

Vital statistics: episcopal ordination and ordinands in England, 1646-1660*

On 25 September 1659 the funeral of Thomas Morton, the nonagenarian bishop of Durham, took place at St Peter's Easton Maudit in Northamptonshire. The preacher praised Morton's faithful service 'as a bishop till the very last gasp' and cited 'his late ordinations of priests and deacons here among you, whereof some here present received the benefit, and many more can give the testimony'.¹ It is well-known that between 1646 and 1660 several bishops, including Morton, conferred holy orders in defiance of the Long Parliament's ordinance of 9 October 1646 abolishing the office and jurisdiction of bishops,² but hitherto no one has

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¹ J. Barwick, *Hieronikes, or the Fight, Victory and Triumph of S. Paul* (1660), p. 35. The incumbent of Easton Maudit, Humphrey Babington, had received episcopal orders illegally in 1648, though at the hands of Bishop King: CCEd Person ID 85773; LPL, COMM.III/6, p. 6. Morton's last known ordination took place on 22 August 1659, barely a month before his death, when he conferred priest's orders on at least two candidates, Edward Pervise and John Stevenson. Northamptonshire Record Office, PDR Visitation book 15 (X641), fo. 14v; Lincolnshire Archives, LC VI, fo. 124r.

² J. B. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge volume III* (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 541–5, 680–1; E. H. Day, 'Ordinations under the Commonwealth', *Theology*, 44 (1942), pp. 341–6; S. L. Ollard, 'Commonwealth Ordinations', *Theology*, 45 (1942), pp. 37–9; K. Major, 'Commonwealth Ordinations, Lincoln Diocese', *ibid.*, pp. 210–11; H. F. Kirkpatrick, 'Commonwealth Ordinations', *ibid.*, pp. 254–5; R. S. Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (1957), p. 38 and fn. 1; J. S. Morrill, 'The Church in England, 1642–9' in J. Morrill ed. *Reactions to the English Civil War 1642–1649* (1982), pp. 100–1; W. J. Sheils, *Restoration Exhibit Books and the Northern Clergy 1662–1664* (Borthwick Texts and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province, 13, York, 1987), pp. x–xii; J. Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England 1646–1689* (1991), pp. 9, 141–3; J. Maltby, 'Suffering and Surviving: the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Formation of "Anglicanism" 1642–60' in C. Durston and J. Maltby eds. *Religion in Revolutionary England* (Manchester, 2006), pp. 168–9.

calculated the exact numbers of ordaining bishops and ordinands nor placed this activity within the context of contemporary debates over the validity of ministerial orders, so that the incidence and significance of these illegal ceremonies remain unclear. Now, with the powerful assistance of the Clergy of the Church of England Database, it is possible to produce reliable figures of ordainers and ordinands, and to demonstrate a high demand for ordination which was met by a number of bishops willing to perform the ceremony. This evidence throws important new light on the organisation, practice and popularity of episcopalianism in the late 1640s and 1650s. We shall challenge the prevalent view that the episcopate abandoned its pastoral responsibilities in the Interregnum, and suggest that the rising demand for episcopal ordination in the 1650s reveals the enduring appeal of traditional episcopalian orders in a period of proscription and intermittent persecution, at a time when the episcopate itself looked unlikely to survive for much longer.³ The fact that ordinands could make contact with a diminishing number of bishops points to the effective operation of a series of semi-clandestine networks of episcopalian loyalists. Many ordinands were already serving in the state church, or else upon ordination entered the parochial ministry, which allows us to revise our understanding of the character of the clerical profession during the Interregnum. What follows falls into three sections: first, we present the evidence for ordinations in the 1640s and 1650s and analyse those bishops who were, and who were not, active ordainers; second, we explore the connections which allowed ordinands to be in touch with ordaining bishops; and third, we investigate the motivation and careers of the ordinands themselves.

I

³ There were no new consecrations of bishops between 1644 and 1660. In January 1650 19 of the 27 bishoprics were occupied, dropping to 13 by January 1655 and to 8 by January 1660.

The study of episcopal ordination in the period 1646 to 1660 is not straightforward. Registers and subscription books are the key administrative documents which record a bishop's acts, including ordinations, and naturally very few survive for the period between the abolition of the episcopal office in October 1646 and its effective return at the end of May 1660. Of this handful, just one records some ordinations, held in 1648.⁴ Instead we need to rely on the partial but extensive evidence of exhibit books compiled after 1660, which provide details of many of the illicit ordinations performed by bishops in the period 1646–60, a source that until now has never been systematically examined.⁵ A collation of all surviving Restoration exhibit books, undertaken as a small part of the Clergy of the Church of England Database project, allows us for the first time to offer a precise analysis of the riches that they contain.

What are exhibit books? Essentially, they are lists of clergy usually, though not invariably, compiled for a primary visitation by a bishop or occasionally an archdeacon, in accordance with canon 137 of 1604, so that the ordinary could acquire 'soe good a knowledge of the state, sufficiency and ability of the clergy'.⁶ To this end clergymen were required to submit for inspection their 'instruments' or papers demonstrating that they had been legally ordained (that is, their letters of orders as deacon and priest) and that they were legally possessed of their living (their letters of presentation, together with their institution and induction papers), any relevant subscriptions, licences, and, if appropriate, certificates of dispensation. Often these instruments were summarised in what is usually called an exhibit

⁴ For Peterborough diocese: Northamptonshire RO, PDR X959/4, fos 86r-v.

⁵ For earlier use of exhibit books, see above fn. 2. The fullest examination of them is by C. E. Davies, 'Robert Sanderson, Restoration bishop, his administration of the diocese of Lincoln, 1660–3' (Oxford B. Litt. thesis, 1972), ch. 14, which is regrettably unpublished and largely unknown.

⁶ G. Bray ed., *The Anglican canons 1529–1847* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 440–1.

book or *liber cleri*.⁷ There are various problems with these exhibit books. They are rarely complete, since some clergy did not turn up to the visitation and bishops did not necessarily record the details of the instruments of those who had produced them at earlier visitations or who had been ordained within the diocese. Survival is haphazard. Exhibit books were essentially working documents and it is clear that many have been destroyed or lost. In fact, exhibit books survive for the period from 1662 to the revolution of 1688 in only fifteen of the twenty-seven dioceses of England and Wales. Of these fifteen, eight possess fairly full and complete volumes,⁸ seven have more fragmentary books⁹ and one merely relates to two peculiar jurisdictions within the diocese.¹⁰ Seven dioceses have no exhibit books for the Restoration period, including three of the four Welsh dioceses,¹¹ in two others nothing

⁷ See D. M. Owen, *The Records of the Established Church of England* (British Records Association Archives and the User, 1, 1970), p. 32. At Bath and Wells, Gloucester and Norwich these records are instead called 'consignation books'. At Chichester they are known as 'register of orders', but this usage is not contemporary and seems to have been coined by Isabel Kirby, the cataloguer of the diocesan records there and elsewhere. See F. W. Steer and I. M. Kirby, *Diocese of Chichester: a Catalogue of the Records of the Bishop, Archdeacons and Former Exempt Jurisdictions* (Chichester, 1966), p. 37 and passim.

⁸ Bath and Wells, Carlisle, Chester, Hereford, Lincoln, London, Norwich and York. Somerset Heritage Centre, D/D/Vc 41–8; Chester RO, EDV 2/8–10; Herefordshire RO, HD 5/2/23, 28; Leicestershire RO, 1D 41/12/6; Lincolnshire Archives, L.C.V–X; Guildhall Library, 9537/16 fos 5v–60r; Norfolk RO, DN/VSC/3/5–6; Borthwick Institute, V.1662–3 Exh.Bk, V.1667 Exh.Bk, V.1669–70 Exh. Bk (which includes Chester and Carlisle dioceses), ER.V Exh.Bk 1, Nottingham University Library, AN/CL 166/36, 75, 170/1/1, 38, 172/3/1, 40, 176/1/1, 40. Some additional data has been collected from exhibit books for the diocese of Lincoln in 1690 and 1697 and from the exhibit book for the diocese of Bath and Wells in 1692: Lincolnshire Archives, LC XII, XIV; Somerset Heritage Centre, D/D/Vc 48.

⁹ Canterbury, Chichester, Durham, Ely, Coventry and Lichfield, Peterborough and Winchester: Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Dcb/V/V/56; West Sussex RO, Ep.I/19/11, 12, II/10/4 fos 1–7, II/11/4 fos 2–33, 38–66; Durham University Library, DDR/EV/VIS/1/4 fos 126–42; Cambridge University Library, EDR B/2/58, 67; Lichfield RO, B/V/1/68, 77; Northamptonshire RO, PDR Visitation Book 9; Hampshire RO, 21M65 B1/43, 46, 49, 51. Some additional data has been collected from the exhibit book for the diocese of Canterbury in 1695 and from an exhibit book for the diocese of Peterborough in 1692: Canterbury Cathedral Archives, DCb/V/V/89; Northamptonshire RO, PDR Visitation Book 12.

¹⁰ The peculiars of the dean of Salisbury and the cathedral within Salisbury diocese: Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, D5/29/2–6; LPL, VX 1B/4a no. 2.

¹¹ Bristol, Exeter, Rochester, Bangor, Llandaff, St Asaph and Sodor and Man.

survives before the 1680s,¹² and in two more exhibit books exist, but do not record details of the instruments.¹³ Most obviously, of course, from the point of view of the present enquiry, exhibit books only record information about clergy in office at the time of the visitation. Records compiled in the 1660s and 1670s are only going to record a proportion, and a decreasing proportion, of the ordinations that occurred between 1646 and 1660.

Details of all surviving exhibit books from the 1660s to the revolution of 1688 have been extracted from the Clergy Database, supplemented by others from the 1690s, and they provide evidence of 581 clergymen who received episcopal ordination between 10 October 1646 and 8 May 1660, that is from the day after the abolition of episcopacy to the day when Charles II was proclaimed in London.¹⁴ It is more helpful to think in terms of the number of people ordained, rather than the number of ordinations, as candidates were often made both deacon and priest on the same day, a practice that was uncanonical but can easily be explained by the exigencies of the time.¹⁵ What proportion of the total number ordained is represented by these 581? This is a very difficult question to answer with any degree of

¹² Gloucester and St David's: Gloucestershire RO, GDR 249A, 260; National Library of Wales, SD/VC/1.

