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EDITORIAL

Commemorating the past is rarely, if ever, a simple matter of recalling the events, characters, movements (and so on) of yesteryear. Remembering includes interpretation, which might highlight what really happened and what was most significant (and that is undoubtedly the historian's aim), but it will almost certainly reveal other factors which figure in the historian's own experience (something of which we are not always aware). This might be a matter of personal preference or conviction, though advocates of "social memory" have argued fairly persuasively that our memories are constructed, at least partly, by the norms and expectations of the community (or, better, communities) to which we belong. At the very least this should lead us to examine our acts of commemoration and what motivates us to remember, as well as the details of history itself.

The commemoration in 2012 of the 350th anniversary of the 1662 Great Ejectment affords – and should afford – the opportunity to explore some of this, and the articles in this *Journal* do so. Stephen Orchard gives an account of the events which occurred between the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 and St Bartholomew's Day 1662, based on a volume of documents published in 1862 to commemorate the bi-centenary of the Great Ejectment. That latter point inevitably colours the content of the volume. David Thompson's article – which was delivered as the History Society's Annual Lecture at Highgate Chapel, London, on 22 September 2013 – examines the way in which memories of 1662 developed over time. He also offers some astute comments on commemorating anniversaries (itself a relatively recent phenomenon) and what motivates our commemoration (our recalling, noting and celebrating) of the past. In David Peel's article we read a theologian's reflection on what was left unfinished in 1662 and what appears to be a matter for resolution in our day, bringing together the attempt to be honest about the past, the recognition of personal formation, and the hope that both can inform current debates. Malcolm Lovibond's article reminds us that, during the Commonwealth period, the Church of England was a Reformed Church and that in many ways it was a quirk of history that it did not persevere with this form, but was episcopally refashioned (and it was *refashioned* rather than *restored*) in 1662. In each case, events are remembered, remembering itself comes in for scrutiny and questions are posed about how our constructions of the past affect the present. I am grateful to each author for their contribution and for the analysis – and the challenges – each one contains.

In this issue, we welcome back John H. Y. Briggs as a reviewer.

Note: The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London marks the bicentenary of the birth of Dr David Livingstone with an exhibition of historic material in its Brunei Gallery from 22 October 2013 to 22 March 2014.

FROM 1660-1662: A STORY OF DISAPPOINTED HOPES

Victorian historians of all kinds thrived on the publication of collections of original documents. The Central United Bartholomew Committee of 1862 marked the bi-centenary of the Great Ejectment by publishing *Documents relating to the Settlement of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity of 1662*.[1] The editors acknowledged their debt to the collections of papers relating to the Church of England edited by Wilkins and Cardwell and drew extensively on the *Reliquiae Baxterianae* of Sylvester. Beginning with the text of the Declaration of Breda made by Charles II in April 1660 they followed the negotiations which preceded the Act of 1662 and included the texts of the penal Acts which comprised the "Clarendon Code" and ended with the "Toleration Act" of 1689. The text would benefit from review in the light of subsequent scholarship and particularly the work now going into a new edition of Baxter. However, for practical purposes the volume, now rare,[2] serves as an introduction to the events which led to the Great Ejectment, which deserve attention, since so much history has concentrated on that event and the subsequent persecution of Nonconformists. Its only deficiency is in its starting point, since events before 1660 influenced the attitudes of Charles, the restored bishops, the Presbyterians and the Independents, who all had parts to play in the negotiations immediately after the Restoration.

From a Royalist viewpoint Charles II succeeded to the throne from the moment his father's head was held aloft by the executioner in Whitehall in 1649. It was one thing to be the living heir but quite another thing to enter into the estate. Strictly speaking Charles succeeded to at least two thrones, those of England and Scotland. It was in Scotland that he saw his best hopes of restoring his fortunes. Scottish Presbyterians were content with monarchy so long as it upheld the Presbyterian order of the Church of Scotland and were distrustful of Cromwell, who refused to give English Presbyterians their head, but retained sympathy for the Independents, of whom there were many in the army. Charles met with Scottish representatives in Breda in 1650 to negotiate his return to power in Scotland. They asked him to sign the Solemn League and Covenant, to guarantee a Presbyterian Church of Scotland, to adopt Presbyterian practices in his own chapel and to undertake to impose a Presbyterian settlement on the Church of England. None of this was congenial to Charles's own wishes and he prolonged the negotiations with a view to conceding as little as possible. In the end he agreed to sign the Oath of the Covenant and conceded the demands

1 George Gould, with an historical introduction by Peter Bayne (ed.), *Documents relating to the Settlement of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity of 1662* (London: W. Kent & Co., 1862). Subsequent page references can be found in parentheses in the text.

2 While rare in print, the book can be viewed on-line where a number of libraries have digitalised old and rare books. It can, for example, be viewed through the following link: http://archive.org/stream/documentsrelatin00bayniala#page/n3/mode/2up (accessed 23 June 2013).

relating to the Church of Scotland but refused to commit himself on English questions. So concluded the Treaty of Breda of 1650 and an expeditionary force was sent to Scotland to prepare for Charles's return. It was defeated by English parliamentary troops and the leaders were executed. Charles still made his way to Scotland, to all outside observers a virtual prisoner of the Kirk. He was kept at Falkland Palace, where a programme of indoctrination in Presbyterian ways and thought was begun. There was to be no hunting, cards or dances; it was reported that on one Sunday no less than six sermons were preached to him. Charles endured all this as his best hope of reclaiming the English throne. Following his coronation as King of the Scots at Scone on New Year's Day 1651, Charles rallied a Scottish army for an invasion to precede an English one. It was largely a Scottish army which was defeated at Worcester and brought an end to his hopes. Charles made a fortunate escape after the battle and returned into exile in continental Europe.

It was against this unhappy background of Presbyterian experience that Charles kept to fine words and vague promises in the religious section of his Declaration of Breda, preceding the Restoration of 1660.

> And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other; which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood; we do declare a liberty of tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence (pp. 2-3).

The mistake the Presbyterians made from the outset was to read too much into these words, especially the phrase "liberty of tender consciences". The qualification about disturbing the peace of the kingdom was regarded as justifying the subsequent call for uniformity. Moreover Charles was unscrupulous, in the literal sense of the word. He released himself from the oath he had sworn to support the Solemn League and Covenant, which was the price he had paid for Scottish support in his days of exile. He argued it had been given under duress. It had also cost the lives of those Scots who had, on the strength of it, fallen fighting for him at Worcester. Far from keeping his promises Charles would, over the next two years, impose bishops on the Church of Scotland once more. In all this he was advised by Edward Hyde, subsequently Lord Clarendon, who had been with him in the lean years and now reaped his reward at court.

The other difficulty which the Puritan side of the subsequent negotiations faced was the mutual suspicion which existed between Presbyterians and Independents. This had hampered the attempts to define a church settlement at the Westminster Assembly in 1646; it had led to the Independents offering the

Savoy Declaration of 1658 as their version of a proper confession of faith. The Presbyterians and their Scottish allies had distrusted Cromwell, and his apparent partiality for the Independents, who remained strong in the army, created further animosity. In the few weeks before the Restoration, John Milton had issued a pamphlet against Erastianism. Presbyterians and Independents were united against prelates but Independents knew that Presbyterians favoured a state church and might even countenance bishops subject to Reformed limitations on their freedom of action. This, and their need to distance themselves from the more radical groups which had flourished during the Commonwealth, made the alliance against a return to the Anglican *status quo* much more difficult to sustain.

A group of Presbyterian ministers from London, including Edward Reynolds, Thomas Case, Edmund Calamy and Thomas Manton, were among the various representatives who made their way to Breda, prior to Charles's departure for England. We have only Hyde's account of the audiences they secured. He was writing some time after the event and unsympathetically. However, there seems no reason to doubt the main thrust of his report, which is consistent with later negotiations. They claimed some of the credit for the popular support for the Restoration and were prepared to see a moderate episcopacy restored. Where they seemed to have riled Charles was in asking that he not use the Prayer Book in his own chapel on his return to England and that his chaplains should not wear the surplice. They were given dusty answers on both points and were, said Hyde, surprised that the king was not more flexible.

It appears that the king and his advisers tried a conciliatory approach on arriving in London. It was proposed to make some of the leading Presbyterians royal chaplains. Richard Baxter was so appointed on 26 June 1660 but reports tartly that he only ever preached before the king once and that none of the Presbyterians so appointed ever received a penny of salary (p. 6). Baxter reported to the Earl of Manchester and Lord Broghill, two courtiers, that he and Bishop Ussher [now dead] had thought agreement was possible on a church settlement and a meeting was arranged between the king, his advisers and the Presbyterian chaplains. Baxter then argued that one of the good things Cromwell had done was ensure that a learned and godly ministry was in place, distinct from the fanatics, and it would be a mistake to turn out such people and replace them with ignorant or unworthy ones. Here Baxter was anticipating the threat to incumbents if their deprived predecessors were to be restored. He appealed for concessions from what he already described as "the other side". Charles adroitly declined to call a representative meeting of different viewpoints to agree a settlement. He asked the chaplains to do their best to gather opinion and then to sit down with representatives whom he would nominate to reach a common view. By these means he kept the negotiations within his control. The advantage for him was that the parliamentary elections for the new parliament would deliver a royalist majority, an outcome which he might have anticipated. Having said the matter would be determined ultimately by parliament, he did not want a public contention in another forum before then.

Led by Calamy the Presbyterians drew up a long statement of their negotiating position, so long that Baxter prevailed on them to allow him to submit a condensed version, which survived in his papers. This was a familiar Puritan manifesto. Emphasis was laid on a learned ministry, capable of preaching and teaching the people. Proper observation of the Lord's Day was required. The ministers should not admit parishioners to the Lord's Supper indiscriminately but form a judgement on their character and piety. Bishops should be presbyters on a *primus inter pares* basis, subject to the control of synods. There should be liberty to vary any revised Book of Common Prayer and no imposition of ceremonies and vestments. Kneeling at communion should not be required. The writings of Archbishop Ussher were called in witness that all this was compatible with the historic Church. As a negotiating position the document is an honest representation of Puritan views. In the rapidly changing climate of Restoration England it looked rather like a sandcastle in the face of the incoming tide.

The response of the bishops whom Charles nominated to conduct the negotiations was conservative in the extreme. Nothing could be done about episcopacy to diminish the royal prerogative. Although revision of the Prayer Book was possible no variations of use would be allowed. The ceremonies to which Presbyterians objected were lawful and ministers should obey the law. The tone of the whole document was dismissive of Puritan concerns. The Episcopalians clearly felt they owed no favours to the people who had marginalised them in the preceding decade. If the Presbyterians thought they were negotiators they now found themselves cast as petitioners. They were considerably annoyed at the response, which showed no sign of compromise and composed an angry retort, which they then decided not to send.

In September 1660, Charles modified his public statements by a new Declaration, replacing the one that he had made at Breda. Referring to his meeting there with the Presbyterians, he claimed that there was agreement on what a tender conscience might mean, stressing that the deputation had professed loyalty to the crown and a desire for peace in the Church. Since then the more committed Presbyterians had been publishing Charles's earlier Declaration in Scotland in 1650 giving his support to the Solemn League and Covenant. He had been forced to sign this Declaration by the "tyranny … of a few ill men". People were raking up matters which he, in his clemency, was prepared to forget. By this line of argument Charles was isolating the moderate Presbyterians, with whom he had chosen to negotiate, from the more extreme. He was still holding out the carrot of a negotiated settlement to keep people like Calamy and Baxter on board, while indicating his hostility to the more partisan. To disagree with Charles's policy was represented as unnecessarily disturbing the peace of the Church with sectarian arguments. Charles had manoeuvred the moderate Presbyterians into a position where he was now able to say that all the parties he had consulted were in favour of the same principles.

> …the professions and desires of all for the advancement of piety and true godliness are the same; their professions of zeal for the peace of the church the same; of affection and duty to us the same; they all approve episcopacy; they all approve a set form of liturgy; and they all disprove and dislike the sin of sacrilege and the alienation of the revenue of the church ... (p. 67).

Consequently he reaffirmed episcopacy. The only concession he made to the Presbyterians was a promise to consider creating suffragan bishops in large dioceses and to provide for the bishops to consult the other clergy. There was a nod in the direction of proper observance of the Lord's Day, inserted at the request of the Presbyterians, and fine words about appointing bishops and clergy who were learned and pious. There was a promise to regularise ordinations and involve presbyters in them and to tighten up the practice of confirmation and church discipline. Ministers were urged to use the Common Prayer though, for the moment, they would not be prosecuted for varying it. A conference would be called to agree alterations, after which time it would be enforced. So far as ceremonies were concerned the Declaration took the bull by the horns in acknowledging that many of them were not scriptural but argued that did not make them "indifferent". Once they had been established by law they could not be ignored on the grounds of conscience. Charles made a spirited profession of why he received the sacrament kneeling as the "most agreeable posture for that holy duty" but offered to put the matter to a national synod. For the time being the sacrament was not to be denied those who sat to receive it. Ministers were not compelled to use the sign of the Cross in baptism for the meantime, but parents were given a right to seek baptism elsewhere if they desired it. There was to be no attempt to enforce bowing at the name of Jesus but nor should those who did it be reproached. The wearing of the surplice was left to the discretion of ministers for the time being, except where it was required by statute in the universities, and in the Chapel Royal, cathedrals and collegiate churches. Provision was made for those not ready to take the oath of canonical obedience. The intention of the Declaration is quite clear. The concessions to the Presbyterian viewpoint which are made are temporary. The Church of England will return to episcopacy controlled by the crown and the use of the Prayer Book. Presbyterian scruples will have to be sacrificed to ensure the solidarity of a Protestant church in a Protestant state.

Meanwhile events were moving in parliament. The so-called "Convention Parliament" had been elected at the time of the Restoration and though not as reactionary as the "Cavalier Parliament" of 1661 was intent on supporting the monarchy and reversing republican ideas. An Act restoring deprived clergy was passed. This was as much about the law of property as anything. Incumbents who had been deprived of their livings since 1642 and who were still alive were restored to possession and the present incumbent turned out. Accounts of the Great Ejectment include several hundred Nonconformists so deprived. Some of them were fortunate enough to find a new living only to be caught again by the

legislation of 1662. It is also evident that, in spite of the royal Declaration, ministers and university students were being turned out when local decisions were taken about episcopal ordination and oaths of obedience.

Baxter and Calamy prepared a response to the Declaration which lamented the fact that the king's emollient words were not being matched by the restored bishops. There was not a balanced negotiation to settle church matters. It seemed to the Presbyterians that the king was now the tool of a party who wished to triumph by suppressing their opponents. The Presbyterians restated their own lines in the sand. The church must have synodical government. Although they would attempt to be reasonable no earthly power could release them from their obligations made on oath to keep the Solemn League and Covenant. To say this, of course, implied a rebuke to Charles, who had done just that. They pointed out that their willingness to consider episcopacy was on the condition that it was based on primitive models rather than prelacy. They could not accept the present liturgy unreformed. The alienation of church revenues was not necessarily a sacrilege under certain conditions. That bishops should consult did not make them answerable to the rest of the church in the way the Presbyterians wished. Parish discipline did not rest with pastors and proper fencing of the table before communion could not be exercised. In spite of the Declaration, legal action was already being taken against ministers who did not use the Common Prayer. All their previous objections to ceremonies were restated – kneeling at Communion, observation of holy days, the use of the sign of the cross, the surplice and so on. The vexed question of incumbents who had not been episcopally ordained was once again raised. All these concerns were presented to the king in a petition on 16 November 1660, signed by Samuel Clark, Thomas Case, John Rawlinson, John Sheffield, Thomas Gouge, Gabriel Sanger, William Cooper, William Whittaker, Thomas Jacomb, Thomas Lye, John Jackson, John Meriton, Elias Pledger, William Bates, John Gibbon, Matthew Poole, and "many others". The king graciously received it but promised nothing. Of the named signatories only Sanger and Meriton are not to be found on the lists of subsequently ejected ministers. The signatories became marked men and action was taken against some of them well before August 1662.

The government's resolve to hold the line was further strengthened by an abortive rising of Fifth Monarchists early in 1661. Part of the response was a royal proclamation on 10 January which presaged the legislation which was to follow in the 1660s. It was decreed that worship should only take place in parochial churches or chapels or within the privacy of the family (pp. 104f.). In March the royal warrant was issued for the conference on the Prayer Book which the king had promised the previous October. The Presbyterians summoned to make their case were Anthony Tuckney, John Conant, William Spurstowe, John Wallis, Thomas Manton, Edmund Calamy, Richard Baxter, Arthur Jackson, Thomas Case, Samuel Clark and Matthew Newcomen, with a team of nominated substitutes, should they not be able to attend. Tuckney, Master of St John's College, Cambridge, was already at odds with the Fellows over his refusal to attend chapel now that the Prayer Book had been re-introduced there. Conant

was the Rector of Exeter College, Oxford. Spurstowe was a Royalist Presbyterian, a former Master of St Catherine's, Oxford, and by 1661 Rector of Hackney, whose loyalist successor had already been nominated by the Crown. Thomas Manton was at this time using the existing Prayer Book by request of his parishioners at St Paul's, Covent Garden. Calamy had had frosty relations with Cromwell's regime and had welcomed the Restoration. Baxter's record of the conference is a primary source of information. Jackson had ministered to Major General Thomas Harrison, the most senior Cromwellian General, while he was imprisoned in the Tower, before his execution on 13 October 1660. Case, the rector of St Giles in the Fields, was a Presbyterian who had welcomed the Restoration. Clark had been Moderator of the London Provincial Assembly under the Commonwealth. Newcomen was a friend of Baxter and apologised to Baxter on leaving London in May 1661 for his parish at Dedham, Essex. Perhaps the obduracy with which they were met from the bishops during the conference was what drove every one of them to take their stand against the 1662 Act and suffer ejection.

