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I

THE REBUILDING OF SION

'The month hath produced happy things and this is a day of joy', wrote Bishop Duppa to Sir Justinian Isham on 8 May 1660: 'for the King so long laid aside, is now proclaimed the headstone of the corner. Never was there so miraculous a change as this, nor so great things done in so short a time. But *a Domino factum est istud*: no humane wisdom can claime a share in it.' The proclamation of Charles II in London on this day seemed indeed a miracle beyond human contrivance and comprehension. Less than two months earlier, on 27 March, only two days after the City of London had formally memorialised the Council of State to invite Charles to return, Duppa had confided to his correspondent that the spring of his hopes was not 'so forward but winds and frost may blast it; and the truth is, we have been so often deluded with expectation that all storms were over, that every sunshine is suspected by me'. Now, however, the dream which he had indulged himself, 'such as David mentions when God turn'd away the captivity of Sion', had come true;[1] and on 25 May the exiled sovereign landed on British soil. Twenty years of civil strife, ecclesiastical revolution, political interregnum and constitutional chaos was about to end; and the exiles, especially the clerical exiles, who made ready to return with joy and gladness to Sion, could have had little anticipation of the storms still to burst upon the restored church and crown. Yet within a quarter of a century the Stuart house was to be in exile again, whilst William of Orange and Mary ruled in its stead; within a further quarter of a century the reign of Anne was drawing to a close amid profound uncertainty as to the security of that Protestant succession prescribed in the Act of Settlement; and even when the second miracle of the peaceful accession of the House of Hanover had been accomplished, a considerable period of unsettlement and experiment followed before the new dynasty was firmly settled on the throne.

For the Church of England which shared in the Restoration, no less than for the Protestant Dissenters who found themselves

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[1] *The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham, 1650–1660*, ed. by Sir Giles Isham. Northamptonshire Record Society, vol. XVII (1956), pp. 180, 183.

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surprisingly excluded from its expected benefits, the period was one of parallel confusion and uncertainty. To the *Ecclesia Anglicana* indeed, to which it seemed in 1660 that its warfare was accomplished, there came the shock of the secret apostasy of Charles II and the open conversion to Rome of James II with the consequent threat to its position and its very existence; and this in turn was followed by the equally disturbing experience of adjustment to the parliamentary monarchy of the Revolution and its chill ecclesiastical climate. William Sancroft, who had been deprived of his Fellowship at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, during the Protectorate and had gone into exile on the continent, was again to be deprived at the Revolution of the archbishopric of Canterbury, a dramatic turn of fortune almost without peer in the long line of successors of St Augustine. Meantime the Protestant Dissenters had been tempted by the Declarations of Indulgence proffered successively by Charles and James II, rewarded for their firmness in refusing these seductions by a legal Toleration in 1689, and again abridged of their newly-won indulgence by the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts of the reign of Anne. Even more revolutionary were the changes in the intellectual and scientific climate, which affected profoundly religious thought and life during the latter half of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. 'The Restoration', as Gwatkin observed, 'is the most sudden change in English history since the Norman Conquest....The nation went into the Civil War Protestant indeed, but otherwise less changed from the middle ages than is often supposed; and from the uneasy dreamings of the Commonwealth it awoke almost modern.'[1] Furthermore, the ecclesiastical settlement of 1662, with the minor modifications in 1689, fixed the administrative, judicial, legislative and financial structure of the established church in a mould which was to last, both for ill and for good, until the sweeping reforms of the early Victorian age. In view of the variety of these kaleidoscopic changes and of their far-reaching influence upon English religious life, little apology is needed for the choice of the pregnant century from Sheldon to Secker as the theme of a series of lectures upon this foundation.

The exultation of churchmen at the turning of the captivity of Sion was tempered shortly by apprehension, not to say suspicion.

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[1] H. M. Gwatkin, *Church and State in England to the Death of Queen Anne* (1917), p. 346.

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From his retreat at Richmond, Duppa wrote anxiously to Gilbert Sheldon on 11 August 1660, voicing his fears for the ecclesiastical situation.

