to touch and kiss the holy gospels for faithfully answering the aforesaid articles and schedules or reputed libels, and they warned him to undergo an examination before his withdrawal. And then the said Robert Cushman, having been immediately examined before the said venerable masters, upon the aforesaid articles and reputed libels, by virtue of his aforesaid oath, answers clause by clause, as follows, viz: To the first and second articles of the aforesaid articles he answers that he believes the same to be true. To the third article and schedules, annexed, he answers negatively to every single one. To the fourth article and schedules, annexed, he also answers negatively to every single one. To the fifth and sixth articles and schedules he also answers negatively as regards himself. To the seventh he answers and believes that at the time, mentioned in the article, he hath many times absented himself from divine service celebrated in his own parish church to the end to go to a sermon to another church, and believeth that he was and is at the time, mentioned in the article, of the parish of St Andrew of Canterbury. And otherwise he does not believe the article to be true. To the eighth article he answers that he does not believe the same to be true. To the ninth article he answers that, saving the answers and things confessed by him previously, he does not believe the article to contain the truth. This examination was

taken and made in the presence of me, Alexander Norwood, notary public.

[folio 127]

On the 21st day of the month of November, aforesaid, in the year of the lord 1603 before the aforesaid reverend and venerable masters, namely before lord Thomas Nevill, professor of sacred theology, dean of the cathedral church of Christ, Canterbury, Charles Fotherbie, bachelor of sacred theology, archdeacon of Canterbury, John Boys, esquire, and George Newman, doctor of laws, the commissioners, before-said, in the house of the said lord dean, in the presence of me Alexander Norwood, notary public.

On which day and place there appeared a certain Peter Master, son of George Master of the city of Canterbury, who, after he had personally appeared before the said venerable lords and had been examined and interrogated by them, said and asserted that Robert Cushman, his father's servant (who heretofore hath been examined), gave him divers of the libels, articulate, the text hand only of them written when Cushman so gave them. And he saith that he saw the said Cushman write the text of one of the libels in the backside of his father's house. And the said Peter Master carried the said libels to Helkiah Reader to be set up on the church doors.

And immediately on the same day George Master, father of the said Peter, being personally before the said venerable masters, and having been examined and interrogated by them, says and asserts, as follows: viz that yesterday, being Sunday, in the afternoon, he being informed by Samuel Ferryer of Canterbury, that he heard that Peter Master, the said George his son, had a hand in making the libels articulate, thereupon he called his said son to him and examined him thereon, and his said son confessed to him that Robert Cushman, his the said George Maister's servant, had delivered to him certain papers with 'Lord have mercy upon us' written on them; and he saith that thereupon he also examined his servant Robert Cushman and demanded of him whether he had delivered any such papers to Peter Maister or not, whereto Cushman answered not; whereupon Peter Maister avouched to the said Cushman's face that he had delivered the papers, aforesaid, to him, whereupon the said George Master said to Cushman 'what a lewd fellow art thou to draw my son into this action', and then asked him again whether he had delivered Peter Maister any such writing; whereto the said Cushman replying, prayed him not to urge him too far, whereby the said George Master did understand and think that he had delivered the said papers to Peter Master.

Nicholas Gibson:

The office of the lords against Nicholas Gibson of the city of Canterbury, domestic servant of a certain Samuel Feryer of the same. On which day and place there appeared the said Gibson, otherwise taken by the mandate of the said lords, in whose presence the lords assigned the aforesaid master Lakes as the necessary promoter of their office, which charge the said Lakes accepted upon himself. And

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immediately the said Lakes, promoting the office of the said lords, gave articles in writing, which the lords at his petition admitted in so far as, etc, in the presence of Gibson. Then once these articles had been admitted and repeated by the lords at the petition of Lakes, the said Lakes upon these articles produced the said Nicholas Gibson as the principal party, whom the lords at his petition admitted and charged on oath to touch, etc, and concerning faithfully answering, etc. And at the petition of Lakes the lords warned the said Gibson to undergo examination before Thursday next under pain of law. And then the lords for reasons known to them and especially from things confessed by the said Gibson before them, decreed that the same Gibson be committed to prison and they committed him to prison, unless the same Gibson offers sufficient security for his appearance, etc.

