

**THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL  
AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER**

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*THE ENGLISH ORIGIN (AND SPIRITUAL TURMOIL)  
OF JOHN<sup>1</sup> INGERSOLL OF WESTFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS*

David L. Greene

Recovering much of the personalities of long-dead individuals is often impossible. We may learn something from the concerns they showed in their wills, and, if we are lucky, we may find their actual voices recorded in court testimonies. But their joys and agonies are usually beyond our reach. John<sup>1</sup> Ingersoll of Westfield, Massachusetts, is an exception: he left a document that not only provides the essential clue to his English origin, it also reveals in striking terms his own spiritual and psychological turmoil.

A requirement for church membership in Massachusetts Bay Colony after 1636 was a public relation of religious experience. Few records of these relations survive; those that do sometimes provide, in the midst of conventional and stilted expressions of religious faith, striking insights into the personalities of those individuals who made the testimonies. The best known examples of such records are those kept by the Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge. Although the records of public relations for the church members at Westfield, Massachusetts, were published several years ago, they have remained largely unknown to genealogical scholars because they appeared as the first volume of the *Unpublished Writings* of the great Puritan poet Edward Taylor, who was the minister at Westfield. They include the public relation of John Ingerson or Ingersoll, surely one of the most remarkable of all such testimonies for its revelation of his own intense spiritual and psychological suffering.

John Ingersoll's first appearance in New England records was inauspicious: on 28 November 1654, he was fined 10s by the Connecticut Particular Court for the breach of the law against lyinge.<sup>[1]</sup> He was, however, in Hartford some years earlier, since he was married about 1651 to Dorothy<sup>2</sup> Lord, a daughter of Thomas<sup>1</sup> Lord, an original 1636 proprietor of Hartford.<sup>[2]</sup> From Hartford, Ingersoll moved up the Connecticut River to

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1. Records of the Particular Court of Connecticut 1639-1663, *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, 22 (Hartford, 1928): 131.

2. Ernest Flagg, *Genealogical Notes on the Founding of New England: My Ancestors [sic] Part in that Undertaking* (Hartford Case, Lockwood & Brainerd Co., 1926), 273 [hereinafter Flagg]; Kenneth Lord, comp., *Genealogy of the Descendants of Thomas Lord, an Original Proprietor and Founder of Hartford, Conn., in 1636* (New York: n. pub., 1946), 4 [hereinafter *Lord Gen.*].

Northampton, Massachusetts, where his wife died in January 1656/7.<sup>[3]</sup> He married, secondly, on 12 December 1657, Abigail Bascom. She died in April 1666, and he married, third, Mary Hunt; this marriage must have occurred about 1667, since they had a child in, 1668. He settled about 1666 in what became Westfield, where he died on 3 September 1684; his widow died on 18 August 1690.<sup>[4]</sup>

Most secondary sources state that John was a brother of Richard<sup>1</sup> Ingersoll, an immigrant to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1629.<sup>[5]</sup> Richard Ingersoll's origin was published in 1900 by Lothrop Withington, who had discovered his marriage in Sandy, Bedfordshire, on 20 October 1616 to Agnes Langley.<sup>[6]</sup> This clue was developed by Walter Goodwin Davis, who showed that Richard<sup>1</sup> Ingersoll of Salem was a son of George<sup>A</sup> Inkerstall of Edworth, Bedfordshire, and that he had no brother named John.<sup>[7]</sup>

Several sources state that John<sup>1</sup> Ingersoll was born in 1615, a year compatible with his being a younger brother of the Salem immigrant. As Ernest Flagg points out, this would make him 36 when he first married.<sup>[8]</sup> The Westfield record of John Ingersoll's death on 3 September 1684 gives no age, though some have stated that he was 69.<sup>[9]</sup> John Ingersoll was, in fact, 25 when he married and 58 when he died.