According to Baxter the Presbyterian commissioners prepared a paper setting out their criticisms of the Book of Common Prayer and presented it to the bishops on 4 May (p. 111). The general preamble seeks agreement that the book should be recognisably Protestant and that the original being more than a hundred years old will need revision to represent changes in the church over that period. The detailed objections begin by taking issue with antiphonal prayers, "which cause a confused murmur in the congregation" as against the clear reading by the minister, to which the people may respond "Amen". Similarly they believed the litany prayed by the people should be replaced with a prayer of intercession by the minister, "consonant to scripture". They took exception to fasting and saints' days. They wished ministers to have discretion to exercise their own gift for prayer in public worship and to have discretion to shorten services as they got older, especially if there were many within the day. The scripture quotations in the Prayer Book were not taken from a single accurate version and there were appointed readings from the Apocrypha. They also took exception to reading the Old Testament or the Book of Acts in the place designated for the Epistle. Ministers should only be required to lead the service from the communion table on the occasions of the Lord's Supper. The word "minister" was already used for the Absolution and in other places and should replace "priest" and "curate" where they were used. "Sunday" should be replaced by "the Lord's day". Puritans were not against singing as such and asked that the metrical psalms be improved with that in mind, although they saw no need for singing other parts of the liturgy. Knowing that they would not get the church discipline they wished for they objected to phrases which presumed that all in the congregation were in a state of grace.

All this was before they got down to detail. The rubrics on vestments and ceremonies and on kneeling for communion all came in for criticism. The collects were too short and general, the General Confession was too general, the Catechism was too short. The *Gloria Patri* was repeated too many times and

the Lord's Prayer should appear once and in its extended version. Parents were not given a proper role in baptism; marriage was not sacramental; the funeral service offered too much comfort to notorious sinners; at the Churching of Women those who had borne children in adultery should be required to make public confession; and all this was accompanied by fine detail about prayers and rubrics which could be, and almost certainly was, read as antagonistic to the Prayer Book as a whole. The reply of the bishops showed no willingness to negotiate. They expressed the view that "when the liturgy was observed we lived in peace" (p. 147). A single liturgy avoided disputes about variations; personal scruples were not valid arguments against law-breaking; many worshippers valued the liturgy as it was and would be offended if it were altered. The liturgy needed to be imposed because there was no control over what private persons might say in public prayers. They could be unorthodox or seditious. The Prayer Book was a judicious compromise between Romanist and Protestant. Antiphonal reading and praying kept the congregation involved, "uniting our devotion which is apt to freeze or sleep, or flat in a long continued prayer" (p. 149). The Puritans sang Hopkins's paraphrases of psalms, so they could hardly object to the singing of the psalms of David. When it came to the observance of Lent and saints' days ecclesiastical tradition should count as much as arguments from scripture. If scripture readings needed supplementing with sermons then there was no reason why the Apocrypha could not be read in public to the same end. Using words other than "minister" enabled distinctions to be made between deacons and priests. There are examples of both repetitive and short prayers in scripture and the repeated use of the doxology is an ancient aid to devotion. The bishops' answer went into the question of the surplice, the cross and kneeling at communion at great length, defending the practices as ancient and seemly, and insisting that if church superiors commanded these things to be done, it was not for private individuals to urge their scruples as reasons for breaking the law.

After disposing of most of the suggested Presbyterian textual amendments the bishops' reply listed certain minor concessions they were prepared to make. These were either not contentious, such as changing the marriage vow "till death us depart" to "till death do us depart" or allowing the minister discretion to move the font to a more convenient place for baptisms. The greatest change proposed was the use of more recent translations of the epistles and gospels and a collation of the texts of the psalms.

The reply of the bishops drew a substantial paper from Baxter, appealing for peace and concord and a detailed response to the Prayer Book questions at issue. Baxter, still hoping to breathe life into the Breda declaration, notes the partisan and accusatory nature of the bishops' paper. He also writes against a background of ministers being turned out of parishes and the lack of episcopal ordination being used as a pretext for it in some cases. It is an eloquent and vain plea for toleration, falling on deaf ears, for minds had already been made up. Baxter was trying to recall Charles and his advisers to the conciliatory mood of Breda, to politics as much as doctrine. This was against the background of a more conservative parliament, intent on facing down the former "rebels". A more

bullish paper was published as *The Rejoinder of the Ministers to the Answer of the Bishops* (1661). This effectively accused the bishops of bad faith, for overstating the significance of the few verbal concessions they had made as against anything real and substantial (p. 201). The whole tone is spiky and accusatory, as if Calamy and his friends had realised that the game was up and there was no point in being accommodating. They were particularly offended by the bishops' bland assertion that the country had been at peace while the old liturgy was observed. The Presbyterians pointed out that people had been hauled before the High Commission or episcopal courts and fled into exile in Holland and North America in these so-called times of peace (p. 211). At every point they took issue with the bishops' case. What particularly riled them was that the argument was being conducted in correspondence and not in face-to-face meetings, as they believed the king intended.

> ... we had a conceit, that you would have vouchsafed to have treated with us personally in presence, according to the sense of his majesty's commission, and then we thought to have told you particularly of such matters; but you have forced us to confess, that we find ourselves deceived (p. 310).

From being parties to the Restoration of the monarchy the Presbyterians were now finding themselves on the margins of power.

Their long and reasoned paper met with a short response from Bishop Cosin.[3] He proposed that "those that love division" show what was contrary to the Word of God in the Prayer Book and ceremonies. His contention was that their arguments were expedient and based on a love of division rather than a wish for the unity of the Church. He looked to Baxter, Bates and Jacomb for a reply. Baxter responded for all three. Baxter singled out eight things he believed to be contrary to the Word of God in what was being proposed. The use of the cross in baptism, the wearing of the surplice and the kneeling for communion were a familiar first three. Forcing a minister to pronounce all baptised children regenerate, to deliver the sacrament to the unfit and to absolve the unfit were equally unacceptable. The last two were more complex. Ministers should not be forced to give thanks for all whom they buried; those who wished to preach should not have to agree that there is nothing in the Book of Common Prayer, the Book of Ordination and the Thirty-nine Articles contrary to the Word of God. Furthermore, Cosin had argued that all ministers should subject their judgement to that of Convocation. Baxter pointed out that hundreds of ministers had forfeited their place in Convocation because they had already been deprived

3 John Cosin (1594-1672), was Master of Peterhouse and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University before the Civil Wars. A friend of Archbishop William Laud and a supporter of ritualism, he was singled out for particular criticism by Puritans. During the Commonwealth, he was exiled in France but regained his former position at Peterhouse at the Restoration and was installed as Bishop of Durham in December 1660.

of their livings; hundreds more were barred because they did not have episcopal ordination; and that Convocation was not the last word, for the king and parliament would have to approve any settlement.

The last week of the Commission saw two conferences between representatives of each side. Baxter, Bates and Jacomb conducted a paper argument with John Pearson, Peter Gunning, Anthony Sparrow and Thomas Pierce. The subjects were kneeling at the Lord's Supper and the possibility that the liturgy could be sinful. These discussions were inconclusive, neither side yielding to the other. The Commission having achieved no substantial agreement the Presbyterians made their own report to the king, which makes it clear where they placed the blame for the failure.

> And though the account which we are forced to give your majesty of the issue of our consultations is that, no agreements are subscribed by us, to be offered your majesty, according to your expectation; and though it be none of our intent to cast the least unmeet reflections upon the Right Reverend Bishops and learned brethren who think not meet to yield to any considerable alterations to the ends expressed in your majesty's commission; yet we must say, that it is some quiet to our minds that we have not been guilty of your majesty's and your subjects' disappointments, and that we account not your majesty's gracious commission, nor our labour lost, having peace of conscience in the discharge of our duties to God and you; and that we have been the seekers and followers of peace, and have earnestly pleaded, and humbly petitioned for it ... (p. 381).

The submission ends with a last desperate appeal to the king to hold to his earlier declarations about not enforcing the Book of Common Prayer until it had been revised. However, the paper is a dignified apology by those who can see themselves defeated. A passage foreshadowing what was to happen in 1662 was omitted but the die was cast. There was no way forward for the Presbyterians except the way of passive resistance. The Act of Uniformity of 1662 would require of all incumbents a public commitment to use the Book of Common Prayer exclusively in public worship, to foreswear the Solemn League and Covenant and to be episcopally ordained. Calamy's reckoning of two thousand ejected ministers includes those gradually dispossessed from 1660 onwards, as well as those who refused to make the necessary declarations by St Bartholomew's Day. A few of these would be left to make their declarations under the "Toleration Act" of 1689, but they were tolerated outside the Church of England rather than within it.

Among all the commemorations of 1662 it might be salutary to reconsider Baxter's eight sticking points and assess their significance today. There is no way of knowing how many modern Nonconformists use the sign of the cross in baptism, but the practice is undoubtedly widespread. The wearing of the surplice is no longer rigorously enforced within the Church of England and is

rare among the Free Churches. Modern Nonconformists may find themselves kneeling for communion in the name of ecumenism; however, sitting remains the norm in Baptist, Congregational and United Reformed churches. Not being the established church frees most Nonconformists from violating their consciences in matters of infant baptism. The decline in requests for infant baptism leaves Anglicans with fewer dilemmas about its appropriateness. Nonconformists have always practised communion discipline. The increased frequency of communion and the practice of baptising children during main Sunday worship sometimes raises questions about who should receive the sacrament. This is often resolved by the use of the sentimental formula that "all who love the Lord" may receive or a tacit assumption that the sacrament may be a converting ordinance. Ending public worship with a benediction and allowing for people to leave before communion is rarely practised now. By the same token absolution is pronounced over the whole congregation after general prayers of confession and the old practices of repentance and fasting before communion long discontinued. Ministers outside the establishment exercise choice concerning burials, both in whom they bury and what they say. Anglicans have more discretion than was given in the seventeenth century. It will be interesting to see, if some future ecumenical accommodation is reached with the Church of England, what will be required in the way of subscription to the Book of Common Prayer, the Book of Ordination and the Thirty-nine Articles. So far as liturgy is concerned church law is in a very different place from 1662. Current ecumenical practice allows a great deal of further latitude. The Church of England is currently going through a great deal of turmoil in its efforts to accommodate tender consciences in relation to the ordination of women. Perhaps it may find a way of re-admitting to the Establishment those who have no reservations on that matter but scruple over re-ordination, as did their spiritual ancestors three hundred and fifty years ago.[4]

STEPHEN ORCHARD

4 For an interesting discussion, among other things, of the role of Establishment in the Reformation, see Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *England's Long Reformation: 1500-1800* (London: Routledge, 1998), particularly the essays by Eamon Duffy and Patrick Collinson.

REMEMBERING 1662

I was intrigued to read an article in the April 2012 issue of the *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society* by Dr David Wykes on "The 350th Anniversary of the Great Ejection", in which he asks what exactly was to be commemorated in 2012, and further suggests that "in many respects it might appear no modern denomination has a good claim on 1662".[1] His question is an interesting one, although I do not agree that the United Reformed Church's only case is based on its Presbyterian element, which Wykes sees as a nineteenth-century creation by Scots Presbyterians in England.[2] Francis Holcroft, for example, who along with Joseph Oddy was ejected in 1662, is regarded as the Father of Cambridgeshire Congregationalism, even though he was described as a Presbyterian minister in the 1670s. The posing of the question is itself a reminder of how little we still know about the everyday life of the Church in England in the Commonwealth and Protectorate. If we pursue the Cambridgeshire case a little further, there are some rather scrappy minutes of the Cambridgeshire classis meetings in the 1650s, from which I observed two things: first, that most of the ministers listed were still in place in the 1660s, and therefore must have conformed in 1662; and secondly, that most of the ministers did not come to the meetings. Some things in church life do not change. In any case, the nature of Independency after 1662 did change significantly as it became an excluded religious minority, and this may be seen in the writings of John Owen. The difference between either Henry Jacob's

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1 David Wykes, "1662-2012: The 350th Anniversary of the Great Ejection", *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, XXV/2 (April, 2012), p. 146.

2 The history of this view is interesting, although rather unedifying. The first decision in the Lady Hewley Case in the House of Lords in 1842 declared that Unitarian congregations, many although not all of which, had originally been Presbyterian, were not entitled to benefit from the trusts established by Lady Hewley of York in 1705 and 1707 for the aid of "poor and godly preachers", their widows, the education of students for the ministry, and various other related objects. This much, together with the resulting Dissenters' Chapels Act of 1844 is well known. But there was then a second case, leading to a decision in 1848, which confined the Presbyterian ministers who might benefit to those of "Presbyterian Churches in England, which are not in connexion with, or under the jurisdiction of the Kirk of Scotland, or the Secession Church". By this the Independents hoped to exclude ministers of the Presbyterian Church in England. This legal judgement was based on a reading of the histories available at the time. The battle between Independents and Presbyterians continued until the Tooting Case of 1881-88. The church at Tooting, which had had periods with Presbyterian ministers and periods with Independents, decided in 1881 to join the Presbyterian Church of England. After attempts to reach a negotiated settlement between the Congregational Union and the Presbyterian Church of England had failed, the case went to the Court of Chancery in 1888, when it was ruled that the words "Independent or Presbyterian" in the Trust Deed did mean two different things rather than being alternative words for the same thing. However, although the church might have decided to change the trust by a unanimous vote, the meeting held in 1881 was not competent to decide, because of the way it was called and its composition. The judge declined to rule on the claim by the Congregational Union that all surviving

"Connecticut Platform" or the Savoy Declaration of 1658 and the reality of Independent life in Restoration England must in part reflect the different distribution of religious power in England and New England.

In this lecture I want to do three things: first to reflect on the general question of remembering, noting in particular that anniversaries are a relatively recent development; secondly, to consider what struck people as needing to be remembered in the eighteenth century; and thirdly, to consider how the Bicentenary of 1662 was marked in 1862. In conclusion, I will reflect on whether memory imprisons us in our tradition or releases us from it.

The year 2012 marked the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, as well as the 350th anniversary of the Act of Uniformity of 1662. But monarchical jubilees are relatively recent. By definition, only a few monarchs live long enough to celebrate a jubilee. The first British monarch to do so was George III; but, although there was some consideration of the possibility of marking his jubilee in 1810, his ministers decided, and the Prince Regent agreed, that in view of his health, this would not be a good idea. Queen Victoria celebrated both Golden and Diamond Jubilees in 1887 and 1897 respectively (the latter an innovation for imperial purposes); King George V celebrated a Silver Jubilee in 1935 (also an innovation); and the present Queen has celebrated Silver, Golden and Diamond Jubilees. Other European monarchs celebrated jubilees in the late nineteenth century.

If we ask when anniversaries started to become significant, we need to remember that it was a consequence of the popularity of calendars, and the

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seventeenth and eighteenth century Presbyterian congregations were *de facto* Independents, although he did say that on the basis of the historical evidence available to him the Presbyterians had no active life as a body. (The same is true of eighteenth century Congregationalists, most County Unions only being formed after 1780 or later.) The strength of feeling felt by Andrew Mearns, Secretary of the London Congregational Union, ironically himself trained in the United Presbyterian Theological Hall in Edinburgh in 1860, was indicated by a ferocious pamphlet he wrote in 1888, *"An English Ulster"*, which was a reply to the pamphlet by John Black, General Secretary of the PCE, *Presbyterianism in England in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (1887). Black had argued that a significant number of old Presbyterian congregations had survived, whereas Mearns claimed that many had been assisted by the Congregational Fund Board and were therefore Independent. Mearns, however, ignored the fact that the Congregational Fund Board's rules required that the soundness of students in the faith was to be judged by the Trinitarian doctrine revealed in Scripture and explained in the [Westminster] Assembly's Confession and Catechism, and therefore could be used to assist Congregationalists and Presbyterians alike. Perhaps fortunately for future relations this has not been much noticed in the secondary literature: see *English Presbyterian Messenger* (July, 1848), pp. 212-13; (November, 1848), pp. 347-51; (December, 1848), pp. 367-68; (January, 1849), pp. 419-20; (February, 1849), pp. 436-39; (April, 1888), pp. 666-68; (July, 1888), p. 720; (September, 1888), pp. 743-45; Richard Potts, *Dame Sarah's Legacy* (The Lady Hewley Trust, 2005), pp. 38, 60-63; John H. Taylor, *The Congregational Fund Board* (published on behalf of the Board, 1995), pp. 7, 32; John Black, *Presbyterianism in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: Presbyterian Church of England, 1887); Andrew Mearns, *"An English Ulster"* (London: Alexander & Shepheard, 1888).

emergence of a universal time system, probably in the eighteenth century. Even then we should not exaggerate their popular impact. When I was a research student, I well remember the day on which the friend, with whom I shared a house, came home and said that he had discovered that the same family had given different dates of birth for themselves in the 1841, 1851 and 1861 censuses. Since he came from a sociologist's background, I pointed out that historians had to exercise a degree of scepticism in the evidence they examined unless it could be corroborated from elsewhere. By coincidence, I discovered only a few months ago that my mother's age is incorrectly recorded in the 1911 census. Birthday cards seem to have begun in the USA in the late nineteenth century (like Christmas cards); and it follows from the point about the accuracy of remembered dates that wedding anniversaries in their modern form are relatively recent – indeed female mortality in childbirth for most of the nineteenth century made that inevitable as well; and only in the twentieth century did infant mortality also decline significantly in the UK.

The most detailed pattern of remembering was found in the Church's liturgical calendar. From a relatively early date saints' days, as well as the major Christian festivals, had been marked for annual commemoration. One of Eamon Duffy's major points in *The Stripping of the Altars* (1991) is that the detachment of commemoration from requiem masses as a result of the Reformation removed a good deal of its significance. In this respect the Puritans' abolition of even Christmas and Easter is still more important – their reason being that the major occasion for Christian remembrance was the weekly observance of the Lord's Day, when Christ rose from the dead. One important feature of the 1662 Prayer Book was the restoration of the liturgical calendar. Along with the calendar of saints' days, the Prayer Book also included the commemoration of three secular festivals: 5 November (which had been marked by royal command since 1605), 30 January (the date of Charles I's execution) and 29 May (the date of Charles II's entry into London in 1660). The rhyme

> Remember, remember (or Please to remember)
> the Fifth of November,
> gunpowder, treason and plot.
> I see no reason
> why gunpowder treason
> should ever be forgot.

is an early example of an annual political commemoration – although it is not clear how old it is.[3] However, it is an example of anti-Catholic sentiment, as well as patriotism, and this fitted well with the fact that the Books of Common

3 A reference to the keeping of this day with rhymes is noted in an eighteenth-century book of days, *An Agreeable Companion* (1742), but that implies a reference to something well-known, Iona and Peter Opie, *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 282.