> What may be done now that the bishop of London [the aged Juxon] is arrived, (whose absence was the only honest apology we could have that nothing was done in behalf of the Church), I know not; but if nothing be, we have lost our excuse. You are the only person about his Majesty that I have confidence in, and I persuade myself that as none hath his ear more, so none is likely to prevail on his heart more; and there never was more need of it, for all the professed enemies of our Church look upon this as the critical time to use their *dernier ressort* to shake his Majesty's constancy. ...I shall wait upon you as soon as I hear that my coming may be in any way useful. In the meantime I am more at ease because I know you stand ready upon the place to lay hold upon all opportunities, and are diligently upon the watch *ne Ecclesia aliquid detrimenti capiat*.[1]

Dr Bosher has traced the tortuous diplomacy (not to say duplicity) by which Hyde and his clerical allies frustrated the hopes of the Presbyterians for a compromise ecclesiastical settlement by means of 'Comprehension'; and the reader may not withhold a tribute to the skill, if not the straightforwardness, of the Anglican strategy. The Presbyterians indeed were bluffed out of their senses by a series of apparently favourable portents and promises, whilst their adversaries were taking possession of the church by stealth. On the one side about ten or twelve prominent puritan divines were appointed royal chaplains, including Baxter, Manton, Bates, Calamy, Ashe and Reynolds, and were allowed to preach only, and not required to read the Liturgy; next, Presbyterian leaders were summoned to a meeting with Charles, at which they were invited to submit proposals for church government and liturgy, with the expectation that the episcopalian party would be required to do the same, and hints of preferment were judicially given; and finally the king's Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs of 25 October 1660, issued after conference at Worcester House, was speciously profuse in promises. After expressing satisfaction that the 'most able and principal assertors of the presbyterian opinions' were 'neither enemies...to episcopacy or liturgy, but modestly to desire such alterations in either as, without shaking foundations, might best allay the present distempers', Charles adumbrated projected changes. First, that only 'men of learning, virtue and piety' should be

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[1] Tanner MSS. 49, f. 17, cited in R. S. Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (1951), p. 173.

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appointed bishops, with charge to be frequent preachers throughout their dioceses; secondly that, because of the size of dioceses, suffragan bishops should be appointed 'in every diocese'; thirdly, that bishops and archdeacons should exercise their jurisdiction with the advice and assistance of a council of presbyters; fourthly, that cathedral preferments should be given to divines qualified so to assist the bishops, who should also have an equal number of elected presbyters associated with them in ordination and the exercise of jurisdiction; fifthly, that confirmation should be 'rightly and solemnly performed by the information and with the consent of the minister of the place'; sixthly, that no bishop should exercise any arbitrary power; seventhly, that 'an equal number of divines of both persuasions' should be appointed to review the Book of Common Prayer; and finally, that observance of the nocent ceremonies and the taking of the oath of canonical obedience should be waived for the time being until the revision of the Liturgy had been determined. Taken at its face value, the Declaration promised important concessions to the Presbyterians and reforms of the traditional system.

On the other side however, a Bill to give the Declaration the force of law was defeated in the House of Commons by 183 to 157 votes on November 28; and a month later on 24 December the Convention Parliament was dissolved. Meantime the personnel of cathedral chapters had been replenished with a view to the nomination of bishops to the vacant sees and their canonical election in accordance with the *congé d'élire*; so that by May 1661, Dr Bosher estimates, 'the re-establishment of the Church of England, was in all essentials, virtually complete'. With the dissolution of the Convention Parliament and after due evidence of the royalist triumph at the ensuing polls, it was thought safe and possible to allow elections to Convocation; and on 12 April 1661 the new archbishop of Canterbury, Juxon, issued his mandate to Bishop Sheldon of London for the summons of his Provincial Synod. When therefore the long-promised Savoy Conference met on 15 April, the situation was almost correspondent to that of the Hampton Court Conference in 1603. The Episcopalians were once more in possession, and the Presbyterians on the defensive. The debates were not so much designed to offer concessions by which the latter might be induced to conform, as to assert the soundness of the episcopalian platform. 'A meeting at the Savoy', wrote the historian of Nonconformity, 'between divines of the two schools in the spring of 1660, would have been different

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from such a meeting in the spring of 1661. Something at least like equal terms might have been secured at the former date, but it is plain that afterwards the men of Geneva stood no chance with those of Canterbury. Episcopacy and the Liturgy were in possession.'[1] The revision of the Liturgy therefore was the work of Convocation, not of the Savoy Conference, and was confirmed by Parliament. It is necessary briefly to consider the nature of the ecclesiastical settlement thus carried into effect.