In 1679, John Ingersoll became one of the seven pillars who founded the Westfield Church; his extraordinary public relation follows (emphasis added):

#### The Relation of Brother John Ingerson

I being brought by Godly Parents, who tooke great pains & Care to bring me out of a State of Nature into a State of Grace in watching over me, in keeping me from Sin, & Sabbothbreaking, in bringing me to attend the word preached, read, & in Cathechising I d little regard itt, but onely for fear of them.

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3. Samuel W. Lee, Register of the Deaths in Northampton, Ms., om Its First Settlement in 1653 to 1700, *Register*, 3 [1849]: 175-76, 398-400, at 175.
  4. Emerson Davis, A Record of Marriages, Births and Deaths in estfield, Mass., Prior to the Year 1700, *Register*, 6 [1852]: 265
  5. Charles Stedman Ripley, *The Ingersolls of Hampshire* (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1893), 11, 12; Lillian Drake Avery, *A Genealogy of the Ingersoll Family in America, 1629-1925* (New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock, 1926), 127; Flagg [note 2], 174; George R. Griffiths, *Lord [,] Bird[,] Ingersoll Relationships* (n.p.: n.pub., 1992), 21.
  6. Lothrop Withington, Withington's Abstracts of English Wills, *Register*, 54 [1900]: 341-48, at 343.
  7. Walter Goodwin Davis, *The Ancestry of Abel Lunt, 1769-1806, of Newbury, Massachusetts* (Portland, Maine: The Anthoensen Press, 1963), 63-64; see also Robert Charles Anderson, *The Great Migration Begins*, 3 vols. (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1995), 2: 1060-63.
  8. Flagg [note 2], 227.
  9. E.g., Flagg [note 2], 174.

*The first time, to my remembrance, that God met with me was by a Sermon I heard at Darby in old England upon Ps. 15.1,2,<sup>[10]</sup> when I was about 18 years old, whereby I was Convinct that as yet I was none that should inherit the holy Hill of Zion, but I thought I would labour to be one that Should. But this Conviction was soon over & I went on in my Sin & vanity still. & tho I met with many Conviction that my State was bad, & was in many dangers both at sea, & land; & I saw I must Repent, & become a new Creature if ever I ment to be Saved, yet I put repentance off till afterwards. But being under Mr. Stones Ministry I was convincd that the time was come that I must not put Repentance off any longer, for the Lord had granted me the thing wherein my excuses lay & therefore I set upon Duties, & reformed in many things, & having a book of Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs I read much in it, about Faith, & Hope, & was much encouraged, till I met with an Expression thus, that if my Hopes were not such as would stand with every line of the word of God at the day of Judgment they would availe me nothing. Then being troubled I threw the book a side for a while thinking that altho he was a good man he was too Strict, & mistaken therein. & that I did believe, & that he that did believe should be saved & therefore my State was good. But coming to Northampton I heard Mr. Mather the first time upon that, that in the world ye shall have trouble, but in Christ you may & shall have peace, which encouraged me for a while. But afterwards his preaching did not please me but I thot I would keep my hopes. And the Lord visiting me with sickness that I was neer death, yet I thot I was well enough prepared for death & was not willing to hear to the Contrary. But the Lord in great merry was pleased not to take me away in that Condition. But remaining still Confident of my good Estat, I, as I was on atime into the meadow to work, thot nothing should dash my hopes thereof. But presently the thoughts of [blank] who murdered himselfe Coming into my mind, I for a while much wondered at it. But my thots soon runing thus, What if God should leave me? then I should do so. & the temptation came so hard upon me that God would leave me, & I should certainly dy such a death; be guilty of mine own Blood, & be damned irreconcilably, that I was not able to go on to my business; but returning home, the temptation prevaile more, & more upon me, & I was filled with horreur of Conscience, the Lord did so manifest his wrath & Displeasure against me: & my Sins were like mountains ready to sink me down into Hell every moment. & not being able in the night to sleep, was forced to rise up at midnight, & Call up my Father in Law, who hearing how it was with me, & that I feared I had sinned the unpardonable Sin; & that there were no Hopes of mercy, gave me good Counsell, & prayed with me. & after having some abatement I returned home, & remain d in that Condition: But the Lord after awile was pleased to abate the temptation, & his*

