
A table of contents for *The Churchman* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_churchman_os.php

INTERREGNUM ORDINATIONS.

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THE Long Parliament passed an Act in January, 1642–3, declaring Episcopacy abolished. This, with the subsequent imposition of the "Solemn League and Covenant," is sometimes taken to imply that all clergy ordained by bishops were ejected, and replaced by others in presbyterian orders or not ordained at all. This is a wild mistake. Perhaps in all parts except London the majority of clergy kept their livings, though in some few counties the number sequestered was close on fifty per cent. Those thus remaining might or might not be decided Puritans, but in any case they had all been ordained by bishops; the leading Puritans were themselves in the same position. There was no repudiation or rejection of orders received from bishops; any scruple might be met by the remembrance that others had joined with the bishop in the laying on of hands when they were ordained presbyters. The changes had to do with the present and future; they were not retrospective.

The places of the sequestered clergy were filled up in the first place largely by "plundered ministers"—Puritans driven out from the districts where the Royalists had the upper hand. They were, however, to a large extent, also filled by clergy from poorer livings, or by unbeneficed clergy, curates and lecturers; it must have been a good time for such.

But the question of the supply of new ministers soon became urgent. In the matter of ordination, as in others, it was easier to abolish the old system than to agree on a new one. The Westminster Assembly of Divines had no easy course to steer between the ideas of the Scotch delegates on the one hand and those of the Independents (the "Dissenting Brethren") on the other. Both these groups, though small in number, had great influence in the Assembly because of their backing outside it. And Parliament itself occasionally impressed on the Assembly that its place was to advise, not to determine.

The Assembly began to discuss Ordination in January, 1643–4. It was pressed to hasten the matter by the House of Lords, especially by the Earl of Warwick, who wanted chaplains for the Navy, and the Earl of Manchester, who wanted them for the Eastern Association. The laymen wanted some practical arrangement; the divines sought first to settle the principles of the ministry in the light of Scripture, especially the New Testament. After considerable negotiations between the Assembly and Parliament, an Ordinance was passed in October, 1644, authorizing twenty-three ministers in London to ordain; next month a similar Ordinance was passed for Lancashire. On November 29, 1644, the first ordination "according to the new platform" was held at St. Lawrence's,

London. Lightfoot says that so many ministers were there that it was very late before the Assembly could get a quorum. We have incidental notices of other ordinations—on December 18, when one of those ordained by seven ministers was Samuel Annesley (the maternal grandfather of John Wesley) as chaplain to the ship "Globe," under the Earl of Warwick; on June 20, 1645, when eight were ordained at St. Magnus, near London Bridge; also on September 18, 1645.

Towards the end of 1645 it was agreed to set up "Classes" or Presbyteries (of ministers and ruling elders) everywhere in the country; the ministers of each Classis should have power to examine and ordain. But though many county committees sent in lists of nominations in the early part of 1646, only London and Lancashire were then settled; the rest had to wait till 1648, when the Presbyterian power was already breaking, as the Army came to prevail over the Parliament. Hence Classes were set up only here and there.

All this delay meant that would-be ministers, especially in the country, had either to anticipate or dispense with ordination, or to receive it from bishops. The Assembly, though not without some opposition, allowed probationers. A man had to be approved by the people of the parish for which he was to be ordained; this meant some preliminary trial before ordination, which might be long delayed. E.g., Henry Havers was in charge of Ongar in Essex from 1645 at least; he was not ordained till appointed to Stambourne in the same county in 1651. Henry Esday, M.A., Peterhouse, Cambridge, was ordained in November, 1649, by the Fourth Classis of London, as assistant to Richard Babington of Ingrave, Essex. But he had clearly been there already for a number of months, as he signed the "Essex Watchmen's Watchword" in February, 1648–9, as Minister of Ingrave.

We find, however, some bishops continuing to ordain during the War. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, held ordinations at the regular seasons with usually six or eight candidates, down to March, 1644, the time when the Solemn League and Covenant, with its repudiation of prelacy, was being pressed throughout the country. From this date he ordains only by ones and twos, down to September. But he held a large ordination on September 22, conferring priest's orders on some who had either just been ordained deacons or had been so ordained the day before. It was probably the indignation roused by *this* ordination which led to his ejection from his palace at Norwich. No more ordinations are entered in his register, and I have found no more notices of men ordained by him till 1648.