¹³ Oxford and Worcester: Oxfordshire RO, Ms Oxf. Dioc. Papers e. 2, fos 2–25, d. 19; Worcestershire RO, 802 BA 2951.

¹⁴ The starting date for this analysis, 10 October 1646, is the day after the promulgation of the ordinance for the abolishing of archbishops and bishops in England and Wales (C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait eds. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642–1660* (3 vols, 1911), i. pp. 879–83). Identifying the date on which episcopacy was re-established is less straightforward. Charles II did not commit himself publicly to the re-establishment of the hierarchy until between 11 and 27 August 1660. But some of the surviving bishops had resumed their functions in the most public manner long before this – Robert Skinner, for example, conducted an ordination for over 100 candidates immediately after the king's return, probably on 5 June, in the heart of the capital at Westminster Abbey. (A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. P. Bliss (4 vols, 1813–20), iv. p. 258.) It was therefore necessary to choose an earlier date, symbolic of the restoration of the old regime. Of the two obvious possibilities – 8 May 1660, when the Convention invited Charles to return, and 29 May, the day subsequently celebrated as Restoration Day, when he entered London – we have chosen the former, as the date after which people increasingly came to expect that bishops would resume at least some authority in the Church.

¹⁵ Some exhibit books only record the details of a clergyman's ordination as priest. There is, however, no evidence of men being ordained to the priesthood without diaconal orders having been conferred previously.

certainty. We know, without doubt, that more than 581 were ordained, and we have good reason to suspect that 581 represents only a small proportion of the total. Exhibit books cover barely half the country; they exclude those ordained between 1646 and 1660 who had died or left the church by the early 1660s;¹⁶ it is suggestive that we possess seven letters of orders issued at illegal ordinations in these years, but only five of the events to which they attest are found in the exhibit books;¹⁷ more tellingly, also missing from the exhibit books are a large number of episcopal ordinations of clergy who served in the Restoration church – for Isaac Barrow, Daniel Brevint, George Bull, Thomas Cartwright, George Davenport, John Dolben, John Durel, Edmund Ellis, Robert Frampton, Richard Kidder, William Lloyd, Gibson Lucas, Edward Pierce, John Scott, Robert South and Thomas Plume – which from memoirs and other literary evidence we know took place in these years.¹⁸

We do, however, possess two sets of data from which we may extrapolate to construct multipliers, allowing us to estimate the total number of ordinands between 1 January 1640

¹⁶ Among them Vincent Alsop, William Annand, Edward Bagshaw, William Pell and Thomas Smith: A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934), p. 8; Wood, *Athenae*, iv. p. 258; Edward Bagshaw, *A Letter to the Right Honourable, Edward Earl of Clarendon* (1662), p. 2; Edmund Calamy, *A Continuation of the Account of Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges, and Schoolmasters, who were ejected or silenced after the Restoration in 1660* (2 vols, 1727), i. p. 474; P. Hammond, 'Thomas Smith: a Beleaguered Humanist of the Interregnum', *BIHR* 56 (1983), p. 181.

¹⁷ Yorkshire Archaeological Society, DD82 (Timothy Wood, 1648); Bodl., MS Ch Somerset 165A (Robert Collier, 1648); Cheshire RO, EDA 2/3, fo. 9r (Henry Pigott, 1654); Bodl., MS Charters Camb. a 1, fo. 25r (William Gale, 1656); Herefordshire RO, AL 19/18 fo. 181r (Samuel Mathewes, 1657); Shropshire Archives, 3053/4/2 (John Reynolds, 1657); Bristol RO, EP/4/A/12/4 (Thomas Sprat, 1659). Collier, Pigott, Mathewes, Gale and Reynolds's ordinations are recorded in extant exhibit books.

¹⁸ *The Works of... Isaac Barrow* (3 vols, 1683–7), i. sig. b2r; E. S. de Beer ed. *The Diary of John Evelyn* (6 vols, Oxford, 1955), iii. p. 8; R. Nelson, *The Life of George Bull, late Lord Bishop of St David's* (1713), p. 25; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, iv. pp. 252, 715; Ian R. Pattison and Hugh Murray (comp.), *Monuments in York Minster. An illustrated inventory* (York, 2000), pp. 65–7; BL, Harleian MS 3783, fo. 103r; Bodl., Walker MS c. 2, pp. 472–3; T. S. Evans ed. *The Life of Robert Frampton Bishop of Gloucester* (1876), p. 11; A. E. Robinson ed. *The Life of Richard Kidder DD written by himself* (Somerset Record Society, 1924), pp. 5–6; A. Tindal Hart, *William Lloyd 1627–1717* (1952), pp. 14–15; Bodl., Tanner MS 52, fo. 97; H. G. Longden, *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy from 1500* (Northamptonshire Record Society, 1938–52), xi. pp. 9–11, xvi. p. 107; *The Works of the Reverend and Learned John Scott* (2 vols, 1718), ii. p. 568; W. Pittis, *Memoirs of the Life of the late Reverend Dr South* (2nd ed. 1721), p. 10; W. J. Petchley, *The Intentions of Thomas Plume* (Maldon, 1985), p. 6.

and 8 May 1660. A small number of ordination registers and subscription books recording ordinations survive for the period between 1640 and 9 October 1646. By comparing the number who received priest's orders at the services recorded in these documents (264) with those whose ordinations can also be found in the exhibit books for 1660–99 (63), we can calculate what might be called the survival rate in the exhibit books more generally. This calculation reveals that 24 per cent of those recorded in the surviving ordination registers and subscription books also appear in the later exhibit books. If this figure is used as a multiplier for the total extracted for the exhibit books for the period 1646–60, it suggests that a total of 2,435 men were ordained as priest, an average of 181 *per annum*. A second set of data is provided by the register of Robert Skinner, bishop of Oxford, between August 1660 and August 1662.¹⁹ This offers a very direct point of comparison, since Skinner had ordained many men during the Interregnum and in both 1646–60 and 1660–2 he conducted ordinations for candidates not just from his own diocese, but from across the country. In this case just over 21 per cent of the 188 priests recorded in the ordination register also appear in the later exhibit books.²⁰ If this figure is used as a multiplier, it suggests that a total of 2,730 men were ordained priest between 1646 and 1660, an average of 203 *per annum*. These are remarkable figures.²¹ By way of comparison, the Clergy Database contains the records of the ordination as priest of some 3335 men in the period 1620–9 and 3500 in the period 1665–74, that is, an

¹⁹ Oxfordshire RO, Ms Oxf. Dioc. Papers, d. 106.

²⁰ Forty are recorded in the exhibit books.

²¹ It is possible to argue that these figures are, if anything, conservative. Skinner himself claimed to have ordained between 400 and 500 men between 1646 and 1660 (Bodl., Tanner MS 48, fo. 25r). Sixty of Skinner's ordinands are to be found in the exhibit books, indicating a survival rate of no more than 15 per cent. This would indicate a total number of clergy episcopally ordained in the period to be in excess of 3,950.

average of between 330 and 350 per annum.²² Thus, even when episcopacy had been abolished and the book of common prayer proscribed, bishops were still ordaining between 50 and 60 per cent of the number of clergy that they ordained in ‘normal’ times.

Let us look a little more closely at these figures. The first graph shows the number of candidates being ordained priest each year from 1640 to 1660.²³ Several significant points stand out. The first is that recruitment into the Church held up remarkably well during the first two years of the civil war. Despite the fact that diocesan administration was beginning to function less effectively and that some bishops had quitted their dioceses or, like Matthew Wren, were imprisoned by parliament, the number of candidates being ordained, having declined significantly in 1641, actually exceeded the total in 1640. Thereafter, and perhaps unsurprisingly given the dislocation of war and the attacks on the Church, the number of ordinands declined, though perhaps not as dramatically as might have been expected, reaching a nadir in 1647, the year after the abolition of episcopacy, testimony, no doubt, to a predictable collapse in confidence among the bishops. It should be noted, however, that in 1646 ordinations reached a peak that was not seen again until 1658. There is no easy explanation for this. Did it perhaps represent a response to the end of the first civil war, and the return of a fragile peace? Or was it a dash by candidates to avail themselves of the services of bishops before episcopacy was abolished?

If we examine the period from October 1646 to May 1660, the main concern of this essay, it is immediately evident that there is no steady increase in the number of ordinations

²² The 1620s were chosen for comparison rather than the 1630s because of the better survival of records for the earlier decade. 1665–74 was selected to avoid the distorting effect of the years immediately after the Restoration.

²³ The focus on priests facilitates comparative data across the period and is necessitated, in part, by the fact that some exhibit books only record priests’ orders. As noted above, p. 000, many in 1646–60 were ordained as deacon and priest on the same day. In calculating these figures the year is taken as beginning on 1 January.

through the late 1640s and 1650s.²⁴ There is, of course, an underlying trend – the average for the late 1650s is higher than for the early 1650s which is, in turn, higher than that for the late 1640s. But the underlying trend obscures two notable developments. The first of these is the relatively rapid recovery in the number of ordinands in the late 1640s, with the result that 1649 witnessed roughly the same number of ordinations as 1644 and 1645 – and a number that suggests that the twenty surviving bishops were ordaining around two-thirds as many candidates as in 1640. Perhaps the rapid flowering of the cult of Charles the martyr helped to reinvigorate not only popular episcopalian sentiment, but also confidence among the bishops and demand among aspiring clergy for episcopal ordination.²⁵ Second, there is a notable dip in 1655 and 1656, with numbers declining to close to the trough of 1647. This slump is not difficult to explain. These two years witnessed the rule of the major-generals and the suppression of royalism following Penruddock’s uprising, including attacks on sequestered and ejected ministers, who were prohibited from acting as chaplains and schoolmasters. In the view of Bishop Duppa, Cromwell’s design was ‘to root us out so that our name may be no more in remembrance’.²⁶ While there is no known prosecution of anyone for ordaining or seeking episcopal ordination, these official moves may have served to restrict both supply and demand, as bishops and prospective ordinands felt forced to act with greater discretion. Even so, by the time that the republican experiment was beginning to unravel in 1659, the number of ordinations had increased to the level of the early 1640s. This is perhaps the more

²⁴ The ‘decline’ in 1660 is misleading, as the figures relate only to the four months from January to early May.

²⁵ A. Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* (Woodbridge, 2004), chs. 2–4.

