



THE OXFORD HISTORY OF
ANGLICANISM

VOLUME II

Establishment and Empire, 1662–1829

EDITED BY
JEREMY GREGORY

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF ANGLICANISM

General Editor: Rowan Strong

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Reformation and Identity, c.1520–1662

Edited by Anthony Milton

The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II

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For John Walsh and in memory of Garry Bennett

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List of Contributors

Gareth Atkins is Fellow and Director of Studies in History at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and a Postdoctoral Fellow on the ERC-funded Bible and Antiquity in Nineteenth-Century Culture Project at the Centre for Research in Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities (CRASSH), also in Cambridge. He works on religious culture and politics in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain, ranging from maritime religion to Protestant and Catholic constructions of heroes (and villains) from history. His edited book, *Making and Remaking Saints in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, was published by Manchester University Press in 2016. He has published widely on Anglican Evangelicalism and is currently completing a monograph, *Converting Britannia: Anglican Evangelicals and British Public Life, c.1770–c.1840*. His new project uses the reception of King David to explore debates about masculinity, sexuality, the Bible, archaeology, and empire in nineteenth-century culture.

Toby Barnard, FBA, MRIA (Hon.) is Emeritus Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. His most recent book is *Brought to Book: Print in Ireland, 1680–1784* (Dublin, 2017). He also edited (with W. G. Neely) *The Clergy of the Church of Ireland, 1000–2000: Messengers, Watchmen and Stewards* (Dublin, 2006).

James B. Bell is Distinguished Fellow, Rothermere American Institute at the University of Oxford. His research has focused on the political, religious, and cultural history of the Church of England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England and in early America. He is the author of *The Imperial History of the King's Church in Early America, 1607–1783* (Basingstoke, 2004), *A War of Religion: Dissenters, Anglicans and the American Revolution* (Basingstoke, 2008), *Empire, Religion and Revolution in Early Virginia, 1607–1786* (Basingstoke, 2013), and *Anglicans, Dissenters and Radical Change in Early New England, 1686–1786* (Basingstoke, 2017), and has compiled the database of the 1,281 colonial American clergy of the Church of England at <<http://www.jamesbbell.com>>.

J. C. D. Clark was educated at Cambridge, where he was a Fellow of Peterhouse, and moved to Oxford, where he was a Fellow of All Souls College. At the University of Chicago he was a Visiting Professor at the Committee on Social Thought, and is currently Hall Distinguished Professor of British History at the University of Kansas. His research addresses British history in the long eighteenth century, and has argued especially for the reintegration of politics, political thought, and religion. His best known works are *English Society 1660–1832* and *The Language of Liberty 1660–1832*; his book on the

thought of Thomas Paine is forthcoming, and he is completing a study of the Enlightenment.

Tony Claydon is Professor of Early Modern History at Bangor University. His research has centred on the culture, politics, and religion of the late Stuart period in England, particularly the propaganda of William III, the European identities of England, and concepts and experiences of time. Beyond numerous articles on these topics, he is author of *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge, 1996) and *Europe and the Making of England 1660–1760* (Cambridge, 2007).

Elizabeth Elbourne is an Associate Professor in the Department of History and Classical Studies, McGill University. Scholarship includes *Sex, Power and Slavery* (Athens, OH, 2014), co-edited with Gwyn Campbell, and *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions and the Contest for Christianity in Britain and the Eastern Cape, 1799–1853* (Montreal and Kingston, 2003). She was co-editor of the *Journal of British Studies* with Brian Cowan from 2010 to 2015.

William Gibson is Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Director of the Oxford Centre for Methodism and Church History at Oxford Brookes University. His research focuses on the religious history of England from 1660 to 1900. He is editor of *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689–1901* (Oxford, 2012). His most recent books include *Britain 1660–1851: The Making of the Nation* (London, 2013) and (with Joanne Begiato) *Sex and the Church in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2017).

Jeremy Gregory is Pro-Vice-Chancellor for the Faculty of Arts and Professor of the History of Christianity at the University of Nottingham. His research and publications have shaped and contributed to the debates concerning the role of the Church of England in particular, and religion in general, in English social, cultural, political, and intellectual history from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. He is the author of *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660–1828: Archbishops of Canterbury and their Diocese* (Oxford, 2000).

Joseph Hardwick is Senior Lecturer in British History at Northumbria University. He is the author of *An Anglican British World: The Church of England and the Expansion of the Settler Empire, c.1790–1860* (Manchester, 2014), and currently researches the history of special acts of worship in the British Empire.

Clare Haynes is Senior Research Associate on the Leverhulme-funded project *The Medieval Parish Churches of Norwich: City, Community and Architecture* at the University of East Anglia. She is the author of *Pictures and Popery: Art and Religion in England, 1660–1760* (Aldershot, 2006) and has completed a book manuscript provisionally entitled *In the Idol's Shadow: Art in the Church*

of England 1660–1839. In addition to her research on art and religion, other interests include graphic satire, the history of collecting, and antiquarianism.

Robert G. Ingram is Associate Professor of History at Ohio University and director of the George Washington Forum on American Ideas, Politics and Institutions. He is the author of *Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Secker and the Church of England* (Woodbridge, 2007) and co-editor of *God in the Enlightenment* (New York, 2016) and *Between Sovereignty and Anarchy* (Charlottesville, VA, 2015).

W. M. Jacob was Principal of Lincoln Theological College, and Archdeacon of Charing Cross in London Diocese. He has published extensively about religious history in England and Wales in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

David Manning received his PhD in history from Clare College, Cambridge, after completing a dissertation entitled ‘Blasphemy in England, c.1660–1730’ (2009). He is now an Honorary Visiting Fellow at the University of Leicester and pursues wide-ranging research interests in the history of Christian thought and culture in early modern Britain and the British Atlantic world, c.1500–c.1800. He edited and contributed to *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, Special Issue: *The Church of England as ‘Primitive Christianity Restored?’* (2011). His other publications include ‘Reformation and the Wickedness of Port Royal, Jamaica, 1655–c.1692’, in Crawford Gribben and Scott Spurlock (eds.), *Puritans and Catholics in the Trans-Atlantic World, 1600–1800* (Basingstoke, 2015). David’s forthcoming work engages with divine illumination, practical divinity, speechlessness, and blasphemy.

Louis P. Nelson is Professor of Architectural History and the Associate Provost for Outreach at the University of Virginia. He is a specialist in the built environments of the early modern Atlantic world, with published work on the American South, the Caribbean, and West Africa. Nelson has produced two book-length monographs and three edited collections of essays, served two terms as Senior Co-Editor of *Buildings and Landscapes*—the leading English-language venue for scholarship on vernacular architecture—and penned numerous articles. His early work on colonial religious architecture is best realized in his monograph *The Beauty of Holiness: Anglicanism and Architecture in Colonial South Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2008), winner of the 2010 SESA Best Book of the Year Prize. His latest monograph, *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica*, has recently been released from Yale University Press.

Daniel O’Connor is an Anglican priest and has served in England, India, and Scotland. He is an Honorary Research Fellow of Edinburgh University. His early research was on devotional literature, later on anti-colonial missionaries. He was responsible for the tercentennial history of the United Society for the

Propagation of the Gospel, and more recently published *The Chaplains of the East India Company 1601–1858* (New York, 2012) and contributed to *The Oxford Handbook of Anglican Studies* (Oxford, 2016).

Alasdair Raffe is a Chancellor's Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh. He is a historian of Scotland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with interests in religion, politics, and ideas. He is the author of *The Culture of Controversy: Religious Arguments in Scotland, 1660–1714* (Woodbridge, 2012) and *Scotland in Revolution, 1685–1690* (Edinburgh, forthcoming).

Mark Smith is Associate Professor of History at the University of Oxford. His research interests include the history of the parish, local responses to religion, and the Anglophone Evangelical tradition. He is the author of *Religion in Industrial Society* (Oxford, 1994). He is also the editor of *Doing the Duty of the Parish* (Winchester, 2004) and *British Evangelical Identities Past and Present* (Milton Keynes, 2008) and with Stephen Taylor of *Evangelicalism in the Church of England c.1790–c.1900* (Woodbridge, 2004).

Bryan D. Spinks is Bishop F. Percy Goddard Professor of Liturgical Studies and Pastoral Theology at Yale Divinity School. His research interests include East Syrian rites, Reformed rites, issues in theology and liturgy, and worship in a post-modern age. He is the author of *The Worship Mall: Contemporary Responses to Contemporary Culture* (London, 2010) and *Do This in Remembrance of Me: The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day* (Norwich, 2013). He co-edited, with Teresa Berger, *Liturgy's Imagined Past/s: Methodologies and Materials in the Writing of Liturgical History Today* (Collegeville, MN, 2016).

Grant Tapsell is Fellow and Tutor in History at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. His research interests focus on political and religious affairs across the British Isles, c.1640–c.1689, and he is currently researching the career of Archbishop William Sancroft. He is the author of *The Personal Rule of Charles II, 1681–85* (Woodbridge, 2007) and (with George Southcombe) *Restoration Politics, Religion, and Culture: Britain and Ireland, 1660–1714* (Basingstoke, 2010). He has edited or co-edited three collections of essays, including *festschriften* for Clive Holmes and John Morrill and *The Later Stuart Church, 1660–1714* (Manchester, 2012).

Nicholas Temperley is Emeritus Professor of Music at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign; he holds a PhD in music from Cambridge University. As a musicologist he has specialized in English music from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. He has published *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979) and *The Hymn Tune Index: A Census of English-Language Hymn Tunes in Printed Sources from 1535 to 1820*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1998; online at hymntune.library.illinois.edu). His critical edition of Sternhold

and Hopkins's *Whole Book of Psalms* (1562), co-edited with Beth Quitslund, will shortly be published.

David R. Wilson holds a PhD from the University of Manchester and teaches courses in church history, theology, and ethics at Portland Seminary of George Fox University and Warner Pacific College in Portland, Oregon. He is the author of *Church and Chapel in Industrializing Society: Anglican Ministry and Methodism in Shropshire, 1760–1785* (New York, 2017), and is a contributor to the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation* (Oxford, 2013), *Dissent and the Bible in Britain, c.1650–1950* (Oxford, 2013), and *Making and Remaking Saints in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester, 2016). He also co-edited *Holy Imagination: Thinking about Social Holiness* (Lexington, KY, 2015). His research has explored gender and ecclesiology within Anglicanism and Methodism in the long eighteenth century, and he is currently working on a book project focused on the Church, justice, and the margins of society.

Paula Yates is the Dean of St Padarn's Institute, the Church in Wales's innovative new theological college. She teaches Christian history, specializing in the history of Anglicanism and setting Welsh Anglicanism into its wider context. Her research interests are in interdenominational relationships in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the interaction between Christianity and politics in Britain and the role played by schooling in both those areas, particularly in Wales. She has published a number of articles on aspects of Welsh Anglicanism.