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10. Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart. (King James Translation.)

wrath a little. & I fell to reading & praying in Secret; being encouraged to look to Jesus Christ for mercy. But Mr. Mathers Ministry was like daggers in my heart. For when I was labouring to lay hold on Christ, as I thot, by Faith, it did so rip up my State in such a way as dashed my hopes, whereby, me thot, I was one that went about to Establish mine own Righteousness, & to have something of mine own to Carry me to Christ. Wherefore I Studied upon what terms Christ was to be had, I prayed, Searched the Scriptures, & attended all duties; but could find no way to get a pardon, of Sin, & peace with God, but by Repentance of all Sin, & a Closing with Jesus Christ by Faith. I thot I was willing to part with all Sin, & would gladly be delivered from it, as seing what a Condition it had brought me into. As for the world, I accounted it not worth regarding, so I could but get an Intrest in Christ Jesus. But how to believe I knew not. I heard many Descriptions of Faith, yet could not tell what it was, nor how to gett it. Mr. Mather being upon the work of Humiliation said be humble enough, & good enough; I thot it was the Pride of my heart, that I was so impatient; & could not wait Gods time. I saw there was hopes of mercy for me in Jesus Christ. He came into the world to save his people from their Sins: With him the Fatherless finde Mercy; He gives gifts to Rebellious ones; the Chiefe of Sinners. He Is able to Save all to the uttmost, & will by no means cast off any that come to him. & tho I could not come to him of myselfe, yet he is able to bring me to, & keep me with, himselfe, then reading that Isa. thou has brought me no Sweet Cane but hast made me to serve with thy Sins; yet I am he that blotteth out all thy Sins for my names sake. Whereupon I found myself willing, & was inabled to Cast myselfe upon the Lord Jesus Christ, to give up myselfe & all unto him; to leave my Sins, & Corruptions to him to do as he pleased. & So to leave myselfe with him, let him do, what he would with me. & if I did perish at last, yet it should be in his way, remembring Peters words, Lord to whom should we go thou hast the words of Eternall Life.<sup>[11]</sup>

This relation begins conventionally enough: all Puritans who commented on the fact had Godly Parents. The Mr. Stone whose ministry persuaded Ingersoll to make one of several attempts at repentance was the Rev. Samuel Stone of Hartford, and Ingersoll's statement that the Lord had granted me the thing wherein my excuses lay is probably a reference to his first marriage. The annotators of the relation identify the work that made Ingersoll consider the English Puritan divine Jeremiah Burroughs a good man but too Strict *Gaspel-Revelation in Three Treatises* (London, 1660).<sup>[12]</sup> In Northampton, however, we move beyond the conventional, and we gain sharp insight into the personality of John Ingersoll, for it was there that

11. Reprinted with permission of Twayne Publishers, an imprint of Simon & Schuster Macmillan, from *Edward Taylor's Church Records and Related Sermons, Unpublished Writings of Edward Taylor*, Vol. 1: *Church Records and Related Sermons*, edited by Thomas M. Davis and Virginia L Davis. Copyright (c) 1981 by G.K. Hall & Co., 115-17.

12. *Ibid.*, 454, n. 23.

he entered into intense spiritual and psychological agony, for such it certainly was. The Northampton minister, the Rev. Eleazer Mather, first displeased Ingersoll, probably because Ingersoll was already satisfied with his spiritual condition. Even a severe illness did not change his mind. But one day, while working in the meadow, he thought about an unnamed individual who had committed suicide, and he was so strongly tempted to do so himself that he could not sleep that night and awoke his father-in-law to share his agony. Thomas Bascom prayed with him until the suicidal temptation had abated.<sup>[13]</sup> The rest of the relation becomes conventional again as Ingersoll describes his acceptance of the Puritan view of salvation.

Ingersoll's morbid desire to destroy himself would today be called clinical depression. But giving it another name does not change the agony and despair that he experienced. In describing it in such gripping terms, John Ingersoll gives us greater insight than we could ever expect into the sufferings of an ordinary individual now dead for over three hundred years.