Prayer of Edward VI and Elizabeth had essentially been anti-Catholic in what they were trying to do. The 1662 Book, by contrast, was directed against radical Protestantism, as its Preface makes clear.[4] The status of these political commemorations was somewhat ambiguous. Although originally approved by Convocation and included in the Act of Uniformity of 1662, certain changes were made in them by William III and Queen Anne, which were effected by Royal Warrant alone. So it became the custom for the sovereign to command the continued observance of these, along with his or her accession to the throne at the beginning of each reign. Nevertheless, at least in the first hundred years after 1662, these commemorations could be occasions of danger for Nonconformists, as may be illustrated by the fact that the meeting house of the Great Meeting in Cambridge (which became Emmanuel Congregational Church) was attacked by a mob on Oak Apple Day in 1716.[5] November 5 was always a potentially dangerous day for Catholics as well. Eventually these services were discontinued (apart from the annual commemoration of the accession) in 1859, as a result of an address to the Crown from the House of Lords, supported by the House of Commons. The debate on the address in the House of Lords was initiated by Lord Stanhope, and the proposal received the support of both the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Oxford, therefore reflecting rather different strands of churchmanship. The reasons, however, were the same: that the observance of these services had fallen into general disuse, apart from colleges and cathedrals, and that they were considered to be politically divisive. It is an interesting coincidence that this should have happened three years before the bicentenary of 1662; the corresponding Commons debate was very brief. The Royal Warrant was dated 17 January 1859, and an Act of Parliament was passed in March to repeal the various statutes concerned. Only at that point did one or two Radicals, such as George Hadfield, the Independent, and James Roebuck intervene to comment on everything else that was wrong with the Book of Common Prayer.[6]

Fifty years after 1662, what struck people as most needing to be remembered, and how did they do it? To answer this question, we begin with the work of

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4 For example, the Preface claims that those who opposed the Prayer Book did so because they "discovered a greater regard to their own private fancies and interests, than that duty they owe to the publick"; and the concept of keeping "the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting any variation from" [the publick Liturgy] in the opening sentence presupposes that admitting variations is an extreme position.

5 *Past and Present 1691-1895* (Cambridge: Emmanuel Congregational Church, 1895), p. 14.

6 *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), House of Lords, 28 June 1858, cli, 475-9, 481-503; House of Commons, 13 July 1858, cli, 1392-4; House of Commons, 7 February 1859, clii, 147-50; House of Lords, 25 February 1859, clii, 850-2. The Duke of Marlborough did make a last ditch attempt in the Lords to save them after the Queen's reply to the Address had been received, but received no support: House of Lords, 10 July 1858, cli, 1660-5.

Edmund Calamy (1671-1732). The son and grandson of ejected ministers and assistant minister to Matthew Sylvester at Blackfriars meeting house from 1692, Calamy is the person who provided the primary published record of those who were ejected in 1662. Sylvester was Richard Baxter's literary executor, who saw through to published form Baxter's autobiographical manuscripts in the *Reliquiae Baxterianae* in 1696. Calamy seems to have had a less than perfect admiration for his senior colleague, and in 1702 he published an *Abridgement of Mr Baxter's History of his Life and Times*, extended to 1691 and including an additional chapter setting out the details of many of the ejected ministers and their treatment. In 1713 an expanded edition was published in which this chapter had become a separate volume of 850 pages. Calamy was born nine years after 1662. He represented therefore the voice of the next generation, anxious that what had happened some fifty years before should not be forgotten. It was a coincidence that the enlarged edition was published just over fifty years after 1662, but it should be remembered that the political outlook for dissent in 1713 was not good. In this respect the death of Queen Anne and the Hanoverian succession came just in time. Calamy was certainly trying to secure the memory of the ejected ministers, but there is a sense in which the detachment of the list from Baxter's narrative, which originally preceded it, left it somewhat isolated from any sense of what 1662 had been about. Hence the emphasis shifted to the suffering *of* the ministers rather than what they were suffering *for*. As such it was no less powerful: in effect it became a kind of Nonconformist appendix to *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, which had been so potent in securing the memory of the Reformers and which every parish church was supposed to possess.

The significance of this shift is emphasised by the fact that Calamy's book provoked a response from John Walker in 1714. Although usually referred to simply as Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, the original full title was *An Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars &c in the late Times of the Grand Rebellion: occasion'd by the Ninth Chapter (now the Second Volume) of Dr Calamy's Abridgement of the Life of Mr Baxter. Together with an Examination of That Chapter*. Walker said in his Preface that "the Merits of the Cause between the Church and the Separation, are not to come into the present Question";[7] his aim was simply to show that the clergy of the Church of England had suffered more at the hands of the Sequestrators of Livings in the 1640s than the ejected ministers did in 1662, and that there were more of them. Thus the issues of 1662 were further marginalised, and suffering pushed into the forefront. Walker's book was even more cumbersome to handle than Calamy's, and most modern scholars depend on the revisions of both by the Congregational minister, A. G. Matthews, in the 1930s. Walker worked on his *Account* during the first decade of the eighteenth century, and it

7 John Walker, *An Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England* (London: J. Nicholson *et al*, 1714), p. ii.

was subsequently shown to contain some elementary errors, such as counting all college and cathedral posts separately, without taking any account of offices held in plurality. Calamy produced a critical pamphlet, *The Church and the Dissenters compared as to Persecution*, in 1719. Walker was awarded a DD by Oxford University for his labours, but the sales of the book were disappointing, and unlike Calamy it was not reprinted. Matthews reduced the number of individuals alleged by Walker to have suffered from between 8,000 and 10,000 to 2,425, but noted that he destroyed his case by indulging in "some palpable absurdities".[8] It is interesting to reflect on why Walker's book has figured so little in general accounts of the Church during the 1640s: one reason must surely be that in the end the Anglicans were the winners. It is the losers who have a greater incentive to keep the memory of their history alive.

Calamy's final salvo in the exchange came with his *Continuation of the Account* in 1727. It went to press just before the death of George I, but was published after the accession of George II. Although he appreciated "the tranquillity and peaceable liberty" of the previous thirty-eight years, he also deplored the movement of ministers and wealthy families from the Dissenters to the Church, and pointed out the continuing political relevance of 1662 by noting the extent to which those who supported the ejected ministers were also the strongest supporters of the Revolution of 1688, and *vice versa*.[9] Nevertheless the *Continuation* was not easy to use, being more a collection of *addenda* and *corrigenda* than a coherent book. Calamy's work survived as a result of Samuel Palmer's revision of it under the title *The Nonconformist's Memorial* (first edition, 1775 in two volumes, second edition, 1802 in three). Overall Matthews is more critical of Calamy than he is of Walker in relation to the accuracy of his historical research, and reduced Calamy's number of 1,897 ejections to 1,562, to which he then added 41, giving an overall total of 1,603.[10]

Despite Calamy's work, however, there was no suggestion of any kind of commemoration of 1662 a century later in 1762. Why? The answer is hinted at in Calamy's comment in the *Continuation* about the supporters of the Revolution. The question of the legacy of 1688 was politically far more important than that of 1662 in eighteenth-century Britain. John Seed's book, *Dissenting Histories: Religious Division and the Politics of Memory in Eighteenth-Century England* (2008) offers a stimulating discussion of the whole issue. One dimension of this, however, had a profound impact on the way in which the religious significance of the Glorious Revolution was remembered. From an early date the Revolution had been commemorated annually, because of the coincidence that William III landed at Torbay on 4 November. Accordingly, he issued a proclamation that a phrase marking the anniversary of his arrival should be included in the annual service for 5 November, and thereby

8 A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), p. xiii, xv.
9 A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. xxv-xxvi.
10 Ibid., p. xxxix.

the Revolution was linked with the most popular of the state services. Evidence from the provincial press suggests widespread local commemorations through the early eighteenth century. In the 1770s the Revolution Society of London was founded to celebrate the achievements of the Glorious Revolution. Originally it was primarily a society of dissenting ministers, and it was linked with several of the contemporary movements for parliamentary reform. In 1788 it was revived with a string of whig aristocratic patrons, with the specific intention of commemorating religious and civil liberty. The Society had invited Dr Richard Price, morning preacher at the Gravel Pit meeting house, to preach on 4 November 1788, but he declined for health reasons, and so he preached on 4 November 1789 instead – though he had recovered sufficiently to preach a sermon in preparation for the centenary on 2 November 1788.[11] The 1688 Revolution was, in fact, the first British political event to be given a centenary celebration (and the only one to have been celebrated in three centuries).

Richard Price had an impeccable dissenting pedigree, being the grandson of an ejected minister in Wales, and the son and nephew of dissenting ministers. As a prominent supporter of the claims of the American colonists, he had made a name for himself more widely by his *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* (1776) and his later *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution* (1785). Support for the American colonies was not uncommon among Dissenters, but Price articulated the issues in a way that had general implications. By this time he had also declared his Arian theological sympathies, seeing this as a middle way between trinitarian orthodoxy and Socinianism. In his sermon of 1789, *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*, he set out a programme for what might today be called an international vision, in which countries co-operated rather than competed. He was critical of the restrictions on dissenting civil and religious liberty that survived the "Toleration Act", and significantly regarded the first principle of the Revolution Society as "the right to liberty of conscience in religious matters". In view of the fact that Price's sermon is chiefly remembered as the provocation for Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), it should be noted that the only reference to France came in the penultimate two paragraphs of the sermon. What sank him was that he printed, as an Appendix to the first published edition, the French Assembly's "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen" to illustrate the kind of principles for which he hoped. For the purpose of this lecture, however, the point to note is the fact that Price's interpretation of the issues at stake in the seventeenth century had moved on from Calamy's emphasis on the sufferings of the ejected ministers to the more general ground of religious and civil liberty. In view of the fact that they were the two principles

11 Martin Fitzpatrick, "Richard Price and the London Revolution Society", *Enlightenment and Dissent*, X (1991), pp. 36-37. Fitzpatrick notes that the Minutes of the Society (British Library Add. Ms. 64814) begin abruptly on 16 June 1788, though they were only written up later.

for which the Revolution Society stood, this is hardly surprising. There is an interesting similarity between Price's position and David Wykes's conclusion that the ground for celebrating the history of 1662 was that "the Great Ejection was the beginning of a political process which eventually brought the right for congregations to worship freely in public and forms the basis of many of our civil liberties".[12]

I turn now to the Bicentenary Commemorations of 1862. At the autumn Assembly of the Congregational Union of 1861 in Birmingham a paper was presented from Joshua Wilson, who had been asked by the Committee of the Union to prepare some suggestions as to the best way of celebrating the Black Bartholomew Day, which in 1862 fell on a Sunday. Wilson was the Treasurer of New College, London, and, although he was not well enough to attend the Assembly, his paper was read for him by the Revd R. Ashton. He began by expressing surprise that the day was not commemorated annually in the same way that their American brethren marked the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, but suggested that lessons may have been learned from the abuses accompanying the celebration of saints' days. Nevertheless he felt that it would be a sin not to recall and record "the noble principles, the heroic darings, and the admirable doings of these excellent men". Significantly he then set out what as churches and individuals they owed to these illustrious men, and to "their noble predecessors, the Separatists and Puritans of England". To the Separatists they owed "the great Congregational principle that every company of faithful men, accustomed to meet for the worship of God and the observance of Christian ordinances, is a church of Christ, endowed by Him with authority to manage its own concerns". To the Puritans of the Separatist class who went abroad or to America, they owed the principle that "freedom to worship God" without the observance of human rites and ceremonies "is the native birthright and indefeasible inheritance of every human being". To the "less consistent Puritans" who remained, they were indebted that the country was a constitutional monarchy because of their resistance to "the arbitrary encroachments" of the royal prerogative; they well understood "the intimate and inseparable connexion which subsists between civil freedom and religious liberty". Finally, to those who resigned their all on 24 August 1662, Congregationalists owed their present position as a religious body with a legally recognised right of meeting for worship in their own buildings under the protection of the law – despite the fact that this was not achieved until 1688.[13] By broadening the groups from which he traced the development of Congregationalism, Wilson also broadened the significance of Black Bartholomew, and by making the key to the inheritance of 1662 lie a quarter of a century later, he was able to identify its significance with the general principles of the 1688 Revolution. None of this is illegitimate, but even more than

12 Wykes, "1662-2012: The 350th Anniversary of the Great Ejection", p. 147.

13 Joshua Wilson, "The Second Centenary of the Ejectment of the Nonconformist Ministers from the Established Church", *Congregational Year Book* (1862), pp. 61-62.

Richard Price, who had a rather low opinion of the dogmatism of the Puritans, Wilson enlarged the scope of what 1662 signified and why it should be remembered. Although Wilson suggested a series of practical proposals, the most significant for the purposes of this lecture were that ministers should give courses of lectures on Puritanism and Nonconformity and publish popular tracts on these subjects, either free or at a very low price; and that there should be reprints of Calamy's "Lives", Neal's "History" and possibly even the formation of a Nonconformist Historical Society to encourage the preparation and publication of original works based on extensive and accurate research.[14]

Wilson's paper was followed by a resolution "rapturously adopted by the Meeting", which was moved in a longer speech by the Revd Dr Robert Vaughan. That speech, subsequently printed as a sixteen-page penny pamphlet, which sold at least 8,000 copies, set out the historical background to the events of 1662. Vaughan acknowledged that those who went out did not hold the same views on the principle of an Established Church as nineteenth-century Congregationalists; but confronted with a situation in which they were in effect asked to lie in order to get a living, they refused. He compared them with the bishops who refused to publish James II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, the Seceder Presbyterians in the eighteenth century and the Free Church of Scotland in the nineteenth; and he suggested that Anglican evangelicals who were unhappy with the Prayer Book should do the same thing.[15] These comparisons were to resonate in future controversy.

The result was the formation of a nucleus of Congregationalists, who were joined by a committee from the Baptist Union to form the Central United Bartholomew Committee on 9 December 1861. It is important to note, in view of what was later alleged, that this was not an initiative of Edward Miall's Liberation Society, even though Miall supported it, not least by running a series of weekly articles in *The Nonconformist* on the Ejection from 22 January 1862. Not surprisingly most of the leaders in the Central Committee were members of the Society, but there is no sense in which the Centenary was run as part of the Society's political campaigning. The Society's Committee had received a report in September 1861, one of the recommendations of which was that the bicentenary would provide an opportunity to publicise their principles; but as a non-sectarian body it could not take the lead.[16] All that the Society did was to spend £155 in order to circulate 100,000 copies of the Address on the Bicentenary, prepared by the Central Committee, to Nonconformists in different parts of the country.[17]

In fact, almost before the United Bartholomew Committee had published

14 Ibid., pp. 66-67.
15 Robert Vaughan, *The Case of the Ejected Ministers of 1662* (London: Jackson, Walford & Hodder, 1861), pp. 8-16.
16 Timothy Larsen, *Contested Christianity* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2004), p. 158.
17 W. H. Mackintosh, *Disestablishment and Liberation* (London: Epworth Press, 1972), pp. 127-28, 131.

anything, the Church Defence League went on to the attack. One of the most significant episodes, because of its subsequent implications, was the formation of a Church Defence Association in Birmingham in January 1862, when Canon James Miller moved the founding resolution, and in doing so raised the question of how far the co-operation between Churchmen and Nonconformists could continue in the context of the bicentenary commemoration. He followed this with a lecture in Birmingham Town Hall in February suggesting that the commemoration would affect relations for some time to come.

A fortnight later the young R. W. Dale, minister of Carrs Lane, responded at a packed meeting in the Town Hall, with men standing on the floor and many hundreds turned away. It is not possible to give a detailed resumé of Dale's speech. Suffice it to make three points. Dale recognized that nineteenth-century Dissenters did not share the same convictions as the ministers who went out in 1662; but it was their conduct, spirit and fidelity to conscience, rather than opinions, convictions and articles of belief, which Dissenters shared. Yet the contemporary Church of England did not have any uniformity of belief either, and five hundred had petitioned for the reform of the liturgy. Most provocatively of all, Dale suggested that eight or ten thousand of the evangelical clergy, who had the same reservations about baptismal regeneration, the language of the confirmation service, the absolution in the service for the visitation of the sick, and the burial service as the earliest Nonconformists did, should come out of the Church and declare that they could no longer in conscience remain. Thirdly, Dale deprecated the attempt to stifle honest discussion by invoking the language of mutual charity. The enthusiastic reception he received led Dale to believe that this speech launched him on his career of public service. Miller meanwhile had resigned from the presidency of the local Bible Society.[18] Thus almost before the United Committee's plans for tracts and public lectures had begun, the Commemoration had become embroiled in controversy, accentuated by the long-running dispute over the interpretation of the results of the Census of Religious Worship in 1851, and the more recent problems caused by the publication of *Essays and Reviews* in 1860. Another Anglican lecture which ran to 12,000 copies was that by Joseph Bardsley, *A Look at Both Sides*, delivered in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester and in Cambridge: Bardsley was Superintendent Secretary of the London Diocesan Home Mission; and one of his claims, often repeated, was that the 2,000 or so ministers ejected only founded between two and three hundred chapels, and of those 90 per cent were in the hands of Socinians or Unitarians.[19] The basis for that claim, equally often denied by Dissenters, is unclear.

The Committee itself organised two sets of public lectures. Five were delivered in St James's Hall, London, on 18 March 1862, by Robert Vaughan,

18 A. W. W. Dale, *Life of R. W. Dale of Birmingham* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1905), pp. 164-73.

19 J. W. Bardsley, *A Look at Both Sides* (London: Wertheim, Macintosh & Hunt, 1862), p. 31.

John Stoughton, Alfred Rooker, John Edmond and James Spence; it must have been a long evening, because Spence did not deliver his lecture for lack of time. The main focus was historical, looking at what happened in the seventeenth century, with its background and consequences.[20] More substantial was a series of four lectures given in Willis's Rooms on 8 April, 22 April, 6 May and 20 May. Thomas McCrie told the "Story of the Great Ejectment", Alexander McLaren spoke on "Fidelity to Conscience", R. W. Dale's subject was "Nonconformity in 1662 and 1862", and Robert Halley discussed "The Design and Effects of the Act of Uniformity". Undoubtedly Dale's lecture covered much of the same ground as his earlier one in Birmingham, and it was certainly polemical. The Committee also published eleven tracts covering subjects from John Hooper and the Book of Sports to Clerical Subscription and the "Toleration Act".

One of the most substantial results of the United Committee's work was the publication of a 500-page book of *Documents relating to the Settlement of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity of 1662*, with a historical introduction to English Puritanism by Peter Bayne. He was a member of the Free Church of Scotland, who began training for the ministry but was unable to continue because of health problems. Moving to London, he was editor of the *Weekly Review*, published by the Presbyterian Church in England, from 1862 to 1865 and later was a leader-writer for the *Christian World*.[21] The thirty-five documents began with the Declaration of Breda in 1660 and ended with the "Toleration Act" of 1689. Bayne acknowledged that many of the documents had been published before, though only five of them were in Edward Cardwell's "more costly" *History of Conferences connected with the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer*, published in Oxford in 1840; but this made them more widely available, and in any case concentrated particularly on proposals made by the Puritan ministers and listed the 600 changes made by Convocation. It is perhaps difficult for us to appreciate the significance of the publication of so many original documents in the nineteenth century, in making plain to the many, that which had previously been known only to the few.