²⁶ *CSPD 1655*, pp. 224–5; *By the Protector. A Declaration of his Highnes with the Advice of the Council, in order to the securing the Peace of this Commonwealth* (24 November 1655); Bodl., Tanner MS 52, fo. 105r.

startling, since only six bishops were actively ordaining in 1659, and two of these died in the course of the year.²⁷

The second graph breaks down the data to identify the ordainers. It reveals that a small group of bishops was responsible for most of the ordinations that took place between 1646 and 1660 – nine bishops performed 93 per cent of the ordinations. The most active of the English bishops were Joseph Hall of Norwich, Ralph Brownrigg of Exeter and Robert Skinner of Oxford, each of whom ordained about 10 per cent of ordinands. A notable contribution was also made by three others – Brian Duppa of Salisbury, Henry King of Chichester and Thomas Morton of Durham. These six bishops were a diverse group. They had been appointed to the episcopate over a twenty-five year period (1616 to 1641) and did not represent a single strand of churchmanship. Skinner and Duppa were amongst Laud's most fervent allies in the 1630s. By contrast, as staunch Calvinists and preaching prelates, Morton and Hall had been reluctant enforcers of the Laudian reformation; Brownrigg was a former chaplain to Morton and another critic of Laud, husband to John Pym's niece and selected as Cambridge University's representative at the Westminster Assembly. King was also a Calvinist, who acquiesced in the ceremonial changes of the 1630s. Brownrigg, King and Hall were among the moderate divines who were created bishops or translated to richer sees by Charles I in late 1641 in an attempt to conciliate the parliamentary opposition. The careers of these six were also varied: before 1640 Duppa had been a court prelate and the others had resided in their sees. Just two of the six (Hall and Skinner) lived in their former dioceses after 1646, and two (Brownrigg and Skinner) served in the Interregnum church,

²⁷ The six were Brownrigg (d. Dec. 1659), Duppa, Fulwar, King, Morton (d. Sept. 1659) and Skinner.

while the rest did not.²⁸ Most started ordaining regularly in the early 1650s, Brownrigg in 1654, but Duppa of Salisbury not until 1656–7, after which he was consistently one of the three most active English bishops. Given Duppa's links with the court in exile, it may be that his ordinations were an attempt to show some leadership in response to the embarrassing failure in 1655–6 of negotiations with Edward Hyde to secure the consecration of new bishops.²⁹

What leaps out from this graph, however, is the remarkable contribution of three Irish bishops, living in England following the upheavals of the Irish rebellion, who between them ordained 50 per cent of the men seeking episcopal orders in this period and, in contrast to their English counterparts, they did so in significant number from the late 1640s.³⁰ Quite clearly, episcopalians in England owed an enormous debt to bishops in the Church of Ireland. Robert Maxwell, bishop of Kilmore, was responsible for almost 10 per cent of the ordinations, while Henry Tilson, bishop of Elphin, ordained a further 6.5 per cent. Their contribution was more significant than the percentages suggest, for Maxwell returned to Ireland in 1654 and Tilson died in March 1655. Overshadowing all these bishops, Irish and English, is Thomas Fulwar, bishop of Ardfert. He conferred orders on 34 per cent of

²⁸ K. Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 253–68; C. Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 411–12; K. Fincham and N. Tyacke, *Altars Restored* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 193, 204, 206–7, 228–9; *ODNB* for 'Ralph Brownrigg', 'Brian Duppa', 'Henry King' and 'Robert Skinner'.

²⁹ O. Ogle *et al.*, *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers* (5 vols, Oxford, 1852–1970), iii. pp. 50, 63–5, 72, 104; Bosher, *Restoration settlement*, pp. 91–2. The earliest ordination by Duppa to have survived in the records was the conferring of priest's orders on Richard Hill on 10 March 1654 (LPL, VX 1B/41 no. 2), but thereafter there are none until December 1655. Lincolnshire Archives, LC VI, fo. 178v states that Duppa ordained William Forster on 6 June 1650, but the year is almost certainly misrecorded, since Forster was only 19 at the time (J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigenses Part 1*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1922), ii. p. 164). 1660 seems much more likely.

³⁰ None of the Irish bishops ordained in England before the abolition of episcopacy in October 1646, perhaps revealing a respect for church order, as Fulwar, at least, had fled Ireland as early as 1643. A record of Fulwar's ordination of Thomas Buxton on 6 November 1644 is probably an error, though it might also be an exceptional occasion when he was acting at the request of a colleague. Norfolk RO, DN/VSC/3/5.

ordinands in 1646–60, which suggests that he probably ordained between 800 and 1,100 clergy during this period – that is, an average of between 60 and 80 *per annum*.

We know relatively little about Tilson after 1646, and even less about Fulwar and Maxwell. Tilson was born in Yorkshire, educated at Oxford and served as vicar of Rochdale for fifteen years. His patrons were Archbishop Abbot and latterly Thomas Wentworth, whom he accompanied to Ireland in 1633, and through whom, with Laud's approval, he received the bishopric of Elphin in 1639. He fled back to England in 1645, lived at Soothill Hall in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and from 1650 to his death in 1655 occupied the nearby cure of Cumberworth.³¹ Like Tilson, Fulwar grew up in England, the son and brother of Essex clergy, but built his career in Ireland, and became bishop of Ardfert in 1641, just a month before the start of the Irish rebellion. He sought refuge in England, where he was briefly rector of Fontwell, Wiltshire, in 1643–4 and attended the court in wartime Oxford. In October 1649 a warrant was issued for his appearance before the republican Council of State for corresponding with the royalist Duke of Ormond. Thereafter, his only footprints are his ordinations, until the Restoration, when he received the archbishopric of Cashel, presumably a reward for royalist services by both him and his wife in the 1640s and 1650s.³²

In contrast to Tilson and Fulwar, Maxwell of Kilmore was brought up in Ireland, the son of the dean of Armagh. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, received his MA in 1619, held several Irish livings and became archdeacon of Down in 1628. He suffered severely in the 1641 rebellion, before being consecrated bishop of Kilmore in March 1643,

³¹ Bodl., Ashmole MS 1137, fo. 88r; 'Henry Tilson' (CCEd Person ID 48357); W. Laud, *Works*, eds. J. Bliss and W. Scott (7 vols, Oxford, 1847–60), vii. p. 549; C. L. Berry, 'Henry Tilson, Bishop of Elphin, and his Ministry during the Suppression of the Church', *Church Quarterly Review*, 132 (1941), pp. 54–9.

³² 'Thomas Fuller, 1593–1667' in *ODNB*; 'Thomas Fulwar' (CCEd Person ID 60809); *CSPD 1649-50*, pp. 532, 549. In 1665 Fulwar stated that his wife had been imprisoned for 7 months after being caught taking letters of Charles I to Ireland and evaded execution by escaping from Ely House; later, in 1659, she supported Booth's uprising (Bodl., Carte MS 145, pp. 155–6).

and also made his way to England. In November 1648 he acquired a brief from Charles I requesting the ‘private benevolence’ of clergy in and around London to relieve him of his ‘distressed and sad condition’. Maxwell returned to Ireland in 1654, employed by the Protectorate to be a minister of the gospel at a salary of £120 *per annum*.³³ All three exiled Irish bishops were evidently impecunious, and they may well have been active ordainers in order to generate a regular income. Before 1646 ordinands had paid between 10s and 13s 6d for admission to each of the two orders of diaconate and priesthood, and although in the absence of ordination registers after 1646 it is impossible to be certain that fees continued to be levied, it seems likely that they were.³⁴ The only evidence we have is when Jacques le Franc was ordained by Fulwar in May 1656: John Evelyn paid the fees ‘to his lordship, who was very poore and in want’.³⁵

These bishops aside, after the abolition of episcopacy in 1646 the majority of the English and Welsh bench either conferred orders infrequently or else abstained altogether. John Towers of Peterborough, Thomas Winniffe of Lincoln and William Piers of Bath and Wells had been active ordainers during the civil war, but after October 1646 Towers laid hands on just four candidates before his death in 1649,³⁶ Winniffe only three before his death

³³ G. D. Burtchaell and T. U. Sadler, *Alumni Dublinenses* (Dublin, 1935), p. 567; BL, Harleian MS 3791, fo. 61r; St John D. Seymour, *The Puritans in Ireland 1647–1661* (Oxford, 1969), p. 55.

³⁴ For Tilson’s poverty, see Bodl., MS Eng Hist b 205, fo. 3r. Examples of fees charged before 1646 are recorded in Carlisle RO, DRC 2/46; Bodl., Ms Top gen e 97, fo. 217; Cambridge University Library, MS Dd 12.43, p. 226. In 1624 Harsnett of Norwich was accused by his opponents of extracting as much as 30s for each order (BL, Add. MS 18597, fo. 168v).

³⁵ de Beer ed., *Diary of Evelyn*, iii. p. 172. Evelyn was writing retrospectively, and confused ‘the Bishop of Meathe’ (the see was in fact vacant) with Ardfert. See ‘Jacobus Lefrance’ (CCEd Person ID 118888). The sums involved could have been considerable. If he was charging 10s for each order conferred, Fulwar was probably receiving between £40 and £50 *per annum* at the end of the 1640s, and perhaps as much as £1000 in total between 1646 and 1660.

³⁶ ‘Clement Gregory’ (CCEd Person ID 89237), ‘Samuel Smith’ (117446), ‘Richard Woodford’ (117445) and John Hughes; Northamptonshire RO, PDR X959/4, fo. 86v.

in 1654,³⁷ and William Piers a mere two, in December 1648 and April 1660.³⁸ John Prideaux of Worcester (died 1650), John Bridgeman of Chester (died 1652) and Roger Mainwaring of St David's (died 1653) may represent a similar trajectory. The evidence for them is far more fragmentary, but all had ordained occasionally through the period 1642–6; thereafter we have records of three ordinands admitted by Prideaux in 1649–50,³⁹ three by Bridgeman in 1646–52⁴⁰ and five by Mainwaring between 1648 and 1653.⁴¹

Many others did not ordain at all between October 1646 and May 1660. One was Matthew Wren, bishop of Ely, unsurprisingly because he was incarcerated in the Tower from 1642 to 1660;⁴² two others died shortly after the abolition of the order (George Coke of Hereford in December 1646 and Walter Curle of Winchester in April 1647), but the other inactive bishops were all long-lived and at liberty – Godfrey Goodman of Gloucester (died 1656), John Owen of St Asaph (died 1651),⁴³ James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh and bishop of Carlisle (died 1656) and John Williams of York (died 1650), while Accepted

³⁷ 'Thomas Appleby' (CCEd Person ID 85639), 'Thomas Bradshaw' (73370) and 'Seth Elcock' (72232).