B. W. Young is University Lecturer and Charles Stuart Tutor in History, Christ Church, Oxford. He is the author of *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998), and *The Victorian Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2007). He is completing a study of relations between Christians and unbelievers in eighteenth-century England.

Natalie A. Zacek is Senior Lecturer in American History at the University of Manchester. Her monograph, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670–1776* (Cambridge, 2010), won the Royal Historical Society's Gladstone Prize. She is currently at work on a study of thoroughbred horse-racing in the nineteenth-century United States.

Series Introduction

Rowan Strong

Even Henry VIII at his autocratic best could hardly have imagined that his Church of England would, nearly five centuries after he had replaced papal authority with his own, become a global Christian communion encompassing people and languages far beyond the English. Formally, Henry asserted his royal power over the national Church on a more global scale—on the imperial theory that ‘this realm of England is an empire’ asserted the Act in Restraint of Appeals (to Rome) in 1533. Yet this was sixteenth-century imperial theory serving a national end. England was an empire and therefore King Henry was an emperor, that is, a ruler who was the paramount earthly authority and consequently superior to the papacy. So Henry’s Church of England was always a national project, meant first and foremost to be the Church of the English—all the English—who would, if necessary, be compelled to come in. That national politico-religious agenda—a Church of all the English with the monarchy as its supreme head—formed the thrust of the policy of all but one of the succeeding Tudor monarchs. However, that royal agenda of the inclusion of all the English lay at the heart of the problem of this national ecclesiastical project.

At no time since Henry VIII ushered in his religious revolution did all the English wish to be part of this Church of England, though for over two centuries the monarchy and the English ruling classes attempted to encourage, cajole, or compel everyone in England to at least attend their parish church on Sunday. In Henry’s reign, religious dissent from this monarchical Church was disparate and small, partly because Henry ensured it was dangerous. So some advanced Evangelicals (as early Protestants were called), such as Robert Barnes and William Tyndale, were executed by the regime in the early years of the religious revolution. Later, some prominent conservatives influenced by Catholic reform, such as Bishop John Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and some members of particular observant religious orders, followed their Evangelical enemies to the scaffold or the block. As the Protestant Reformation unfolded, and Catholic reform began to gather definition, from the reign of Edward VI onwards, those among the English who dissented from, or who were dissatisfied with, this national Church began to increase in numbers. Even those within it argued among themselves as to what the Church of England stood for.

Consequently, the Church of England, and its later global Anglican expansion, was always a contested identity throughout its history. It was contested both by its own adherents and by its leadership. This series looks at the history

of that contestation and how it contributed to an evolving religious identity eventually known as Anglican. The major question it seeks to address is: what were the characteristics, carriers, shapers, and expressions of an Anglican identity in the various historical periods and geographic locations investigated by the volumes in the series? The series proposes that Anglicanism was not a version of Christianity that emerged entire and distinct by the end of the so-called Elizabethan Settlement. Rather, the disputed and developing identity of the Church developed from Henry VIII's religious revolution began to be worked out in the various countries of the British Isles from the early sixteenth century, went into a transatlantic environment in the seventeenth century, and then evolved in an increasing global context from the eighteenth century onwards. The series proposes that the answer to 'what is an Anglican?' was always debated. Moreover, Anglican identity over time experienced change and contradiction as well as continuities. Carriers of this developing identity included formal ecclesiastical dimensions such as clergy, Prayer Books, theology, universities, and theological colleges. Also among such formal carriers of Anglican identity was the English (then the British) state, so this series also investigates ways in which that state connection influenced Anglicanism. But the evolution of Anglicanism was also maintained, changed, and expressed in various cultural dimensions, such as architecture, art, and music. In addition, the series pays attention to how Anglicanism interacted with national identities, helping to form some, and being shaped itself by others. Each volume in the series devotes some explicit attention to these formal dimensions, by setting out the various Anglican identities expressed in their historical periods by theology, liturgy, architecture, religious experience and the practice of piety, and its interactions with wider society and politics.

A word needs to be said about the use of the term 'Anglicanism' to cover a religious identity whose origins lie in the sixteenth century when the name was not known. While recognizing the anachronism of the term Anglicanism, it is the 'least-worst' appellation to describe this religious phenomenon throughout the centuries of its existence. It is a fallacy that there was no use of the term Anglicanism to describe the Church of England and its global offshoots before John Henry Newman and the Oxford Movement in the 1830s. Newman and his Tractarian *confreres* certainly gave wider publicity to the name by using it to describe the separate Catholic culture of their Church. However, its usage predates the Tractarians because French Catholic writers were using it in the eighteenth century. It has become acceptable scholarly usage to describe this version of Christianity for the centuries prior to the nineteenth, notwithstanding its admittedly anachronistic nature.¹ Into the nineteenth century

¹ John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England* (New Haven, CT, 1991), pp. xiii–xiv; John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor (eds.), *The Church of England c.1689–c.1833* (Cambridge, 1993), ch. 1; J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1660–1832* (Cambridge, 2000 edn.), p. 256; Nigel Voak,

contemporaries used the terms ‘Church of England’ or ‘Churchmen’ to encompass their Church, even in countries and colonies beyond England. However, these names are not acceptable or understood today with their formerly inclusive meaning. The latter is objectionable on gender terms; and the former, while used by Anglicans in a variety of different lands and cultures, only leads to confusion when addressing the Church of England beyond England itself. Consequently, it has long been recognized in the scholarly literature that there is a need for some term that enshrines both the Church of England in England, its presence beyond that nation, and for that denomination over its entire historical existence. The most commonly adopted term is Anglicanism, and has been used by a number of recent scholars for periods prior to the nineteenth century.² A less Anglo-centric term—‘Episcopal’ or ‘Episcopalianism’—is widely used in some parts of the world for the same ecclesiastical phenomenon—Scotland, North America, and Brazil. However, that term does not figure as widely as Anglican or Anglicanism in the historical literature, so it is the predominant usage in this series.

Consequently, Anglicanism is understood in this series as originating as a mixed and ambiguous ecclesiastical identity, largely as a result of its foundation by the Tudor monarchs of the sixteenth century who were determined to embrace the whole of the English nation within their national Church. It is, consequently, a religious community that brings together aspects of ecclesiastical identity that other Western Churches have separated. From an English Church that was predominantly Reformed Protestant in the sixteenth century, emerging Anglicanism developed a liturgical and episcopal identity alongside its Protestant emphasis on the Bible as the sole criterion for religious truth. The series therefore views Anglicanism as a Church in tension. Developing within Anglicanism over centuries was a creative but also divisive tension between Protestantism and Catholicism, between the Bible and tradition, between the Christian past and contemporary thought and society, that has meant Anglicanism has not only been a contested, but also at times an inconsistent Christian identity.

Within England itself, the Tudor project of a Church for the English nation became increasingly unrealistic as that Church encompassed people who were not English, or people who thought of themselves less as English than as different nationalities. But it has proved to have a surprisingly long life for the English themselves. The series demonstrates various ways in which the

Richard Hooker, and Reformed Theology: A Study of Reason, Will, and Grace (Oxford, 2003), pp. 1–5; Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (Oxford, 2003 edn.), pp. 40–61.

² John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America* (Detroit, 1984); Thomas Bartlett, ‘Ireland and the British Empire’, in P. J. Marshall (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1998), p. 270.

Church over the centuries attempted to enforce, encourage, or cling to its national identity in England, with some degree of success, not least in retaining an enduring cultural appeal for some English who were only loosely connected to its institutional life, or barely to its theological or religious claims. Even today English cathedrals often attract audiences to daily Evensong that otherwise would not be there.

But for those in England and beyond for whom their Church was more central, contestation, and the evolution of identity it prompted, was probably inevitable in a Church that, after its first two supreme heads, was deliberately re-founded by Elizabeth I to be ambiguous enough in certain key areas to give a Church for all the English a pragmatic chance of being accomplished. But this was a loaded gun. A basically Protestant Church, aligned with the Swiss Reformation, but with sufficient traditional aspects to irritate convinced Protestants at home (though less so major European Reformers); but insufficiently Catholic to pull in reformed Catholics for whom papal authority was non-negotiable, simply pleased no one for quite a while. It was neither Catholic fish nor properly Protestant fowl, at least according to those English that wanted the Church of England to conform completely to the worship and polity of Geneva, by the later sixteenth century the pre-eminent centre of international Protestantism. Even Elizabeth's bishops were not entirely comfortable with the Church they led, and some of them tried to push the boundaries towards a properly Reformed Church modelled on that of the New Testament. Until, that is, they realized Elizabeth was having none of it, and made it clear she would not deviate beyond the Church and worship enacted by Parliament in 1558–9. In her mind, though probably in no one else's, those years constituted 'the settlement' of religion. When her archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal, refused to suppress the so-called 'prophesyings' of local clergy meeting for what would now be termed professional development, the queen simply suspended him for the rest of his life and put his functions into the hands of an appointed committee. Royal Supremacy was an undoubted component of the Church of England's identity, and Elizabeth and her successors for many years were not about to let anyone forget it, be they bishops or religiously interfering Members of Parliament.

The fact that Elizabeth emulated the long reigns of her father and grandfather, and not the short ones of her half brother and half sister, meant that her Church of England had time to put down local roots, notwithstanding the 'Anglican' puritans who sought to remake it in Geneva's image; or the zealous Catholic mission priests who hoped to dismantle it by taking Catholics out of it completely.

Where the English went their Church was bound to follow, though this intensified the unhappy situation of Ireland where the English had for centuries sought political domination undergirded by settlement. The consequence of legally establishing a Protestant Church of Ireland was to add

religious difference to the centuries-old colonial condition of that island, whose Gaelic-speaking population remained stubbornly Catholic, in part because the Catholic Church was not English. Generally, the Irish wanted no part of this Church, aside from a small percentage of Irish who stood to gain from alliance with the prevailing Protestant power.

The following century saw the contest for the Church of England become more militant and polarized, until the English went to war to settle the issue among themselves. Perhaps the most surprising development was the emergence of a group of Anglicans who began to publicly advocate for the conservative aspects of the Church of England, a group that coalesced and became another sort of Anglican to the usual sort of Calvinist. This new variety of Anglican was particularly encouraged by specific royal patronage under the first two Stuart kings, James I and Charles I. These new contestants for the identity of the Church have been called by various names—Arminians, Laudians, avant-garde conformists—partly because they were not tightly defined but represented various agendas. Some sought, with the support of Charles I (the first Supreme Governor to be born into the Church of England), to bolster the independence and wealth of the Church; others, to oppose the Church's Calvinist theology and particularly the doctrine of predestination; others, to redress the lack of attention given to the sacraments and sacramental grace compared with the fervour for preaching among the more devout. But all were more or less agreed that the worship of the Church and the performance of the liturgy were woeful and needed to be better ordered, and churches should be more beautiful as aids to devotion and the fundamental significance of the sacraments.