Thomas Winniffe, Bishop of Lincoln, was meanwhile ordaining freely at Buckden, near Huntingdon. His known ordinations extend through 1644 and 1645 to September 1646, when he finally left Buckden. He ordained no more, though living for nearly another eight years. In the early part of 1646 two men recently ordained by him presented themselves to the Westminster Assembly

for approval upon their appointment to some parish. On March 4 the Assembly voted that Mr. Rastall, so ordained, should have his certificate. On May 14 it was ordered that Mr. Sprigge should be examined, but that the chairman of the committee should testify the dislike of the Assembly of his act in going to the bishop for ordination. So long as the new system was not thoroughly set up, there was something to be said for continuing the old temporarily. The only alternative at the time was to come up to London and be ordained there. This was in some cases enjoined later, where the county was not thoroughly organized; e.g., in June, 1647, Samuel Crossman was recommended to the Assembly for Minister at Dalham, Suffolk; he was referred to the Seventh Classical Presbytery of London to be ordained about a month hence. He was subsequently Minister of Sudbury, Suffolk, for some ten years; he refused to conform in 1662, and was one of the first to be imprisoned for preaching. But he afterwards conformed, and died Dean of Bristol. He is best known as the author of the hymn, "Jerusalem on high."

London, from Knightsbridge to Stepney, and from Islington to Rotherhithe and Newington Butts, was divided into twelve Classes, of which at least nine were at some time or other in working order. For their limits, see Shaw, *The English Church under the Long Parliament and Commonwealth*, to which book this article is greatly indebted.

From 1648 these Classes took it in turns to ordain, since the Provincial Assembly recognized that for some time at least there would be many candidates from counties where the system was not yet set up. We have the Minute book of the Fourth Classis, comprising fourteen parishes from Cornhill to London Bridge. (Of these only five churches now remain—St. Magnus, St. Mary-at-Hill, St. Clement's, Eastcheap, St. Peter's, Cornhill, St. Michael's, Cornhill. Five were never rebuilt after the Great Fire; four have been demolished within living memory.) This Classis held its first ordination in 1647, and had seven more down to 1659, ordaining about eighty-two men in all. Probably this hardly represents more than one-tenth of the ministers actually ordained in London. Men came from half the counties of England; this of itself tells us that Classical Presbyteries had been set up only very partially.

The preliminaries to ordination were carefully laid down by the Assembly and by Parliament. A good example is the first man ordained by this Classis, whose certificates are given in full. Joseph Crab, B.A., brought (1) a certificate of having taken the Covenant; (2) of his degree in the University, soundness in the faith and holy conversation; (3) of his age. This came from Sir William Waller: "Gentlemen, the experience I have had of the bearer, Mr. Joseph Crab, assures me that he is both pious and orthodox, and I verilie believe him to be above twenty-five years of age." (4) of his call to Beaminster, Dorset. The living had been sequestered from Dr. Goodwin; Mr. Terry who had replaced him was now gone into the West. Crab produced the invitation of the people, with thirty-

two signatures, and an order from the Standing Committee of Dorset. (5) that he had presented himself to the Seventh Classis, and had been examined by them of the work of grace in his heart, of his calling to the ministry, and of his skill in the tongues. He was then examined by the ministers of the Fourth Classis in his knowledge and skill in logic, philosophy, and other learning, and had a thesis given him, "An liceat Christianis bella gerere?" ("Is it lawful for Christians to wage wars?") to frame a discourse in Latin thereupon, and bring it to the ministers; and to preach next Sabbath for Mr. Wall (St. Michael's, Cornhill). The ordination took place on April 20, 1647, at St. Mary-at-Hill. Seven ministers took part; sixteen were ordained. One special case has been misunderstood. William Blackmore of St. Peter's, Cornhill (at first in charge of the sequestration, in succession to Thomas Coleman, and then, on the death of Fairfax, the sequestered Rector, succeeding him as Rector), was one of the most influential members of this Classis. He had been ordained deacon by Bishop Prideaux of Worcester, but not priest. It was a somewhat difficult question, in what position he and others like him stood. The general view of the Assembly was that such, not having been ordained presbyters, should now be ordained as such; but Manton and others disagreed, regarding the division into two orders to be only arbitrary. But Blackmore was ordained at this ordination as being previously "not fully in orders." His presbyterian ordination has been taken to be a repudiation of his previous one; but it was nothing of the kind, but simply adding the presbyterate to the diaconate.