³⁸ 'John Carlile' (CCEd Person ID 55918) and 'Samuel Willan' (134648).

³⁹ 'Theophilus Cook' (CCEd Person ID 134642), 'John Wheeler' (134643) and Joseph Sayer: Lincolnshire Archives, LC IX, fo. 130r.

⁴⁰ 'Jeremiah Adshead' (CCEd Person ID 85525), 'Richard Coates' (134645) and 'William Hincks' (134646).

⁴¹ 'Brian Ambler' (CCEd Person ID 134644), 'Isaiah Davies' (87687), 'Hugo Edwards' (134651), 'Richard Williams' (134647) and Thomas Readinge: Herefordshire RO, HD 5/2/28. Given the dearth of evidence for Wales, it is possible that the surviving records significantly under-represent Mainwaring's activity between 1646 and 1653. For the same reason it is impossible to draw any conclusions about John Owen of St Asaph – he ordained candidates in 1642 and February 1646, but so exiguous are the records for the diocese that we know of only eight men ordained by him throughout his episcopate, 1629–51.

⁴² Wren may have held one ordination in 1649 – the 1662 exhibit book for the diocese of Lincoln clearly records Richard Lea being ordained priest by Wren on 9 July 1649. However, it is likely that this is an error. See the extended commentary on 'Richard Lee' (CCEd Person ID 98895) and also 'Richard Lea' (118722).

⁴³ See above, fn. 40.

Frewen of Coventry and Lichfield, William Juxon of London, William Roberts of Bangor and John Warner of Rochester all survived until after the Restoration. Just like the ordaining bishops, this was not a unified group in terms of experience and churchmanship. Ussher, in particular, stands out as a case apart. A highly respected figure even among the parliamentarians, he received a pension from parliament and, later, leases from Cromwell. He was approached by Broghill during Barebone's Parliament in 1653 with a view to joining the committee to remodel religion; he engaged in dialogue with Baxter and the Presbyterians in 1654; and he was given a state funeral in Westminster Abbey on his death in 1656. Privately, Ussher seems to have regarded Presbyterian orders in England as schismatic, but it may be that he thought it politically insensitive, in view of his connections with Cromwell and others, to offer episcopal ordination.⁴⁴

Most of these inactive bishops had not ordained regularly in the period 1642–6. After his elevation to York, Williams held several ordination ceremonies in the summer of 1642, after which there is only evidence of him ordaining one candidate, in 1643.⁴⁵ Goodman of Gloucester similarly remained active until December 1642, but he does not appear to have ordained anyone thereafter.⁴⁶ Frewen was appointed to Coventry and Lichfield in April 1644, and though he ordained two clergymen in 1644–6, he ceased ordaining thereafter.⁴⁷ Roberts

⁴⁴ N. Bernard, *The Life and Death of James Usher* (1656), p. 116; P. Gaunt ed. *The Correspondence of Henry Cromwell 1655–1659* (Camden 5th series, 31, 2007), p. 93 and fn. 11; Bodl., Tanner MS 52, fo. 67r; N. H. Keeble and G. F. Nuttall eds. *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter* (2 vols, Oxford, 1991), i. pp. 183–4, 225; N. Bernard ed. *The Judgement of the late Arch-bishop of Armagh* (1658), p. 112. For the best modern account, see A. Ford, *James Ussher* (Oxford, 2007), but Ussher's final years of 1648–56 merit further investigation.

⁴⁵ 'Richard Gowland' (CCEd Person ID 134650).

⁴⁶ 'Daniel Norris' (CCEd Person ID 123569). Until June 1642 most of Goodman's ordinations are recorded in his episcopal register: Gloucestershire RO, GDR 142A.

⁴⁷ 'John Burstall' (CCEd Person ID 86398) and 'Richard Johnson' (51220).

of Bangor is known to have ordained once in 1642–6 and abstained from 1646 until days before the Restoration, in May 1660.⁴⁸

What deterred these bishops when several of their colleagues were ready to ordain? In the case of Juxon, the bishop had never held an ordination ceremony since his consecration in 1633, and it is hardly surprising that he did not break this habit in 1646–60. Some others may have had scruples about defying the legislative will of the Long Parliament. Winniffe, for one, had spent the civil war deep in parliamentary territory at Buckden manor, Huntingdonshire, the principal residence of the bishops of Lincoln, where he was obliged to quarter soldiers, and he later claimed that he had submitted to all the ordinances and had not been charged with delinquency.⁴⁹ Some may have also felt exposed, perhaps even that they were marked men, at risk of prosecution from the new regime. Warner of Rochester, in particular, had reason to feel vulnerable. He escaped to Oxford at the start of the civil war, later lived for three years in and around Wales, and on his return to Kent was evicted from his manor at Bromley in December 1648. Thereafter he was trice ‘banished from the place of my abode’ for refusing to take ‘any oaths and engagements’, thus identifying himself as a royalist, and he seems to have been the only bishop required to pay the decimation tax. Although Warner continued to use the prayer book, preach and confirm, and was a generous benefactor to sequestered episcopalian clergy and their families, these were primarily pastoral acts, and he may have felt that conferring orders could be seen as provocative and lead to further trouble.⁵⁰ Goodman also felt persecuted, producing an ‘Account of his Sufferings’, in

⁴⁸ ‘Richard Evans’ (CCEd Person ID 134629) and ‘Richard Nicholls’ (134649).

⁴⁹ *CSPD 1654*, p. 54.

⁵⁰ Bodl., MS Eng Hist b 205, fos 23r, 25r; E. Lee-Warner, *The Life of John Warner Bishop of Rochester* (1901), pp. 33-42; J. T. Cliffe ed. ‘The Cromwellian Decimation Tax of 1655: the Assessment Lists’ *Camden Miscellany XXXIII: Seventeenth-Century Political and Financial Papers* (Camden, 5th series, 7, 1996), pp. 438,

which he described the plundering of his house by soldiers and his subsequent sequestration. Between 1644 and, probably, 1650 he retreated to the seclusion of ‘a poore tenement’ in Carnarvonshire. He then returned to London, where he lived out his life in retirement, concentrating on scholarship and attempts to secure the restitution of some of his property.⁵¹

Certainly after the Restoration, several ordaining bishops emphasised the risks they had taken. Fulwar of Ardfert claimed that he had ordained and confirmed ‘to the very great hazard of his life and liberty’, while Skinner of Oxford recalled that had he faced discovery ‘I should have had my books and my bed taken from me, having little else left me’.⁵² Both, however, were bidding for favour – Fulwar for a lease and Skinner for promotion – and had every reason to exaggerate the dangers that their faithful service had involved. Indeed, it was an open secret that such ordinations were continuing throughout the 1650s. Richard Baxter commented on them in print in 1659, and a few years earlier, in 1655, the decision by Gibson Lucas, a prominent Suffolk JP, to abandon presbyterianism and seek episcopal orders caused a public row in Norwich, with the local Presbyterians ‘full of rage to have lost a brother’.⁵³ There were, in fact, no prosecutions for conducting illegal ordinations in the period, nor any sign from Secretary Thurloe’s extensive intelligence network that the authorities were interested in them. As the proclamations of 1655 revealed, their concern was with the *political* activity of episcopalians. But those who were prepared to live quietly, who did not engage in political controversy, and who kept their distance from the exiled court, in other

442; K. Fincham and S. Taylor, ‘Episcopalian Conformity and Nonconformity 1646–1660’ in J. McElligott and D. Smith eds. *Royalists and Royalism during the Interregnum* (Manchester, 2010), pp. 27–8.

⁵¹ G. Soden, *Godfrey Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, 1583–1656* (1953), chs 32–9.

⁵² Bodl., Carte MS 145, p. 155; Tanner MS 48, fo. 25r, printed in *Theology*, 45 (1942), pp. 254–5.

⁵³ R. Baxter, *Five Disputations of Church-Government, and Worship* (1659), pp. 224–5; Bodl., Tanner MS 52, fo. 97; J. Hall, *The Shaking of the Olive Tree* (1660), sig. A2iv.

words almost all the surviving bishops, were accorded a considerable degree of tacit toleration.

II

In 1657 Richard Baxter wrote that in recent years bishops had become ‘invisible or inaccessible’ so that ordinands went elsewhere for holy orders.⁵⁴ While Baxter’s claim was clearly inaccurate, it does raise the question of how a shrinking number of bishops, ousted from their episcopal houses and usually living away from their dioceses, could be tracked down by rising numbers of men seeking ordination. The answer is that a series of episcopalian networks connected the universities and the regions with ordaining members of the episcopate, and though some of these overlapped, others appear to have operated quite independently. While ties of loyalty, kin and friendship are difficult to reconstruct in their entirety, an analysis of ordinands’ university and college affiliations, and the locations of their livings in the 1650s and 1660s, together with contemporary correspondence and later memoirs, allows us to provide an outline of the workings of some of these connections.

The most far-flung networks belonged to Skinner of Oxford and Fulwar of Ardfert. Skinner had been educated at Oxford, and returned to reside in the city as bishop on his translation there in 1641. During the first civil war he regularly ordained university graduates and fellows and after 1646 he continued this work in the parlour at his rectory of Launton, just nine miles north of the city and within the diocese. In a letter to Gilbert Sheldon in 1662, Skinner claimed to have admitted between 400 and 500 candidates to the ministry between 1646 and 1660, which may very well be true. Two chaplains helped Skinner to maintain close contact with the university: one was Thomas Lamplugh, fellow of Queen’s and future

⁵⁴ R. Baxter, *Gildas Salvianus; the Reformed Pastor* (1657), p. 196; see also Baxter, *Five Disputations*, p. 195.

archbishop of York, who ‘rid not fewer than 300 journeys betwixt Oxford and Launton, for the work of confirmation and ordination’, and the other was Ralph Bathurst, fellow of Trinity, Skinner’s college, who acted in a similar capacity, examining candidates at Oxford, arranging times for them to visit Skinner, and assisting Skinner at ordination ceremonies.⁵⁵ Virtually all his ordinands were from Oxford, and only three had been educated at Cambridge.⁵⁶ At least eleven were from Lamplugh’s college, Queen’s, including George Lamplugh and Richard Garth, who received orders on the same day, and Clement Ellis, ordained in 1656, who witnessed his cousin Edmund Ellis of Balliol receiving orders at Launton in 1659.⁵⁷ Not all of Skinner’s ordinands were freshly-minted graduates, but sometimes Oxford men now based elsewhere. As he told Sheldon, ‘Cornwall and York and all foreigne counties as well as the nearer will witness for me’.⁵⁸ A good example is Robert Frampton, who had left Oxford in 1641 and taught at Gillingham in Dorset before applying to Skinner, probably in the late 1640s, for ordination.⁵⁹ The evidence suggests that Skinner was the westernmost bishop who regularly ordained during this period, and it seems likely that the surviving exhibit books, which come disproportionately from the eastern dioceses, underestimate Skinner’s activity. The few we have for the west country, - for Hereford, Bath

⁵⁵ Bodl., MS Tanner 48, fo. 25r; T. Warton, *The Life and Literary Remains of Ralph Bathurst* (1761), pp. 36–7.