But whether their agenda was liturgical, theological, or sacramental, to their puritan opponents this new Anglicanism looked like Catholicism, and that was the Antichrist from whose idolatrous and superstitious clutches the Protestant Reformation had released the English into true Christianity. They were not prepared to hand over the Church of England to a Catholic fifth-column. But while James I was cautious in his support for these avant-garde Anglicans, liking their support for divine-right monarchy but not their anti-Calvinism, his aesthetic, devout, and imperious son was markedly less so. The religious ball was in the royal court, particularly when Charles pulled off, in the 1630s, a decade of ruling without calling a Parliament, thereby silencing that body's uncomfortable and intolerable demands for royal accountability and religious reform.

The export in 1637 of Charles's particular version of the Church of England to his other kingdom of Scotland, in the form of a Scottish Prayer Book, not only stoked the fires of Scottish Presbyterian nationalism, but also released the pent-up energies of those within the Church of England who wanted an end to what they saw as royal absolutism and religious renovation by would-be papists. The rapid result of this intensification of political and religious

contestation was the outbreak in 1642 of years of civil war in the royal Supreme Governor's three kingdoms. The internal Anglican quarrel, part of wider political differences, ended with the demise of the revolution begun by Henry VIII—the legal abolition of the Church of England, sealed in 1645 in the blood of the beheaded archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud; and followed by that of his Church's head, Charles I, in 1649. For the first time in its legal existence the Church of England (and the Church of Ireland) no longer officially existed.

Then an unexpected thing happened—some people continued to worship and practise their devotional lives according to the use of the defunct Church of England, demonstrating that its identity, though contested, was by this time a genuine reality in the lives of at least some of the English. They did this despite it being illegal, though the republican regime under Oliver Cromwell was not particularly zealous in its proscription of such activities. However, the diarist John Evelyn was present one Christmas Day when a covert congregation in London was dispersed by soldiers while keeping the holy day (proscribed by the regime) by gathering for Holy Communion according to the Book of Common Prayer.³ Evelyn and others worshipped this way, and numbers of clergy used as much of the Prayer Book as they could in the parishes, notwithstanding that their leaders, the bishops, did little to set an example or to ensure the continuation of their illegal order. Anglican identity through worship and the ordering of the week and the year according to the Prayer Book and the Calendar of the Church of England was now being maintained, not by the state, but at the clerical and lay grassroots.

When Charles II landed in Dover in 1660 as the recognized king of England, after the rapid demise of the republican regime with its non-episcopal quasi-congregationalist Church following the death in 1658 of Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, one outcome was the restoration of the legal monopoly of the Church of England. What that legal restoration did not do was to restore the spirituality, devotion, practice, and belief of the Church of England, because these had been ongoing in the period of the Church's official demise. Nevertheless, the legislation that brought back the establishment of the Church of England did newly define some ingredients of Anglican identity.

Before the Commonwealth the Church of England had not made ordination by bishops a non-negotiable aspect of Anglicanism. While it was certainly normal, there were exceptions made for some ministers who had been ordained in non-episcopal Churches elsewhere to minister in the Church of England without re-ordination. Now all clergy in the Church had to be episcopally ordained, with the sole exception of those clergy who came from Churches with a long historic tradition of episcopacy—the Roman Catholic,

³ William Bray (ed.), *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn FRS* (1878, 4 vols.), I, p. 341 (25 Dec. 1657).

Orthodox, and the Church of Sweden. So from 1660 episcopacy became a basic characteristic of Anglicanism. The result was the expulsion of hundreds of clergy who would not conform to the requirement and to that of using only the Book of Common Prayer in worship. These dissenting clergy and laity, most of whom came from the previous Calvinist and puritan groups, now became permanent Nonconformists outside the Church of England. In 1662 a slightly revised Book of Common Prayer was passed by Parliament as the only authorized liturgy for the Church therefore reinforcing liturgical worship as a fundamental criterion of Anglican identity. Parliament again passed an Act of Uniformity and various other acts against Nonconformist worship. Uniformity was restored as an aspect of Anglicanism. So also was the royal supremacy.

However, while episcopacy has remained virtually unquestioned, and uniform liturgical worship remained uncontested within Anglicanism until the late twentieth century, the same could not be said for the other dimensions of the 1662 resettlement of Anglicanism—legal establishment, the royal supremacy, and uniformity. These identifiers were to be victims of the global success of Anglicanism from the eighteenth century, as the Church of England expanded; first across the Atlantic into North American colonies, and then globally within and beyond the British Empire. The first to go was legal establishment when the Americans successfully ushered in their republic after their War of Independence with Britain and some Anglicans remained in the new state. No longer could these Anglicans be subject to the British crown, or be legally privileged in a country in which they were a decided minority, when the Americans had gone to so much trouble to jettison these things. So an Anglicanism—known after the Scottish precedent as Episcopalianism—came into existence for the first time in history without monarchical headship, but rather as a voluntary association. Even within the British Empire these legal and political aspects of Anglicanism, so much a part of its foundation in the sixteenth century, were in trouble by the 1840s. It was then that the bishop of a very new colony, almost as far away from England as you could get, started acting as though the monarchy and establishment were Anglican optional extras. Inspired by the United States precedent, Bishop Augustus Selwyn began unilaterally calling synods of his clergy just four years after New Zealand had been annexed in 1840 as a crown colony, and a few years later he was leading his Church into a constitution which made authoritative synods of laymen, clergy, and bishops. Voluntaryism was catching on in international Anglicanism.

Contestation and evolution continued to be a part of Anglicanism. One of its most enduring characteristics, the sole use of an authorized liturgical form for public worship, began to be challenged by two mutually hostile internal parties—Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics. In some dioceses the latter succumbed to the temptation to use the Roman missal with the permission of sympathetic diocesan bishops. In contrast, encouraged by the global ambitions

of the wealthy diocese of Sydney, some of the former had *de facto* abandoned the use of an authorized Prayer Book entirely. Into this recent Anglican contest has been thrown issues of human sexuality which have conflicted wider society, particularly in the West, but which have been accentuated for Anglicans by questions of how varieties of human sexuality conform or do not conform to the authority of Scripture. So these historical forces have not ceased to play their part within the dynamic of Anglican identity. The post-colonial era following the retraction of the British Empire has brought further criticism, from Anglicans themselves, about the extent to which their denomination was complicit in British imperialism, and that therefore their identity suffers from being an imperial construct. For such Anglican critics, necessary deconstruction has to occur which allows English markers of identity, even as basic as liturgical worship or episcopacy, to be questioned or even relinquished.

Since the nineteenth century and the effective end of the royal supremacy—whether that was exercised by the monarch or the British Parliament—emerging global Anglicanism was increasingly beset into the twenty-first century by the issue of authority. There has been no effective replacement for the royal supremacy, in part because of Anglicanism's historical origins in anti-papal national royalism. Beyond the purely diocesan level, the Anglican Communion struggled to find an operative replacement for the authority of the royal supremacy. Various attempts at authority by moral consensus, all bedevilled by anxiety that something akin to a centralized (i.e. papal) authority was being constructed, were tried. But all such central organizations of an emerging international communion were saddled with the original limitations imposed by Archbishop Longley when he agreed to call the first Lambeth Conference of diocesan bishops in 1867. By repudiating any real global authority, and opting for the consultative label of 'conference' rather than 'synod', Longley found a way to bring opposing parties of Anglicans together. But the emerging Anglican Communion, with its so-called 'Instruments of Unity'—be they the Anglican Consultative Council, or Primates' Meeting—tried to emulate Longley and both avoid the devil—papal centralism—and the deep blue sea—myriad manifestations that belied the claim to unity. True to its origins, Anglicanism perhaps remained more comfortable with its various national existences, than with its international one.

However, the history of Anglicanism is not merely the tracing of the evolution of a now global form of Western Christianity, important though that may be to tens of millions of contemporary Anglican adherents. As part of the historical turn to religion in recent academic interest, in the past two decades there has been a great increase of interest in the history and development of both the Church of England and its global offshoots. Scholars have investigated a plethora of facets of these religious phenomena, from the institutional to the popular, from formal theological belief and worship to informal, more diffusive faith. Other historians have looked at seminal

Anglican figures and movements. As well as specifically religious history, other historians have been recapturing the pivotal importance of Anglicanism in wider social and political contexts.

There has been a general historiographical revision which might broadly be described as moving the Church of England (and religion generally) from the margins to the centre of major economic social, political, and cultural development in English, British, imperial, and global history from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. The Church of England, Anglicanism, and religion more generally are now seen to be seminal dimensions of these various historical periods. So, for example, the significance of religion in the British Empire has now been recognized by a number of important scholars.⁴ However, the major religious denomination in that empire, the Church of England, has been only sparsely studied compared to Nonconformity and is just now beginning to be critically examined.⁵ Belatedly religion is moving up the scale of historical importance in British, imperial, and global history, but it still lags behind the significance and attention that it has received from historians of England. There have been various studies of the Church of England in its national context, but these have not always been integrated into wider British and global studies.⁶

A number of studies of historical Anglicanism have focused on the narrative of the institutional and theological history of Anglicanism, either as the Church of England or as an Anglican Communion. These include Stephen Neil's now very dated *Anglicanism*, originally published in 1958. More recently, there have been William L. Sachs's *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State Church to Global Communion* (1993), and Kevin Ward's *A History of Global Anglicanism* (2006). However, these scholarly histories are single-volume histories that inevitably provide insufficient depth to do justice to the breadth of scholarship on their subject. Anglicanism is now a subject of such complexity as both an institutional Church and a religious culture that sufficient justice cannot be done to it in a single-volume historical treatment.

But there is now sufficient international historical interest and extant scholarship to make an extensive, analytical investigation into the history of Anglicanism a feasible intellectual project. In undertaking such a challenge the

⁴ Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester, 2004); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830–1867* (Chicago, 2002); Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (Abingdon, 2008).

⁵ Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire 1700–c.1850* (Oxford, 2007); Steven S. Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire, and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850–1915* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2014).

⁶ Nancy L. Rhoden, *Revolutionary Anglicanism: The Colonial Church of England Clergy during the American Revolution* (Basingstoke, 2007); Rowan Strong, *Episcopalianism in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Religious Responses to a Modernizing Society* (Oxford, 2000); Bruce Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia* (Melbourne, 2002).

scholars who embarked on the project back in 2012 understand that not only was Anglicanism a religious identity shaped by theological and ecclesiastical understandings, but Anglicans were also formed by non-religious forces such as social class, politics, gender, and economics. Anglicanism has, therefore, been an expression of the Christianity of diverse social groups situated in the differing contexts of the past five centuries—monarchs, political elites, and lower orders; landowners and landless; slave-owners and slaves; missionaries, settlers, and indigenous peoples; colonizers and colonized—and by their enemies and opponents, both within and without their Church.