Helkiah Reader:

The office of the lords against Helkiah Reader of the city of Canterbury, domestic servant of a certain Samuel Ferrier of the same. On which day and place and before the said venerable masters, it was similarly acted by them in all things against the said Helkiah Reader, just as it was acted above against Gibson.

Joseph Tilden:

The office of the said lords against Joseph Tilden of the city of Canterbury, domestic servant of John Stransham of the same. On which day and place and before the said venerable masters, it was similarly acted by them in all things against the said Joseph Tilden, just as it was acted above against Gibson, etc.

Thomas Hunt }

Thomas Reader }

The office of the lords against Thomas Hunt and Thomas Reader of the city of Canterbury at another time committed to prison for their contumacy. On which day and place there appeared the said Hunt and Reader and they undertook to offer an oath for responding to the articles, administered against them, in the presence of Lakes, promoter of the office of the said lords, producing them upon the articles, etc. Then the lords charged the said Hunt and Reader on oath to touch, etc, and concerning faithfully answering the articles, etc. And they warned them to undergo an examination before next Thursday, etc.

On which day and place there appeared personally George Master of the city of Canterbury, grocer, and he acknowledged before the venerable lord commissioners, before-said, that he owes to our most serene lord James, king, etc, £20 of lawful money of England, to be levied from his goods, chattels, lands and tenements, etc.

The condition of this recognisance is such that, if Thomas Reader, servant unto Adrian Nicholls of the city of Canterbury, mercer, does at all times hereafter, whensoever notice shall be given to him or left for him at his said master's house within ten days after such notice or warning, make his personal appearance before the king's majesty's high commissioners for matters ecclesiastical or any of them, specially before the most reverend father in God the lord archbishop of Canterbury, his grace, at such time and times, place and places as by the said high commissioners or any of them shall be appointed and prescribed. And further, if the said Thomas Reader so appearing,

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shall not at any time depart from the said commissioners, before whom he shall so appear, without their special licence in that behalf first had and obtained, that then the recognisance to be void or else to stand in force, etc.

On which day and place there also appeared personally Samuel Ferryer of the city of Canterbury, tailor, and he acknowledged before the venerable lord commissioners, before-said, that he owes to our most serene lord James, king, etc, £20 of lawful money of England, to be levied from his goods, chattels, lands and tenements, etc.

The condition of this recognisance is such that, if Nicholas Gibson, servant unto the above-bounden Samuel Ferryer, does at all times hereafter, whensoever notice shall be given to him or left for him at his said master's house within ten days after such notice or warning, make his

personal appearance before the king's majesty's high commissioners for matters ecclesiastical or any of them, specially before the most reverend father in God the lord archbishop of Canterbury, his grace, at such time and times, place and places as by the said high commissioners or any of them shall be appointed and prescribed. And further, if the said Nicholas Gibson so appearing, shall not at any time depart from the said commissioners, before whom he shall so appear, without their special licence in that behalf first had and obtained, that then the recognisance to be void or else to stand in force, etc.

On which day and place there also appeared personally the aforesaid Samuel Ferryer of the city of Canterbury, tailor, and he acknowledged before the venerable lord commissioners, before-said, that he owes to our most serene lord James, king, etc, £20 of lawful money of England, to be levied from his goods, chattels, lands and tenements, etc.

The condition of this recognisance is such that, if Helkiah Reader, servant unto the said Samuel Ferryer, does at all times hereafter, whensoever notice shall be given to him or left for him at his said master's house within ten days after such notice or warning, make his personal appearance before the king's majesty's high commissioners for matters ecclesiastical or any of them, specially before the most reverend father in God the lord archbishop of Canterbury, his grace, at such time and times, place and places as by the said high commissioners or any of them shall be appointed and prescribed. And further, if the said Helkiah Reader so appearing, shall not at any time depart from the said commissioners, before whom he shall so appear, without their special licence in that behalf first had and obtained, that then this recognisance to be void or else to stand in force, etc.

On which day and place there also appeared personally John Stransham of the city of Canterbury, mercer, and he acknowledged before the venerable lord commissioners, before-said, that he owes to our most serene lord James, king, etc, £20

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of lawful money of England, to be levied from his goods, chattels, lands and tenements, etc.