⁵⁶ ‘George Tiplin’ (CCEd Person ID 117450) and ‘William Wilson’ (117443), who had attended both universities, and Peregrine More (Lincolnshire Archives, LC VI, fo. 42r).

⁵⁷ Wood, *Athenae*, iv. p. 252; ‘Robert Simpson’ (CCEd Person ID 55934), ‘Thomas Collison’ (92585), ‘Timothy Long’ (117449), ‘William Wilson’ (117443), ‘George Lamplugh’ (117456), ‘Richard Garth’ (117447) ‘Clement Ellis’ (117448), ‘Gabriel Towerson’ (104400); Bodl., Walker MS c. 2, pp. 472–3.

⁵⁸ Bodl., MS Tanner 48, fo. 25r.

⁵⁹ Evans ed. *Frampton*, p. 11. There is no evidence to support the suggestion in *ODNB* that Skinner ordained Frampton at Gillingham.

and Wells, and Gloucester indicate that he may have been responsible for over one-third of the ordinations for 1646–60 in those dioceses.⁶⁰

The same geographical spread is evident for Thomas Fulwar, bishop of Ardfert, the most shadowy and energetic figure in this story. Where Fulwar resided in the 1650s is unknown, but his kin were based in Essex, where his brother was vicar of Stebbing, and he had three nephews at Cambridge, Thomas, fellow at Christ's 1649–61, Samuel, fellow at St John's after 1656, and Francis, at Queens' and then Pembroke. Among those Fulwar admitted to the ministry were graduates from all four colleges, including his nephew Thomas.⁶¹ Indeed Cambridge men dominate the list of Fulwar's ordinands, and many took up posts in eastern England, often north of the Thames and south of the Humber. But the evidence suggests that Fulwar was sometimes peripatetic. We can trace him in London in May 1656 and March 1659, and on at least three occasions, in the spring of 1653, late summer of 1655 and the late spring of 1657, he undertook tours of the west country, ordaining as he went, which sheds fascinating light both on how at least one bishop came to interpret his role in these troubled times and on the effectiveness of the semi-clandestine networks that brought together a bishop and prospective ordinands, though precisely how this happened remains unclear.⁶²

Hall of Norwich was at the centre of an episcopalian network more confined to East Anglia, a part of the world he knew well first as a student at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and then a beneficed minister in Suffolk and Essex, until his elevation to the bishopric of Exeter in 1627. He returned there in 1642 after his translation to Norwich. Having been

⁶⁰ Herefordshire RO, HD/5/2/23, 28; Somerset Heritage Centre, D/D/Vc 41-8; Gloucestershire RO, GDR 249A, 260. No exhibit books survive for Wales, with the exception of a partial one for St David's in 1688. See above, n. 12.

⁶¹ *Alumni Cantabrigenses*, ii. pp. 184–5; 'Thomas Fuller' (CCEd Person ID 88619).

⁶² For London, see de Beer ed. *Diary of Evelyn*, iii. p. 172, and above, n. 35; LPL, COMM.III/7, p. 218; 'Thomas Gonville' (CCEd Person ID 89113).

evicted from Norwich palace in about 1644, Hall went to live at Heigham, just outside the city walls, and there he continued to write and publish, to preach in the parish church, and to confirm and ordain in his house. He was a familiar figure in the village, as the local incumbent recalled at Hall's memorial sermon in September 1656: 'How oft have we seen him walking alone, like old Jacob, with his staffe, to Bethel the house of God?'⁶³ Hall's ordinands were almost all from Cambridge, but what is striking is over 20 per cent were sons of East Anglian clergy and nearly 80 per cent took up benefices in Norwich diocese in the 1650s or early 1660s. About a third were from a single college, Gonville and Caius, and a smaller number (16 per cent) from Corpus Christi, both colleges with particularly strong ties, the one by statute, the other by endowments, to East Anglia.⁶⁴ As a result, Hall's network was largely shaped by established links of colleges, families and the region, and this enabled him to act as a diocesan bishop whose ministry was effectively confined to his diocese.

The case of Tilson of Elphin presents an interesting parallel. At his home at Soothill Hall in Dewsbury parish in the West Riding, Tilson ordained candidates from and for the north.⁶⁵ His ministry, indeed, was probably even more restricted than that, as all of the candidates whom we know that he ordained were later beneficed in the dioceses of York and Chester, apart from three found in the diocese of Lincoln.⁶⁶ Most candidates were from Cambridge, but from a mix of colleges, and it was their northern roots which characterised these ordinands. As a native of the county and former vicar of Rochdale, Tilson, like Hall,

⁶³ R. W. Ketton Cremer, *Norfolk in the Civil War* (1969), pp. 230–1; J. Whitefoote, *Isrtaea agchithase. Deaths Alarum, or the Presage of Approaching Death* (1656), p. 69.

⁶⁴ V. Morgan, *A History of the University of Cambridge: volume II, 1546–1750* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 200–6.

⁶⁵ On one occasion Tilson publicly celebrated an ordination in Elmley parish church: see J. Hughes, *The History of the Township of Meltham* (1866), p. 39.

⁶⁶ 'John Adams' (CCEd Person ID 85510), 'John Baldwin' (85994) and 'Robert Burrow' (86668).

was operating on home territory⁶⁷ and established a network so extensive that, in spite of the fact that he died in 1655, he was one of the seven most active ordainers among the English and Irish bishops and by some distance the most important in providing for the north.

Maxwell of Kilmore and Brownrigg of Exeter also chiefly ordained Cambridge men. We do not know where Maxwell lived until he returned to Ireland in 1654. The evidence suggests that it was somewhere in East Anglia or the East Midlands – 62 per cent of his ordinands were later beneficed in the dioceses of Norwich, Lincoln and London; 91 per cent in those three dioceses plus Lichfield, York and Chester. Over three-quarters were educated at Cambridge, which is, perhaps, predictable given this geographical distribution. Yet the intersection between place of residence and college and university networks is not the whole story. That over a fifth of Maxwell's ordinands came from only one college, St John's, strongly suggests personal connections between the bishop and some of the fellowship, the precise details of which remain obscure. This point is reinforced by the case of Ralph Brownrigg, who spent most of the period on the outskirts of London and in East Anglia.⁶⁸ Almost three-quarters of the clergy whom he ordained were beneficed in East Anglia or the diocese of Lincoln when the exhibit books were compiled. All but one were Cambridge men.⁶⁹ Clearly, the contacts that Brownrigg had forged at the university – first as a fellow of Pembroke, then, from 1635, as master of St Catharine's, and finally in two terms as vice-chancellor in 1637–9 and 1643–5 – and the esteem with which he continued to be regarded after his deprivation do much to explain this. However, the college most strongly represented

⁶⁷ See above, p. 000.

⁶⁸ He chiefly resided at Highgate, with Thomas Rich at Wimbledon and Sonning, Berkshire, with Edward Young, conformist minister at Anstey, Hertfordshire, and with Dr Buckenham in Bury St Edmunds. See BL, Harl. MS 3783 fos 127r, 169r, 187r, 192r, 221r; Bodl., Tanner MS 52, fos 12r, 82, 111, 140–2; Rawl. Letters 101, fos 70, 72r. He never visited Exeter diocese.

⁶⁹ The exception was Edward Bagshaw, for whom see his entry in *ODNB*.

among his ordinands was not St Catharine's or Pembroke but Emmanuel.⁷⁰ Brownrigg was close to Richard Holdsworth, master of Emmanuel between 1637 and 1645, and through a warm friendship with William Sancroft, fellow of Emmanuel from 1642 until his expulsion in 1651, became acquainted with a younger generation of college alumni, gentry like the Gayers of Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire, with whom he sometimes stayed, and graduates such as George and John Davenport, both of whom he admitted to the ministry.⁷¹

Such are the bare bones of a series of episcopalian networks, built around university, college, region and personal contacts. Skinner's use of Lamplugh and Bathurst at Oxford indicates the importance of intermediaries, whom we can occasionally trace elsewhere. When John Evelyn wished to find an ordaining bishop, he turned to Jeremy Taylor, who put him in touch with Fulwar of Ardfert; and it was John Sherman, a former fellow of Trinity, who directed Kidder to apply to Brownrigg for ordination, notwithstanding Kidder was a fellow of Emmanuel which as we have seen enjoyed close ties with the bishop.⁷² Too often, though, these facilitators remain elusive. It is also clear that while a number of bishops – especially Maxwell, Fulwar, Hall and Brownrigg – had close contacts with Cambridge, Skinner seems to have the principal ordainer for Oxford university.⁷³ In eastern England, these networks may have overlapped somewhat. Certainly ordaining bishops were in contact: having

⁷⁰ Of the sixty-nine clergy who are known to have been ordained by Brownrigg, twelve were educated at Emmanuel, compared with five at St Catharine's and two at Pembroke. By contrast, six came from St John's, the largest college.

⁷¹ S. Bendall, C. Brooke and P. Collinson, *A History of Emmanuel College, Cambridge* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 254-5; BL, Harl. MS 3783, fos 103r, 107r, 112r, 178r; 'John Davenport' (CCEd Person ID 87679).

⁷² de Beer ed. *Diary of Evelyn*, iii. p. 172; Robinson ed. *Life of Kidder*, pp. 5–6. For Sherman, see J. Twigg, *The University of Cambridge and the English Revolution* (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 156, 303.