Introduction

Jeremy Gregory

The two ‘E-word’ coordinates of this second volume in *The Oxford History of Anglicanism*—‘Establishment’ and ‘Empire’—denote what were arguably the most significant factors affecting the Anglican Church between 1662 and 1829. There are, of course, a large number of other issues which have been seen to shape and constrain both the condition of the Church of England and its role and position in the wider world between these dates and which could have been name-checked in the volume’s title. These include the pressures caused, particularly from the second half of the eighteenth century, by population growth, urbanization, and industrialization, which have often been regarded as overwhelming the structures and resources of the Anglican Church, principally in England and Wales, in unprecedented ways.¹ Equally, the title might have signposted what have been considered as new stresses put on Anglicanism by two other ‘E-words’—‘Enlightenment’ and ‘Evangelicalism’—both of which have conventionally been seen to have stood largely outside the Anglican Church and as critical reactions against it. But, whatever the merits of these views, which will be explored in some of the chapters that follow, it is certainly the case that demographic, economic, intellectual, and rival religious developments affected other periods in the history of Anglicanism and so cannot be seen as especially characteristic of, or as features specific to, this era. And while it could be rightly observed that ‘Establishment’ and ‘Empire’ were both themes which had their parts to play in other centuries of the Church’s history, there is a strong case to be made, as the various contributions to this volume show, that these two (sometimes converging, sometimes opposing) factors moulded the nature and reach of Anglicanism during the long eighteenth century in fundamental, and sometimes novel and unique, ways. What

¹ A. D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel, and Social Change, 1740–1914* (London, 1976); Peter Virgin, *The Church in an Age of Negligence: Ecclesiastical Structures and the Problems of Church Reform, 1700–1840* (Cambridge, 1989).

were the consequences for the Anglican Church of its establishment status, and how was it affected by being the established Church of an emerging global power? In turn, Anglicanism influenced understandings and experience of both 'Establishment' and 'Empire' during the period covered in this volume.

It is worth noting right at the start that in histories of the Anglican Church the period with which this volume deals has usually been deemed its most lifeless and least interesting. Compared to both the initial century of the Church's story, covered in the first volume of this series, and developments in the period after 1830, covered in the third volume, the period between 1662 and 1829 remained remarkably under-studied until fairly recently. The general picture was of a Church which had failed to live up to the ideals and energy of both its predecessor and successor. Its bishops were often sharply castigated for neglecting their diocesan duties and acting largely as political pawns; its clergy were routinely criticized for lacking pastoral concern and were stereotyped either as 'fox-hunting parsons' or as woefully poor curates, either aping, or bowing to, the mores of the local aristocratic and gentry elites. These stock caricatures built on some of the Nonconformist and Methodist critiques of the Church which had been articulated in the period itself. This framework for understanding the history of the Church in the long eighteenth century was firmly cemented within Anglican circles in the Victorian era as Evangelical and Tractarian perspectives on the Church in the preceding century agreed in essence on its shortcomings. Apart from the researches of the scholar-cleric Norman Sykes from the 1920s to the 1950s, in particular his *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century* (1934) which demonstrated that the Church was more efficient as an organization and its clergy more hard-working as individuals than had previously been recognized,² the 'minor industry' of biographies of bishops published in the mid-century, written by historians who themselves were ordained members of the Church of England,³ and the editing of primary sources such as visitation returns,⁴ detailing some aspects of the Church in the localities, which provided evidence for a more positive point of view, the Victorian understanding of the later

² Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1934).

³ G. V. Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688–1730: The Career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford, 1975), p. vii; G. V. Bennett, *White Kennet, 1660–1728, Bishop of Peterborough* (London, 1957); Edward Carpenter, *Thomas Sherlock, 1678–1761* (London, 1936); E. Carpenter, *Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury: His Life and Times* (London, 1948); W. M. Marshall, *George Hooper, 1640–1727: Bishop of Bath and Wells* (Milborne Port, 1976); A. Tindal Hart, *The Life and Times of John Sharp, Archbishop of York* (London, 1949); C. E. Whiting, *Nathaniel Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham (1674–1721) and his Diocese* (London, 1940). Note also the biographies by Sykes: *Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, 1669–1748: A Study in Politics and Religion in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1926); *William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1657–1737*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1957).

⁴ E.g. S. L. Ollard and P. C. Walker (eds.), *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society: Record Series, 71, 72, 75, 77, 79, 5 vols. (Leeds, 1928–31).

Stuart and Hanoverian Church remained extremely durable until the late twentieth century, leading Mark Goldie to note as late as 2003 that it was 'overcast by what must be the longest shadow in modern historiography'.⁵ The prevailing negative tone was expertly analysed by John Walsh and Stephen Taylor in the extended introduction to their seminal collection of essays published in 1993 which also showcased the broadly revisionist turn which has characterized much of the writing on the Church from the 1980s.⁶ Rather than dwelling on the failures and shortcomings of the Anglican Church, modern scholars have highlighted its successes and strengths. They have argued that, rather than being an incompetent institution, the Church had begun to reform itself long before the administrative restructuring and theological changes of the period after 1830. The criticisms of earlier historians can be shown to be based on the biased opinions of the Church's opponents or the result of anachronistic expectations, judging the Church by late nineteenth-century standards.

The current volume builds on the work of the Walsh, Haydon, and Taylor collection, which has helped to stimulate more in-depth research on specific issues and topics. But it seeks to go beyond it in offering a much more comprehensive regional coverage of the Church and extending the geographical range to include the fortunes of the Anglican Church outside England (including not only Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, but, as the title indicates, Anglicanism overseas as well). It also includes a number of thematic chapters, allowing an assessment of continuity and change. While the volume cannot pretend to be a complete account of all aspects of the history of Anglicanism, nevertheless it is intended to be an authoritative summary of current research. If there is one single message that the volume seeks to convey it is that the Anglican Church was far more vital to the life of the period than is often maintained, and its history should be of interest to more than just those concerned with religion. Throughout the era covered by the volume, the Church was central to political, social, intellectual, and cultural matters, and for that reason it is timely to draw together a comprehensive study of Anglicanism between these dates.

* * *

The reasons for selecting 'Establishment' as the first 'E-word' coordinate should be uncontentious and this choice has dictated the chronological parameters of what follows. Between 1662 and 1829, the Anglican Church was established by law as the official state Church in England (as it was in Wales and Ireland, as well as in parts of the British Empire). While this was also the case, at least for England, Wales, and Ireland, and some places

⁵ Mark Goldie, 'Voluntary Anglicans', *Historical Journal*, 46 (2003): 977–90, at p. 988.

⁶ John Walsh and Stephen Taylor, 'Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the Long Eighteenth Century', in John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor (eds.), *The Church of England, c.1689–c.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 1–64.

overseas, both before and after these dates, nevertheless, during our period the Anglican establishment was, through various key pieces of legislation, supported by the civil authority arguably much more overtly and with greater consequences than it had been before or would be afterwards, so much so that during this period the Church of England was frequently referred to simply as 'the Established Church'. The Restoration of 1660 had restored not only the monarchy but also the Church of England as the Established Church of the nation with special rights and privileges (such as allowing twenty-six of its bishops to sit in the House of Lords). The crucial law upholding the Anglican establishment was passed in May 1662 when 'An Act for the Uniformity of Public Prayers and Administration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies, and for establishing the Form of making, ordaining and consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons in the Church of England' set the overarching framework for the Anglican establishment for more than 160 years. The Act, 'in regard that nothing conduceth more to the settling of the peace of this nation . . . nor to the honour of our religion and the propagation thereof, than a universal agreement in the public worship of almighty God', defined more clearly than ever before what it meant to be an Anglican, and mandated that all religious services had to adopt the forms of prayer and worship as set out in the 1662 revised Book of Common Prayer.⁷ The Act also required clergy to read publicly from, and declare their 'unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything' in, the amended Prayer Book by 24 August (St Bartholomew's Day).⁸ In addition, the Act demanded that in future all those wanting to be ordained into the Church of England had to subscribe to it, and that those clergy who had not been episcopally ordained had to be re-ordained. As a consequence, nearly a thousand clergy were ejected from their livings and the issue of loyalty to the Prayer Book became a crucial division between Anglicans and Nonconformists from then on. In Nonconformist circles, this was remembered as 'Black Bartholomew', viewed as the decisive event in defining the difference between 'the Church' and 'Dissent'. It has indeed recently been claimed that the Act of Uniformity and its consequences 'comprise perhaps the single most significant episode in post-Reformation English religious history'.⁹ For the Nonconformist minister Philip Henry, it caused a disastrous divide between true 'godly' ministry and 'the Church'.¹⁰ Henry emphasized the pain this gave to those who were forced into Nonconformity, many of whom, like him, would have wanted to remain within a national state Church were it not for what they regarded as unnecessary and even 'popish'

⁷ J. P. Kenyon (ed.), *The Stuart Constitution, 1603–1688* (Cambridge, 1986 edn.), pp. 378–82.

⁸ Ian Green, *The Re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660–1663* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 145–7.

⁹ N. H. Keeble (ed.), *'Settling the Peace of the Church': 1662 Revisited* (Oxford and New York, 2014), back cover.

¹⁰ Quoted in R. Greaves, 'Henry, Philip (1631–1696)', ODNB, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>>, accessed 10 Aug. 2016.

impositions, such as having to be re-ordained and being forced to read the Prayer Book in services.¹¹

The Act of Uniformity and the revised Book of Common Prayer were the twin pillars of the Anglican establishment during the long eighteenth century. As a consequence of its establishment status, the century and a half after 1662 has claims to be regarded as the golden age of the Prayer Book. During this period it structured English religious (and to a certain extent social) life in ways in which arguably it did not before or since.¹² It was also a time when both at home, and, as we will see, perhaps even more abroad, adherence to the Prayer Book can justifiably be considered to have been the defining mark of affiliation to the Church and the unequivocal badge of Anglicanism. The mindset articulated by both the Act of Uniformity and the Prayer Book was dominated by the memory of the civil war and the ways in which religious diversity and experimentation were considered to have led to political and social anarchy. The revised Prayer Book incorporated special forms of prayer which were not technically part of it, but which, until 1859, were included in it for the annual thanksgiving days of 30 January (to remember the death of Charles I in 1649); 29 May (the thanksgiving for the restoration of Charles II in 1660); and 5 November (the thanksgiving for the failure of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605—and by coincidence the day of William III's landing at Torbay in 1688, which meant that by a special Act of Parliament in 1689 insertions were made which thanked Providence for William, and which could be used at the 5 November service that year); as well as the annual thanksgiving service for the accession of the current monarch. The memory of what happened when the world had been turned upside-down formed the habits of mind and actions of Church of England clergy from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries, making them suspicious of groups or movements which it was feared might undermine the Church's position. The reminiscence of the Great Rebellion, when the Church had been overthrown, the archbishop of Canterbury executed, and Anglican clergy harried in their parishes, became deeply fixed in Anglican consciousness, and the fear that there might be another civil war often determined their responses to events.

The Anglican establishment created in 1662 therefore shaped political and social, as well as religious, life until the early nineteenth century, and this was reinforced by subsequent legislation. Even before the 1662 Act, and in anticipation of what would follow, the Corporation Act of 1661 required all members of municipal corporations to affirm that they had taken Holy Communion according to the rites of the Prayer Book within the year. The Conventicle Acts

¹¹ G. F. Nuttall, 'The First Nonconformists', in G. F. Nuttall and O. Chadwick (eds.), *From Uniformity to Unity, 1662–1962* (London, 1962), pp. 149–87.