Like the settlement in the state, that of the church was stamped by the increasing authority of Parliament. The High Commission Court was abolished and branded as illegal; the Canons of 1640, which had been passed by Convocation after the dissolution of the Short Parliament, were formally disallowed by statute; the use of the *ex-officio* oath, which had been a subject of contention since the primacy of Whitgift, was abandoned in the restored ecclesiastical courts; whilst even the ultra-loyal Commons of the Cavalier Parliament, in accepting without discussion the revision of the Prayer Book proposed by the Convocations, did so by the narrow margin of 96 to 90 votes and with an expressly-recorded reservation of their right to debate them if they had so desired. Furthermore, whereas the Elizabethan act of 1571 (13 Eliz. I, cap. 12) had required subscription only to the doctrinal articles of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, the clergy were required henceforth to subscribe them in their entirety; and a promise of remarkable stringency was also required of them by the Act of Uniformity of 1662, in respect of the Book of Common Prayer, whereby they had to declare their 'unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by' the said book. Finally, the same Act not only decreed that all persons not episcopally ordained by St Bartholomew's Day, 1662, should be disqualified to hold any ecclesiastical promotion, but further prohibited any one not so ordained from presuming to 'consecrate and administer the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper', thereby closing the loopholes through which before the civil wars ministers who had received presbyterian ordination abroad in the foreign Reformed churches or in the Church of Scotland, had been permitted to officiate in the Church of England and to receive institution to benefices with cure of souls. This stringency was the consequence, as Burnet averred, of the fact

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[1] J. Stoughton, *The Church of the Restoration* (1911) (vol. III of *A History of Religion in England*), p. 160.

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that 'the late war and the disputes during that time had raised these controversies higher, and brought men to stricter notions and to maintain them with more fierceness'.[1] The effect of this new temper was seen forthwith in the procedure adopted for the consecration of bishops for the Church of Scotland, to which the Restoration brought a return of episcopacy. For whereas at the consecrations in 1610 the Scottish divines had not been required first to receive episcopal ordination as deacon and priest, in 1661 two of their number who had not been episcopally ordained were privately ordained to the diaconate and priesthood before the public consecration of the entire company of four to the episcopate. In regard to the revision of the Book of Common Prayer itself, perhaps the most important characteristics were the abandonment of the 'Durham Book', a revision made by certain bishops meeting at the London residence of Bishop Matthew Wren of Ely and laid before the Lower House of Convocation, which would have brought the Order of Holy Communion much nearer to the form of the first Edwardine Prayer Book of 1549, and the resolution to make only minor, though numerous, changes in the existing rites.[2] Thereby at any rate the position of those puritan clergy already episcopally ordained or willing so to be, was not made more difficult, as would have been the case if the alternative proposals had been adopted.

Such being the framework of the ecclesiastical settlement, its operation would depend principally on the episcopate, and the personnel of the restored bench became therefore a consideration of primary importance. Apart from the advancement of Juxon to Canterbury, of Frewen to York, of Duppa to Winchester and the nomination of Sheldon to London, the chief promotions went to the returned clerical exiles, notably Morley, Cosin, Earle, and Laney—to be followed in the next decade by Carleton, Creighton and Mews. The passing-over of those bishops who had stayed behind in England was observed both by themselves and by contemporaries, nor did it pass without comment. Bishop Warner of Rochester sent to Sheldon on 12 September 1660 'a true narration of somewhat which you may have forgot and of somewhat more which perchance you never heard', namely the extent of his own services to church

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[1] G. Burnet, *A History of My Own Time*, vol. I, p. 237 (6 vols. 1823).

[2] G. J. Cuming, 'The Making of the Durham Book' and 'The Prayer Book in Convocation, 1661', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. VI, pt 1, pp. 60–72; vol. VIII, pt 2, pp. 182–92.