Genealogically, the most significant statement in this relation is that, for John Ingersoll, [t]he first time, to my remembrance, that God met with me was by a Sermon I heard at Darby in old England...when I was about 18 years old. This led to the parish registers of the borough of Darby in Derbyshire and to the probate records of the Consistory Court of Lichfield.

Derby has five ancient parishes: All Saints, St. Alkmund's, St. Michael's, St. Peter's, and St. Werburgh's. I examined the registers for all but St. Peter's on microfilm at the Family History Library in Salt Lake City. Because of the condition of the register itself, the film for St. Werburgh's suffers greatly in legibility. Later, I was able to check the original St. Peter's registers and the original St. Werburgh's registers at the Derbyshire Record Office in Matlock. Ingersoll entries were found in the Bishops' Transcripts for All Saints and in the registers for St. Werburgh's and St. Alkmund's.

All Saints<sup>[14]</sup>

*Baptisms*

1598: Catherine Inkerstall, daughter of Goldfridi Inkerstall, 3 July.

St. Werburgh's<sup>[15]</sup>

*Baptisms*

1626: John the soon [sic] of Thomas Inkersall bapt the [blot] of Sep.

1628: Thomas the sonn of Thomas Inkersall bapt the 14 of April.

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13. It could not have been Thomas Lord who prayed with John Ingersoll, for he had died several years before his daughter Dorothy became John Ingersoll's first wife (Flagg [note 2], 273; *Lord Gen.* [note 2], 4).

14. Bishops' Transcripts for All Saints, Derby, computer printout (Family History Library, microfilm 6,905,037).

15. Original register, St. Werburgh's, Derby (Derbyshire Record Office, D1/45A/PI 1/1, 1/2).

- 1633: Elizabeth the daughter of Thomas Inkersall baptiz the [20?] octobr.  
 1638: Samuella sonne of Thomas & Margery Inkersall bapt the 14 of October.  
 1664: Thomas the sonn of Samuella & Catherin Intersall was baptized the 21<sup>th</sup> of May.  
 1667: John Filius Samuella Inkersall Baptized Feb the third 1667

*Marriages*

- 1592: Joh: Inkerso[ll] & Roase [Saley? Taley?] married 2 of dece[m]ber.

*Burials*

- 1610: An Inkersall buried the 12 of Jun.  
 1617: Kose Inkersall buried the first of August.  
 1617: John Inkerstall buried the xviiij of [August?].  
 1664: Mariery the wife of Thomas Intarsall was buried the 26<sup>+</sup> of december.  
 1681: Thomas Inkersall Senior Town Criar was buried the 30 of May.

St. Alkmund s.<sup>[16]</sup>

*Baptisms*

- 1539: Baptizati Sibilla fil Johannis Enkersall Septemb. 16.  
 1629[/30]: Christened Sara the daughter of Thom[as] Inkersall & of Margery his wife Feb. 27.  
 1631: Christened Hester the daughter of Thomas Inkersall, & Margery his wife October 30.

*Marriages*

- 1563: Coniugat Georgius Redferne k Elisabetha Inkersall, 26 Jun.

Only one relevant Ingersoll/Inkersall probate was found in the records of the Consistory Court of Lichfield: the will of the immigrant's father (emphasis added):<sup>[17]</sup>

In the name of God Amen I Thomas Inkersall of Darby in the County of Darby the Towne Cryer being sickly & weake of body yet of sound memory praised be God doe make and ordaine this my last will & Testament in maner & forme following viz I bequeath my Soule into the hand of Allmighty God my Creator trusting in his mercie through the merits & satisfaction of Jesus Christ my blessed Saviour for the pardon of my sinns & salvation of my soule And my body to the earth from whence it Came And as for my worldly Goods which God hath granted mee I bequeath them as followeth first to my daughter Sarah five poundes which will make up what shee hath had neare Thirty poundes And to my sonne Thomas Inkersall five shillings And to my sonne Samuella Inkersall all my household goodes And the rest & residue of my p[er]sonall estate my debtes legacies & funerall discharged and such Charges as my executor shall be put to being defraied *the said residue I say to be devidid the one halfe L bequeath to my sonne John Inkersall living in new England if hee be yet living if not to his Children* And the other halfe I bequeath to my grandchild John Inkersall the yonger sonne of my sonne Samuella to be paid him when he

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16. Transcript of register, St. Alkmund s, Derby (FHL microfilm 1,041,163, item 5).