¹² Jeremy Gregory, '“For all sorts and conditions of men”: The Social Life of the Book of Common Prayer during the Long Eighteenth Century: or, Bringing the History of Religion and Social History Together', *Social History*, 34 (2009): 29–55.

of 1664 and 1670 declared illegal all meetings in private houses of more than five persons (other than the household) for worship not according to that prescribed in the Prayer Book, and the Five Mile Act of 1665 prohibited Nonconformist ministers from preaching, teaching, or coming within five miles of a town or parish where they had previously officiated unless they had taken the oath of non-resistance. For Nonconformists, these laws, which defined the nature of the Anglican religious establishment during the Restoration, contributed to what was traditionally summed up as 'the Great Persecution',¹³ when non-Anglicans might be imprisoned, stoned, molested, and harried for their religious convictions. Yet persecution, and the reasons for it, might be more complex than it appears. Mark Goldie has described the Anglican 'theory of religious intolerance' highlighting the theological imperatives which led churchmen to suppress those perceived to be heretics. He has convincingly demonstrated the importance of the Fathers, especially St Augustine, in fuelling such a mentality and in a view of religious Dissent as 'schism' which clergy had a duty to quash. He has argued that it was these theological arguments, and not merely political or social imperatives, which sustained the defence of religious intolerance.¹⁴ Against accusations of persecution, Anglicans could maintain that coercion provided an opportunity for a reconsideration of religious views on the part of the persecuted. Moreover, persecution was not the only tactic or strategy used to try to win Nonconformists back to the Church; there were also the softer tools of persuasion and pastoral care. The passing of the Test Acts in 1673 and 1678, by obliging office-holders and MPs to conform to the Anglican Church, further enshrined the Church of England at the heart of the political establishment, helping to create what has been seen by J. C. D. Clark as a 'confessional state' whereby the Established Church dominated the English polity and society, sustaining and privileging not only a Protestant, but more specifically an Anglican, constitution.¹⁵ There were further attempts to make the Anglican establishment even more impregnable. During the High Church and Tory revival under Queen Anne, the Occasional Conformity Act of 1711 sought to stop Dissenters from taking the sacrament to qualify for office and

¹³ G. R. Cragg, *Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution, 1660–1688* (Cambridge, 1957).

¹⁴ Mark Goldie, 'The Theory of Religious Intolerance in Restoration England', in Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan Israel, and Nicholas Tyacke (eds.), *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 331–68.

¹⁵ J. C. D. Clark, 'England's Ancien Regime as a Confessional State', *Albion*, 21 (1989): 450–74; J. C. D. Clark, 'Great Britain and Ireland', in Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. VII: *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution, 1660–1815* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 54–71. For the full statement, see J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1660–1832: Religion, Ideology, and Politics during the Ancien Regime* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 2000); see also G. F. A. Best, 'The Protestant Constitution and its Supporters, 1800–1829', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 8 (1958): 107–27.

the Schism Act of 1714 forbade Dissenters from teaching or running schools. The latter was seen as a particularly bold move for the emasculation and de-energizing of Dissent by outlawing the academies which were crucial for nurturing Dissent and where Nonconformists could receive the equivalent of a university education. However, both these Acts were repealed in 1719 as part of George I's concessions to Protestant Dissenters. Apart from the various Roman Catholic 'relief' Acts from the 1770s, and the extension of toleration to Socinians in 1813, this remained the legal framework of the Anglican political establishment until the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, which allowed non-Anglican Protestants to hold political office, and the eventual granting of Roman Catholic Emancipation in 1829. This had been delayed by George III's refusal to break the oath he had made at his coronation to 'maintaine the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospell and the Protestant reformed religion established by law'.¹⁶

Clark's understanding of the Anglican 'confessional state' between 1662 and 1829 has been influential in stressing the centrality of the Church of England to political and social life in the context of a historiography which had tended to minimize the political significance of the Anglican establishment, and for taking seriously the religious and theological arguments which were articulated in its defence in preference to the conventional concentration on the secular, this-worldly, and financial privileges gained by the Church from its establishment status, an interpretation in which the political involvement of bishops, particularly after 1714, was viewed simply as voting-fodder for the government of the day. However, some parts of Clark's argument have been controversial.¹⁷ His concentration on the 'orthodox political theology' favoured by a select group of 'Hutchinsonian' clergy has risked making Anglican political ideology seem rather obscure; nevertheless, his robust contention, albeit to a certain extent anticipated by a number of previous historians, that English political life was dominated by the traditional pillars of the crown, the Church, and the aristocracy, has been noteworthy in reminding historians of the Church's extensive political clout. But how far the legislative position of the Church meant that England should be seen as a 'confessional state' can be debated. Clearly sections of the English population did not conform to it, even though some Dissenters, through the practice of occasional conformity, made themselves eligible for public office. Yet the wide-ranging nature of the Church's legal position did have a profound impact on its political and social role, ensuring that the state, the English universities, the army, and the civil service were Anglican strongholds, and in the regions clergy were often justices of the

¹⁶ W. C. Costin and J. Steven Watson (eds.), *The Law and Working of the Constitution: Documents, 1660–1914*, vol. I: 1660–1783 (London, 1952), pp. 57–9.

¹⁷ See J. A. Phillips, 'The Social Calculus: Deference and Defiance in Later Georgian England', *Albion*, 21 (1989): 426–49.

peace, responsible for the administration of local government. Perhaps a more accurate description of the Church's situation is not as a central plank of a confessional state so much as an Anglican hegemony which was buttressed by its establishment status.

Although its place was contested, the Church effectively dominated society and politics and sought to marginalize those who challenged its role. Many churchmen believed that the interests of Church and state were in fact inseparable. Between 1662 and 1829 the theory of the Anglican establishment maintained that there was an interdependence of Church and state whereby 'the Church upheld the natural hierarchy of mutual obligations which were thought to provide social cohesion, and the State protected the legal establishment as the appropriate agent of benevolence and public morality'.¹⁸ As a consequence, enemies of the state were also seen as enemies of the Church. A good indication of this attitude can be seen in the Church's response to the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745, when the Church's hierarchy, and the vast bulk of its clergy, vigorously supported the Hanoverian regime.¹⁹ Although there were by the late eighteenth century challenges to the principle of establishment,²⁰ the theory (and to a large extent the practice) remained very resilient, and was trumpeted more loudly than ever in the face of increased political and social radicalism in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Again, the Church was a staunch defender of the government during the French Revolution, believing that the threat to the state would also be destructive to the Church and to true religion generally.²¹ In many ways, then, the more than 160 years covered by this volume have claims to be the heyday of the Church of England, when its influence on English politics and society was more pronounced and entrenched than before or since.

It has sometimes been argued that the force of the Act of Uniformity and the strength of the Anglican establishment were in effect undermined by the so-called 'Toleration Act' of 1689 which granted religious freedoms to non-Anglicans.²² Even before this, the Anglican religious establishment was compromised by the royal declarations of indulgence of 1672, 1687, and 1688, which allowed Dissenters some freedom in religious matters and which can be seen as Charles II and James II giving a personal lead on religious toleration (although there were those who suspected that the Catholic James's declarations were really just a way to promote Roman Catholicism). But the 1689 Act did

¹⁸ E. R. Norman, *Church and Society in England, 1770–1970: An Historical Study* (Oxford, 1976), p. 19.

¹⁹ Jonathan Oates, *York and the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745*, Borthwick Paper 107 (York, 2005); Jonathan Oates, *The Last Battle on English Soil, Preston 1715* (London, 2015).

²⁰ G. F. A. Best, *Temporal Pillars: Queen Anne's Bounty, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Church of England* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 35–45.

²¹ Robert Hole, *Pulpits, Politics and Public Order in England, 1760–1832* (Cambridge, 1989).

²² Grell et al. (eds.), *From Persecution to Toleration*.

not advocate toleration in anything like a twenty-first-century understanding of the term, and its intent is better summed up in its proper title: 'An act for exempting their majesties' protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws'.²³ The Act did not envisage any form of toleration for Roman Catholics or Unitarians, let alone those of non-Christian faiths. Freedom of worship was only granted to Protestant Dissenters, who, moreover, could legally only worship in registered meeting-houses with the door open and if the minister subscribed to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church (a set of doctrinal statements defining the position of the Church originally written in the sixteenth century and from 1682 appended to the Prayer Book), except those concerning baptism and church government. In the period leading up to the Act, 'toleration' was often seen as second best to 'comprehension'.²⁴ A comprehension, it was argued by its supporters in the 1670s and 1680s, would have taken away most of the conditions to which clergy were required to subscribe, thereby bringing over the majority of moderate Dissenting ministers and their lay supporters to the Church. In this case, 'toleration' would be given to those hardline groups who continued outside the bounds of the Church. Thus, rather than being a basic human right, 'toleration' in the late seventeenth century was originally designed for those who could not be accommodated within a comprehensive Church of England establishment.

Nor did the Act seek to alter the Test and Corporation Acts privileging Anglicans in the political sphere. Rather than seeing the 'Toleration Act' in a Whiggish light, ushering in a period of religious freedom and pluralism and putting Nonconformity on a virtually equal footing with the Established Church, we should note that its impact was much less revolutionary. Not only did certain High Churchmen bemoan the impact of the Act over their control of the religious life of their parishioners, and seek to repeal or modify it, there was also considerable discussion of what it actually implied. Ralph Stevens has shown how Anglican clergy were actually deeply divided about its meaning and argues that it 'settled next to nothing about the relationship between the Church and Dissent', observing that some Anglicans believed that 'Toleration had never been intended to allow Dissent to establish itself as a permanent feature.' He emphasizes the sheer vagueness and ambiguity of the 1689 legislation and the ways in which the 'new religious dispensation was a drawn out process of experimentation, debate and contest rather than a transformative constitutional moment'.²⁵

²³ Andrew Browning (ed.), *English Historical Documents*, vol. I: 1660–1783 (London, 1966), pp. 400–3.

²⁴ John Spurr, 'The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689', *English Historical Review*, 104 (1989): 927–46.

²⁵ Ralph Stevens, 'Anglican Responses to the Toleration Act, c.1689–1714', PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2015, pp. 25, 157, 4 respectively.