⁷³ Only a third of Duppa's ordinands were Oxford men. This may seem surprising, given that Duppa was formerly dean of Christ Church and now bishop of Salisbury, to whom Oxford graduates traditionally resorted for orders, but it may reflect the fact that he did not regularly ordain until 1656–7, by which time Skinner's links and networks in the university were well-established, and also lived outside London and not (like Skinner) adjacent to the university.

ordained Gibson Lucas in 1655, Hall of Norwich seems to have sent him to Brownrigg at Bury St Edmunds. In 1655 it was reported that Henry King ordained some on letters dimissory from other bishops, quite possibly those who chose not to ordain, and knew who would.⁷⁴ But the need for circumspection meant that some bishops operated in relative isolation. Fulwar was working in eastern England, close to Maxwell, Hall and Brownrigg, and like them conferring orders on many Cambridge men, but he could claim in a petition to Charles II in 1664 that he had been the only bishop to ordain in the 1650s, which suggests he may have been as furtive and autonomous as the record implies.⁷⁵ Nor it appears was Skinner's activity in Oxford known to Gilbert Sheldon, the former warden of All Souls College who lived in Nottinghamshire after his ejection from Oxford in 1648, despite Sheldon being in occasional contact with Skinner in the 1650s, and a central figure in the circle of royalist and nonconformist episcopalians which included Henry Hammond and the royal court in exile.⁷⁶ While this fragmentation is significant for a broader study of episcopalianism in the Interregnum, it was clearly no major barrier to ordinands looking for a bishop willing to ordain them.

III

Exactly why so many took advantage of these networks to acquire orders from bishops in a period when episcopacy itself was proscribed has never been properly investigated.⁷⁷ The sources appear uninviting, since only a handful of ordinands recorded their reasons, usually in memoirs written years after the event. But an examination of contemporary debates over

⁷⁴ Bodl., Tanner MS 52, fo. 111; *State Papers collected by Edward Earl of Clarendon* (3 vols, 1767–86), iii. appendix, p. c.

⁷⁵ Bodl., Carte MS 145, p. 155; see also BL, Stowe MS 744, fo. 115r.

⁷⁶ Bodl., Tanner MS 48, fo. 25r; Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 289–91.

⁷⁷ See, however, the incisive comments in Spurr, *Restoration Church*, pp. 141–3.

ordination, the relative weakness of Presbyterianism, and the operation of clerical patronage under the ‘triers’ indicates a series of factors which, alongside personal considerations, account for the continuing and, indeed, deepening appeal, of episcopal orders.

In the 1640s and 1650s Hammond, Bramhall, Ferne and others reiterated the traditional case for an historic Church of England, governed by bishops whose uninterrupted succession reached back to the apostles, an argument strengthened by recent scholarship (including Hammond’s own) on the authenticity of the Ignatian epistles. Their targets were the counter claims of Rome, the Presbyterians and sectaries. Bishops, as Hammond bluntly put it, ‘are the only persons who have the power of ordaining others, given to them in their assumption to that order, by those who had it before, and can derive it from the Apostles who had it immediately from heaven’.⁷⁸ This debate on church government and orders was conducted in private as well as in public. Martin Johnson, illicitly ordained by Maxwell in 1649 and a member of the Worcestershire Association, in 1653 wrote to Richard Baxter, stating that the claim for an unbroken succession made episcopal ordination ‘to be of absolute necessity’, for without it, ‘I do not understand how we that are now ministers can be said to have our authority from Christ’. The two exchanged seven letters before Baxter could persuade him (or so he claimed) that ‘it was not necessary *ad esse ecclesiae* and he might be a true minister who was ordained by presbyters’.⁷⁹

Since the Reformation, most English churchmen had accepted the validity of Presbyterian orders from ‘necessity’, since it had not been possible to retain episcopacy in

⁷⁸ A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 454–70; J. W. Packer, *The Transformation of Anglicanism 1643–1660* (Manchester, 1969), pp. 104–28; Spurr, *Restoration Church*, pp. 132–41; H. Hammond, *Considerations of Present Use* (3rd ed, 1646), p. 9.

⁷⁹ ‘Martin Johnson’ (CCed Person ID 97933); M. Sylvester, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (1696), ii, p. 179, appendix 1, pp. 18–50.

many of the foreign reformed churches. But could this argument now be applied to England? Bishops Morton and Duppa, and apologists such as Peter Gunning, denied that it could: episcopacy had been wilfully overthrown, bishops were still available to give orders, and it followed that English presbyters were not lawfully ordained and their church schismatical. Some episcopalians publicly unchurched the Presbyterians and ridiculed their claims to be *jure divino*: ‘their priesthood is no priesthood, their Eucharist no Eucharist ... but Sacrilege against Gods Ordinance’.⁸⁰ That this attack was damaging is clear from Baxter’s attempt in 1659 to vindicate the status of those ‘that have not prelatical ordination’, following complaints to him from ‘many godly ministers in several parts of the nation’ that their congregations were deserting them on these grounds. In the preface to his work, Baxter printed a letter from Michael Edge, a Derbyshire Presbyterian, who observed that neighbouring ‘gentry and others made much that we are schismatical branches broken off from the true body’ and ‘because we had not a bishop to lay his hands on us, we are not sent from God’; his fear was that the majority in Derbyshire were likely to swallow this line were it not refuted.⁸¹ Richard Kidder, then a fellow of Emmanuel College, recorded similar ‘great disputes between the Episcopal Divines, and the Presbyterians concerning Ordination’ raging in Cambridge in the later 1650s.⁸²

⁸⁰ Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, pp. 475–94; Spurr, *Restoration Church*, pp. 141–2; Sylvester, *Reliquiae*, appendix 1, p. 5; [H. Thorndike], *A Letter concerning the Present State of Religion amongst us* [1656], pp.19–20; E. Hyde, *Christ and his Church* (Oxford, 1658), sig. A2r; A. Evans, *A Winding-Sheet for the Presbyterians* [1652]; *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelicij... published by the Provincial Assembly of London* (1654), sig. B2r; T. Pierce, *Eautontimorousmenos, or the Self-Revenger exemplified in Mr William Barlee* (1658), p. 37.

⁸¹ Baxter, *Five Disputations*, pp. 107–271. Edge added that ‘I am most stumbled at the reading of Ignatius (whom Dr H.[ammond] so strenuously defends) and cannot tell how to evade that testimony in the behalf of episcopacy’ (ibid. p. 128).

⁸² Robinson ed. *Life of Kidder*, p. 5. For suggestions of earlier disputes about ordination within the University, see Twigg, *University of Cambridge*, pp. 188–90.

The fact that the episcopal case was being pressed in the universities and in the wider country must have influenced the choice of some ordinands. For a few, this is demonstratively the case. In 1654 Simon Patrick, having renounced Presbyterian orders after reading Hammond on Ignatius and Thorndike's defence of episcopacy, was ordained by Bishop Hall, while George Bull was also influenced by 'Hooker, Hammond, Taylor, Grotius, Episcopus etc', came to reject the presbyterian plea of 'necessity', and then resorted to Skinner for orders.⁸³ Likewise Matthew Robinson, fellow of St John's Cambridge, was ordained by Tilson in 1654, 'not approving any other ordination legal or regular, except in cases of necessity and of collapsed discipline', which in his view did not obtain in the England of the 1650s.⁸⁴ The appeal of episcopalianism was boosted further with the posthumous publication of Archbishop Ussher's scheme of primitive episcopacy, which ran through three editions in 1656–9, accompanied by an increasing flow of published sermons and devotional writings by a range of episcopalians, including Lancelot Andrewes, William Laud, Jeremy Taylor and Robert Sanderson.⁸⁵ The growing self-confidence and public voice of episcopalians provides one key context for understanding rising numbers of episcopal ordinands.

Episcopalians also profited from the limited reach and unpopularity of the Presbyterian Church in England and Wales. Lacking the full support of parliament, Presbyterianism never became a fully-operational national church. The strongholds were

⁸³Bodl., Tanner MS 52, fo. 6; *The Autobiography of Symon Patrick* (Oxford, 1839), pp. 23–4; Nelson, *Life of Bull*, pp. 24–5. Bull may have read Jeremy Taylor's *Episcopacie Asserted* (1642), which rejected the usual defence from 'necessity' of foreign Presbyterian orders.

⁸⁴ *Autobiography of Matthew Robinson* in J. E. B. Mayor ed. *Cambridge in the Seventeenth Century, Part II* (Cambridge, 1856), p. 37; 'Matthew Robinson' (CCed Person ID 74773).

⁸⁵ J. Ussher, *A Reduction of Episcopacie unto the Form of Synodical Government received in the Ancient Church* (1656); Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 292–4, 300–2; R. Sanderson, *Twenty Sermons* (1656); id., *XXXIII Sermons... to which is prefixed a Large Preface* (1657).

London and Lancashire, each with a series of classes and a provincial assembly, but many counties had at best a single classical presbytery. As Daniel Cawdry conceded in 1652, ‘our churches yet stand, for the most part, unpresbytered, and without a settled government’. Moreover, Presbyterians admitted that their advocacy of lay elders and the examination of prospective communicants were ‘the two great mountains’ stopping people from embracing their government.⁸⁶ Fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges were usually required to take orders, but, despite the purges of both universities in the later 1640s, dons often were free to choose a bishop or a presbytery. Between 1650 and 1656 Trinity College, Cambridge, did not require its fellowship to be ordained, a clear vote of no-confidence in the Presbyterian system.⁸⁷ Presbyterianism was not the formidable opposition that it might have been, although episcopalians continue to fear its enmity and political connections.⁸⁸ Yet whatever its weaknesses we should note that Presbyterian ordination was readily available: classes regularly ordained ‘foreigners’ or those with livings beyond their group of parishes, and Presbyterian orders were conferred by voluntary associations established after 1653 in Nottingham, Devon, Cambridge, Somerset, Norfolk and elsewhere.⁸⁹ If many chose episcopal ordination, it was not because of the unavailability of Presbyterian orders.

⁸⁶ E. Vernon, ‘A Ministry of the Gospel: the Presbyterians during the English Revolution’ in Durston and Maltby eds. *Religion in Revolutionary England*, p. 119; D. Cawdry, *A Sober Answer, to a Serious Question* (1652), p. 30; *A Vindication of the Presbyteriall-Government* (1650), pp. 29–30, 48, 138–9.

⁸⁷ Twigg, *University of Cambridge*, pp. 188–9.