The various critical references to Dissent (including a quotation from John Milton's *History of Britain*, criticising the Westminster Assembly)[22] were picked up and recycled in an article published in the *Quarterly Review* for July 1862. It was written (though, of course, this was not known at the time) by Robert Cecil, the future Marquis of Salisbury, who was Prime Minister three times, following Gladstone's resignation in 1886. Cecil took over Bardsley's comparison of the commemoration with the Pope's canonisation of twenty-seven martyrs, presumably the Japanese martyrs, in 1862. The significant feature of

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20 *Bicentenary of the Bartholomew Ejectment in 1662: St James's Hall Addresses* (London: Jackson, Walford & Hodder, 1862).

21 "Peter Bayne", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew & Brian Harrison (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2004), IV, p. 472.

22 "The History of Britain", *A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton* (London: A. Millar, 1738), II, pp. 39-40.

Cecil's article is that he explains the whole exercise by reference to the fact that the Dissenters' cause "is not prospering as much as it has prospered recently; and the enthusiasm of some of their adherents is beginning to wax faint".[23] In 1861 the bill for the abolition of Church Rates had failed in the House of Commons, after gaining rising majorities in the previous years. Then by selective references to Walker's *Sufferings*, Cecil argued that "if ever there was a case in which this necessary proscription wore the aspect of a righteous retribution, it was in the case of the Nonconformists of 1662".[24] At that point Cecil seemed to change tack by suggesting that the Liberation Society was leaving the moderate Dissenters of the Congregational Union to do their work for them, and he then moved on to attack Lord Ebury's Act of Uniformity Amendment Bill, (which Dale had dismissed as irrelevant to the main point at issue), and his deceptive aim of a moderate Comprehension. "Lord Ebury", he said, "is obstinately blind to the fact that, in the eyes of a great number of persons, the comprehension of error implies the abandonment of truth".[25] In fact, he concluded, Lord Ebury was the more dangerous opponent since, while Miall might destroy the Church of England as an Establishment, Lord Ebury would destroy it as a Church.[26] This was Cecil's way of responding to the publication of *Essays and Reviews* in 1860, and the threats, as they were perceived, of "Germanizing theology". But, as has been noted, the Bicentenary Commemoration was not an initiative of the Liberation Society: in this respect Cecil's allegations were purely speculative. Furthermore, however sound or otherwise his theological analysis was, Cecil certainly brought the Church of England back into the centre of political argument. The enmities of the Civil War (because that was the period to which Walker referred) were not forgotten, but rather were being refuelled, by the actions of the Church Defence League. Even so Cecil's article was very short on actual detail of the issues at stake in 1662.

Wilson replied to the *Quarterly Review* in a pamphlet of just over a hundred pages, entitled *Calumnies Confuted*.[27] This showed Wilson's historical knowledge, to which he had only alluded in his paper for the Congregational Union assembly in 1861. He carefully took apart Cecil's allegations, particularly about Congregationalists. Thus, for example, he denied that Congregationalists held subscription to be immoral: "we do not account mere subscription to human articles in itself an immoral act; but we do hold it to be immoral for any one to subscribe articles of faith in a non-natural sense, or in any other sense than that which the words fairly interpreted properly mean, and which there is reason to believe was the meaning intended by the framers and imposers".[28] It may be a

23 *Quarterly Review*, CXII/223 (July, 1862), p. 237.
24 Ibid., p. 249.
25 Ibid., p. 265.
26 Ibid., p. 269.
27 Joshua Wilson, *Calumnies Confuted: Historical Facts in answer to The Quarterly Review on the Bicentenary Commemoration* (London: Jackson, Walford & Hodder, 1863).
28 Ibid., p. 53.

coincidence, but that way of putting the issue is strikingly similar to Benjamin Jowett's views about the meaning of scripture. Wilson was referring to the tendency among some nineteenth-century Anglicans, such as F. D. Maurice, to take the Articles in a non-literal sense, which was the subject of the *Theological Essays* that led to his dismissal from King's College, London, in 1853. Wilson also noted Edward Cardwell's conclusion that many of the concessions the Puritans asked for in 1660 had been conceded by the bishops in the discussions of 1641, but were reintroduced in 1662, almost, as it would seem, with the deliberate intention of making it more difficult for Puritans to conform. He took particular exception to the introduction of lessons from the Apocrypha – Susannah and the Elders, and Bel and the Dragon – into the Lectionary.[29] Likewise he quoted Archdeacon Julius Hare as saying that it was Elizabeth I's mistake in introducing an Act of Uniformity that created nonconformity in the English Church in the first place.[30] In short the whole idea of an Act of Uniformity had been a failure: "Is it not time," he concluded, "that so hopeless an attempt should be abandoned, and trial be made of other methods more in harmony with the catholic and comprehensive genius of our holy religious, as well as more adapted to the thoughtful and inquiring spirit of age?"[31]

Finally, in 1863 the Revd Robert Whittaker of Leesfield, near Manchester, published an abridgement of Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, which had never been reprinted before. In his Introduction Whittaker claimed that he would not have begrudged the "two thousand" any honour, if it had not been intended to be at the cost of the Church of England: "the trophy which is to be set up to them is to be erected upon the ruins of our character".[32] Whittaker suggested that this idea was "not the production of Mr Miall's fertile brain"; he was "but the humble imitator of Dr Edward [*sic*] Calamy", whom he described as "that bitter and unscrupulous writer" (though he acknowledged that Calamy had confessed that Walker was on the whole successful in his endeavours to get authentic facts). Even more interesting is the fact that Whittaker published his work (which was printed at the office of the *Oldham Standard*) in weekly numbers of sixteen pages, sold at a penny each. Here was a battle for the mind at the lowest cost; and just as the Bicentenary Committee aimed to win its argument by publishing original material, so Whittaker argued that

> The Bicentenary celebration was projected for the furtherance of political dissent. It has already been felt to be a grand mistake. The agitation which has been created has covered its authors with confusion,

29 Ibid., p. 84
30 Ibid., pp. 94-95.
31 Ibid., p. 66.
32 *The Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England during the Great Rebellion, by the Rev. John Walker*, carefully abridged by the Rev Robert Whittaker (London: Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hunt, 1863), p. ii.

> and has everywhere redounded greatly to the advantage of the Church. And this advantage will be vastly increased, and turned into a complete triumph, if the public can only be induced to examine for themselves the short reign of Puritanism in the seventeenth century.[33]

At this distance in time it is not easy to assess the extent to which the public was moved in either direction. Certainly Timothy Larsen, who has written most recently about this episode, concludes that "the Church defenders, by labelling the bicentenary a political plot, actually achieved the worst of both worlds", in that they moved Dissent to attack the Church of England as a Church, which the Liberation Society had always carefully avoided doing, and it enhanced the regard that Dissenters had for the Society.[34] Neither of those were unmixed blessings, and the result was actually a new entrenchment of differences that in other respects had begun to fade.

One hundred years later in 1962, when a joint book of essays was produced on the anniversary of the Prayer Book and the Ejection, the church context had changed considerably; but it is striking to me, after having been involved in ecumenical discussions for more or less the whole time since then, how rarely the historical issues I have been discussing have been addressed. This leads me to a concluding reflection on whether memory imprisons us in our tradition or releases us from it. I have been particularly provoked by three sentences in the conclusion of John Seed's book, *Dissenting Histories*, in which he assesses the significance of Calamy, Neal, Palmer and their eighteenth-century colleagues. Seed wrote:

> They kept alive connections to the past for new generation of Dissenters to retrieve once more the memory of their forbears. And because memory is emotional, involving a degree of identification with those who are long dead, *to remember is often to refuse forgiveness*. It keeps alive the antagonisms of the past in the present and is faithful to what ought never to be forgotten.[35]

There is a footnote reference to the book by the French philosopher of religion, Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (2004), but no pages are indicated. To say that "to remember is often to refuse forgiveness" is a very powerful statement, but the final sentence seems to be a *non sequitur*. Is it really the case that the only way of being "faithful to what ought never to be forgotten" is to keep alive "the antagonisms of the past in the present"? Reflection on the situation in Northern Ireland nearly three hundred years after the Battle of the

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33 Ibid., p. vi.

34 Larsen, *Contested Christianity*, p. 163.

35 John Seed, *Dissenting Histories: Religious Division and the Politics of Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 189 (italics mine).

Boyne (1690) demonstrates some of the consequences of such an approach.

Ricoeur's book is fascinating, and at just over 500 pages with another 100 pages of notes it is not an easy read. The question that prompted Ricoeur was the general one, which has vexed many modern historians (and theologians), of how one handles history in the light of Auschwitz – to use the conventional shorthand. More particularly as a Frenchman teaching in the USA, Ricoeur has been exercised by the particular issue of how the Vichy government in France is to be remembered. There is no time to attempt a summary of his whole argument, but one immediate question for our purpose is whether the events of 1662 bear comparison with those of the mid-twentieth century. Probably the scale and scientific efficiency of the Final Solution is what horrifies the modern world most. But the English Civil War, like the other Wars of Religion in the seventeenth century, involved an unprecedented scale of violence in relation to the civilian population; and other civil wars in succeeding centuries have intensified that in line with the developments in military technology. Furthermore the way in which the Parliamentary Army implemented the sequestration of livings by driving out Anglican clergy and particularly their wives and children in the middle of the night, bears the recurrent hallmark of the methods of totalitarian regimes, with which we remain familiar in the twenty-first century. The same was true in the persecution of nonconformist clergy after 1662, even though the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity was uneven throughout the country. The significant point here is that there is a different perception of the relationship between these two events in the minds of Anglicans and Nonconformists, with the former tending to see an equivalence and the latter tending to deny any responsibility for or complicity in the former.

However, Seed's citation of Ricoeur is misleading in that it over-simplifies what is, in fact, a very subtle and careful argument, which, particularly in the Epilogue, moves into the discussion of what Ricoeur calls "difficult forgiveness". Before he reaches that point he considers various alternative ways of dealing with the things in the past we need to remember but would rather forget. Thus he considers first, the possibility of amnesty. Here he suggests,

> … amnesty, as institutional forgetting, touches the very roots of the political and through it, the most profound and deeply concealed relation to the past that is placed under an interdict. The proximity … between amnesty and amnesia signals the existence of a secret pact with the denial of memory, which … distances it from forgiving, after first suggesting a close simulation.[36]

Thus, although amnesty may seem at first to be a neutral solution, in fact it is fundamentally political.

Another possibility is pardon, considered as a legal process, rather than a

36 Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, tr. Kathless Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 453.

political act. But here, he points out, "Pardon cannot be substituted for justice. To forgive would be to ratify impunity, which would be a grave injustice committed at the expense of the law and, even more so, of the victims".[37] This may be the part of the argument which stuck in Seed's mind. Is it therefore possible to consider the moral or theological understanding of reconciliation as offering a way forward? Perhaps it is here that Ricoeur's conclusion is most depressing for the theologian:

> One must conclude that discourses on "the reconciliation of peoples remains a pious vow." The collectivity has no moral conscience. Confronted in this way with "outside" guilt, peoples slip back into rehashing old hatreds, ancient humiliations.[38]

In outlining these possibilities I have omitted the very careful discussion and argument by which Ricoeur reaches these conclusions.

For the historian it is both comforting and a challenge to find that in the end Ricoeur returns to the question of history:

> … there is a privilege which cannot be refused to history; it consists not only in expanding collective memory beyond any actual memory but in correcting, criticizing, even refuting the memory of a determined community, *when it folds back upon itself and encloses itself within its own sufferings to the point of rendering itself blind and deaf to the sufferings of other communities*.[39]

This conclusion resonates much more with the discussion about remembering 1662 in which we have been engaged. Ricoeur's point about the community which "encloses itself within its own sufferings to the point of rendering itself blind and deaf to the sufferings" of others is particularly telling. Behind this lies the crucial question of power. Who controls public memory and who has the ability to take initiatives that will be taken seriously?

What happened in 1662 is not simply a theological question. The Declaration, which clergy had to make, contained four elements in the following order: a declaration that "it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King"; that no obligation lay upon the minister or any one else "from the oath commonly called the Solemn League and Covenant to endeavour any change or alteration of government either in Church or State"; that "the same was in itself an unlawful oath and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the known laws and liberties of this kingdom"; and finally that the minister would "conform to the liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by

37 Ibid., p. 473.
38 Ibid., p. 477.
39 Ibid., p. 500 (italics mine).

law established". In other words, conforming to the Prayer Book came last. The first three elements of the Declaration were irreducibly political; and they were the terms imposed by the winners on the losers. Between 1688 and the Synodical Government Measure of 1969, the position moved slowly from toleration of those outside the Church of England to something more like religious equality. But the failure of the revised Prayer Book in 1928 demonstrated the Church's failure to persuade Parliament to allow it to alter its liturgy, even though the Bishops declared two years later that they would not hold it incompatible with loyalty to the Church of England for any clergyman to use the alterations and deviations approved by the Convocations. Eventually the only solution, expressed in the Alternative Services Measure of 1963, was to park the Book of Common Prayer in a siding, to guarantee that it would always be available, and to authorise other forms of prayer, which would also become available for the Church to use. Since then there have been the *Alternative Service Book* of 1980 and *Common Worship* in 2000. Both the hopeless compromises involved in that situation and the legal hoops through which the Church of England was forced to jump in order to secure it, exposed the fundamental impossibility of the position in which it found itself. These liturgical compromises in turn have set the precedents for the way in which the Church is now handling the questions surrounding the ministry of women.

Yes, it is important to remember 1662, because memory enables us to locate ourselves in history; without it we are like people who have lost their memory, constantly wondering who they are. But, no, we do not have to re-live 1662 or let it constantly dominate our view of the present and the future. Indeed we should learn from our remembrance the significance of the difference between what Ricoeur calls "unhappy history" and "happy forgetting". The fact that no one alive today was responsible for those actions on either side creates the possibility of developing a new relationship, which does not ignore the old. It is also possible to tackle the outstanding theological questions on the table, with a clearer understanding of what in the last three hundred and fifty years has been a successful embodiment of the Kingdom of God and what has not.

DAVID M. THOMPSON

SOME UNFINISHED BUSINESS FROM THE GREAT EJECTMENT OF 1662[1]

When the majority of people look back on 2012 they will recall the celebrations to mark the sixty years of Queen Elizabeth II's reign on the throne and the holding of the Olympic and Paralympic Games in London. It will probably escape them that 2012 also commemorated the 350th anniversary of an event in English and Welsh life that in no small measure started to fashion the religious plurality we enjoy today.

The Act of Uniformity of 1662 achieved the opposite of its intentions. Instead of creating a uniform church over which the Crown was the Supreme Governor, the Great Ejectment, which the Act caused, proved once and for all that religious uniformity cannot be achieved by parliamentary legislation. Not only does 1662 mark the birth of a Nonconformist tradition which in Victorian times had become almost numerically equal to that of the Church of England, but it also reminds us of the persistence of a way of being church which originally was championed by Puritans who, in opposition to the 1559 Elizabethan Settlement, "established" their Separatist churches outside the jurisdiction of the Church of England. And, as Alan Sell notes, "the Separatists would have endorsed the line of the hymn had they known it: 'The Church's *one* foundation is Jesus Christ her Lord', from which sentiment they drew the negative inference that there is no biblical justification for supposing that the church can properly have a monarch as its temporal head".[2] The events of 1662 guaranteed that there never would be a monopoly of religion on these shores.

While to a large extent many of the issues for Christianity which resulted from the Great Ejectment have been resolved, and newer and more pressing ones have arrived with the emergence of a multi-faith Britain, there is still some merit in reminding ourselves of the causes and implications of the Great Ejectment. It also remains of value to re-examine what might be termed the "unfinished business", even hoping that by so doing reconciliation between churches can be further advanced.

This article begins with a brief historical overview which traces the causes of the Great Ejectment and then outlines its implications for those Christians who became known as Nonconformists. I will then present a survey of the theological disagreements undergirding the momentous events which followed St Bartholomew's Day 1662. Some of those disagreements have long since been settled, but others remain a thorn in the flesh for even the most committed

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1 A paper delivered to the Cumbria Theological Society on the 6 September 2012. It emerged out of various talks and sermons delivered around the North East of England during 2012.

2 Alan P. F. Sell, "The Doctrinal and Ecumenical Significance of the Great Ejectment", in idem (ed.), *The Great Ejectment of 1662: Its Antecedents, Aftermath, and Ecumenical Significance* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2012), p. 232.

ecumenical Nonconformist. Finally, I will advocate a well-known model of translocal ministry which has a notable ecumenical pedigree. The concept of "bishop-in-council" addresses questions and concerns both within Anglicanism and our own Reformed tradition regarding adequate translocal ministry. It could lead to a reconciled approach to the vexed issue of episcopacy if both traditions were prepared to own up to the inadequacies of what they have at present and be open to receiving fresh ways of working from their ecumenical partners.

I: The Great Ejectment: Causes and Implications

The worlds of religion and politics interacted in such complex ways during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that this period of history is not only interesting because very colourful, but also susceptible to superficial understanding through a temptation to read it largely from one particular standpoint. But whether in any re-run we would aspire to be Puritan or Laudian, Roundhead or Cavalier, Establishment Anglican or Dissenting Nonconformist, we would be wise to accept that the ongoing internecine conflict during this period hardly brings much credit on the community called "church". We find in this period of English history material for a blood-thirsty episode in that documentary series now emerging in my mind, entitled "Christians behaving badly". However much we are proud of our 1662 forebears the story we should remember is rather less one-sided than those we find in some of the locally produced histories of congregations founded in 1662.

To keep things within bounds, let me begin with Elizabeth I's attempt to unify England under the auspices of an Established pattern of Christianity. She attempted to forge a so-called "Anglican Settlement" which sought to hold together Roman Catholic and Reformed theologies and polities. But, as I once heard an Anglican bishop remark about more recent turbulent times within Anglicanism, the great problem is that the "Anglican Settlement" is far from settled. Elizabeth was a pragmatist who tried to marry together Roman emphasis upon tradition and reason with the Reformed stress upon scripture when deciding what is authoritative for Christian thought and practice. It was not lost on Nonconformists that Elizabeth's "Settlement" always intended to keep church and state under monarchical rule, thereby never fully meeting the basic ecclesiological problem as many of them perceived it.