The condition of the said recognisance is such that, if Joseph Tilden, servant to the said John Stransham, does at all times hereafter, whensoever notice shall be given to him or left for him at his said master's house within ten days after such notice or warning, appear before the king's majesty's high commissioners for matters ecclesiastical or any of

them, especially before the most reverend father in God the lord archbishop of Canterbury, his grace, at such [time] and times, place and places as by the said commissioners or any of them shall be appointed and prescribed. And that the said Joseph Tilden so appearing, shall not at any time depart without the special licence of the said commissioners, before whom he shall so appear, that then this recognisance to be void or else to stand in force, etc.

On the 23rd day of November, aforesaid, in the year of the lord 1603 before the venerable master George Newman, doctor of laws, one of the commissioners, before-said, in the house of the said venerable master in the presence of me, Alexander Norwood, notary public, before-said.

On which day and place there appeared personally Avery Savin of the city of Canterbury, woollen-drapeer, and he acknowledged before the said venerable master lord doctor Newman, commissioner, before-said, that he owes to our most serene lord James, king, etc, £20 of lawful money of England, to be levied from his goods, chattels, lands and tenements, etc.

The condition of the said recognisance is such that, if Thomas Hunt, now servant of the said Avery Savin, does at all times hereafter, whensoever notice shall be given to him, or left for him at his said master's house, within ten days after such notice or warning, appear before the king's majesty's high commissioners for matters ecclesiastical, or any of them, especially before the most reverend father in God the lord archbishop of Canterbury, his grace, at such time and times, place and places as by the said commissioners or any of them shall be appointed and prescribed. And if the said Thomas Hunt so appearing, shall not at any time depart without the special licence of the said commissioners, before whom he shall so appear, that then this recognisance to be void or else to stand in force, etc.

[folio 131]

On Friday, viz the 25th day of November in the year of the lord 1603 in the house of the venerable master George Newman, doctor of laws, commissioner, before-said, and before him, in the presence of me Alexander Norwoodd, notary public, etc.

On which day and place there appeared personally Thomas Carter of the city of Canterbury, grocer, and Thomas Gibson of the same city, fustian weaver, and they acknowledged before the said venerable master George Newman, doctor of laws, one of the royal commissioners, that both of them owe to our most serene lord James, king, etc, £20 of lawful money of England, to be levied from their goods, chattels, lands and tenements, and those of both of them, etc.

The condition of the said recognisance is such that, if Robert Cushman, servant to George Master of the city of Canterbury, grocer, does at all times hereafter, whensoever notice shall be given to him, or left for him at [his] said master's house, within ten days after such notice or warning, make his personal appearance before the king's majesty's high commissioners for matters ecclesiastical, or any of them, especially before the most reverend father in God the lord archbishop of Canterbury, his grace, at such time or times, place and places as by the said high commissioners or any of them shall be appointed and prescribed. And further if the said Robert Cushman so appearing, shall not at any time depart from the said commissioners, before whom he shall appear, without their special licence in that behalf first had and obtained, that then the recognisance to be void or else to stand in force, etc.

Thomas Cartar  
Thomas Gibson

[folio 132]

On the 24th day of the month of November in the year of the lord 1603 in the house of the venerable master lord dean of the church of Christ, Canterbury, situated within the precinct of the same church, before the reverend and venerable masters lord Thomas Nevill, dean, before-said, Charles Fotherbie, archdeacon, before-said, John Boys, esquire, and George Newman, doctor of laws, commissioners, before-said, taken in the presence of me, Alexander Norwood, notary public, before-said, etc.

Hunt:

Office of the said lords against Thomas Hunt of Canterbury:

Dismissed:

On which day and place there appeared the said Hunt. And because it is known to the lord commissioners that the same Hunt had been and is summoned on account of faults and things confessed by him in this business previously before doctor Newman, official of the lord archdeacon of Canterbury, and this matter is still pending there, therefore the lords condemned the same Hunt in expenses made in this cause, and committed the regulation of the same to the said lord doctor Newman. And thus the lords dismissed from their office the same Hunt, with a warning that he should reform himself in the premises that had been confessed by him, and that he should pay the expenses to be expended by lord doctor Newman.



Tilden:

Office of the lord against Joseph Tilden of Canterbury:

Dismissed:

On which day and place there appeared the said Tilden, whom the lords, due to things confessed by him, condemned in expenses made in this business. And out of grace the said lord commissioners only warned the same Tilden that he should reform himself in the faults confessed by him. Indeed, they committed the regulation of the expenses of the lord to lord doctor Newman, which expenses having been paid, the said lords wished the same Tilden to be dismissed from their office, and they dismissed him.