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and king during the late troubles. It was a comprehensive and impressive catalogue, beginning with a sermon preached in the second year of Charles I's reign in Passion week on the text from St Matthew xxi. 28 (When they saw him, they said among themselves, 'This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and seize on his inheritance'), which 'was a full and clear prophecy of that most excellent king and glorious martyr's death, the hearing whereof at that time when preached, so startled some Lords and Commons that they earnestly moved that I might be hanged at Whitehall gate'. The rest of his record was consonant with this exordium. Warner had accompanied Charles I as chaplain on his visit to Scotland, advanced His Majesty a loan of £1500 when the Scots invaded England in 1639, attended him at his Council at York in the following year, and defended the rights of Crown and episcopacy in the Long Parliament, risking a *praemunire* in respect of the Canons of 1640. During the Civil War he had refused to pay any taxes to the Parliament, for which he was deprived of all his estate, both ecclesiastical and temporal; also he had fled into Wales for three years to avoid capture after publishing a sermon 'against the most devilish act of murdering the king', and finally for refusal to take 'their wicked oath and engagements I and no bishop else was three times banished from the place of my abode', and 'I and no bishop else was forced to pay the tenth part of my estate, real and personal'. If such had been his services to the king, not less were those rendered to the church. 'In these later times whether I lived in my house or sojourned, I read the prayers of the Church morning and evening, preached weekly, Sacrament monthly, confirmed publicly and privately in orthodox congregations.' As works of supererogation he had given £100 to Charles II in exile, in addition to divers charities to his college of St Mary Magdalen; and in summary he affirmed:

> So far as I can learn, there is not a clergyman living who hath done or suffered (to put them together) more for the king, the church and the poor clergy than I have; neither can any be more ready and willing to do and suffer the like again, when justly called. Reverend Sir, if you ask me why I write all this, and why to you, know, I pray, that you may be pleased to witness for me, that though I am utterly forgotten in all, yet that I have not forgot in any kind to discharge the part of a true and loyal subject to my sovereign lord, nor of a dutiful son to my holy mother, the Church.[1]

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[1] Tanner MSS. 49, f. 23.

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Notwithstanding all which, he died still without translation in 1666, having, as George Davenport remarked, 'lived long bishop of Rochester and scarce any bishop died in that see since John Fisher'.[1]

A similar plea was sent to Sheldon by Bishop Skinner of Oxford on 17 August 1662, to the effect that

> a word sticks with me (I must be plain with your lordship) which my brother of Bangor told me, which makes me fear I may suffer wherein I least imagined and wherein I least deserved. For he told me that my lord high Chancellor was pleased to say that the ancient bishops were not removed because they did not (as they were bound in duty) relieve their mother the Church when she stood in most need in point of ordination; wherein if I failed, it had been just and fit not only to have taken from me the support of my bishopric, but even bishopric and all. The truth is, I ordained priests to the number of betwixt 4 and 500 from the time we were prohibited by their sacrilegious ordinance to the time of his majesty's blessed restoration; and not one of them all but subscribed to the Articles and took the oath of allegiance, even in the days when upon discovery I should have had my books and my bed taken from me, having little else left me. Nay, but I will tell your lordship more. Dr Lamplugh in those dismal days rid not fewer than 300 journeys between Oxford and Launton for the work of confirmation and ordination; so that all this, I hope, will quit me of neglect in point of ordination. Cornwall and York and all foreign countries as well as the nearer will witness for me. And for preaching I never failed one Sunday for fifteen years together.[2]

Skinner likewise died in his little bishopric, for the offence of not having taken steps to ensure the apostolic succession during the Interregnum by consecrating bishops in England. Hyde had been especially exasperated by this neglect for which he held Skinner chiefly responsible; though Duppa paid no penalty for his parallel quiescence, in his resolve to 'secure myself the same way as the tortoise doth by not going out of my shell'.[3]

For the second time in its history therefore the bench was replenished from the ranks of exiles. But whereas the Germanical exiles of the reign of Elizabeth I were favourers of the puritan clergy, the Gallican exiles of Charles II were determined to be revenged upon those Presbyterians who had pulled down the walls and bulwarks of Sion. Moreover, the Caroline episcopate has evoked an unusual string of superlatives from Gwatkin.

> The episcopate never stood higher than in the time of Charles II. The nine survivors of Laudian times include Juxon, Wren and Duppa; but

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[1] Tanner MSS. 45, f. 116.

[2] *Ibid.* 48, f. 25, cited in part by Bosher, *Restoration Settlement*, p. 125, n. 2.

[3] Isham, *Duppa-Isham Correspondence*, p. 52.