There were many in the Elizabethan church who considered that Reform needed to go further than that prescribed by the law of the land. Some of them had already experimented with patterns of worship which they believed to be more in accordance with those practised by the New Testament churches than the ones contained in a prayer book with a Roman Catholic emphasis. They had little time for what was proposed by the 1559 Act of Uniformity, the third of three sixteenth century Acts of Uniformity all of which attempted to enforce use of a Book of Common Prayer in the churches. Some of them duly formed Separatist churches, though most of them expected to return to the Church of England once it was thoroughly Reformed, an eventuality which they

considered inevitable such was their theological confidence in what they believed about the nature of the "true" church. That said, the very existence of Separatist churches reminds us that it is historically inaccurate to regard St Bartholomew's Day 1662 as the birthday of Independent churches. It was also the case that very few of those who were ejected in 1662 were Independents. By and large, the Independents had left the national church before that date, or been ejected following the Act for Confirming and Restoreing Ministers (1660). Many of the early Separatists were so severely persecuted that they fled to safety in Holland. It was from the communities they founded in towns like Amsterdam and Leyden that some of the "Pilgrim Fathers" were drawn who set sail for America in 1620.

As church history shows, the organic unity of the Christian church remains elusive. It seems to come under the category of what Reinhold Niebuhr calls an "impossible possibility", an idea to be striven for, but one which will never be achieved.[3] Perhaps Elizabeth I now looks down on the United Reformed Church's attempt to break the ecumenical logjam with a sense of pity borne out of the experience of disappointment? But, given what she had inherited, she had the sense to see that trying to bring together the different religious factions was a precondition for there being peace and stability. Monarchs who immediately followed her, however, were not so politically astute. When Charles I failed to call Parliament for an entire eleven years, it was hardly surprising that there was universal outrage among Parliamentarians. He eventually called Parliament in 1640 only to get financial backing for his dubious policy in Scotland. Those Parliamentarians who did not think that the 1559 Act of Uniformity had gone far enough in the direction of Rome asserted themselves and unity disappeared as the Puritan wing within Parliament in response pressed the case for further Reformation. A Civil War was the result. Cromwell was victorious and the Commonwealth period was born.

My education prior to the age of eleven was in Church of England schools. I recall learning about the Civil War through a kind of pantomime drama in which the audience was encouraged to hiss and boo whenever a Roundhead came centre stage; the "goodies" were Charles I and his gaudily dressed Cavaliers. I was too young to recognize the explicit attack on my Christian heritage. On the way to the Commonwealth period, Charles I and William Laud, his Archbishop of Canterbury were executed; many clergy were ejected, ostensibly on the grounds that they were ineffective and, often, absent from their parishes, but never because they were not Puritan enough; and the rank and file Christian was in danger of having the Christian tradition they had inherited, and

3 See Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), p. 81: "Without the ultrarational hopes and passions of religion no society will ever have the courage to conquer despair and attempt the impossible; for the vision of a just society is an impossible one, which can be approximated only by those who do not regard it as impossible. The truest visions of religion are illusions, which may be *partially* realised by being resolutely believed" (italics mine).

become accustomed to, taken away from them. Those of us who want to stand on some high moral ground about the virtues of the Nonconformist stance in 1662 need to remember all this. During this historical period no branch of the church comes out smelling of roses.

When the monarchy was restored in 1660, Charles II's promise of freedom in religion was not matched by Parliamentary will. A hard line approach to all those who had supported the Commonwealth ensued. I will illustrate this by an extract from an account of the history of Toller Congregational, now United Reformed Church, in Kettering.

> In May 1662 a letter was delivered to [John Maidwell] at Kettering Rectory and as he read it he knew that the final challenge had come. He was faced with a stark issue – his home, living and security depended upon the sacrifice of his most deeply held beliefs. That letter told him the requirements of the new Act of Uniformity. It demanded that every man who ministered in the Church should declare "his unfeigned assent [and consent] to all and everything prescribed in and by the book entitled 'the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the use of the Church of England'; together with the Psalter or Psalms of David printed as they are to be said or sung in churches; and the Form or Manner of Making, Ordaining and Consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons".
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> There was something cynical about the choice of date on which this Act was to be enforced – August 24th 1662. That day, St Bartholomew's, was already Black Bartholomew's Day to the men who recalled the massacre of the Huguenots 90 years before. Its choice meant too that those who refused to conform would suffer the maximum financial hurt, for the funds by which they lived became due in September.
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> … John Maidwell was under no illusion. To refuse to conform was to be thrown out of his living, to lose his home and to become a veritable outcast in his own land. Yet the alternative was to take a course that his conscience cried out to be utterly wrong and an outrage against so much that he believed. Poverty and persecution were the price of nonconformity; let us never forget it.[4]

That is a powerful story. Similar convictions were replicated in hundreds of other rectories and vicarages as, following the Restoration of the Monarchy, ministers left the reconstituted national Church or found themselves ejected from it. About one fifth of all the clergy were involved. It revealed an amazing

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4 Frank Goodman, *The Great Meeting* (Kettering: Toller Congregational Church, 1962), pp. 6-7.

nerve at a time when as Doreen Rosman points out "it was as abnormal … to dissociate from the national church, to which everyone belonged, as it is today to opt out of the school system and educate children at home".[5]

We can hardly over-stress the strength of conviction and depth of courage of those who made their sacrificial response to the 1662 Act of Uniformity. But, in the interest of historical accuracy, we ought also to acknowledge that among the majority of clergy who signed up to the 1662 Act were those of Reformed convictions who believed they should remain within the State church. Also some of the Nonconformists, especially those who favoured a Presbyterian pattern of church government, were never against the Establishment of religion in the way that some of those who later become referred to as Congregationalists most certainly were. What was an issue for them all, however, was how the church should be governed. And among Nonconformists as well as Conformists there were those whose opposition to the ministry of bishops was based mainly on the fact that the bishops were appointed by the Crown rather than upon an outright denial of the appropriateness in certain circumstances of personal *episcope* in church governance.

II: The Theological Issues of the Great Ejectment

In the aftermath of the Great Ejectment the early Nonconformists suffered intense persecution as Crown and State turned the screws ever tighter in their attempt to achieve uniformity in religion. The Corporation Act (1661) already required that no one might hold municipal office unless he had taken Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England, abjured the Solemn League and Covenant (1643) (which stated the intention of the English and the Scots to advance the Reformed faith), and accepted that it was unlawful to take up arms against the Crown for whatever reason. Then, after the events of St Bartholomew's Day 1662, further legislation hit Nonconformists very hard. The Conventicle Act (1664) made it an offence for more than five persons, in addition to the members of the household in which Christian worship was being conducted, to worship in ways not prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer. Fines and imprisonment faced offenders, who on a third conviction were to be transported. The Five Mile Act (1665) prohibited Nonconformist ministers from coming within five miles of a town or place where they had formerly ministered, unless they happened to be passing through on a journey. Meanwhile, the Test Act (1673) was specifically aimed at Roman Catholics, but it had knock-on effects for Nonconformists: no one could work for the Government who had not taken an oath rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, and received Holy Communion according to the rites of the Established Church. And, as Albert Peel says, "the sufferings of the Nonconformists under these repressive methods

5 Doreen Rosman, *The Evolution of the English Churches 1500-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 67.

defy description".[6] Between five and eight thousand of them died in jail during the reign of Charles II as a result of refusing to conform to the dictates of "an immoral King and intolerant Bishops".[7]

Viewed through the lens of our more ecumenical times the degree of religious intolerance during the seventeenth century beggars belief. There is no space here to outline fully the chain of events which led to Nonconformists being awarded religious freedom; but I would argue that it was the determined witness of Dissenters and Nonconformists which forced an unwilling establishment to give limited toleration in 1689 and subsequently over the following century and a half to remove the other legal restrictions which had been imposed upon them. Nor, perhaps more interestingly, can I do justice to the positive outcomes arising from the position in which Nonconformists found themselves. Denial of access to English universities, though, generated the need to create their own educational establishments. The Dissenting Academies were to play a significant role in the development of English and Welsh public education. Meanwhile, befitting churches which gave a high priority in Christian ministry to biblical interpretation, their students were set high academic standards and many became learned ministers who could teach their particular outcropping of "the gathered saints" a biblically-grounded faith. All of which reminds us that sometimes good things can arise amidst periods of tyranny.

Mention of the centrality of the Bible for Nonconformists takes us to the first of the several issues upon which they battled with the Established Church. The Puritan cry of *sola scriptura* had gone out a long time ago, sounding the objection to setting the standards within the church concerning faith and order issues in "tradition" rather than the Bible. It put down a marker concerning Christian foundations "Reformed style". The Basis of Union of the United Reformed Church, for example, "acknowledges the Word of God in the Old and New Testaments, discerned under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, as the supreme authority for the faith and conduct of all God's people" (para.12).[8] While the phase "discerned under the guidance of the Holy Spirit" should protect a church against adopting a narrow biblicism based on too easily equating God's word to us with the words written in ancient manuscripts, the statement also reminds us of an era when authority in the church resided in all too human traditions emanating from the Crown, aided and abetted by the Episcopate. Not only has that era long gone, but the ancient "scripture verses tradition" debate has been somewhat nullified by the conclusions of biblical scholarship stemming from a renewed awareness of the contextuality of the biblical books and the inherent traditions of Scripture. The old Protestant high-ground gets flattened out when

6 Albert Peel, *A Brief History of English Congregationalism* (London: Independent Press, Ltd., 1931), p. 59.

7 Ibid. (Quaker communities were particularly affected).

8 Found in *The Manual* (London: The United Reformed Church, updated annually).

we recognize that the New Testament records the primary *traditions* of the church concerning Jesus.[9] Meanwhile, the illogicality of claiming divine inspiration for the biblical books but ruling it out for any writings outside the scriptural canon perhaps is evidence of a pneumatology still held captive to the first century. What we find today is not so much an *inter*-church debate about the role the Bible plays in authorizing what we believe and practice, but *intra*-church disagreements which result in us finding allies in other denominations sometimes in equal proportion to those we cannot agree with in our own.

A second issue undergirding the bitter conflict surrounding the 1662 Act of Uniformity was Establishment. There is a world of difference in saying that the monarch is "the Supreme Governor of the Church" and that s/he is its "ruler and head"; but it became a merely verbal distinction in the centuries during which Protestant Dissent emerged and the birth of Nonconformity took place. Those who had been led to discover a way of being church in which those gathered in the name of Christ believed they had been given by God everything necessary for being the one holy, catholic and apostolic church, took exception to being required to conduct worship according to the Book of Common Prayer, or to set aside their ministries because they had not been ordained by a bishop standing in a supposed historic succession. What crowned the entire miserable business was that the imposition upon their religious freedom was driven by the Crown. We may note Alan Sell once more:

> Our Dissenting forebears did not suffer and die for the sake of having deacons rather than elders, believer baptism rather than paedobaptism, or even Calvinism rather than Arminianism. They suffered and died in the interest of God's right to call whom he will into the church by the Spirit, and for the sole Lordship of Christ within it.[10]

Thankfully, the kind of State interference in religion which precipitated the

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9 See David R. Peel, *Sola Scriptura: The Achilles Heel of the Reformed Tradition?* (Cheam, Surrey: Free to Believe, 2012) and idem, *Reforming Theology: Explorations in the Theological Traditions of the United Reformed Church* (London: The United Reformed Church, 2002), pp. 22-25.

10 Sell, "The Doctrinal and Ecumenical Significance of the Great Ejectment", p. 249. In his Chairman's address to the Congregational Union of England and Wales, 14 May 1962, on the occasion of the tercentenary of the Great Ejectment, John Huxtable noted how it hurt "[the Dissenters'] consciences to see the Church wrongly allied to the secular power". While Huxtable, a great Congregational ecumenist, accepted that those who "paid the price of following conscience" were "right", and asserted that "we are proud to stand in their succession", his address went on to issue a clarion call to church unity: "Whatever justification there was for division in the past, and there was much, does not permit us to evade the challenge of God's will to unity: indeed denominational pride may become a grievous stumbling-block to the fulfilment of Christ's purpose for his people". Huxtable's address is found in a pamphlet issued by Independent Press Limited, London, 1962.

Great Ejectment is a thing of the past. What we hear today is an heir to the throne wondering aloud about the appropriateness of him one day becoming in a multi-faith realm, "Defender of *the* Faith", and a leading Government official telling the media that his Government does not "do religion".

We have come a long way since 1662. Given that it is a Presbyterian church which is "established" in Scotland we are reminded that among those ejected in 1662 it was mainly those who became Congregationalists (rather than Presbyterians) who were opposed to Establishment *per se*. And even those of us who hail from the Congregational heritage will want to recognize certain virtues in Establishment. Few have outlined them in such an even-handed way as John Habgood. In his *Church and Nation in a Secular Age* (1983), the then Archbishop of York, notes that "to be conscious of belonging to a national church is to be given a broad sense of responsibility for all and sundry".[11] While it may be granted that some groups of "gathered" Protestants have those sectarian tendencies which make them decidedly parochial in a way that "parochial" churches might be expected to be outward looking and thus bear "responsibility for all and sundry", we all know of "gathered" churches which exercise committed community–based ministries as well as "parochial" churches which are indeed decidedly parochial. Bearing "responsibility for all and sundry" is not guaranteed by Establishment, but it is part and parcel of our Christian calling.

John Habgood came to the contentious conclusion that "the overall case for disestablishment, now or in the foreseeable future, is not convincing".[12] However, there is "Establishment" English-style but also Scottish-style. The idea that the Crown and Parliament should have the final say in deciding the forms of worship used in local churches remains problematical, as does the State appointment of diocesan bishops and cathedral deans. A clear distinction of the roles of State and Church is useful if two dangers are to be avoided: first, the muzzling of the church by political interests; and secondly, the removal of the clear blue water which enables the church to maintain, when required, a prophetic stance concerning the activities of the State. This is not to suggest that the State will always seek to influence let alone control an Established Church's worship and polity – it is only to point out that sometimes Britain manages to throw up Prime Ministers like Margaret Thatcher who do attempt so to influence things. Nor am I suggesting that non-Established churches have a perfect track-record of being the Christian conscience that challenges governments which adopt sub-Christian policies. What I am claiming, though, is clearly stated in the "Statement concerning the Nature, Faith and Order of the United Reformed Church":

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11 John Habgood, *Church and Nation in a Secular World* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1983), p. 98.

12 Ibid., p. 109.

> The United Reformed Church declares that the Lord Jesus Christ, the only ruler and head of the Church, has therein appointed a government distinct from civil government and in things spiritual not subordinate thereto, and that civil authorities, being always subject to the rule of God, ought to respect the rights of conscience and of religious belief and to serve God's will of justice and peace for all humankind.[13]

Thirdly, therefore, the Great Ejectment was very much to do with Christians asserting their right to be wholly free from State intervention in religious matters. The idea that the Crown or Parliament should determine how a local church worships on a Sunday remains for many of us theologically absurd. But this does not mean that Christians are free to do what they like. Nothing in the theology of the early Nonconformists could ever justify the atomistic Independency which has so bedevilled Congregational patterns of being the church. When at their best, Nonconformists possess a view of "catholicity" which pulls Christians together in common causes rather than grants them a licence to do whatever they want within the comfort zone of any small gathering of the saints.[14] Nor is there anything in the first Nonconformist theologies which supports the kind of rugged individualism that so dominates the contemporary West, where now truth tends to be reduced to personal opinion, and there has emerged an extensive intellectual tradition which eschews the once common-sense view that truth carries universal intentions. We must always remember that the Nonconformist "objection to royal tyranny was not that it constrained personal autonomy but that it impeded godly religion".[15] Indeed, the early Dissenters would have been rather surprised at the amount of freedom all churches and Christians enjoy today.

When it comes to how churches worship and who play leadership roles in the church, who decides? Those who left the national church in 1662 passionately believed they had the only sustainable answer to that question: it was not the Crown or Parliament; rather it was the gathered church or its representatives meeting to discern God's will under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. This understanding of church governance is essentially grounded in spirituality. The Puritan spirit which drove the first Nonconformists convinced them that all that is needed for a full catholic expression of Christianity can be found in local gatherings of Christians due to God's gifting of those who gather and are open to the Holy Spirit. It has been said that "Puritans monitored the state of their souls much as later generations watched their weight, blood pressure, or cholesterol levels".[16] And what they did individually they applied to their collective ecclesial activity, looking beyond themselves for guidance

13 Found in *The Manual.*

14 For a Reformed account of catholicity see Daniel T. Jenkins, *The Nature of Catholicity* (London: Faber and Faber, 1942).

15 Rosman, *The Evolution of the English Churches, 1500-2000*, p. 100.

16 Ibid., p. 61.

regarding doctrine and polity – but not to the Crown, rather to God through the Holy Spirit. This led to Christian decision making understood as a spiritual activity, rooted in biblical exploration and communal prayer. It is the tradition of the Church Meeting.