Thomas Reader:

Office of the lords against Thomas Reader of Canterbury:

Dismissed:

On which day and place it was similarly acted and decreed in all things against the said Reader, as above against Joseph Tilden, and he was also similarly dismissed.

Cushman:

Office of the lords against Robert Cushman of Canterbury:

On which day and place there also appeared the said Cushman, whom the lords condemned in expenses first of all and before everything, on account of things confessed by him and proved against him in this cause, and they committed the regulation to lord doctor Newman, before-said. Then the lords for certain causes, etc, decreed that the same Cushman be committed to prison and they committed him to prison, viz to the prison called Westgate and to the custody of James Maye, keeper there, until he offers sufficient security for his appearance, etc.

Helkiah Reader:

Office of the said lords against Helkiah Reader of Canterbury:

On which day and place there the said Reader, whom the lords condemned in expenses first of all and before everything, on account of things confessed and proved in this cause, and they committed the regulation to lord doctor Newman, before-said, etc. Finally the lords decreed that the things confessed and proved in this business should be made known to the reverend archbishop of Canterbury, and they continued this business

[folio 133]

and the appearance of the said Reader until they considered that he should be sent for and summoned.

Nicholas Gibson:

Office of the said lords against Nicholas Gibson of Canterbury:

On which day and place it was similarly acted and decreed in all things against the said Gibson, as is acted and decreed above against Helkiah Reader.

On the 31st day of the month of December 1603 before the venerable masters Charles Fotherbie, bachelor of sacred theology, archdeacon of Canterbury, and George Newman, doctor of laws, royal commissioners, etc, in the houses of the said lord archdeacon situated within the precinct of the church of Christ, Canterbury, in the presence of me, Alexander Norwood, notary public.

Helkiah Reader	}
Nicholas Gibson	}

On which day and place there appeared personally Helkiah Reader and Nicholas Gibson, otherwise cited and summoned by John Farlie, apparitor and mandatary of the said lords, to whom the said lords showed a certain schedule or a certain mandate, containing in itself the manner and form of the penance to be undergone by the said Reader and Gibson for their faults proved and confessed in this cause, corroborated and undersigned by the hands of the reverend father in Christ the archbishop of Canterbury, the reverend father the bishop of London, and other royal commissioners. Which same schedule and the things, contained in the same, having been shown and read aloud to the said Reader and Gibson, the said reverend master the archdeacon, before-said, and George Newman, doctor of laws, warned the said Helkiah Reader and Nicholas Gibson, and enjoined to the same men (as far as was and is in their power) that according to that order and prescript of penance, they, the said Helkiah Reader and Nicholas Gibson, and either of them, do humble themselves and confess their faults in every respect on the several days, hereafter named, in the several churches, hereunder specified. That is on Sunday next, being the first of January 1603 in the forenoon in St Andrew's church in Canterbury, and in the afternoon of the same day in St Margaret's church in Canterbury, on twelfth day next coming, being the

6th of January 1603 in the forenoon in All Saints church in Canterbury, and in the afternoon of the same day in St Mary Magdalene's church in Canterbury, on Sunday the 8th day of January 1603 in the forenoon in St Mary Bredyn's church in Canterbury, and in the afternoon of the same day in St Paul's church near the walls of the city of Canterbury. There were warned peremptorily to do and carry this out, and immediately after this penance had been carried out they are to certify the same, just as is contained in the said schedule, with the said Reader and Gibson being present and disagreeing with this warning and injunction, etc.

[folio 202]

The personal answers of Thomas Hunt of the city of Canterbury made to certain articles from the office at the instance of master James Lakes, notary public, administered against him, as follows, viz:

1. To the first article he answers that he believes the same to be true.
2. To the second article he also answers that he believes the same to be true.
3. To the third article and schedule he answers and as regards himself he denies that the article is true, and saith further that neither before the publishing of the libels, articulate, nor since, he ever was privy unto the writing or publishing of the said libels, neither ever knew who did them or caused them to be done, until now of late that the parties, themselves, who did them, have confessed the same, which was not before yesterday, as he remembers: otherwise he does not believe.
4. To the fourth article and schedules or reputed libels he answers negatively as regards himself, and saving that he hath heard within this day or two, who set up the said libels and published them, he believeth no the articles to be true in any point.
5. To the fifth article and schedules he answers negatively as regards himself.
6. To the sixth article he believes the same to be true.