17. Consistory Court of Lichfield Wills, 1681 (FHL microfilm 95,691).

shall accomplish the age of Eighteene yeares & be able to discharge my Executor and such meane p[ro]fits as shall be made of his p[ar]t towards his bringing up And as for my house & all the appurtenances I bequeath the same to my sonne Samuell Inkersall & his wife for the tearme of theire naturall lives & the life of the longer liver of them and after their decease to Thomas Inker- sall my grandchild Eldest sonne of my sonne Samuell and to the heires of the body of the said Thomas and; for default of such Issue to the heires of the body of my said sonne Samuell Inkersall and for default of such Issue to my owne right heires for ever And I dde make & ordaine my trusty & loving friend and Cozene Isaac Platts my Executor of this my last will & Testament & my loving friend Edward Robinson overseerer [sic] of the same Witnessse hereunto my hand & seale dated the Twelvth day of August in the Twenty fifth yeare of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles the second by the grace of God of England Scotland France & Ireland King Defender of the faith &c: 1673

Signed sealed & published  
as his last will & Testam<sup>t</sup>in  
pr[e]sence of  
Thomas Strong  
Edmond Robinson  
[Proved 13 July 1681]

Thomas  
Inkersall

I have not determined how Isaac Platts, Thomas Ingersoll s loving friend and cozene, was related to him. Isaac Platts, gent., left a will dated 11 November 1692, mentioning my Articles made w<sup>th</sup> mr william chambers in considerac[i]on of his marriage w<sup>th</sup> Elizabeth Beardesley my granddaughter ; granddaughters Theodosia Beardesley and Sarah Beardesley; grandsons Isaac Beardesley and Job Beardesley at age of 21; sister Susanna Gisborne; sister Rebecca [Bancroft ?]; loving son-in-law George Beardesley, gent., and daughter Sarah his wife to be executors; residue to be improved for a portion for youngest granddaughter

Francis Beardesley. He also charged his executors to get in all debts owinge to mee and to p[er]forme all my will w<sup>ch</sup> they have the more reson to doe, beinge it is all for their owne children, but John Rossell was not to be troubled for any debt except hee growe rich and may well afford to pay, or that hee by word or deed wrong them or their children. <sup>[18]</sup>

Thomas Ingersoll and his family were primarily associated with St. Werburgh s, where, according to the parish register, he was chosen register at a parish meeting of 21 November 1653. This was during the Commonwealth, when births, not baptisms, were recorded. The parish church was built close to Markeaton Brook and suffered frequently from floods. In January 1601, a violent storm took down the steeple or spire and damaged the body of the

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18. Consistory Court of Lichfield Wills, 1692-3 (FHL microfilm 95,752).

church severely. The entire tower was rebuilt on the southeast side of the church so that it would be on firmer ground away from the brook. Floods continued, and finally, in November 1698, a great flood caused the body of the church itself to collapse, and it had to be rebuilt.<sup>[19]</sup> The surviving registers show severe water damage, with the ink on some pages entirely washed off, though it is possible that ultraviolet light might recover some of the entries. Derby has suffered the loss of many other records through flood and fire, and some of the surviving records are in such poor condition that they cannot be examined. The only other relevant material I was able to find at either the Derbyshire Record Office in Matlock or the Derby Local Studies Library in Derby were the rent rolls for the borough; they are cited later. In particular, I made an unsuccessful search for relevant Derby apprenticeships and freemanships. Later, John Titford, of Higham, Derbyshire, found that John<sup>1</sup> Ingersoll had been apprenticed in London.