Nevertheless, it would be misleading to downplay the ways that the Church of England prided itself on its moderate and reasonable behaviour towards its rivals, and clergy often noted the 1689 Act as evidence of this. Whatever the reality on the ground, the self-perception of the Church contrasted with the assumed persecutory nature of 'popery'. While 'toleration' did not undermine the establishment status of the Church it did help to shape both its own understanding and to constrain its behaviour. Whatever the kind of 'toleration' which existed, it was 'toleration within establishment', with all the limitations implied by that formulation. But conversely, at least after 1689, establishment itself was increasingly understood in the context of toleration.²⁶ So, no matter what its intentions, the 'Toleration Act' became significant for the self-definition of the Church as one which was charitable and enlightened (at least compared with its competitors and rivals) and in which the outright persecution of Dissent was seen to be a hallmark of popery.²⁷ Although evidence can be found after 1689 of mobs stoning and harrying Dissenters, and pulling down their meeting-houses, Anglican clergy at least had to work within a framework where they persuaded rather than intimidated Nonconformists back into the fold. In general, Anglican clergy do seem to have treated Protestant Dissenters with respect after 1689 and some clergymen saw both Anglicans and Nonconformists as their parishioners, a lingering suggestion of the view that the Established Church had a responsibility for the whole nation. What was increasingly of more concern was the apparently growing section of the population who did not attend any form of religious worship (the 'Toleration Act' was widely suspected of having encouraged them to attend no place of worship at all), and in order to combat this, clergy might combine with Dissenting ministers. This shared pastoral endeavour can be witnessed in Anglicans working with Dissenters in the Societies for the Reformation of Manners and in educational projects such as the setting up of charity schools.

Something similar, in terms of a coexistence between different religious groups, and shedding light on the nature of the Anglican establishment, is the fact that individuals not uncommonly held dual or even multiple religious affiliation, attending a variety of denominations, which indicates that religious affiliation was not exclusive and that lines between different groups could in fact be blurred. This was particularly the case for relations between Anglicans and Methodists, for which in many ways it is more accurate, at least up until Wesley's death in 1791, to view Methodism as a subset of Anglicanism.²⁸ But it

²⁶ Jeremy Gregory, 'Persecution, Toleration, Competition, and Indifference: The Church of England and its Rivals in the Long Eighteenth Century', in C. D'Haussey (ed.), *Quand religions et confessions se regardent* (Paris, 1998), pp. 45–60.

²⁷ William Gibson, *The Church of England, 1688–1832: Unity and Accord* (London, 2001).

²⁸ David Wilson, 'Church and Chapel: Parish Ministry and Methodism in Madeley, c.1760–1785, with Special Reference to the Ministry of John Fletcher', PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2010.

is also true of relations between Anglicans and Nonconformists even in the years between 1660 and 1689, when it was not unusual for people to attend both the parish church and a Nonconformist meeting. And apart from the existence of ‘occasional conformists’ and ‘occasional dissenters’, who might to varying degrees attend both the parish church and Nonconformist places of worship, there is evidence of parishioners who regularly attended a range of worshipping sites which makes it difficult to speak of clear-cut differences between denominations. In 1786, for instance, the incumbent of St Alphege’s, Canterbury, noted that ‘many . . . go to the Cathedral in the morning, to the Presbyterian meeting in the afternoon, and to the Methodist meeting at night’.²⁹ How far did these men and women actually see themselves first as ‘Anglicans’, then ‘Presbyterians’, and then ‘Methodists’ at different times of day, or were these labels almost indifferent to them and did they just enjoy participating in a variety of religious experiences? It is certainly useful for what it tells us of the nature of the Anglican establishment and contrasts with the church/chapel divide familiar from the period after 1830.³⁰

But whatever its consequences for the relationship between Anglicans and Dissenters, the ‘Toleration Act’ did not offer any form of toleration to Roman Catholicism and anti-papery remained the key ideological determinant of the Established Church. Twenty-five years ago, Linda Colley argued persuasively for the vital importance of Protestantism and anti-Catholicism for forging a sense of British national identity in the period after 1707.³¹ Some scholars have queried the role of an overarching Protestantism in uniting the British nation, noting that there were differences between Protestants as well as a shared anti-papery.³² Nevertheless, a common Protestantism was something members of the Church of England could agree on with Protestant Dissenters, apart from those occasions, such as under James II, when some Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics could join in support of the king’s attempt to dismantle the Anglican establishment.³³ There was, however, a huge distinction between an atavistic fear of ‘popery’ (which usually assumed some foreign ‘other’) and the ways in which Anglicans might relate to their own Roman Catholic neighbours.³⁴ There is evidence, particularly from the eighteenth century, of

²⁹ Quoted in Jeremy Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660–1828: Archbishops of Canterbury and their Diocese* (Oxford, 2000), p. 228.

³⁰ Gilbert, *Religion and Society*.

³¹ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, CT, 1992).

³² Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, ‘The Trials of the Chosen People: Recent Interpretations of Protestantism and National Identity in Britain and Ireland’, in Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (eds.), *Protestantism and National Identity in Britain and Ireland, c.1650–c.1850* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 3–29.

³³ Scott Sowerby, *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution* (Cambridge, MA, 2013).

³⁴ Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c.1714–18: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 11–13.

harmonious relations between members of the Church and local Roman Catholics. The ways in which Catholics could be integrated into their communities were sometimes surprising, even contributing to the upkeep of parish churches. Catholics might also take on the role of churchwarden and their wives were often churched in the parish church, indicative of the ways in which the Established Church was the national church and could have a function even for those who ought to have had nothing to do with it.³⁵

In concluding this section on 'Establishment', it has often been claimed that in spite of, and actually because of, the Church's established status, this was a nadir in the history of the Church. The Church's massively privileged position and its entanglement in the politics of the day have been seen as detrimental to its pastoral and religious mission. How far this was the case will be considered later in this chapter, but it is worth noting here what has been considered one of the consequences for the Anglican Church of the particularities of its establishment status during the long eighteenth century.

* * *

The second coordinate of this volume is 'Empire'. The period witnessed the growth of Britain's imperial reach, ranging from North America, Canada, and the Caribbean to India, Africa, and, from the late eighteenth century, Australia and New Zealand.³⁶ This brought new opportunities for the Anglican Church for dramatically extending its sphere of activity overseas as well as challenges of planting the Church in unusual and often unpromising and inhospitable locations. The extension of Anglicanism outside England goes back to Ireland in the sixteenth century and Virginia in the early seventeenth century. Although the expansion of empire from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries and the widening of the Anglican fold did not go hand in hand straightforwardly, since parts of the empire, and particularly the north-eastern American colonies, were puritan strongholds, where Anglicanism was regarded with suspicion, nevertheless other parts of the empire were regions where the Anglican Church was, or became, the religious establishment.³⁷ In these places, the empire helped to spread Anglican identity and the Anglican Church could itself be an instrument of empire-building by forging

³⁵ Marie B. Rowlands (ed.), *English Catholics of Parish and Town, 1558–1778* (London, 1999).

³⁶ *Oxford History of the British Empire*, general editor, W. R. Louis: vol. I, Nicholas Canny (ed.), *The Origins of Empire* (Oxford, 1998); vol. II, P. J. Marshall (ed.), *The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1998); and volumes in the Companion Series, Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire* (Oxford, 2005); Stephen Foster (ed.), *British North America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 2013).

³⁷ Eliga H. Gould, 'Prelude: The Christianising of British America', in Etherington (ed.), *Missions*, pp. 19–39; Jeremy Gregory, "'Establishment" and "Dissent" in British North America: Organizing Religion in the New World', in Foster (ed.), *British North America*, pp. 136–9; Evan Haefeli, 'Toleration and Empire: The Origins of American Religious Pluralism', in Foster (ed.), *British North America*, pp. 103–35.

ties of loyalty and affection between the metropole and the colonies. There were also colonies, such as those in New England, where the Anglican Church gradually took root, although it was never established.³⁸ Yet the relationship between religion and empire was complex and there were tensions over whether it was Protestantism generally, or Anglicanism more specifically, which should be promoted by Britain in its empire. There were also sometimes debates about how far religious legislation enacted for England should or could be enforced overseas. Theoretically Virginia's religious establishment was Anglican throughout the entire length of the colonial period and on occasion the powers that be even sought to deny that the 1689 'Toleration Act' had any force in the colony. Similarly, metropolitan New York had a Church of England establishment and in 1766 the colonial government sought an opinion to determine whether the English Act of Uniformity applied in the colonies, refusing to charter a Presbyterian congregation as late as 1775.³⁹

Having 'Empire' as one of the coordinating themes of the volume is worth underscoring because until very recently historians of the Anglican Church have concentrated their attention almost totally on the Church within England. The history of Anglican Churches outside England was barely noted in Victorian histories of the Church, and early studies of the fortunes of the Anglican Church in various outposts of the British Empire were written from the perspective of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century clergy who, while noting the sometimes heroic activities of their forebears, also highlighted their failure to make much headway in planting Anglicanism overseas, through a combination of lack of resources and proper organizational structures (including for the most part the lack of a bishop) and a want of true missionary zeal and properly dedicated clergy, all of which would only be rectified during the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ Moreover, these researches were usually seen as a contribution to the history of that specific region or area and were seldom integrated into a broader study of imperial Anglicanism. Only in the twentieth century did historians begin to examine the interrelationships between Anglicanism at home and abroad. Carl Bridenbaugh's *Mitre and Sceptre*, published in 1962, dwelt on the negative ways in which Congregationalists in New England viewed eighteenth-century Anglican expansion in North America as part of a British popish plot to subdue the colonies.⁴¹ More recently, Stephen Taylor, James Bell, Robert Ingram, and Rowan Strong, among others, have explored the more positive trans-oceanic Anglican links and the ways by which, despite the huge problems of distance

³⁸ Jeremy Gregory, 'Refashioning Puritan New England: The Church of England in British North America, c.1680–c.1770', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 20 (2010): 85–112.

³⁹ Gregory, "Establishment" and "Dissent", pp. 148, 157.

⁴⁰ Edward L Bond, *Spreading the Gospel in Colonial Virginia: Sermons and Devotional Writings* (Lanham, MD, 2004).

⁴¹ Carl Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689–1775* (London, 1962).

and communication, the different Anglican worlds could be connected.⁴² William Bulman has incorporated the Anglican experience in North Africa into his study of England and its empire between 1648 and 1715 and has illuminated the impact on those clergy who travelled between them.⁴³

The emerging British Empire gave the Anglican Church in the century and a half after the Restoration the chance of operating on a much broader canvas, and the prospect of bringing Anglicanism to a far wider world, than had been dreamt of in the first century of the Reformation. It has often been (rightly) claimed that the Church of England in the first part of the seventeenth century had been rather slow at conceiving British colonies as either a mission field or for enlarging the territories under its charge.⁴⁴ 'A prayer for all conditions of men', a new prayer written in 1662 for the Prayer Book's Morning Service, wished for 'thy saving health unto all nations', which was a foreshadowing of Anglican missionary aspirations. The revised Prayer Book also included a new baptism service 'for those of riper years', added in part because it was anticipated that it 'may be always useful for the baptizing of Natives in our Plantations and others converted to the Faith'.⁴⁵ The prayers for those at sea (including daily prayers, prayers for defeating enemies, a thanksgiving for victory, prayers for use during and after storms, and for burial at sea) reflected the ways in which England had by now become a maritime power, which was central to the growth of its empire.⁴⁶ The religious rhetoric in the charters issued for a number of colonies after the Restoration stressed the ambition of converting the Amerindians to Christianity, and the Church itself participated in this discourse and aspiration. The later Stuart period also saw the founding of two organizations which would have a tremendous impact on the Church's activities across the world: the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in 1698 and, even more pertinently, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) in 1701.⁴⁷ This was

⁴² James B. Bell, *The Imperial Origins of the King's Church in Early America, 1607–1783* (Basingstoke, 2004); Stephen Taylor, 'Whigs, Bishops and America: The Politics of Church Reform in Mid-Eighteenth-Century England', *Historical Journal*, 36 (1993): 331–56; Robert G. Ingram, *Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Secker and the Church of England* (Woodbridge, 2007); Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c.1700–1850* (Oxford, 2006).