7. To the seventh article he answers and believes that he is a parishioner of the parish of St Andrew of Canterbury, and believes that he doth not refuse to come to his own parish church, when there is a sermon there, and when there is no sermon there, he cannot with a good conscience come thither, as he says, and he believeth that he hath not been at his own parish church at divine service this three months last past, and he believeth that he hath said that he will not come to his parish church to divine service, unless there be a sermon there. And otherwise as regards himself he does not believe this article to contain the truth.
8. To the eighth article he answers that he, himself, does not believe the article to be true.
9. To the ninth article he answers that he believes the things believed by him and denies the things denied by him. And otherwise he does not believe the article to contain the truth.

Thomas Hunt

Personal responses of Helkiah Reader of the city of Canterbury made to the aforesaid articles, as follows, viz:

1. To the first article he answers and believes that if the persons, articulate, be apt to teach as the article saith, then he thinks them to be lawful ministers, and further he knoweth not, nor can answer to this article, as he says.
2. To the second article he answers and believes the same to be true.

ROBERT CUSHMAN'S DEPOSITION IN A  
1605 APPRENTICE ABUSE CASE

*Transcription by Simon Neal*

This deposition was found in the Canterbury Cathedral Archives. It contains testimony made in 1605 by Robert Cushman of Canterbury, grocer, regarding the ill treatment and abuse he witnessed of George Young, apprentice to Thomas Brome.

Canterbury Cathedral Archives  
CC-J/Q/405/iv, folio 4.

City of Canterbury

Before Mark Berrey, esquire, mayor, on 5<sup>th</sup> March A.D. 1605

Rob[er]te Cushman of the Cittie of Cantorburye Grocer  
Aged xxvij yeres sworn and ex[amined] sayethe that he  
hathe p[er]ceaved that the said Thomas Brome hathe  
byn furyous and hastye uppon the said George  
Younge his Apprentice first for that he  
this deponent hathe diverce tymes seene and  
p[er]ceaved the said George Younge muche  
terrefyed w[i]th the righte of his said m[aste]r for that beinge  
Aboute his busynes in the shopp and otherwise  
hathe seene the boye as y<sup>t</sup> were amased  
And hathe shaked and shivered in such sorte  
as he could not well holde any thinge in  
his handes w[i]thoute lettinge y<sup>t</sup> fall and hathe  
seemed that he coulde not tell what he did his  
said master beinge p[re]sent

And further this ex[aminant] deposethe that he hathe  
hearde the sayd George Younge aske of his  
said m[aste]r Thomas Brome money to paye for  
the Amendinge the shoes of the same  
George whiche the same Thomas Brome

denyed to geve hym sayinge he shoulde have  
 none And that the said George Younge  
 did paye for mendinge the same shoes  
 w[i]th his sonnes money

And further he sayethe that he this deponent  
 did see the said Thomas Brome furiously  
 beate and strike the said George Younge aboute  
 the face w[i]th his Fystes for no cause that this  
 deponent knowethe off but for sayinge that w[hi]che  
 was true Videl[ic]e for that the said George  
 Younge havinge not s[er]ved wares in the shopp of  
 this deponent in this deponent his Absence  
 and this ex[aminant] by reason of Agreement  
 betwene this ex[aminant] and the said Thomas Brome  
 aboute takinge his shopp fyndinge faulte  
 therein And the said Thomas Brome  
 blamyng the said Younge for that he did  
 not serve the wares in this ex[aminant] his  
 Absence the boye excused hym selffe  
 sayinge that the said Thomas Brome chardged  
 hym that he shoulde not meddle in this ex[aminant]  
 his shopp w[hi]che the same Thomas Brome  
 partly confessid And yet sodenly  
 he Fell ov[er] hym in the entrye and beate  
 and Buffeted hym the same Younge as aforesayd

Robert Cushman  
 Markes Berrey  
 maiour



Signature of Robert Cushman found on this deposition,  
 courtesy of Michael R. Paulick.