#### JOHN<sup>1</sup> INGERSOLL'S APPRENTICESHIP

John Ingersoll, son of Thomas Ingersoll of Darby, shoemaker, was apprenticed on 25 January 1641[2] to Thomas Dawes of the Tylers and Bricklayers Company in London.<sup>[20]</sup> He was fifteen. We do not know whether he fulfilled the terms of his apprenticeship; it may well have been interrupted by the English Civil War. One indication that he may not have completed his apprenticeship is that he was certainly back in Derby around 1644, when he was about eighteen and God met with me by a Sermon I heard at Darby in old England, though his return to that borough may have been a temporary visit.

As we shall see, it is likely that his parents had had previous connections with London.

#### THE LONDON RECORDS

Thomas Ingersoll's marriage is not found in the borough of Derby, but through the International Genealogical Index and then through the printed

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19. J. Charles Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*, 4 vols. (Chesterfield: W. Edmunds; London: Bemrose and Sons, 1879), 4: 175-77.
  20. Cliff Webb, ed., *London Apprentices*, Vol. 2: Tylers and Bricklayers Company, 1612-1614, 1668-1800 (London: Society of Genealogists, 1996), 41; Tylers and Bricklayers Company, *Apprentice Bindings*, MS, Guildhall Library, London (FHL microfilm 994,353). I am grateful to John Titford, of Higham, Derbyshire, who referred me to the recent published abstract of this apprenticeship, which, in turn, led me to the original record.

marriage records of St. Dunstan's in Stepney, Middlesex (now part of Greater London), I discovered that a Thomas Inkersall married Margery Eaton in that parish and that they had a son baptized and buried there.

On 14 December 1620, Thomas Inkersall of Stepney, Middlesex, ropemaker, aged about 27 years, applied to the Bishop of London for a license to marry Margery Eaton of the same parish, maiden, aged about 17 years, the daughter of John Eaton of the same parish, ropemaker; John Taylor of St. Buttolph without Aldgate, London, carpenter, testified to John Eaton's consent for his daughter's marriage.<sup>[21]</sup> Thomas Inkersall of Limehouse, ropemaker, and Margery Eaton were married at St. Dunstan's, Stepney, on the following day, 15 December 1620.<sup>[22]</sup>

In addition to the marriage of Thomas Ingersoll, there are only two early Ingersoll entries in the parish register of St. Dunstan's:<sup>[23]</sup>

*Baptism*

12 Nov. 1624: John Ingersall, son of Thomas and Margery.

*Burial*

13 Dec. 1624: John, son of Thomas Ingerson of Poplar ropemaker.

John Eaton and Isabell Hudson were married at St. Dunstan's on 6 May 1593.<sup>[24]</sup> The baptisms of only two possible children for this couple were found on the microfilm of the parish register, which is often faint and sometimes illegible:<sup>[25]</sup>

17 March 1594[/5]: Thomas, son of John Eaton of Poplar.

28 Nov. 1604: Margaret, daughter of John Eaton of Shadwell, ropemaker.

This is probably not a complete record of this family, if indeed it is a single family group. No certain probate record was found for John Eaton.

St. Dunstan's was a large parish populated primarily by mariners and by tradesmen who made their living from supplying products for the sea trade. The hamlet of Poplar, which had its own chapel of ease, included the peninsula stretching into the Thames known enigmatically as the

Isle of Dogs, where tradition says that pirates were hanged. The Isle of Dogs was primarily an area of marsh and pasture when Thomas Ingersoll lived in Limehouse or Poplar. On one side of the peninsula was Limehouse Reach, and on the other was Blackwell Reach. The *Survey of London* indicates that there were ropehouses and walks in Poplar along the Blackwell Causeway

21. Marriages Allegations, Bishop of London, Book 7 (FHL microfilm 544,128).

22. Thomas Colyer Fergusson, ed., *The Marriage Registers of St. Dunstan's, Stepney, in the County of Middlesex*, 3 vols. (London, 1898-1901) [hereinafter *St. Dunstan's Marr. Regs.*], 1: 124.