⁴³ William J. Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment: Orientalism, Religion and Politics in England and Its Empire, 1648–1715* (Cambridge, 2015).

⁴⁴ Hans Jacob Cnattengius, *Bishops and Societies: A Study of Anglican Colonial Missionary Expansion, 1698–1850* (London, 1952), pp. 1–12.

⁴⁵ Brian Cummings (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford, 2011), p. 211.

⁴⁶ See N. A. M. Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain*, vol. II: 1649–1815 (London, 2003).

⁴⁷ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701–1900*, 2 vols. (London, 1901); H. P. Thompson, *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*

established by royal charter, with its threefold mission to Native Americans,⁴⁸ African American slaves,⁴⁹ and European settlers, and was instrumental in coordinating overseas Anglican activity by dispatching missionaries, books (particularly copies of the Book of Common Prayer), catechists, and schoolmasters to those colonies where the Church was not established. Clergy sent over were also accompanied by a rudimentary starter-kit for planting Anglicanism abroad, complete with a silver communion cup and patens, a pulpit cloth and cushion, and a carpet and linens for the communion table. These initiatives provided the framework for the Church's global endeavour in the next two centuries and beyond, and in so doing represented a significant new departure in the history of Anglicanism.

For virtually the entire period covered by this volume, the vast majority of the overseas colonies where Anglicanism reached were devoid of bishops and the institutional structures and ecclesiastical apparatus so crucial to the functioning of the Anglican Church in England. This, together with a shortage of clergy, meant that the particular signifier of Anglican identity in the colonial world became the Book of Common Prayer. This was the Church's official liturgical manual and without it Anglicanism could not be transplanted. In disseminating a distinctively Anglican piety in the empire, the Prayer Book was arguably even more important than the King James Version of the Bible, which by the late seventeenth century was the favoured translation of British Protestant Dissenters as well as the Church. Time and again Anglican clergy and missionaries wrote back to England for more copies of the Prayer Book, believing that access to it would play the key role in spreading the faith. In these circumstances, the essential step was to ensure that copies of the Prayer Book were available, for without them efforts to carry out the Anglican liturgy would come to nothing as it was virtually impossible to procure copies of the Prayer Book overseas.⁵⁰ The use of the Prayer Book may have been the single unifying denominator of global Anglicanism when virtually everything else about Anglican worship may have differed from the ideal type of service envisaged in Old England. In some instances, Anglican congregations abroad,

(London, 1951); Daniel O'Connor and others, *Three Centuries of Mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1701–2000* (London, 2000); Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester, 2004), pp. 16–28. For the global development of the Christian Churches more generally in this period, see David Hempton, *The Church in the Long Eighteenth Century* (London, 2011).

⁴⁸ Laura M. Stevens, *The Poor Indians: British Missionaries, Native Americans, and Colonial Sensibility* (Philadelphia, PA, 2004).

⁴⁹ Travis Gleason, *Mastering Christianity: Missionary Anglicanism and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (Oxford, 2012).

⁵⁰ Jeremy Gregory, 'Transatlantic Anglicanism, c.1680–c.1770: Transplanting, Translating and Transforming the Church of England', in Jeremy Gregory and Hugh McLeod (eds.), *International Religious Networks*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 14 (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 127–43, esp. pp. 134–7.

in the absence of clergy, held services in private houses led by a layperson who read to them from the Prayer Book. This meant that members of the Anglican community, wherever they were in the world, when participating in a service would use identical words and formulations. This had a crucial function in creating an imagined Anglican global community and may have been the most compelling, and perhaps the only, tie binding together Anglicans living thousands of miles away from each other in the knowledge that co-religionists throughout the world were hearing the same readings from the same version of the Bible on the same day. And, through the prayers said for the monarchs and royal family, this was a weekly reminder of the relationship between the colonial Anglican congregations and their monarchs in the mother country, helping to fashion an emotional bond between congregations and their Supreme Governor.⁵¹

A crucial question to ask is how far the global increase of the Anglican Church changed the nature of Anglicanism: how far did the act of transplanting Anglicanism overseas enable Anglicanism to remain as it had been at home, or how far did its migration transform and alter it? Expanding Anglicanism throughout large parts of the empire (by 1776, for example, it had become the most pervasive religious denomination in British North America, as well as the second largest denomination in the American colonies) clearly resulted in locating it in very different contexts. In this, it thereby in some measure anticipated the world-wide Anglican Communion of subsequent centuries. What was disseminated was in part a uniform Anglicanism—the Prayer Book was the only approved handbook used across the Anglican world—but there were also huge variations, and in some cases Anglicans abroad lacked both the clergy and the churches central to Anglican worship in England. In these circumstances, the laity often had more involvement in specifically religious matters in the colonies than they did in the home country, with significant consequences for the nature of Anglicanism in disparate parts of the world both then and in subsequent centuries. A striking change in global Anglicanism occurred as a result of the American War of Independence. The Book of Common Prayer, with its prayers for the royal family, became anathema, and Anglicanism was viewed as an arm of empire. The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America was founded in the years after 1784, acquiring its own bishops and a revised Prayer Book to reflect the changed political position, and formally breaking away from the Church of England in 1789.

⁵¹ Jeremy Gregory, 'The Hanoverians and the Colonial Churches', in Andreas Gestrich and Michael Schaich (eds.), *The Hanoverian Succession: Dynastic Politics and Monarchical Culture* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 107–28, esp. pp. 117–19. See also Lauren F. Winner, *A Cheerful and Comfortable Faith: Anglican Religious Practice in the Elite Households of Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New Haven, CT and London, 2010), pp. 190–2.

But if empire (and its break-up) might make a difference to the types of Anglicanism experienced in the British colonies, it arguably also altered Anglicanism at home, since, through the activities of organizations such as the SPG, people were made aware of their co-religionists abroad. It has sometimes been asked whether ordinary men and women in eighteenth-century Britain knew much about, or even cared for, the empire.⁵² Modern scholarly research has tended to emphasize the myriad ways in which they were apprised about, and even experienced, empire. In this the Church of England had a role, by disseminating information about the Church's colonial projects to the metropolis, and through an annual fundraising sermon in London and the abstracts of annual proceedings published under the auspices of the SPG.⁵³ By these means, men and women in Britain and Ireland were informed about the colonial Anglican cause and could contribute to the Society's work in transmitting over and financially sustaining Church of England clergy in the colonies, helping to pay towards church-building, giving funds for catechists and schoolmasters, and shipping bibles, Books of Common Prayer, and other religious tracts and pamphlets, across the ocean. How far this changed the mental horizons and religious world-view of eighteenth-century Anglicans in Britain is hard to judge, but they were certainly frequently told about their global co-religionists.

* * *

The twin themes of 'Establishment' and 'Empire' have often been viewed as potentially damaging to the Church of England between 1662 and 1829. Precisely because it was so entwined with the English state (with the unity of the Church often disfigured by party politics),⁵⁴ and because it was in many cases seemingly caught up in economic and political reasons for imperial expansion rather than religious ones, commentators, both in the period itself and more particularly Victorian Evangelical and Tractarian critics of 'the Hanoverian Church', portrayed this as a bleak period in the Church's history. The pastoral ills most flagged up for adverse comment include pluralism, which meant that clergy were frequently non-resident in their parishes; the issue of tithes, which led to disputes between clergy and those who were not members of the Established Church, and antagonism from parishioners who

⁵² Peter J. Marshall, 'Who Cared about the Thirteen Colonies? Some Evidence from Philanthropy', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 27 (1999): 52–67.

⁵³ Jeremy Gregory, 'The Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: Anniversary Sermons and Abstracts of Proceedings', in Alexander Schunka and Markus Friedrich (eds.), *Reporting Christian Missions: Communication, Culture of Knowledge and Regular Publication in a Cross-Confessional Perspective* (Wiesbaden, forthcoming 2017).

⁵⁴ W. A. Speck, *Tory and Whig: The Struggle in the Constituencies, 1701–1715* (London, 1970); Jeffery S. Chamberlain, *Accommodating High Churchmen: The Clergy of Sussex, 1700–45* (Urbana and Chicago, IL, 1997).

resented clergy gaining from improvements in agricultural production; the increasing gentrification of clergy which supposedly distanced clergy from the majority of their parishioners; and a generally slothful attitude to pastoral work which left parishioners un-catered for, and in some interpretations made them open to the attractions of Methodism.⁵⁵ During the last thirty years or so, there has emerged what might be called a revisionist school of historians whose detailed work, particularly on what the Church was doing at the local and diocesan level, has modified and in some cases reversed the more negative opinions of some of their predecessors.⁵⁶ The Church is now seen as having been more pastorally dynamic than conventional interpretations allowed, which has raised questions about the relationship between Methodism, Evangelicalism, and 'mainstream' Anglicanism. Importantly, too, this revisionist view has begun to influence some historians writing outside the confines of 'Church history'. Carolyn Steedman's pathbreaking *Master and Servant: Love and Labour in the English Industrial Age* (2007) was the first major study by a leading social historian to take seriously the revisionist approaches to the eighteenth-century Church; the master of the title and the hero of the book is a late eighteenth-century Church of England cleric, whose charitable attitude to his unmarried pregnant servant, and then to her daughter, made him a model of the clerical professional.⁵⁷ Scholars have also uncovered much more about the religious views of the laity. William Jacob's study of lay piety was a landmark project,⁵⁸ as was the publication of the diary of the Sussex shop-keeper Thomas Turner, which gave a vivid portrayal of how religion and the Church were central to his life.⁵⁹

This rehabilitation of the Anglican Church has also led scholars to engage with the relationship between Anglicanism and a third 'E-word': 'Enlightenment'. Amongst the most commonly used period-labels for the eighteenth century as a whole have been 'The Enlightenment' or 'The Age of Reason', where 'the enlightenment' and 'reason' were deemed to have been on the winning offensive against 'religion'. One of the most influential interpretations of the century has been Peter Gay's two-volume blockbuster, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*,

⁵⁵ Deryck Lovegrove, *Established Church, Sectarian People: Itinerancy and the Transformation of English Dissent, 1780–1830* (Cambridge, 1988).