Fourthly, the 1662 Act of Uniformity necessitated that only those ministers who had been ordained by a bishop standing in the so-called historic, apostolic succession of bishops were to be allowed to hold office. There were many examples of ministers, however, who had not been so ordained exercising distinguished service in congregations which were benefitting from their ministry. So episcopal ordination was not accepted by early Nonconformists as anything other than a not so subtle attempt by the State through the bishops it appointed to establish conformity in religion by riding roughshod over central Reformation principles. I feel sure that God does not judge our competence as Christian ministers according to whether or not we are episcopally ordained. Nor is there much evidence to suggest that episcopal ordination is a guarantee of an orderly church. But what hurts me greatly is that some among those for whom Christ died do not accept me fully as a minister within the church to which we all belong – and it also hurts many a Roman and Anglican colleague with whom I have collaborated in Christ's service. And then there is the vexed matter of being excluded from the Lord's Table. At the bottom of these offences lies an idolatrous denial of what God has already done for us, namely, through the work of Christ and in the power of the Spirit calling us out of the world into the *one* church and then sending us back into the world to be a sign and sacrament of his love for all. As Alan Sell notes: "It is [the gracious, prevenient, work of God the Holy Spirit] that underpins the ecclesiology of historic orthodox Dissent, epitomized by the Separatists, the rejected and their heirs".[17]

III: Individual Leadership and Conciliar Tradition

From the perspective of a high Nonconformist ecclesiology all God's saints have been called and gathered in one church, no matter what denominational label they now adorn. It follows that we are called to display that this is so, and that involves so ordering our ecclesial life that it is genuinely inclusive of others, even those others who drive us to theological distraction or whose ethical behaviour disturbs us. Under Word and around Table all distinctions vanish – doctrinal, ecclesiological or ethical, since what we have is shared: we are all sinners for whom Christ died. One of the great lessons to be learned from 1662

17 Sell, "The Doctrinal and Ecumenical Significance of the Great Ejectment", p. 228. Elsewhere Sell claims that "All that is required [for unity] is the joyful recognition of what the gracious God has done for us in the Cross-Resurrection, and the celebration of this together at the table of the Lord". See his contribution "The Holy Spirit, the Church, and Christian Unity", in D. Donnelly, A. Denaux and J. Famerée, (eds), *The Holy Spirit, the Church, and Christian Unity: Proceedings of the Consultation held at the Monastery of Bose, Italy (14-20 October 2002)*, (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), p. 87.

is that all the distinctions we so much cherish are what Alan Sell has called "interpretative afterthoughts to the gospel of God's grace savingly active at the cross and brought home to us by the Holy Spirit who has made us one in Christ".[18] As a fellow heir of the Dissenting tradition I sympathize with Alan when he declares that it is "the height of arrogance to suppose that our agreements or our disagreements ought to be more precious to us than the grace that has made us one already (whether we like it or not)".[19] He boldly asserts that "wherever the ecclesiastical-sectarian spirit rears its head we need to take the pneumatological drill and dig it up".[20] But the problem is that there are different pneumatological drills!

Any attempt to authorize matters of faith and order on pneumatological grounds *alone* runs the risk of subjectivity. While theologians like Alan Sell and I follow our heritage in regarding Christ's gift as the calling into being of the gathered saints, that is the church *qua* body of believers, others suggest more extensive pneumatological gifting. That very ecumenical Roman Catholic, Jean-Marie Tillard, for example, argues that the Papacy and the Episcopacy comes with the divine gift of the Church, not as a secondary add-on but as essential to it. He says that "the very roots of the ecclesial institution – the apostolic function and its derivatives – are in the strictest sense a gift of Christ to the church of God, given, guaranteed and supported by a *charisma* of the Holy Spirit".[21] It is a given Spiritual gift that "the whole ecclesial institution – including the primacy of Rome … is built around the episcopacy, which comes from the Spirit sacramentally".[22]

A pneumatological approach to ecclesiology obviously can generate quite different doctrines of the church. It is very difficult not to conclude somewhat sceptically that when working out our ecclesiologies most of us most of the time do little more than rationalize the positions we have grown up with or have subsequently taken. Just as people outside the church will often remind those within it that just about any belief or practice can be justified by the Bible, so it sometimes seems that a reasonable case can be made for most patterns of being the church through arbitrarily asserting that the essential features of a particular pattern are "gifts of the Spirit".

I do not happen to think that episcopacy is of the essence (*esse*) of the church. For me to think so would involve me un-churching the congregations of the early church, which historically were not episcopally governed in the way we understand episcopal government today. In this respect, I find myself agreeing with the official theology of Anglicanism, for, as Stephen Sykes affirms:

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18 Sell, "The Doctrinal and Ecumenical Significance of the Great Ejectment", p. 268.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid., p. 252.
21 J. M. R. Tillard, "Episcopacy: A Gift of the Spirit", in Peter C. Bouteneff and Alan D. Falconer, *Episkopé and Episcopacy and the Quest for Visible Unity* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1999), p. 68.
22 Ibid., p. 69.

> It is … not a part of any historic formularies of Anglicanism to insist that episcopacy belongs to the *esse* of the church. Moreover, the official Roman Catholic response to the Final Report of ARCIC (1991) insisted that "the Roman Catholic Church recognizes in the apostolic succession both an unbroken line of episcopal ordination from Christ through the apostles down through the centuries to the bishops of today and an uninterrupted continuity in Christian doctrine from Christ to those who teach in union with the College of Bishops and its head, the Successor of Peter". Though certain Anglicans may believe some or even all of these propositions, none of them is embedded in Anglicanism's authoritative, traditional material.[23]

Roman Catholic opinion notwithstanding, history reveals churches without episcopacy which have shown just as much evidence of being true and faithful churches as the Roman Catholic Church, and arguably on certain occasions more so.

Nevertheless, an unfortunate experience of episcopacy encountered by our dissenting heirs ought not to be a reason against our considering whether or not some form of *episcope*, beyond that exercised by a minister within a local church, might be profoundly worthwhile and, hence, for the church's *bene esse*. After all, a great many of the non-episcopally structured churches have not only felt the need for "trans-local ministry" but taken steps to appoint individuals to exercise it.[24] And, quite often they have done so against protests that they were taking episcopacy into their system.[25] The pattern of such ministries has come under review at a time when there is a similar discussion within episcopally ordered churches about the nature, purpose and function of the episcopate. When we bring all these reviews and discussions together we find a growing consensus which could, if there was a will, support the adoption of a translocal ministry incorporating the strengths – and eliminating the weaknesses – of the ministries presently undertaken by people like Bishops, Moderators, Regional Ministers, Chairs of Districts etc.

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23 Stephen Sykes, *Episkopé* and Episcopacy in some recent Bilateral Dialogues", in Bouteneff and Falconer (eds.), *Episkopé and Episcopacy and the Quest for Visible Unity*, p.100.

24 I first came across the term "trans-local ministry" in Stuart Murray (ed.), *Translocal Ministry: Equipping the Churches for Mission* (Didcot: Baptist Union of Great Britain, 2004).

25 This was the case with the introduction of Superintendent Ministers and Moderators in the Baptist and Congregational worlds respectively. See my *The Story of the Moderators: The Origin, Development and Future of the Office of Moderator in Congregationalism (1919-1972) and the United Reformed Church (1972-2010)* (London: The United Reformed Church, 2012).

Within the "growing" consensus are the following points:

1. No single pattern of *episcope* can be authorized by Scripture.
2. There were different models of translocal ministry being exercised in the pre-Constantinian church.
3. A single continuous succession of ministers from Peter onwards cannot be demonstrated historically.
4. The pipe-line view of grace which undergirds classical accounts of the so-called historic succession changes a deeply personal gift into a cold, mechanistic transaction.
5. Biblical scholarship has demonstrated that there is little evidence of Christ formally handing on authority to the first apostles as has been traditionally maintained by some churches.
6. Translocal ministries need exercising in "a personal, collegial and communal way".[26]
7. There has been a tendency for translocal ministries to become impersonal due to the size of the areas being covered and the way in which a managerial mindset in the church has transformed an essentially pastoral ministry into one of administration and management.[27]
8. When at their best, translocal ministries offer a sign and symbol both of "the connectedness of apostolic faith and life through time and space" and of the unity of the church; but given the humanness of those who exercise them there is no "guarantee" of fidelity.[28]

Recognizing these points, there is much to be said for an ecumenical approach to translocal ministry which accepts that all our current examples of it are to a greater or lesser extent deficient. Then, instead of working with the principle that the central issue at stake is getting everyone to endorse and accept *one particular form of* translocal ministry, the task becomes one of devising, inaugurating and developing a brand new form which gathers up the strengths and avoids the weaknesses of our existing patterns.

The question I need to hear is not: Will you take episcopacy into your system? That question carries an impertinent assumption, namely, that the United Reformed Church does not have episcopacy. It also begs the question whether one would want to adopt something of which those who have it are often so critical. So a more radical ecumenical question would be: Will you join with us in fashioning a common form of *episcope* which draws together all the gifts from our current patterns, and that creates a new form of oversight that is pastorally earthed and missionary minded?

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26 See *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982), pp. 25-26.

27 For an Anglican perspective, see Stephen Pickard, *Theological Foundations for Collaborative Ministry* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), esp. pp. 169-88; and for a United Reformed Church perspective see my *The Story of the Moderators*, esp. pp. 49-110.

28 Pickard, *Theological Foundations for Collaborative Ministry*, p. 196.

This proposal draws upon several rich theological resources. One of them is the proposal, which has arisen out of Anglican-Reformed discussions on at least two occasions, for a translocal ministry of "Bishop-in-Presbytery".[29] The very title suggests a drawing together of personal and conciliar patterns of *episcope*. What might be expected of my own tradition is outlined by the report of the Anglican-Reformed International Commission (1984):

> We think that Reformed Churches should accept the fact that, at every level, oversight needs to be exercised in a way that is both personal and corporate. Personal oversight apart from the wisdom of a corporate body is apt to become arbitrary and erratic; oversight by a corporate body without a personal pastor is apt to become bureaucratic and legalistic.[30]

But what has the Reformed world to contribute? Among other things, reference can be made to the collaborative nature of translocal ministry in a conciliar setting, the experience of women having held such offices for many years with distinction, the principle of timed appointments and designated appraisal regimes (as well as recognition of the hopeless messes in which our Moderators sometimes end up!). All this bears witness to "the episcopate as sign and symbol [being] a challenge for *all* churches rather than a problem to be solved by the non-episcopal churches".[31] What 1662 teaches us most of all is that rather than craving for uniform patterns of Christianity we need to receive more heartedly one another's gifts.

DAVID R. PEEL

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29 See *Relations Between Anglican and Presbyterian Churches* (London: SPCK, 1957), the report of quadrilateral conversations involving the Church of Scotland, the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Church of England and the Presbyterian Church of England, 1954-57; and *God's Reign and our Unity* (London: SPCK and Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1984), the report of the Anglican-Reformed International Commission, 1981-84.

30 *God's Reign and our Unity*, para. 112.

31 Pickard, *Theological Foundations for Collaborative Ministry*, p. 197 (italics mine).

THE SETTING FOR PURITAN WORSHIP IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY, 1650-1660

Since the eleventh century Westminster Abbey has arguably been the most important church in England as the locus of major national events and ceremonies, including coronations and state funerals, but its use as a Puritan place of worship during the Commonwealth has received scant attention. This study therefore attempts to provide an outline of the likely setting for Puritan (or Reformed) worship during the ministries of William Strong (1650-54) and John Rowe (1654-60).[1]

Before his appointment on 9 December 1650 as pastor to a congregation of Independents meeting in the abbey, William Strong was a fellow of St Catharine Hall, Cambridge, and minister of St Dunstan's-in-the-West, Fleet Street, London. From 31 December 1645 he also served as a member of the Westminster Assembly until its main business was completed in 1649. Among his congregation in the abbey were many members of Parliament. Strong died in June 1654 and was succeeded by John Rowe, who had been made fellow of Corpus Christi, Oxford, in 1649 and was later lecturer, first in Oxfordshire and then in Devon. It appears that both ministers undertook the dual role of pastor of the Independent congregation and preacher at Westminster Abbey.

The immediate context for this decade of Independent ministry is, of course, the English Civil War and the turbulent period of the Commonwealth after the execution of Charles I on 30 January 1649. But before we look at the setting for worship in the abbey during the 1650s, we should first remind ourselves of the wider objective of at least some elements within the Puritan movement in England at that time and, for this, we turn to the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 and some of the events leading up to its formulation.

I. The Solemn League and Covenant of 1643

After the attempt by Charles I and Archbishop Laud in 1637 to introduce into Scotland a version of the Book of Common Prayer to replace the Book of Common Order, the Scottish Presbyterians established a National Covenant in 1638 to resist further attacks upon Reformed religion in Scotland.[2] But these

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1 The main sources of information on William Strong and John Rowe for this article are the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the two volumes by Ira Boseley, *The Independent Church of Westminster Abbey* (London: The Congregational Union of England and Wales, 1907) and *The Ministers of the Abbey Independent Church (1650-1660)* (London: James Clarke, 1911).

2 The *Confessions of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland: or the National Covenant* was adopted and signed by a large assembly in the grounds of Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh on 28 February 1638, later approved by the General Assembly, and in 1640 subscribed by the Scottish Parliament.

events have also been seen as signs of a wider political movement against the Royalists, that later fed into the English Civil War, in which the Scottish Covenanters – at least initially – sided with the English Parliamentary forces. Together, they produced the Solemn League and Covenant approved in 1643 by the Scottish Estates and the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Westminster Assembly, and both Houses of the English Parliament. The main purpose of the document was both political and religious: to secure Scottish political support for Parliament during the Civil War and to bring the religion of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland within the family of "the best reformed churches". The first of the six undertakings in the document makes clear its intention to seek a fully Reformed church in all three kingdoms:

> That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship and catechizing, that we, and our posterity after us may, as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.[3]

While the document also sought "the honour and happiness of the king's majesty", it may be said that the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 acted as a form of "charter" for both the Westminster Assembly and the Commonwealth government until it was repudiated at the Restoration.

II. The Westminster Assembly and the Directory for Public Worship

For some eight decades (through the reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I), the English Puritans had tried to reform the Church of England beyond the constraints of the Elizabethan Settlement towards a more Reformed church in line with Continental and Scottish practice, but without much success. Then, in 1643, the Long Parliament appointed a synod of 151 members (including 121

3 See G. Bray (ed.), *Documents of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1994) document 45, p. 483, giving the title 'A solemn league and covenant for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland', item 01, p. 484.

divines),[4] without Royal Assent, to reform the English Church. The synod, known as the Westminster Assembly, met regularly, first in the Henry VII Chapel and then in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey, and produced four important documents: the Westminster Confession (to replace the Thirty-nine Articles), the Directory for Public Worship (to replace the Prayer Book), and two Westminster Catechisms (Larger and Shorter). Of particular importance to this study is the Westminster Directory for Public Worship, agreed only after prolonged delays caused by "violent controversies between Presbyterians and Independents over the Sacraments".[5] One of the principal controversial issues focused on the posture for the reception of bread and wine at the Lord's Supper. The Independents argued for sitting "about" the table, as had been the practice for some at least since the early days of Elizabeth's reign, whereas the Presbyterians (backed by the Scottish Commissioners) wanted the English Church to adopt the practice of going forward to sit "at" the table, in conformity with the Reformed churches in Scotland and the Netherlands. Both excluded the official Prayer-Book practice of kneeling and the Genevan practice of ambulant communion.

When sitting "about" the table, the congregants were served in their seats with the bread and wine by the minister and his helpers, and then between themselves, so that no one need move from his place and cause a disturbance; this recalls the practice adopted at the first "Reformed" communion service at Zurich in 1525 in which the rubric reads:

> Thereupon the bread shall be carried round by the designated servers on broad wooden plates from one seat to the next – to allow each person to break a morsel or mouthful with his hand and eat it. In the same fashion, they shall go round with the wine, so that no one need move from his place.[6]

When sitting "at" the table, the congregants went forward to the table or tables (in relays if necessary) to re-enact the Last Supper as they understood it from the Synoptic Gospels, but with many more people taking part.

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4 The 121 divines included nine Episcopalians, a small group of Independents and another small group of Erastians, but the overwhelming majority were Presbyterians. Eight Scottish Commissioners were appointed to join the Assembly as delegates but not members, and, although three divines from New England were invited, none accepted. The influence of both the English Independents and the Scottish Commissioners was disproportionate to their numbers.

5 See "Westminster Assembly (1643)", in F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.1732. The Presbyterians and Independents were the two main parties of Puritanism, but two of the leading Puritan divines – the Presbyterian Richard Baxter and the Independent John Owen – were not included in the Assembly.

6 Bard Thompson (ed.), *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1961). Preface to "Action or Use of the Lord's Supper, Easter 1525", p. 150.

The debate was particularly fervent during June and July 1644 when the main protagonists were the English Independents and the Presbyterian Scottish Commissioners, both minority groups within the Assembly which was otherwise dominated by English Presbyterians. The small Independent contingent was led by a formidable group of five divines, and a similarly small but formidable group of Scottish Presbyterians – comprising four ministers and two elders – represented the Commissioners.[7] The argument developed from a proposal brought by a working committee on worship to the effect that "… itt bee recommended to all Congregations that Seates at Table bee so placed as the Communicants may Behold the whole Sacramentall Station & may be placed orderly about the Table".[8] The Independents wanted all the communicants to sit "about" the table at a single sitting, whereas the Scottish Presbyterians wanted to maintain their own tradition of sitting "at" the table, even if this meant multiple sittings.

For about three weeks the divines argued the matter from a range of viewpoints, but the principal concerns may be summarized as follows:

1. The Independents argued that the unity of the worshipping community would be sustained by serving the bread to all the communicants first, and then the wine, according to their custom and understanding of Christ's institution. To them the Scottish use of successive sittings not only split the communicants into several congregations, each with its own rite, but it was also disorderly.
2. The Scottish Presbyterians pointed out that the disciples sat "at table" during the Last Supper and that sitting at table had been their own practice from the Scottish Reformation in 1560. Furthermore, they argued that successive sittings did not break the unity of the congregation, noting that the bread is blessed for everybody.

To some extent, these two views reflected the concerns of two leading sixteenth-century divines. In his *Decades,* Heinrich Bullinger had argued that "The matter is indifferent, whether the church take the supper sitting down, or going to the table … (but) … there is more quietness and less stir in sitting at the supper, while the ministers carry the holy mysteries about the congregation".[9] Later, John Knox (and his colleagues) had declared that "Christ

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7 The Independent "group of five" were Thomas Goodwin, Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge, Philip Nye, and Sidrach Simpson. The initial group of participating Scottish Commissioners comprised four ministers (Alexander Henderson, Robert Baillie, George Gillespie, and Samuel Rutherford) and two elders (John, Lord Maitland and Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warristone).

8 Minute of Session 243, held on Thursday 20 June 1644. See C. Van Dixhoorn (ed.), *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly, 1643-53*, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

9 H. Bullinger, *Sermonium Decas quinta, 1551*. Published as 'The Decades of Henry Bullinger, Minister of the Church of Zurich' (Cambridge: The Parker Society, 1852). See volume 4: The Fifth Decade, The Ninth Sermon p. 422.

Jesus sat with his discipillis, and thairfoir do we juge, that sitting at a table is most convenient to that holie action".[10] That "holie action", of course, became the most active part of the liturgy in the Book of Common Order of 1564. In the end, the Westminster Assembly agreed that the *Directory* should provide for the table to be "Conveniently placed that the communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it",[11] thus covering both options.