23. Original St. Dunstan's parish registers (FHL microfilm 595,417); the film is very difficult to read.

24. *St. Dunstan's Marr. Regs* [note 22], 1: 29.

25. Original St. Dunstan's parish register.

when Ingersoll lived there and somewhat later (after about 1650) near the Limehouse Causeway.<sup>[26]</sup> Thomas Ingersoll doubtless lived in this area and plied his trade as a ropemaker.

Was Thomas Ingersoll of Derby the man of that name who married in Stepney? Although the evidence is not conclusive, it appears likely that he was. Names and chronology fit together well. A Thomas Inkersoll married Margery Eaton in Stepney in 1620, and they had a child named John baptized and buried there in 1624. No further record of this couple has been found in the London area, but a Thomas Inkersoll appeared in Derby in 1626, where his son John, who became the immigrant to New England, was baptized; in 1638, this Thomas's wife was named Margery.

Supporting the hypothesis that all these records refer to the same Thomas Inkersoll is the fact that the Derby man's son John was apprenticed in London. The only evidence against this hypothesis is that the Stepney man was a ropemaker and the Derby man was a shoemaker. Of course, changing professions was not unknown at this period. Paul Reed of Salt Lake City tells me that he has found an immigrant who was a ropemaker in England and a shoemaker in Pennsylvania, but it was more likely that a son would have a different profession from that of his father than that his father would change his own profession; John<sup>1</sup> Ingersoll, for example, was apprenticed as a tyler or bricklayer, while his father was a shoemaker.

I undertook an investigation of Thomas Dawes, to whom John<sup>1</sup> Ingersoll was apprenticed, to see whether he or his wife might have been related to the Ingersolls or the Eatons, but this search (which was not exhaustive) found little about Dawes except his own apprenticeship: as son of Thomas Dawes of Leicestershire, sievemaker, he was apprenticed to Richard Parker of the Tylers and Bricklayers Company on 24 June 1628.<sup>[27]</sup>

The London and Derby Thomas Ingersolls were literate, and it is useful to compare their signatures on the 1620 marriage license application and on the 1673 will (both are reproduced from Family History Library microfilms; the final two letters of the 1620 signature have been lost on the film)

1620

1673

26. *Survey of London*, vols. 43-44: *Poplar, Blackwall and the Isle of Dogs...*, ed. Stephen Porter (London: The Athlone Press, for the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, 1994), 43: 376 (map), 388; 44: 552.

27. Tylers and Bricklayers Company, *Apprentice Bindings* [note 20].

The two signatures appear superficially different, but they are quite compatible when we consider that they were executed fifty-three years apart. The T's and concluding s of Thomas, for example, are both made with two strokes. Compare also the upward loops on the I's of Inkersall and the letter k of the name.<sup>[28]</sup>

Despite the fact that I have not found conclusive proof, it seems likely that the Stepney records refer to the Derby family. John Titford of Higham, Derbyshire, has suggested to me that Thomas Ingersoll came from Derby to the London area to earn a living, as many have done throughout English history. He then returned to Derby around 1625, a time when the plague was heavy in London. If this hypothesis is correct, he must have changed professions when he returned to Derby, probably because ropemaking is often associated with ports, and there would have been less need for ropemakers in an inland borough.

#### SUMMARY

1. **JOHN<sup>B</sup> INGERSOLL/INKERSALL** was born say 1567, and he was buried at St. Werburgh s, Derby, Derbyshire, on 18 [August?] 1617. He married at St. Werburgh s, on 2 December 1592, **Rose (SALEY? TALEY?)**,<sup>[29]</sup> who was buried at St. Werburgh s on 1 August 1617.

John<sup>B</sup> Ingersoll's origin is unknown, although there were earlier Inkersalls in the borough of Derby who may have been related to him. The surname, at least in Derbyshire, may have originated from Inkersall, a location in Scarsdale Hundred. Kenneth Cameron suggests that the name may have been derived from Hynkere's Hill *Hynkere* is a nickname meaning the limper, the lame one.<sup>[30]</sup>

Possible child:

2. i. **THOMAS INGERSOLL/INKERSALL**, b. ca. 1593; m. **MARGERY EATON**.