⁸⁸ See, for example, G. Isham ed. *The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justiniann Isham 1650–1660* (Northamptonshire Record Society, 17, 1955), p. 133; Bodl., Tanner MS 52, fo. 106v, MS Eng Hist b 205, fo. 3r.

⁸⁹ C. E. Surman ed. *The Register-Booke of the Fourth Classis in the Province of London 1646–59*, Harleian Society 82–3 (1953); W. A. Shaw, *Minutes of the Bury Presbyterian Classis 1646–1657, part II* (Chetham Society, new series, 41, 1898), pp. 166–73, 202–3; J. Norman, *Christ’s Commission-Officer* (1658); J. Chetwynd, *The Watch Charged* (1659); J. Brinsley, *The Sacred Ordinance of Ordination* (1656).

Ordination as a presbyter was unattractive for several reasons. The ordaining presbytery aimed to establish whether or not a candidate had ‘the grace of God in him’, in other words evangelical fervour, which deterred those of a moderate protestant bent. In practical terms, the requirement that applicants needed to secure the prior approval of their parochial presbytery was a hurdle, since such presbyteries very often did not exist. Moreover ordination itself was a protracted process, stretching over several weeks, as candidates were examined for their doctrinal orthodoxy, required to preach first before ‘the people, the Presbytery, or some Ministers of the Word appointed by them’, and, once approved, to preach to their prospective parishioners on three separate occasions, before being allowed to proceed to the laying on of hands.⁹⁰ Contrast this with the summary examination and ordination offered by bishops who were prepared to ordain candidates with a wide range of churchmanship. A few, it is true, hedged their bets and received orders as both presbyters and priests, but these were only ever a tiny minority.⁹¹

Nor was the possession of episcopal orders a bar to advancement in the state church. In April 1654 Cromwell created the Commissioners for the Approbation of Public Preachers, better known as the Triers, to judge the spiritual fitness of applicants for incumbencies and lectureships. Applicants had to submit testimonials from at least ‘three persons of known godliness and integrity’, but not their letters of orders, for ordination was outside the

⁹⁰ Firth and Rait eds. *Acts and Ordinances*, i. pp. 865–70.

⁹¹ We have identified a handful: ‘Francis Mosley’ (CCEd Person ID 80044), ‘Thomas Stanhope’ (59474) and perhaps also ‘John Baine’ (118213). ‘Francis Lowe’ (82421) took episcopal orders after being rejected by a Presbyterian classis. Mosley and Stanhope received their double ordination at much the same time; Edmund Ellis may have renounced his Presbyterian orders on becoming a priest, as Simon Patrick clearly did. W. A. Shaw ed. *Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis* (Chetham Society, 2nd series, 20, 22, 24, 1890–1), ii. pp. 220, 231–4, iii. p. 411; J. C. Cox, ‘Minute Book of the Wirksworth Classis 1651–1658’, *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 2 (1880), pp. 205–6, 208, 210, 214, 222; Bodl., Walker MS c 2, pp. 472–3, 495–6; see above p. 000 and below, 000.

commission's purview and some were admitted without being ordained.⁹² The consequence was that numerous illegally episcopally-ordained ministers, sometimes presented to livings by first Oliver and then Richard Cromwell, were approved by the Triers; occasionally they even filled sequestered livings.⁹³ Often they supplied testimonials written by others with episcopal orders. Oliver Sell, fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, ordained by Brownrigg in 1654, wrote in support of both James Spering, another fellow of Queens' who had been priested by Hall in the same year, and William Glover, who had received orders from Fulwar in 1658; Spering in turn backed Sell, Joseph Sedgwick and William Wolrych, the latter two ordained by Hall in 1653–4.⁹⁴ As importantly, some of these applicants secured testimonials from prominent Presbyterians such as Richard Heyrick, Edmund Calamy and John Collinges, the latter pair being ejected in 1660–2.⁹⁵ This suggests that the challenges of pastoral work in the ministry could often override divisions between episcopalians and Presbyterians. Ministers might have preferences about church government, but the behaviour of many in the 1650s indicates that they accorded a higher priority to the practical challenges of parochial work. By the same token, when the deprived bishop of Oxford wrote a testimonial to the Triers on behalf of Hannibal Potter, signing himself as 'Rob Skynner of Launton', as a mere

⁹² Firth and Rait eds. *Acts and Ordinances*, ii. pp. 855–8. There is an extensive literature on non-ordained clergy. For a sample, linked to the Triers, see Brinsley, *Sacred Ordinance*, pp. 28–9 and passim; J. Ives, *Confidence encountered: or a Vindication of the Lawfulness of Preaching without Ordination* (1658), p. 24 and passim; Norman, *Christ's Commission-Officer*, pp. 88, 103–4; BL, Add. MS 4460, fo. 61r.

⁹³ LPL, COMM.III/3 ii. p. 179, iii. p. 201, III/5, pp. 48, 62, 71, 120, 153, III/6, p. 64, 85, 94, 183, 190, III/7 p. 21, 113, 182; 'Joseph Clarke' (CCEd Person ID 117540), 'Henry Edes' (13995), 'Seth Elcock' (72232), 'Robert Guidott' (89269), 'Marcus Hope' (49013), 'Jasper Justice' (98114), 'William Lindsell' (117541), 'Anthony Routh' (80037), 'John Shipman' (117622), 'Christopher Stock' (117543), 'John Tyreman' (117542), 'Samuel Mathewes' (117538), 'Simon Webster' (77338), 'William Walker' (1175390).

⁹⁴ LPL, COMM.III/6 pp. 99, 136, III/7, p. 75, 101, 347; 'William Glover' (CCEd Person ID 88955), 'Joseph Sedgwick' (102523), 'Oliver Sell' (102529), 'James Spering' (117544), 'William Wolrych' (61135).

⁹⁵ LPL, COMM.III/6, pp. 32, 34, 84; III/7, pp. 5, 24; 'Richard Francis' (CCEd Person ID 117535), 'Thomas Meere' (117536), 'Samuel Newson' (117534), 'Christopher Spendlove' (117537), 'John Stynnet' (117532). These testimonials are a fruitful study for further research.

country clergyman, he too was expressing his commitment to the pastoral mission of the church by playing a small part in the recruitment of an effective parochial ministry.⁹⁶ In short, episcopal ordinands took full advantage of opportunities to serve as incumbents in the 1650s, and the state church in the protectorate was even broader than is traditionally acknowledged.⁹⁷

How did the timings of these episcopal ordinations fit into the trajectories of clerical careers? For pre-civil war England, this is a question scarcely worth asking: the vast majority of clergy were ordained before taking up their first curacy or living. But in the ‘broken times’ of 1646 to 1660 patterns of ordinations were scarcely predictable. Quite a number were ordained shortly before or after their scrutiny by the Triers, including Edward Stillingfleet, ordained on 2 January 1658 and approved by the Triers four days later.⁹⁸ Others took advantage of the fact that ordination was no longer a pre-requisite for service in the parochial ministry. Thus Matthew Robinson was admitted to Burneston in Yorkshire in 1651 and kept an ‘ancient curate’ to administer the sacraments; not until 1654, having resigned a fellowship at St John’s College, Cambridge, was he ordained deacon and priest.⁹⁹ Others, who had been ordained deacons in the early 1640s, and filled parochial livings, waited many years before

⁹⁶ LPL, COMM.III/7, p. 62.

⁹⁷ Only a small number, such as George Davenport, avoided service in what they regarded as an illegal state church and acted as private chaplains to uncompromising episcopalian gentry. See Fincham and Taylor, ‘Episcopalian Conformity’, p. 25. On the breadth of the Cromwellian church, see A. Hughes, ‘“The Public Profession of these Nations”: the National Church in Interregnum England’ in Durston and Maltby eds. *Religion in Revolutionary England*, pp. 102–4, 109.

⁹⁸ ‘Edward Stillingfleet’ (CCEd Person ID 103421); LPL, COMM.III/6, p. 165. For other examples, see *ibid.*, pp. 34, 190; III/7, pp. 21, 61, 355; ‘Thomas Meere’ (117536), ‘Joseph Clarke’ (117540), ‘Robert Guidott’ (89269), ‘William Dealtrey’ (118890), ‘Robert Pead’ (100746).

⁹⁹ Mayor ed. *Autobiography of Robinson*, pp. 34–6; ‘Matthew Robinson’ (CCEd Person ID 74773).

being priested;¹⁰⁰ others again rejected their Presbyterian ordination and took episcopal orders, though how many did so is hard to establish since the lists of Presbyterian ordinands are as incomplete as their episcopal counterparts.¹⁰¹ Ultimately, the precise reasons why an individual sought episcopal ordination are likely to have been a combination of the ideological, the practical and the personal. Family and friends were key influences: George Bull, placed in the household of the future dissenter, William Thomas, became friends with Thomas's son, Samuel, who encouraged Bull to read episcopalian works, which eventually led him to Bishop Skinner's door. Edmund Ellis, a fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, from 1655 to 1659, was ordained as a Presbyterian and preached in London in 1659, to the disgust of his father, who believed he should not have done so without episcopal ordination and who subsequently steered him to the same bishop.¹⁰² This example may have a wider import, since it reminds us of the large number of clerical fathers of these ordinands, all of whom had been episcopally ordained in times past, and many of whom retained affection or respect for the episcopal Church and its orders. Thus, when Richard Baxter's idea of a voluntary association of protestant clergy was mooted in Herefordshire in 1657, it received short shift since the majority of clergy expressed a desire for 'the old episcopacie... as *jure divino*'.¹⁰³ As we might have supposed, almost all the episcopalian ordinands of 1646–60 stayed on to serve in the Restoration Church and took the Act of Uniformity of 1662. A few had to vacate

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, 'William Retchford' (CCEd Person ID 74484), 'Matthew Bate' (49337), 'Robert Marshall' (99660); Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigenses Part 1*, iii. p. 442; J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses.... 1500–1714* (4 vols, Oxford, 1891–2), i. p. 84, iii. p. 975.

¹⁰¹ Surnam states that 'some 700 ordinands are definitely known', and lists about 240 of them: Surnam, *Register-Booke*, pp. xi–xiii; id., 'Classical Presbyterianism in England 1643–1660', Manchester MA thesis, 1949, pp. 102–10.

¹⁰² Nelson, *Life of Bull*, pp. 22–5; Bodl., Walker MS c. 2, pp. 472–3, 495–6.