Although the Assembly was never formally dissolved, by 1649 it had completed its main work and there was at last an opportunity for the Reformed movement in England and Wales to shape the English Church into a Reformed Church and fashion a "Godly Commonwealth". For about a century the various Acts of Uniformity (1549, 1552, and 1559) had sought to impose the Prayer Book on all the sovereign's subjects, but now the way was open for those who sought a non-episcopal polity and a Reformed approach to worship practices to help the Church of England become a full member of the Europe-wide Reformed family. Some congregations and their ministers were reluctant to change and the reform of worship was therefore patchy, but there were many Puritan congregations that willingly joined their ministers in a form of worship that reflected Continental Reformed practices and, in the 1662 Great Ejectment, they remained attached to their ministers.

III. Preparing Westminster Abbey for Puritan worship

During the main period of the Westminster Assembly (that is, 1643-49), it seems that preparatory work was undertaken in the abbey to purge it (as the Puritans saw it) of its superstitious objects and to purify the space for worship. In April 1643, the House of Commons appointed a "Committee for the Demolition of Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry", led by the prominent Puritan and Master of the Mint Sir Robert Harley of Brampton Bryan. Over the next eighteen months, an inventory was prepared and the offending objects – including regalia, vestments, plate, and decorative brass and iron – were put out of use and sold (according to some) to help the poor of Ireland and pay for the upkeep of abbey property.[12] However, the old regime and later establishment commentators saw in this only wanton destruction, a view reflected by Peter Heylyn in his anti-Puritan history of the reformation of the Church of England, *Ecclesia Restaurata,* published in 1661.[13] At the same time, the committee

10 J. Knox, 'The Book of Discipline 1560', in *The History of the Reformation in Scotland*, printed as Volume Second of *The Works of John Knox* (Edinburgh: Woodrow Society, 1848).

11 *A Directory for The Publique Worship of God, Throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: 1644). Published by Grove Books, Bramcote, Notts, under the title 'The Westminster Directory', p. 22.

12 A useful summary of these changes may be found in R. Widmore, *An History of the Church of St. Peter, Westminster*, *commonly called Westminster Abbey; Chiefly from manuscript authorities* (London: Jos. Pox and C. Tovey, 1751), pp. 155, 156–158.

13 P. Heylyn, *Ecclesia Restaurata: The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (London: 1661).

arranged for an "exercise" to be undertaken every morning instead of a daily service, for lectures to be given by appointed lecturers on Sunday afternoons, and for a sermon to be preached each Sunday.

For a few years before 1650, the leadership in the abbey was predominantly Presbyterian, and, although it was a Royal Peculiar – in theory answerable directly to the crown – yet, even before the execution of the king in 1649, it was deemed answerable to Parliament, which made it the venue for the Westminster Assembly. Cromwell was in essence an Independent Puritan and it is not surprising that, during the 1650s, the chancel of Westminster Abbey was used as an Independent chapel where Cromwell was likely to have been an occasional worshipper. It was in the abbey, during the ministry of William Strong, that the funeral of Henry Ireton was held in 1651, with the sermon preached by the Independent divine John Owen. It was also in the abbey, during the ministry of John Rowe, that the funeral of John Bradshaw was held in 1659, in which the sermon was preached by the minister. And it was to the west door of the abbey that the elaborate funeral cortège of Oliver Cromwell processed from Somerset House in 1658, using an effigy of the Protector that was then carried through the abbey to the Henry VII Chapel (to the east of the chancel), where it was placed on public display, although Cromwell's body had been buried in the chapel nearly two weeks before.[14] Indeed, all three regicides – Ireton, Bradshaw, and Cromwell – were buried in the abbey, until their bodies were exhumed for public humiliation in 1661.

IV. The setting for Puritan worship

Turning to the setting for worship in the 1650s, the focus of this study is the preparation of a conjectural plan. The term "conjectural plan" is intended to describe a drawn layout based on incomplete information. The information used here includes a scale plan of the main fabric of the abbey published in 1950 by Sir Bannister Fletcher, a scale plan of arrangements for the 1685 coronation of James II published in 1687 (noting that the small rooms each side of the choir entrance were half the size of those in the Fletcher plan), a carpenter's plan of the mid-seventeenth century showing the arrangement of new pews for the crossing (or lantern) area to the east of the choir (figure 1),[15] together with the likely adoption of other features described in the text. The "conjectural" nature of the resultant plan is denoted by a freehand style of presentation rather than a

14 Although the state funeral took place on 23 November 1658, using an effigy of Cromwell according to normal practice, his body was buried privately in the Henry VII Chapel on 10 November 1658.

15 The plan sources are: Sir Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (15th edn, London: Batsford, 1950), p. 378; P. Sandford, *The History of the Coronation of ... James II ... and his royal consort Q*xvi Minute of Session 243, held on Thursday 20 June 1644. See C. Van Dixhoorn (ed.), *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly, 1643-53*, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

mechanical style which might give the impression of unjustified precision.

The carpenter's plan (Westminster Abbey Muniment 24851) indicates pews for "Lord Bradshaw" (who, in January 1649, was appointed Lord President of the parliamentary commission set up to try the king) and "Mr May" (probably the poet Thomas May, who died in November 1650). This suggests that the drawing was prepared in 1649 or 1650, but a petition dated 16 June 1649 from sixteen "Burgesses and Assistants" reads:

> That time out of memory, your pet^{s} and theire predecessors have allwaies had a large convenient pewe in the Abby of Westm^{r} which was ever called by the name of the Burgesses and Assistants pew, And that theire Wives likewise had an other pewe there.
>
> And now by reason of taking away the old pewes in the said church and erecting of new (pewes) there, your pet^{s} and there Wives are destitute.
>
> They doe therefore humbly pray this hono^{ble} com^{tee} to vouchsafe to give order that they may have such convenient Roome in the new pewes for themselves and their Wives in lew of theire said old pewes, as to yor hon^{rs} shalbee thought meete.[16]

This indicates that the new pews were in position by mid-June 1649. The Surveyor of Westminster Abbey from 1640 until his death in 1655 was Adam Browne, a former joiner, and it is likely that he prepared the plan or commissioned it.[17]

16 WAM 42827 "The humble petition of the Burgesses and Assistants of the City of Westminster being sixteen in number" (16 June 1649).

17 WAM Lease Register XV, folios 363-4. Also Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), p. 89, n. 78.

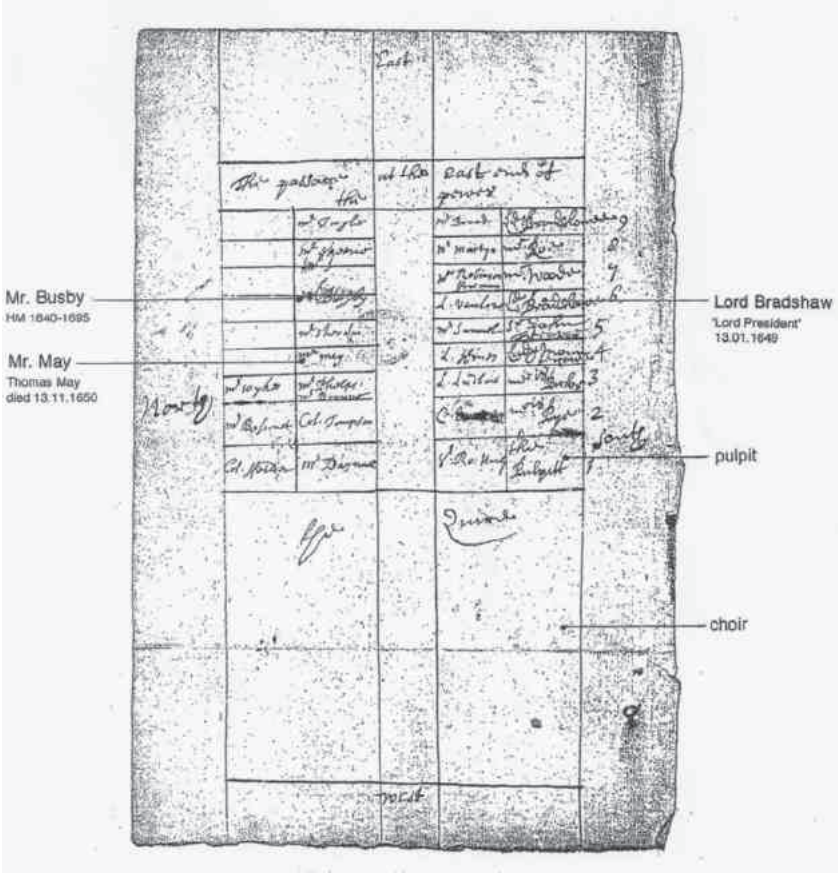

Figure 1: Carpenter's plan (WAM 24851) with added notes

The carpenter's plan not only provides us with a good indication of where the new pews were provided, but also the location of the pulpit (figure 2). The pulpit was the focal point of regular Reformed worship, emphasizing the importance of the ministry of the Word in reading and preaching.

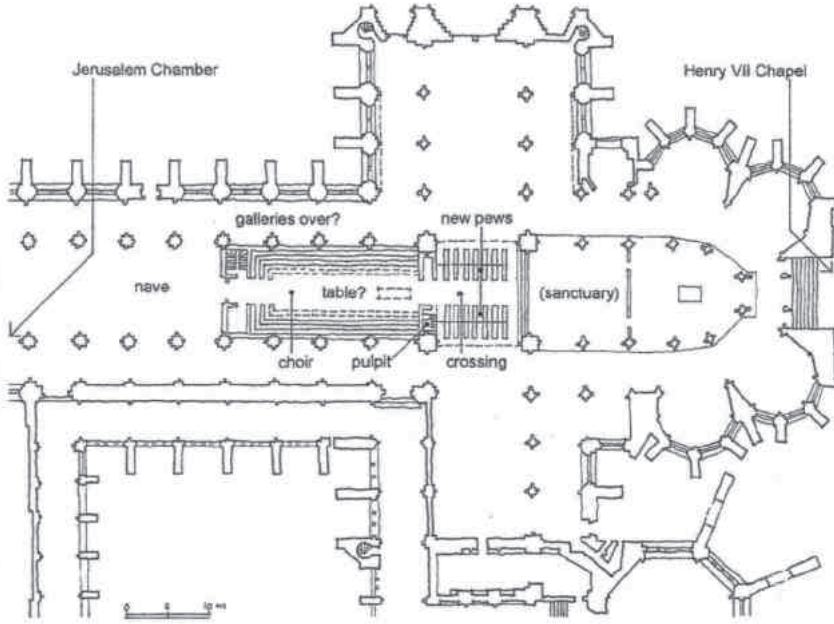

Figure 2: Conjectural plan of Westminster Abbey during the 1650s

Although we have the carpenter's plan to help locate the pulpit for preaching and the arrangement of new pews, we have to look to the Westminster Directory for Public Worship for the likely location of the communion table. If we bear in mind the heated arguments at the Assembly about the administration of the sacrament of communion, we may reasonably assume that the Independents opted for communion "about" the table (that is, with the communicants remaining seated while the minister and his assistants served them from a conveniently placed table); a central location for the table is therefore suggested. With regard to baptism, the general view of the Puritans was against the use of a font, which it was claimed in *An Admonition to Parliament* (1572)[18] was invented by Pope Pius and did not have the express warrant of God's Word. We may therefore assume that a basin would have been placed centrally, probably on the table, in full view of the congregation, for the rubric in the Directory states:

18 T. Wilcox, *An Admonition to the Parliament* (1572) in Iain Murray (ed.), *The Reformation of the Church: A Collection of Reformed and Puritan Documents on Church Issues* (London: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1965), p. 85f. The *Admonition* was published with John Field's *View of Popish Abuses yet Remaining in the English Church* (1572).

> Nor is it to be administered in private places, or privately, but in the place of Publique Worship, and in the face of the Congregation, where the people may most conveniently see and heare; and not in the places where Fonts in the time of Popery were unfitly and superstitiously placed.[19]

One historian of the abbey has commented on the new arrangement: "The Choir and Nave of the church were now filled with pews, so arranged that they all faced the central pulpit".[20] But the carpenter's plan suggests that the choir stalls were retained, and the construction of pews in the nave was unlikely because anyone sitting in the nave would probably be out of sight and hearing of the preacher. To get some idea of the optimum size of a preaching space, we may usefully turn to Christopher Wren's comment on his "auditory" churches, built in London after the Great Fire of 1666:

> I can hardly think it practicable to make a single Room so capacious, with Pews and Galleries, as to hold above 2000 Persons, and all to hear the Service, and both to hear distinctly, and see the Preacher. I endeavoured to effect this, in building the Parish Church of *St. James's, Westminster*…[21]

If we superimpose the 1684 plan of St James's onto the conjectural plan of the abbey during the 1650s (figure 3), we can see that the "auditory" plan fits comfortably within the combined spaces of choir and crossing, with their side aisles, and that the use of the nave or transepts or altar area for congregational seating would have been problematic. Wren's "auditory" churches used galleries to achieve their seating capacity, and there is evidence in the extant records that gallery construction, together with staircase work and pews, was proposed in the early 1650s and estimates submitted. Some bills for work to "platforms" on the west and south sides of the abbey are also extant, suggesting that the setting for worship in the 1650s could well have included the use of galleries.[22]

Although the abbey was amended to accommodate Independent worship, the congregants themselves were not all Independents or even Puritans. The carpenter's plan shows a pew or double pew for Richard Busby, the headmaster of Westminster School and he was no Puritan; neither was Samuel Pepys, who

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19 *The Westminster Directory* (1644): Grove Book, p. 19.

20 E. Carpenter, *A House of Kings: The History of Westminster Abbey* (London: John Baker, 1966), p. 171. (From Part II: "The Reformation and its Aftermath", Chapter 10: "The Abomination of Desolation").

21 G. W. O. Addleshaw and F. Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship: An Inquiry into the arrangements for Public Worship in the Church of England from the Reformation to the present day* (London: Faber and Faber, 1948), Appendix II, p. 248.

22 For estimates of cost of gallery work see WAM 24850 and 24852; also WAM 24857 and 42927. For submitted bills see WAM 43212M-N.

also attended services at the abbey towards the end of this period.[23] It was clearly a tense time and there is evidence in the records of soldiers stationed in the abbey during the services to keep the peace.[24]

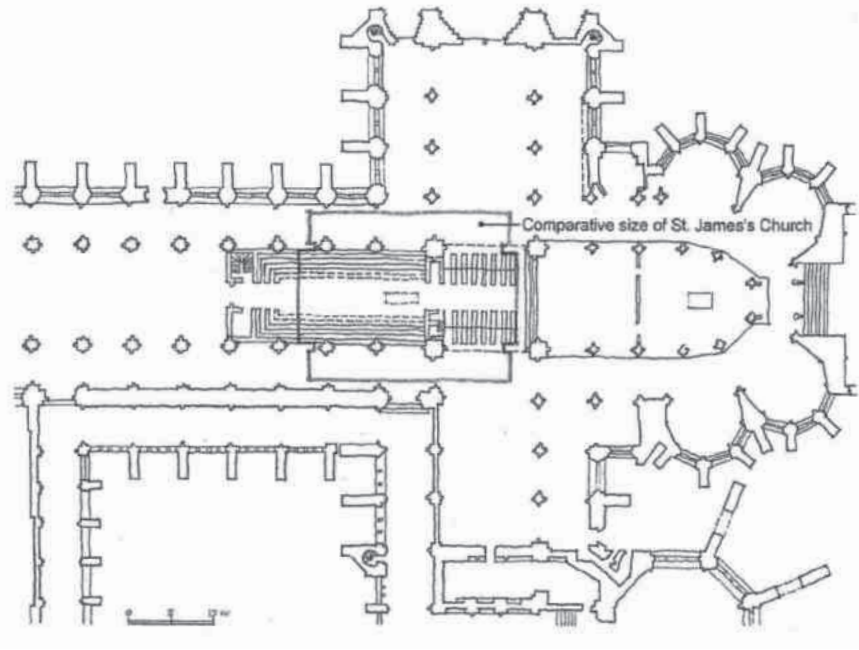

Figure 3: Outline of 1684 plan of St James's, Westminster, superimposed on conjectural plan

V. The Restoration

When Charles entered London on 29 May 1660, he and parliament moved quickly to reconstitute both church and state within a context of extreme political tension; tension which could be said to have emerged as far back as the days of

23 After a preliminary comment on "The condition of the State" in 1659, Pepys's diary commences properly on 1 January 1660, and, before the use of the abbey for Puritan worship formally ended at the farewell service on 23 September 1660, Pepys records two visits: the entry for 1 July 1660 records, "In the afternoon to the Abbey, where a good sermon by a stranger, but no Common Prayer yet".

24 The muniments of the abbey include a "Letter from Capt. James Straghen of the General's Regiment". He asks that troops may be paid who attended at the Abbey to prevent disturbances of the Preacher. Dat(e) 26 December 1649; (ten shillings). Another request dated 27 Decembris 1649 asks for "Tenn shillings for the restraineinge of the noyse".

the Henrician Reformation. However, the Abbey Independent Church was allowed to continue for nearly four months, holding its farewell service on Sunday, 23 September 1660. The diarist Samuel Pepys attended that service and his diary entry notes that:

> … Mr. Pierce (went) with me to the abby, where I expected to hear Mr. Baxter or Mr. Rowe their farwell sermon in the abby. And there in Mr. Symons's pewe I sat and heard Mr. Rowe. Before sermon I laughed at the reader, who in his prayer desire[d] of God that He should imprint his word on the thumbs of our right hands and on the right great toes of our right feet. In the middst of sermon some plaster fell from the top of the Abbey, that made me and all the rest in our pew afeared, and I wished myself out.[25]

Pepys's reference to "Mr Baxter" suggests that Pepys was aware of the return of Richard Baxter from his pastorate in Kidderminster to London earlier in 1660.

After John Rowe's farewell service, the abbey reverted to episcopal use and, by the time of Charles's coronation on 23 April 1661, all traces of the new pews in the crossing area had been removed (figure 4).[26]

Figure 4: View of crossing (lantern) and sanctuary during the coronation of Charles II, 1661. © Trustees of the British Museum

25 G. G. Smith (ed.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, The Globe Edition (London: McMillan, 1906). Entry for 23 September 1660 (Lord's day), p. 49.