2. **THOMAS INGERSOLL/INKERSALL** (John<sup>B</sup>?) was born probably in Derby, Derbyshire, about 1593. He was buried at St. Werburgh s, Derby, on 30 May 1681. If our hypothesis is correct, he married at St. Dunstan s, Stepney, Middlesex, on 15 December 1620, **MARGERY EATON**, daughter of John Eaton, ropemaker, of Stepney. She was baptized at St. Dunstan s on

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28. I am grateful to Paul C. Reed of Salt Lake City for his comments on the signatures.

29. I read the name as *Taley*; Phillimore, however, interprets it as *S[m]aley* (W. P. Phillimore, ed., *Derbyshire Parish Registers: Marriages*, 10 London. Phillimore, 1912]: 5).

30. Kenneth Cameron, *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*, 3 parts, English Place-Name Society, 27-29 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 2:302.

28 November 1604 (and was only 16 at her marriage, rather than about 17 ) and buried at St. Werburgh s on 26 December 1664.

It appears that Thomas Ingersoll moved from Derby to the Greater London area, where he became a ropemaker in Stepney. Around 1625, he returned to Derby, where he was a shoemaker and the town crier. A town crier was not the figure of legend who called out the hours throughout the night. He was instead a paid town official who made official announcements at specified times to a populace that was still largely illiterate. The Derby rental rolls include yearly payments by the borough; the rolls for 1677, 1677/8, 1680, and 1682 show that he was paid £2 12s a year for performing his duties.<sup>[31]</sup>

Thomas Inkersall of St. Werburgh paid 2s at the Free and Voluntary Present of 1661 (supposedly a voluntary gift on the restoration of Charles II after the Commonwealth period),<sup>[32]</sup> and he was assessed for one hearth, 1662-1670.<sup>[33]</sup>

He executed his will on 12 August 1673, when he was sickly and weak, but he recovered and continued to perform his duties as town crier. When he died in 1681, he was about 88 years old. His son, Samuel Ingersoll, succeeded him as town crier and may well have been performing the duties earlier.

The following assumes that he was the Thomas Ingersoll found in Stepney.

Children of Thomas and Margery (Eaton) Ingersoll/Inkersall:

- i. JOHN INGERSOLL, bp. at St. Dunstan s, Stepney, Middlesex, 12 Nov. 1624; bur. there 13 Dec. 1624.
- ii. JOHN INGERSOLL, bp. at St. Werburgh s, Derby, Derbyshire, [ ] Sept. 1626; d. at Westfield, Mass., 2 Sept. 1684; m. (1) ca. 1651, DOROTHY LORD, (2) 12 Dec. 1657, ABIGAIL BASCOM, (3) ca. 1667, MARY HUNT.
- iii. THOMAS INGERSOLL, bp. at St. Werburgh s, 14 April 1628; living in 1681, when his father was buried as Senior.
- iv. SARAH INGERSOLL, bp. at St. Alkmund s, Derby, 27 Feb. 1629[/30]; living in 1673 when she was mentioned in her father s will.
- v. HESTER INGERSOLL, bp. at St. Alkmund s, 30 Oct. 1631; not mentioned in her father s will.
- vi. ELIZABETH INGERSOLL, bp. at St. Werburgh s, [20?] Oct. 1633; not mentioned in her father s will.
- vii. SAMUEL INGERSOLL, bp. at St. Werburgh s, 14 Oct. 1638; m. CATHERINE \_\_\_\_\_; succeeded his father as town crier of Derby.

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31. Derby Rental Rolls, at the Derby Local Studies Library, Derby.

32. *Derbyshire Family History Society Publications*, 1992, supplied by John Titford.

33. David G. Edwards, ed., *Derbyshire Hearth Tax Assessments, 1662-70*, Derbyshire Record Society, 7 (Chesterfield, 1982): 90.

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