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> their successors are a brilliant group. Learning was represented by Cosin and Sanderson, Morley, Pearson, Gunning, and Jeremy Taylor in Ireland. Sheldon also had a name for learning in his younger days in Falkland's circle at Great Tew. To these we must add the future Nonjurors, Sancroft, Ken and Frampton. For secular learning stood the astronomer Seth Ward, who nearly anticipated Newton's discovery of gravity and was further an accomplished lawyer. Then there was the universal scholar, John Wilkins who was not refused preferment for having married Cromwell's sister, and, with Sprat of Rochester, was no purely honorary member of the Royal Society....The bench has never been more fully adorned with splendid examples of learning, of courage, of princely munificence, of true devotion.[1]

Certainly it was no monochrome episcopal college which included prelates of the theological outlook of Reynolds, Wilkins and Croft; nor such martial, ex-service bishops as Dolben, Compton, and Mews.

The Fathers of the church would assuredly have need of all these excellencies if they were to rebuild the Sion to which they now returned. For, like the Jerusalem of Nehemiah and his companions, it had suffered sore dilapidation during the Oliverian times. Bishop Sanderson's visitation of the archdeaconry of Buckingham in July 1662 presented a typical picture of the desolation to be remedied. Thirty-seven parish churches were 'out of repair', and in a score more the chancels were in need of reparation, virtually all the churches had no surplice, thirty-four had no Common Prayer Book, nine had no Communion cup and ten no carpet to cover the Holy Table.[2] Similar conditions were found to prevail in the dioceses of Exeter and Salisbury, in the latter of which Bishop Henchman's primary visitation in 1662 showed that 'the material deficiencies to be made up, or repairs to be undertaken were considerable', particularly in respect of surplices, furnishings for the Holy Table and proper Communion Vessels;[3] whilst further corroborating testimony came from the north-east, where Archdeacon Basire had returned from travels in the Middle East to find in Northumberland the 'fabrics of many churches and chapels altogether ruinous and in great decay, and cannot be gotten repaired without visitations. Besides, in many churches there be neither Bibles, Books of Common Prayer, surplices, fonts, Communion Tables, nor anything that is

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[1] Gwatkin, *Church and State*, pp. 380–1.

[2] E. R. C. Brinkworth (ed.), *Episcopal Visitation Book for the Archdeaconry of Buckingham* (Buckinghamshire Record Society, 1947).

[3] Anne Whiteman, 'The Church of England 1542–1837', in *Victoria County History of Wiltshire*, vol. III, p. 44.

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necessary for the service of God'.[1] Little wonder that Bishop Cosin hastened to his diocese of Durham, leaving London at the beginning of August 1660 to spend the summer holding ordinations, confirmations and synods of his clergy at Newcastle and Durham, before returning to the capital in November for the meeting of the Convention Parliament. Even greater dilapidation had fallen upon many cathedrals, whose fabric had suffered grievously during the suppression of their capitular foundations. Lichfield was almost in ruins, and the correspondence of Bishop Hacket with Sheldon reveals the indomitable courage and vigour with which the new bishop undertook the task of rebuilding; Worcester and Hereford were sorely battered; Exeter had seen an interior wall constructed to provide separate meeting places for Presbyterians and Independents; whilst at St Paul's the choir had been used for stabling Oliverian cavalry and at St Asaph the postmaster had stabled horses and oxen in the nave.

But grievous though the condition of churches may have been, still worse was the spiritual desolation of the people. For a score of years the Anglican Liturgy had been proscribed, episcopacy abolished and an end made of the traditional system of ecclesiastical administration and justice as executed by visitations and the ecclesiastical courts. To recover this leeway, attention must first be given to the personnel of the ministry. Mr A. G. Matthews' detailed investigations in *Calamy Revised* estimate that the Restoration settlement accounted for 1760 ejections of ministers in forty-one English counties, to which must be added 149 from the universities and schools, but of whom 171 later conformed.[2] The bishops accordingly held ordinations on a scale reminiscent of the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth I, as they hastened to replenish the depleted ranks of the ministry. Cosin held his first ordination at Michaelmas 1660, Gauden of Exeter on 13 January 1661, Sanderson of Lincoln on the very day of his own consecration, 28 October 1660; and Dr Whiteman's researches have shown the large numbers admitted to holy orders. Thus Gauden ordained ninety candidates between January 1661 and February 1662 and his successor in the see of Exeter, Seth Ward, eighty-four more by the end of 1663. Miss Whiteman has remarked further the natural consequence of the urgency of the times in the number of ordinations held *extra tempora* and the

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[1] *Remains of Dennis Granville* (Surtees Society, 1861), p. 251.

[2] A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (1934), pp. xii–xiii.