We learn something of the history and character of Crab from Calamy. He was "a man of good parts and learning, of a ready invention, and very facetious and pleasant in conversation." After continuing some time a Nonconformist, he accepted the living of Axminster in Devon, and held it till his death at the age of eighty. "Though he was in the Established Church, yet in his principles and way of preaching and praying he so resembled the non-conforming ministers that he was still looked upon as one of them. He visited some of his ejected brethren, when persecuted and imprisoned, sheltered and did good offices to others, and showed on all occasions that his heart was with them."

One of the objects of the Voluntary Associations, formed in Worcestershire under Baxter's influence, also in Cumberland, Cambridgeshire, Essex, and other counties, from 1653 onwards, was to provide for ordinations. It was no part of the duty of the Triers to inquire whether or how a man was ordained; they were concerned only with his godliness and his gifts. Classes having been established only here and there in the country, there was elsewhere no means of regular ordination except after a long journey to London or elsewhere, and then at the hands of strangers. One suspects a fair number of clergy never got beyond the position of probationers.

But many still sought ordination from bishops, and this seems to have increased as time went on. The last years of the Presbyterian ascendancy (1646–1648) were the worst in this respect, and

there were apparently more ordinations in the latter part of the "fifties" than in the earlier. We naturally read especially of those cases where those ordained afterwards gained high rank in the church; but there were many other cases. One great but little-used source of information here is the Restoration Visitation Books. These sometimes give the date of ordination of each of the clergy attending, and the name of the Bishop who ordained him. This is notably the case with the records of the Visitation of the Bishop of Norwich, 1662, and that of the Bishop of London, 1664 (though unfortunately in the latter the information is only occasionally given as regards South Essex). Of course many of the clergy had been ordained before the Troubles, and many since the Restoration, whether these had previously been in Presbyterian orders or not; but there are records of many ordained under the Commonwealth. What follows is based upon these two records; those of other dioceses would add largely, and probably alter the proportion.

We saw that Bishop Hall of Norwich seems to have ceased ordaining at the end of 1644. But in 1648, when the Presbyterian power was broken, he begins again. We have the names of over fifty men, still at work in these two dioceses after the Restoration, ordained by him from 1648 till his death in 1656. They were ordained in his house, which still stands at Heigham, now part of Norwich.

Next in order comes Ralph Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, who is responsible for thirty; he seems to have been specially in request among East Anglians after Hall's death; he himself died in 1659. He had been very acceptable to the Puritans before the Troubles, and was nominated to the Westminster Assembly, but sent excuse for non-attendance. Other English diocesan bishops mentioned in these books as ordaining are: Brian Duppa of Salisbury (9), Henry King of Chichester (4), Robert Skinner of Oxford (4). We should probably find many more if we had those ordained in these prelates' own dioceses, or further west.

Most books, however, overlook the many ordained by Hall and Brownrigg, and quite ignore the number ordained by Irish bishops. The Bishops of Down and of Cloyne are responsible for a few. Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Kilmore, is known to have ordained nineteen in these two dioceses between 1648 and 1651, when he returned to Ireland. But the largest figures come from Thomas Fulwar or Fuller, Bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe (County Kerry). Son of an Essex clergyman, he was wild in his youth and disinherited by his father. Going over to Ireland, apparently the equivalent of going out to the Colonies now, he found himself under "the happy necessity of being sober and industrious." He eventually obtained the above bishopric, but was driven out by the terrible rebellion of 1641, which Cromwell did his best to avenge. He returned to Ireland at the end of 1660, as Archbishop of Cashel, after having been greatly in request for ordinations in the early days of the Restoration. He ordained about forty men in these two English dioceses alone, from 1647 to March 1660. Among

them is John Lake, Rector of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, in 1664, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, one of the Seven Bishops; he was ordained October 19, 1647.