26 British Museum collection print ref. 1848,0205.126. (Etching by Wenceslaus Hollar, published 1662).

Meanwhile, a Parliamentary Order dated 10 December 1660 required the exhumation of the regicides:

> Ordred By the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament That the Carcasses of Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John Bradshaw, Thomas Pride, whether buried in Westminster Abby or els where, bee with all expedition taken up, and drawne upon a hurdle to Tiburne, and there hanged up in their Coffins for some time, and after that, buried under the said Gallowes …[27]

This grim exercise was carried out on 30 January 1661. Thomas Pride had not been buried in the abbey, but at Nonsuch Park in Surrey, and his body seems to have escaped the gruesome fate of the others, possibly because it was in an advanced state of decomposition, but the heads of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were cut off and displayed on pikes. Later in the same year, in September 1661, the bodies of some twenty-one other Puritans buried in the abbey were exhumed and thrown into a pit outside the north wall (to the west of St Margaret's Church), and among the bodies was that of William Strong, the Abbey's first Independent minister.[28] The Puritan hope of a fully Reformed Church of England seems to have been buried with them.

VI. Conclusion

We may conclude that, after Parliament had fashioned the instruments of Puritan worship through the agency of the Westminster Assembly, it was able to put them into practice in the abbey during the decade from 1650 to 1660, through the ministries of two Independent pastors, namely William Strong and John Rowe. But, with the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the Puritan-Reformed enterprise failed, and the Church of England reverted to episcopacy and the use of the Prayer Book.

The years between the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution of 1688/89 proved to be very difficult for Presbyterians, Independents (or Congregationalists), Baptists and Quakers, as everyone was required to conform

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27 Carpenter, *A House of Kings*, figure 29 "Parliamentary Order for the Exhumation of the Regicides" (From Part III: "Rehabilitating Elizabeth's Charter", chapter 11).

28 Near the western entrance of St Margaret's Church, the Cromwell Association has listed those thrown into the pit: Col. Robert Blake, Jane Desborough, Col. John Meldrum, Denis Bond, Dr Isaac Dorislaus, Col. Edward Popham, Col. Nicholas Boscawen, Anne Fleetwood, John Pym, Mary Bradshaw, Thomas Hesilridge, Humphrey Salwey, Sir William Constable, Col. Humphrey Mackworth, William Strong, Elizabeth (mother of Oliver) Cromwell, Stephen Marshall, William Stroud, Col. Richard Deane, Thomas May, Dr William Twiss.

to the so-called "Clarendon Code",[29] which comprised four pieces of legislation passed by the new Cavalier government to suppress Puritan aspirations, crush dissent, and establish the position of episcopacy and Prayer-Book Anglicanism. While all four Acts seriously limited the activities of those who sought a Reformed Church of England, probably the most far-reaching was the 1662 Act of Uniformity that resulted in up to 20 per cent of ministers losing their livings, including that of John Rowe, the second of the Abbey's two Independent ministers. This is said to have marked the historical beginning of Nonconformity.[30] It seems that neither the king nor his Lord Chancellor Edward Hyde (first Earl of Clarendon) were entirely happy with the provisions of the four acts, but when the king issued his second Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, seeking greater tolerance in line with his promises at Breda, Parliament suppressed its provisions the following year.

Any residual Presbyterian hope of seeing a Reformed Church of England seems to have faded during the decades of the Restoration, so that, when the new government of the "Glorious Revolution" passed the "Toleration Act" in 1689 concerning those it called "persons dissenting from the Church of England",[31] most Presbyterians, like the Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers, saw themselves as Dissenters seeking to build places of worship or meetinghouses outside the Church of England.

MALCOLM LOVIBOND

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29 Named after the Lord Chancellor, first Earl of Clarendon, whose role was to enforce the new laws. The *Clarendon Code* comprised four pieces of legislation passed by the new Cavalier government to suppress Puritan aspirations and to establish the position of episcopacy and Prayer-Book Anglicanism. They were: (1) Corporation Act (1661), rejecting the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 and requiring all municipal officials to receive communion according to the Book of Common Prayer. (2) Act of Uniformity (1662), requiring the use of a revised *Book of Common Prayer* for worship; a declaration by ministers and teachers that taking arms against the king was not lawful and that the Solemn League and Covenant was an unlawful oath; it also required all those in Holy Orders to receive episcopal ordination. (3) Conventicle Act (1664), forbidding conventicles of more than five people not of the same household. (4) Nonconformity Act (1665), commonly called the "Five-Mile Act", forbidding Nonconformist ministers coming within five miles of towns or places of their former ministries; it also forbade such ministers teaching in schools.

30 All ministers in the Church of England were required to declare their conformity to the provisions of the 1662 Act of Uniformity by 24 August 1662 (St Bartholomew's Day) or suffer ejection. Those who refused became part of what has been called the Bartholomean Exodus.

31 The "Toleration Act" (1689), was entitled "An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of certain Laws". See Bray (ed.), *Documents of the English Reformation*, document 52, p. 570.

REVIEWS

***Spirituality in Adversity: English Nonconformity in a Period of Repression, 1660-1689.* By Raymond Brown. Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2012. Pp. 374. £35.00. ISBN 978-1-84227-785-0.**

At a time when so many Christians face persecution, it is good to be reminded of a critical period in this nation's history, between the passing of the Clarendon Code (1661-1665) and the enacting of the very limited "Toleration Act" of 1689, when Christians who did not belong to the Established Church encountered fierce persecution, for "far more innocent Protestants died in squalid prisons in the reign of Charles II than at the stake under Mary" in the previous century. Harsh persecution in these years, in which Quakers fared the worst, was not helped by the ill thought-out politics of opposition seen in various plots and the Monmouth uprising in which they had no part. This rich work of mature scholarship, the product of exceptionally wide reading in both secondary and primary sources – sermons, diaries, letters, minutes, biblical exposition, court documents, contemporary biography and autobiography, theological monographs, religious allegory – which survive in abundance, both chronicles the extent of the persecution and probes deeply its impact on the Nonconformist mind. That said, it has to be remembered that in the 1670s and 1680s the boundary between dissent and conformity was "highly porous".

In exploring the mind of the victimized the author is at his best, carefully analysing the theology of the persecuted, the way they placed and interpreted their sufferings within the divine economy, that is within the purposes of God in history, in perfecting the gathered church, "heir to the Cross". In this way they persuaded themselves of the privileges and benefits of suffering, which came not only from hostile bishops and magistrates, but sometimes more hurtfully from family and neighbours, and betwixt those two too many experienced the deprivation of home and family life.

Despite fears about seeming to affirm a species of Pelagianism, thereby compromising the great truths of "grace alone", an exemplarist Christology found considerable support: Richard Baxter firmly asserted "Christians must imitate Christ and suffer with him before they reign with him". Not allowing their external circumstances to cultivate an uncaring self-concern, careless of the feelings of others, they were taught that to neglect compassionate intercession for others, including their oppressors, was both "plaine inhumanity" and "plaine Atheisme". The quality of their thought and the potency of the language in which it was expressed are here well illustrated – the latter supplying many of the sub-headings for the author's lucid and sympathetic analysis.

There is nothing glib in the exploration of this mystery, in which "the Church that hath the least of sin should endure the most of suffering", for these later Puritans detect the fruit of sin not only in its perpetrators, but also in the lives of so many sufferers, who, in Hercules Collins's judgement, thereby came to endure such troubles, not simply as a stoic acceptance of life's bitter

circumstances, but as the readiness to "have our will swallowed up by the Will of God", acknowledging that of necessity his will must always be "best for us". Suffering served to correct and shape even an apparently pious life, underlining the fact that suffering, if patiently pursued, could prompt a painful process of self-discovery, for this is a "warts and all" investigation freely admitting dissenting failings. Nor do Dissenters of the period speak with a unanimous voice as is seen in the debate for and against the use of set prayers, or the subjects and mode of baptism.

Accordingly English Nonconformity was well-prepared for suffering by a well-trained theological intelligence with its Calvinist emphasis on the sovereignty and faithfulness of God, teaching derived from extensive reading in the scriptures, but always alert to the need for such intellectual acquaintance to be quickened in application by the Spirit. Whatever the outward circumstance, however much it challenged understanding, they took comfort from the assurance that they were living within God's divinely ordered purposes, which were ultimately for their spiritual benefit, for God knows best, does what is right, and gives all that is necessary. Prayer might appear to remain unanswered, but their mentors taught them that even in "the denial of a godly man's prayer … is laid a foundation of greater mercy". Thus even within adversity there was the assurance of God's presence: "What is liberty without God?" questioned John Perrot, "and What is more pleasant than a Prison with my God?" Positioning themselves within the tradition of the suffering saints of God, they were not mere sufferers, for they were not frightened of warning their oppressors that they would not escape judgement.

If this study has its starting point in the consciences of those English Christians who did not conform to the liturgy of the Established Church, then a large part of their power was derived from the solidarity and strength they derived from life within their several worshipping communities, that deep sense of belonging and mutual support which fortified them when all the powers of State and Church were arraigned against them. This leads the author to explore how their sacramental theology and practice linked to their experience of suffering, comparing their disciplined sacramental celebration of the Cross and Resurrection with what they often judged the promiscuous use of such sacred ordinances in the Established Church: for their part a suffering church did not hesitate to celebrate a suffering Christ, but only did so with the deepest reverence, taking comfort from the knowledge that beyond the Cross lay resurrection. This study not only provides a valuable entry into the spirituality of a period of particular oppression for English Dissent, but listening to the many deeply reflective responses of both pastors and people can present a timely challenge to the development of our own spirituality in rather more comfortable times.

JOHN H. Y. BRIGGS

***Aspects of Reforming: Theology and Practice in Sixteenth Century Europe*. Edited by Michael Parsons. Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2013. Pp. 298. £29.99. ISBN 978-1-84227-806-2.**

This is an enterprising collection of essays and has much to commend it. Its enterprise is shown in the readiness to tackle difficult subjects like Luther's relationship to the Jews, Calvin on feminism and "texts of terror" in the Bible, subjects which clearly reflect choices made by twenty-first century readers of sixteenth century history. But it also deals with topics that may appear to be of more antiquarian interest though important for serious ecumenical scholarship like the question of which, if either, version of the Lutheran Augsburg Confession Calvin was prepared to sign.

It is also to be commended for avoiding the common mistake of assuming that the only Reformers worth noting are Luther and Calvin. They dominate the discussion and are the subject of most of the essays but we also have an essay on "Socinus and Racovian Catechism on Justification" and other studies that mention Zwingli, Bullinger, Cranmer, John Owen, et al. Indeed Martin Foord makes the good point that "Calvin was not theologically regulative for the sixteenth century Reformed tradition". If he were less polite, he could add "in the way that Luther is for Lutheranism" for though there is a Lutheran Church there is no such thing as a Calvinist Church.

Many of the chapters first appeared as lectures at the Evangelical Theological Society Conference at San Francisco in 2011. This helps explain why most of the authors come from the United States, Canada and Australia with one lone voice, Berthold Schwarz, from Giessen in Germany. The editor, who also contributes an article on Calvin's handling of "difficult deaths" in Scripture – Ananias and Sapphira in Acts 5, Uzah in 2 Samuel 6 and Uriah in 2 Samuel 11 – comes from Didcot or as he also explains from Spurgeon's College, London. Few tell us where they come from confessionally which is a big omission, for Lutherans writing about Luther may be well informed but also over anxious to defend their man and the same applies of course to Reformed writers writing about Calvin. On the whole it is not difficult to guess that people are writing about their own tradition. All are scholarly though some more so than others. I groan when I am told that "the theme of motherhood is scarce in church history" and then find a reference to Augustine but none to Anselm or Hildegard. Calvin's own description of the Church as our Mother deserves more than a passing reference and a footnote, as in the *Institutes,* to Cyprian. The best scholarship, and there is much on display here, is up to date in the use of modern authors like Zachman, Steinmetz, Trueman et al. And unusual in anthologies and extremely welcome is a detailed bibliography and excellent indexes of authors, subjects and biblical references. For heirs of the sixteenth century Reformation – that is all readers of this and other such journals – there is a mine of information here that is easily accessible because so carefully indexed.

Good scholarship stimulates further research. Scholarly readers and reviewers will approach studies like these with their own particular concerns. I am

currently trying to understand the extent of anti-Semitism in Europe in the twentieth century and found the essay on Luther and the Jews in the sixteenth century far too detached from the lethal combination of Luther's rash outbursts against Jews who refused to become Christians, and the way German people took to Luther because he was German and made them proud to be such, despite or because of his attitude to the Jews. But let me add that if as a Reformed theologian I were writing about Calvin's impact, I would have to come clean about his links with the theological justification of apartheid in South Africa. And because many of the authors might describe themselves as Evangelical Theologians – as in the title of their Conference – one misses serious engagement with the Roman Catholic thinkers with whom the Reformers contended or even an ecumenical desire to bring Lutherans and Reformed Christians together, rather than just place them side by side. But then because I did not write the book, I am here being challenged by those who did.

DONALD NORWOOD

***Thomism in John Owen*. By Christopher Cleveland. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. Pp. 173. £50.00. ISBN 978-1-4094-5579-0.**

With the publication of this careful study we have further evidence of the continuing interest in the writings of John Owen, and of the demolition of the barrier that, in less discerning circles, was once permitted to divide medieval from Reformed thought.

Cleveland finds that Aquinas and some of his successors were among the many authors to whom Owen was indebted. Furthermore, and not surprisingly, Owen utilises the scholastic method of argumentation and categories, embraced by Aquinas and ultimately derived from Aristotle, which were taught in the ancient universities of the day (as well as by alumni tutors in the early Dissenting academies). Nor is the influence of Augustine upon both Aquinas and Owen overlooked. Throughout, Owen, well aware that the god of Aristotle is not the God of Christianity, seeks to relate what he learns from his forebears to the biblical witness.

Owen draws upon Thomist insights when expounding three ideas in particular. First, God is the pure act of being without any potentiality. That is to say, God, who creates *ex nihilo*, is the only one who can move something that exists potentially to become an actual existent. All actions are caused by God. Furthermore, God is one in essence; he is simple as having no parts, and he is perfect. His existence is identical with his essence: he is pure act of being. God's purposes and will are essentially immutable, though, in a metaphorical sense, his will as revealed in commands to humans can be sinfully violated. Owen deploys this distinction against the Arminian claim that God's will can be thwarted. All things happen by the will of God, but this is not at the expense of human freedom of choice. While God moves the creature's will to choose and act, the choice and action are the creature's own, and hence God is not the author of

sin. The same divine motion, as well as God's empowering grace are required if free but sinfully corrupt human beings are to persevere in good works; were it otherwise the "Pelagianism" of the Jesuits (over against the Augustinianism of the Dominicans), and the Arminianism of the Congregationalist John Goodwin, would threaten. Those who receive God's free grace are predestined to persevere to the end. Owen adumbrates his points most fully against the Socinian, John Biddle. In Cleveland's view Owen's position on God as pure act of being is consistent with "the biblical understanding of the Triune God" (p. 68).

Secondly, Owen speaks of salvation in terms of infused habits of grace. Again, the fountain-head is Aristotle, who held that moral excellence is the product of the performance and repetition of good acts. Thus are formed moral habits which lead towards moral virtue. Since Aquinas holds that the highest good is God himself, and that the goal is blessedness, he adds to Aristotle's theory the important consideration that there are also habits which are directly infused by God. Infused habits are otherwise beyond human capacity, they are supernatural rather than natural, and they lead to salvation. This, to Owen, preserves God's sovereignty in salvation, over against and untoward "Pelagianizing". In this connection regeneration (as distinct from an individual's reformation of his or her life – a Socinian view) and sanctification are key concepts, and they are both the work of God the Holy Spirit. Apart from this work people cannot act righteously, because only by the power of God are the theological virtues of faith, hope and love infused into the soul. This inherent righteousness is God's gift but, contrary to the Thomist tradition, it is not the formal cause of justification – that cause is Christ's imputed righteousness. Cleveland accepts that the doctrine of an infused habit of grace accords with biblical teaching.

Thirdly, Owen draws upon Thomism in relation to the hypostatic union of Christ. To Aquinas, Christ is one reality subsisting in two natures – this in contradistinction from Nestorianism, which posited two persons joined externally, not substantially. Owen concurs: God the Son assumes human nature, thereby yielding the union of the two natures, human and divine, in one person. But the most glorious union of all, Owen declares, is that of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the union of three divine persons in one nature. Cleveland correctly observes that "A proper understanding of the person of Christ is important for the doctrine of salvation, as the mediatorial work of Christ is dependent upon His full identity with both God and humanity" (p. 152).

The above bald summary does scant justice to Cleveland's careful work, but it may at least suggest that he has made good his thesis regarding Owen's use of Thomism in the areas discussed. Readers should, however, note carefully that Cleveland does not overlook the fact that Owen could be polemically opposed to the scholastics in their guise of "forgers of popery" (pp. 21, 153); and he grants that Owen does not endorse the entire Thomist system (p. 153). An indication of topics in addition to justification, on which Owen found Thomism unhelpful (transubstantiation, for example), would have assisted.

The book is furnished with a bibliography, and it is lucid if, on occasion,

repetitive. On p. 33 three works are referred to, but only two are named (the third is *The Doctrine of the Saints' Perseverance*); and to say that, while a formula was agreed, "A *conclusion* [to the Christological question] was reached at the Council of Chalcedon in 451" (p. 121, my italics) is a little over-optimistic.

There is little reason to doubt that Cleveland himself accepts the Reformed doctrine as here presented. He was not required to defend his stance: he has done what he set out to do. But the question how far the terms of this seventeenth-century expression of doctrine remain tenable is nevertheless important. Just as Owen distilled what he found profitable from Thomism (and elsewhere), so we may find cause to adopt the same practice with regard to Owen's works; and this not in deference to the god "relevance", but in the interests of biblical and theological integrity. Consider, for example, the imputation to the elect of Christ's righteousness. In 1762, Joseph Hart (1712-1768), Congregational minister and debtor to Reformed scholasticism, wrote a hymn (based on Ephesians 6:11-13), "Gird thy loins up, Christian soldier", published in William Gadsby, *A Selection of Hymns* (London: Gospel Standard Publications, 1961), no. 270, which includes the lines:

> Righteousness within thee rooted
> May appear to take thy part;
> But let righteousness imputed
> Be the breastplate of thy heart.

In 1920, Robert Mackintosh (1858-1933), Congregational Minister, professor at Lancashire Independent College, and debtor to modern biblical criticism, lamented that in Protestant scholasticism Christ's "righteousness is a legal achievement 'imputed' to us ... [O]ne cannot shake off the impression that there would be something pettifogging in the justice of Heaven if it required both the substitutionary punishment of the fault committed and the substitutionary performance of the duty that had remained unperformed. God is likened in such theology to an unscrupulous attorney, who puts down every possible claim ... in the hope that something may be gained for a client's profit if not for his honour" (in Mackintosh, *Historic Theories of Atonement* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1920), pp. 161-2).

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ALAN P. F. SELL