¹⁰³ P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 115–17; Keeble and Nuttall eds. *Correspondence of Richard Baxter*, i. p. 343. See also the clerical support for episcopacy in the early 1640s: J. Maltby ed. 'Petitions for episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer on the eve of the civil war 1641–1642' in S. Taylor ed. *From Cranmer to Davidson* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 113–67.

sequestered livings where the ejected incumbent was still alive, and found cures elsewhere,¹⁰⁴ but it appears that only seven of our 581 ordinands refused to conform, one of whom, Richard Kidder, later took the oaths and ended his career as bishop of Bath and Wells.¹⁰⁵

IV

By way of conclusion four points should be emphasized. First, it is clear that a remarkably large number of men received episcopal ordination between 1646 and 1660. The fragmentary nature of the surviving evidence makes it difficult to be certain about the precise number, but it seems highly likely that around 2,500 priests were ordained in England during the period in which episcopacy was abolished and such acts were illegal. This figure, if accurate, represents an annual average for the period which is between 50 and 60 per cent of the number ordained in the pre-civil war and Restoration Church. Some of this work was undertaken by the surviving English bishops, notably Skinner, Brownrigg and Hall, but we must also acknowledge the signal contribution of three Irish bishops – Fulwar, Maxwell and Tilson. Never before or since has the Church of Ireland had such an impact on the mother church in England. By contrast, the Scottish episcopate was conspicuous by its absence, even though some bishops were resident in England in and after the 1640s.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ For example, ‘Simon Webster’ (CCEd Person 1D 77338) and ‘Toby Conyers’ (92606); LPL, COMM.111/5, p. 112; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 132.

¹⁰⁵ Vincent Alsop, Edward Bagshaw, John Evans, William Pell, Benjamin Snowden, Timothy Wood and Richard Kidder: Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, pp. 8, 21–2, 185, 385, 542, 451; Robinson ed. *Life of Kidder*, pp. 9–13.

¹⁰⁶ An interesting example is Thomas Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway, who was in England in the 1640s and, it seems, from the late 1650s. Although he was a very active (and allegedly casual) ordainer between November 1660 and April 1662, he conferred orders only rarely before then: once before the abolition of episcopacy in May 1646, on two candidates in exile at Paris on 5 June 1651, and then four times in England from December 1659 to May 1660. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 443; de Beer ed. *Diary of Evelyn*, iii. pp. 8–9; Folger Shakespeare Library, V. b. 287; Davies, ‘Robert Sanderson’, p. 168.

Second, the role of the bishops in the 1640s and 1650s is in need of reappraisal.¹⁰⁷ The failure of the English and, indeed, the Irish bishops to make provision for the continuation of their own order is only one aspect of the experience of the period. Juxon may have become a fox-hunting country gentleman¹⁰⁸ and Frewen may have retreated into a quiet retirement, but they were not typical of the episcopate as a whole, which was far from moribund. Instead, as has been seen, a significant number of bishops were committed to sustaining an episcopal ministry in England. It is clear that their conception of their duties and responsibilities varied – Hall appears to have remained committed to some notion of a diocesan episcopacy, Skinner was representative of others who, in troubled times, redefined their role in broader terms, while Fulwar, perhaps uniquely, was prepared to become peripatetic. Nor were these the only models for episcopal activity. Warner of Rochester may have been reluctant to ordain, but, like Skinner, he regularly confirmed and he was at the centre of a charitable network of support for both conformist and nonconformist episcopalian ministers.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, it should not even be assumed too readily that the administrative structures of the Church of England entirely collapsed in the mid 1640s – there are suggestions in some dioceses that institutions by bishops continued to take place at least until the end of the decade and perhaps even remnants of the registry continued to function.¹¹⁰

Third, it is striking how high the demand for episcopal ordination remained throughout the 1650s, even though the future of the episcopalian church looked very uncertain. Bishops were ordaining large numbers not only because they were willing to do so,

¹⁰⁷ We intend to write a broader study of the episcopate and the diocesan Church of England in the period 1640–65.

¹⁰⁸ T. A. Mason, *Serving God and Mammon: William Juxon, 1582–1663* (Newark, 1985), pp. 149–50.

¹⁰⁹ Bodl., Tanner MS 48, fo. 25r; MS Eng. Hist. b 205, fo. 25r; Fincham and Taylor, 'Episcopalian Conformity', p. 27.

¹¹⁰ We plan to document this elsewhere.

but also because candidates continued to present themselves. Episcopal orders had a validity and appeal which neither Presbyterianism nor Independency could match. The fact that episcopal ordination was no obstacle to service in the state church only strengthened its popularity. That the number of ordinands was rising across the 1650s is further evidence for the recovery of episcopalianism which we can trace elsewhere, in the growth of devotional literature, in the theological writings of Hammond and others, in particular their justifications of episcopacy, and in the printing and reprinting of works by churchmen such as Andrewes, Laud, Harsnett and Steward. The paradox is obvious: the episcopate was dying out, but episcopalian sentiment and support was deepening. Part of the explanation for this paradox may lie in the enormous variety of episcopalian experiences, even among the clergy. We can draw a striking contrast between, on the one hand, an episcopalian nonconformist like George Davenport who retreated into the comparative safety of a sympathetic gentry family and avoided any engagement with the authorities, and a conformist like Francis Mosley who took both Presbyterian and episcopal orders. But neither was typical, and the contrast obscures the enormous variety of motivations and experiences of those who, as episcopalians, found service in the state church. If conformity was a process which had to be negotiated, so too was episcopalian identity.

Finally, this study raises some intriguing questions about the character of the state church in the 1650s. The nature of the toleration offered by the Cromwellian church, in particular, appears to have been even broader than is generally recognised. The fact that bishops were permitted to ordain without harassment suggests that the authorities focused on the political rather than religious challenge posed by episcopalianism, so we might profitably refine the conventional view that episcopalians were systematically persecuted in this period, and extend this analysis to other formally proscribed activities, such as the use of the prayer

book. The buoyant numbers of ordinands and the opportunities for advancement under the Triers indicate that episcopalians had successfully adapted to their novel and unwelcome status as one religious sect among many, more than matching the popularity and impact of their principal rival, the Presbyterians. We may wonder whether the space created for episcopalians was merely an unforeseen consequence of religious pluralism, or a calculated attempt either to integrate the politically quiescent amongst them into the national church, or even to use them as a counter-balance to the Presbyterians, while ensuring a supply of learned ministers into the parochial ministry. If we cast the net wider, to include the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage and the practical workings of the ministry, then it may well be that the episcopalian contribution to the Cromwellian church was even greater than this essay has implied.

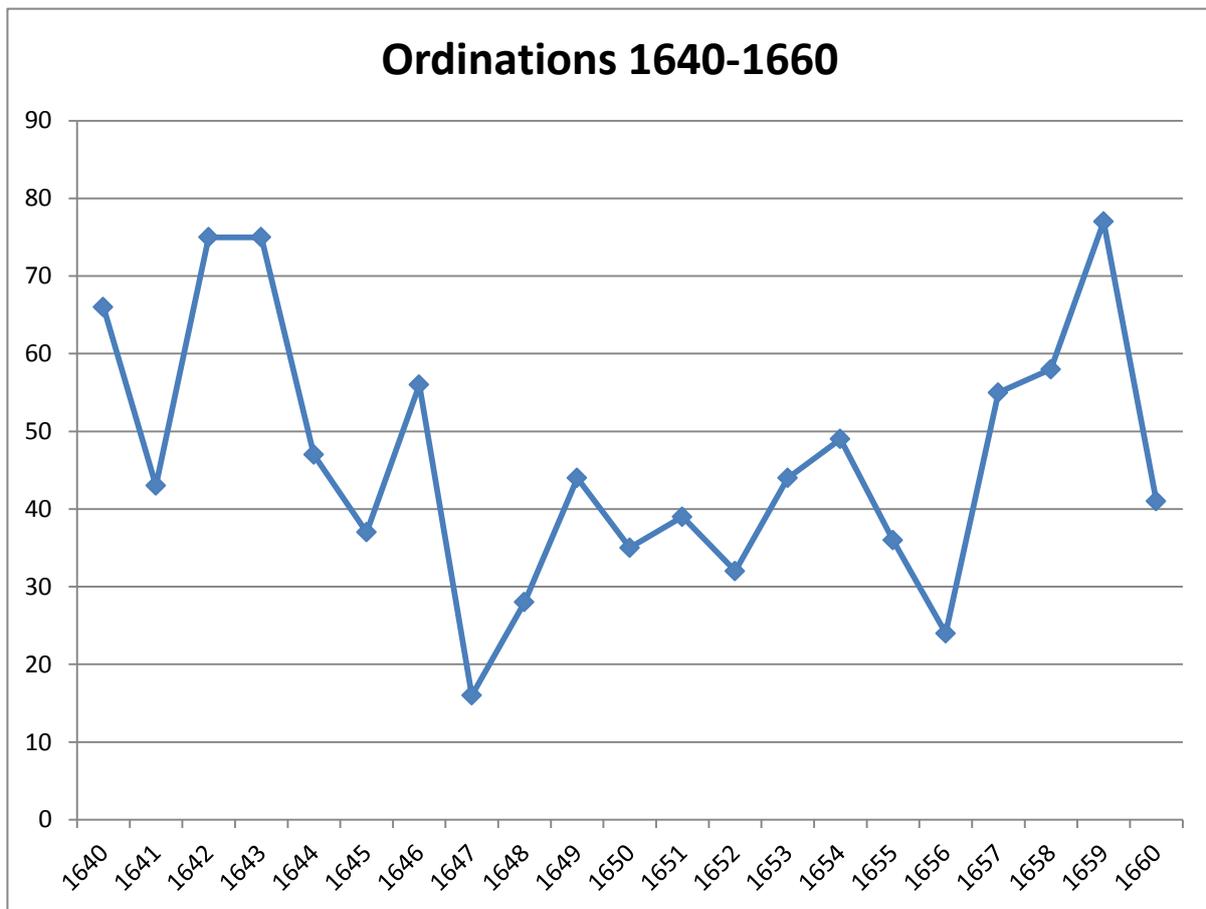
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Graph 1: Ordinations 1640–1660



The annual totals are for the number of men ordained as priest recorded in the surviving exhibit books for the period 1662 to the revolution of 1688, supplemented by others from the 1690s. See the list given in nn. 8–10 and 12.

Graph 2: Ordinations 1646–60 by bishop