It must not be assumed that such clergy used the Prayer-Book regularly. Whatever chaplains might do, those who held livings would, as a rule, conform to the general practice of the time. Thus Daniel Mills, ordained by Brownrigg March 11, 1655–6, became Rector of St. Olave's, Hart Street, London, early in 1658; but it was not till after the King was restored that he began, in the words of a regular member of his congregation, Samuel Pepys, to "nibble" at the Prayer-Book. Symon Patrick, afterwards Bishop of Ely, ordained by Hall in 1654, did not start it at Battersea till about the same time, and then only after preaching sermons on the advantages of a form of prayer.

He gives the following account of his ordinations. He was Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge. "I had occasion to go to London, and being bound by the statutes of the College to enter into Holy Orders when I was two years Master of Arts, I knew no better than to go to a Classis of Presbyterians, who then sat, and was examined by them and afterwards received the imposition of their hands. This afterwards troubled me very much, when not long after I met with Dr. Hammond upon Ignatius' epistles, and Mr. Thorndike's Primitive Government of the Church, whereby I was fully convinced of the necessity of episcopal ordination. This made me inquire after a bishop to whom I might resort; and hearing that Bishop Hall lived not far from Norwich, of which he was Bishop, thither I went with two other fellows of our College, and a gentleman, Mr. Gore, with whom I had contracted a great friendship, as a companion and witness of what we did. There we were received with great kindness by that reverend old Bishop, who examined us and gave us many good exhortations, and ordained us in his own parlour at Heigham about a mile from Norwich, April 5, 1654."

This date is confirmed by the London Visitation Book, 1664, where Patrick is down as Rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. From this source we also learn that one of those ordained with him was James Spering, then (1664) Rector of St. Martin Vintry.

With this we may compare Nelson's account of the ordination of George Bull, afterwards Bishop of St. David's. "He had read enough to convince him that mere presbyters had no power to give him commission to exercise the sacred function, especially when the plausible plea of necessity could not be urged. . . . He sought out for an unexceptionable hand, that his mission might be valid. . . . He betook himself to Dr. Skinner, the ejected Bishop of Oxford, by whom he was ordained deacon and priest on one day. This suffering prelate had the courage, even in those times of usurpation, to send many labourers into the Lord's vineyard, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, when the exercising this his power was made penal. . . . Though he was ready to ordain Mr. Bull, yet he refused to give him or any others

letters of Orders under his own hand and seal" [for fear that ill-use might be made of them, if they fell into wrong hands; but promised to send them to him when the ancient apostolical government of the Church should be restored, which he accordingly did at the Restoration].

The continuity of the English Church through this period is as important as its continuity at the Reformation. And the main line of this continuity runs not so much through the Bishops, nor through the clergy who adhered strictly to the Prayer Book, whether in exile or in chaplaincies and conventicles at home, as through the much larger number who conformed more or less to Puritan requirements in 1644 and the following years, and to Restoration requirements in 1662. It is common—and cheap—to stigmatize all these as "Vicars of Bray"—mere time-servers. This is no doubt true of some, but it is grossly unfair to others. Sweeping statements which would condemn e.g. Sanderson, Hacket, and Fuller, on the one side, or Reynolds, Wilkins, Lightfoot, and the Cambridge Platonists on the other, are self-condemned. The position of such men was largely this: they felt themselves called to the ministry; would they exercise that ministry publicly, though under restrictions which they did not like, or exercise it only in private, or in secret, or not at all? Fuller deals with the question in Chapter XIV of the Introduction to his *Appeal of Injured Innocence*. One may respect the stalwarts, yet have one's sympathies with the conformists on both sides.

Canon Carnegie's *Anglicanism* (Putnam, 7*s*; 6*d*.) is intended to be "An Introduction to its History and Philosophy." It is written from quite a conventional standpoint, and represents a current view of the English Church as combining Protestantism and Catholicism in a state of somewhat unstable equilibrium. There is the familiar disparagement of the Evangelical Movement as lacking in learning and as over-estimating the emotional element in the religious life. There is the familiar laudation of the Tractarian Movement as rescuing the Church from the depths of deadly stagnation and spiritual lifelessness. He conveniently ignores the criticism that it lies quite apart from the main current of English thought in the nineteenth century. He holds an exaggerated view of Newman as "one of the greatest intellectual and religious geniuses the English race has produced." His severest condemnation is reserved for Modernism, and he regards Traditionalism as the special mark of the English Church, though it is a Traditionalism not according to the generally accepted meaning of that term.