⁵⁶ Walsh et al. (eds.), *Church of England*; Mark Smith, *Religion in Industrial Society: Oldham and Saddleworth, 1740–1865* (Oxford, 1994); Judith Jago, *Aspects of the Georgian Church: Visitation Studies of the Diocese of York, 1761–1776* (Cranberry, NJ, 1996); Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform*; Jeremy Gregory and Jeffery S. Chamberlain (eds.), *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660–1800* (Woodbridge, 2003); W. M. Jacob, *The Clerical Profession in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1680–1840* (Oxford, 2007); Ingram, *Religion, Reform and Modernity*.

⁵⁷ Carolyn Steedman, *Master and Servant: Love and Labour in the English Industrial Age* (Cambridge, 2007).

⁵⁸ W. M. Jacob, *Lay People and Religion in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1996).

⁵⁹ *The Diary of Thomas Turner, 1754–1765*, ed. David Vaisey (Oxford, 1984).

whose subtitles, *The Birth of Modern Paganism* (1967) and *The Science of Freedom* (1970), captured what were conventionally regarded as the dominant traits of the age. In this scenario, the Enlightenment was viewed as a modernizing attack on religion *tout court* (seeing all forms of religion as no better than backward-looking superstition) and on institutionalized churches and clergy more particularly, where Voltaire's cry, *écrasez L'Infame*, could be taken as representing the spirit of the century. In this interpretation, the salient characteristic of the period was the birth of secularization, where in all walks of life—political, intellectual, social, cultural, and economic—religious priorities were on the wane.⁶⁰ Not only did the Enlightenment constitute an attack on religion and churches, but in eighteenth-century Methodist and nineteenth-century Evangelical and Tractarian critiques, the Anglican Church itself was seen to have succumbed to the cult of rationality which was judged to have led to the downgrading of spirituality and faith. The Anglican Church was thus seen both as an enemy of the Enlightenment and as a body which had embraced its anti-religious values.⁶¹

One of the most significant historiographical developments during the past thirty years has been to complicate what might be meant by 'the Enlightenment'. Rather than seeing it as an essentially anti-religious force, scholars have broadened their understanding and have suggested that there were other models than the French version of the Enlightenment. In 1981, Roy Porter, whose vast number of publications often celebrated the standard account of the Enlightenment and who revelled in the anti-religious and a-religious voices of the age, in a prescient essay on 'The Enlightenment in England' nevertheless recognized the part played by Anglican clergy in the Enlightenment enterprise, where reason and piety could go hand in hand.⁶² Porter's emphasis on the alliance between the Church and the Enlightenment was mirrored and developed in a number of studies such as John Gascoigne's *Cambridge in the Age of Enlightenment* (1989) and Brian Young's *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England* (1998).⁶³ More recently scholars have argued that the Enlightenment was not necessarily anti-religious at all, and the relationship between 'religious' and 'enlightenment' concerns is now one of the most fruitful areas of research. Jane Shaw's *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (2006), for

⁶⁰ Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, 2 vols. (London, 1967, 1970).

⁶¹ Leslie Stephen, *A History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols. (London, 1876); G. R. Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason* (London, 1960).

⁶² Roy Porter, 'The Enlightenment in England', in Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (eds.), *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 1–18; contrast this with his *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London, 2000).

⁶³ John Gascoigne, *Cambridge in the Age of Enlightenment: Science, Religion and Politics from the Restoration to the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1989); B. W. Young, *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England: Theological Debate from Locke to Burke* (Oxford, 1998); see also Knud Haakonssen (ed.), *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 1996).

example, has demonstrated how a large range of commentators were able to balance 'religious enthusiasm' with 'reason', and her reading incorporates elements of the supernatural into an Enlightenment world-view which clearly challenges conventional paradigms of an Enlightenment hostile to religious sensibilities.⁶⁴ William Bulman's *Anglican Enlightenment* (2015) has now positioned the Anglican Church in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the vanguard of Enlightenment thought, deploying it in defence of, rather than against, the Church establishment.⁶⁵ Clearly the relationship between Anglicanism and Enlightenment is much more complex than older versions allowed.

Finally, there is a fourth 'E-word' we should note in relation to the Anglican Church during the long eighteenth century: Evangelicalism. Conventionally, Evangelicalism and Evangelicals have been seen as standing largely outside mainstream Anglicanism and they have been regarded as representing a substantial, if not damning, critique of the Established Church from 1662 onwards. 'The Evangelical Revival' voiced many of the criticisms of the functioning of the Anglican Church which then became the basis of its negative historiography.⁶⁶ Methodism from the late 1730s, and then the broader revival both within and outside the Church from the late eighteenth century, stressed the need for religious renewal to counter what was viewed as a lifeless and somnolent Church. However, research has now queried the model of a wholesale Evangelical attack on the Established Church. Scholarship on the Wesleys and early Methodism, for instance, has re-emphasized the Anglican context of their movement, seeing the brothers, and in particular Charles, as building on earlier Anglican initiatives and wanting to reinvigorate the Church from within rather than aiming to set up an independent movement outside it.⁶⁷ The Methodist societies, as John Walsh and Henry Rack have shown,⁶⁸ drew on the Anglican-sponsored religious societies which are frequently given credit for nourishing parish piety in the late seventeenth century, where the more religiously committed of the parish could find a spiritual outlet and which could be regarded as an optional addition to, rather than a subversion of, parish Anglicanism. How far, we might ask, was 'Evangelicalism' broadly conceived as something reserved for the Church's opponents, and how far

⁶⁴ Jane Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (New Haven, CT and London, 2006), pp. 3–5, 14–15, 18, 28, 42–4.

⁶⁵ Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment*; see also William J. Bulman and Robert G. Ingram (eds.), *God in the Enlightenment* (Oxford, 2016).

⁶⁶ G. M. Ditchfield, *The Evangelical Revival* (London, 1998); see Anthony Armstrong, *The Church of England, the Methodists and Society, 1700–1850* (London, 1973).

⁶⁷ Gareth Lloyd, *Charles Wesley and the Struggle for Methodist Identity* (Oxford, 2007).

⁶⁸ John Walsh, 'Religious Societies: Methodist and Evangelical, 1738–1800', in W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (eds.), *Voluntary Religion*, Studies in Church History 23 (Oxford, 1986), pp. 279–302; H. D. Rack, 'Religious Societies and the Origins of Methodism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38 (1987): 582–95.

were religious revival and renewal, and pastoral innovation, matters in which the Church itself engaged? The general picture of the entire chronological span from 1662 to 1829 as a lifeless time for the Church has sometimes been more nuanced and specific episodes have found approval for their concern with pastoral issues. The Restoration Church itself (despite its reputation in Dissenting circles for persecution) is sometimes noted for its pastoral vigour, with elements of religious revival being discerned during the 1670s and 1680s. The dominant Anglican innovations of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries—the SPCK and the SPG, as well as the Societies for the Reformation of Manners—indicate the Church's willingness to effect religious and social change in ways which could be seen as 'Evangelical'. Much of this enterprise has been studied afresh by Brent Sirota.⁶⁹ He emphasizes the voluntary, associational, entrepreneurial, and lay features of these initiatives and, although some clergy remained suspicious that the Church might lose control over this type of Anglican revival, he concludes that this activity led to 'an age of benevolence' which, as exemplified by the work of the SPG, encouraged English men and women to feel compassion for people round the world, thereby anticipating Victorian and modern global humanitarian concerns. In a neat twist on conventional understanding, Sirota suggests that this Anglican Evangelical activity can actually be seen as secularization in its true sense: the taking of Anglicanism out of the churches into the world, led by the laity instead of just by clergy. This Anglican laicization of religion, Sirota more provocatively proposes, could actually be seen as 'an alternative sacralisation' of civil society.⁷⁰

The generally negative opinion of the history of Anglicanism from 1662 to 1829 has viewed it as both a victim of, and a contributor to, secularization. Modern research is now beginning to reverse this view and to see how the role of the Anglican Church helped make religion central to this period. The history of Anglicanism in this era was clearly shaped by 'Establishment' and 'Empire', but it was also more involved in 'Enlightenment' and 'Evangelicalism' than previous histories have assumed. While these four 'E-words' often had separate, and sometimes competing, trajectories, as this volume indicates, Anglicanism during the long eighteenth century could also hold them together in distinctive ways.

⁶⁹ Brent Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680–1730* (New Haven, CT and London, 2014).

⁷⁰ Sirota, *The Christian Monitors*, p. 258.

Part I

Defining Anglicanism

2

The Church of England, 1662–1714

Grant Tapsell

The church of England has but one miracle, which is that it subsists.

(George Savile, marquis of Halifax, c.1680–c.1691)¹

For many of Halifax's less sardonic contemporaries the re-establishment of the Church of England after the puritan revolution was so marvellous as to be genuinely heaven-sent. Less than a month after the 'great ejection' of Nonconforming ministers on St Bartholomew's Day 1662, the bishop of Exeter, Seth Ward, rejoiced in the 'Rout' that they had suffered, and trusted 'that God will be pleased to improve the present advantage to a p[er]fect settlem[en]t next to the miraculous restitution' of the Church.² It was telling that Ward recognized that 'settlement' did not automatically follow on from 'restitution', but rather was a work in progress. The tumultuous shifts of fortune across the later Stuart period would ensure that hopes for providential deliverance were repeatedly voiced by friends of the Established Church, notably during the reign of the Catholic James II: 'God I doubt not will preserve this Church w[hi]ch he so miraculously restored, though probably he will put the members of it to hard tryalls.'³ Nor would the Revolution of 1688–9 usher in religious peace and unity: 'the Churchmen and the Dissenters will never be friends and forgive each other: for both would be uppermost and will admit of no equality'.⁴ Recreating a legally privileged national Church was not viewed complacently by churchmen as a secure and permanent achievement. This was especially the

¹ 'Miscellanys', in Mark N. Brown (ed.), *The Works of George Savile, Marquis of Halifax*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1989), III, p. 70. On the issue of dating the comment, see Brown (ed.), *Works of George Savile*, pp. 6–8.

² Bishop of Exeter to [?Gilbert Sheldon, bishop of London], 20 Sept. 1662, Bodleian Library [Bodl.], MS Tanner 48, f. 45.

³ Sir Charles Cottrell to his daughter, [?May/June 1686], British Library [BL], Add. MS 72516, f. 30.

⁴ Francis Lane to Sir William Trumbull, 26 Dec. 1689, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, vol. I, part 1 (London, 1924), p. 329.

case because it was recognized that the civil wars and Interregnum had entrenched passionate religious divisions to an unprecedented degree, and 'a long and great separation from the Church' made it difficult to win loyalties back.⁵ God's mercy to the realm of England was felt to be qualified, limited, and something that needed regularly to be earned anew.

Since the later Stuart Church's moment of legal re-creation involved the ejection of much of the old puritan wing of the pre-war Church of England, and since a further crisis would be triggered by 'non-jurors' refusing to recognize the right of William and Mary to the throne after the Revolution of 1688–9, schismatic division was undoubtedly one major theme that runs through the later Stuart era.⁶ It needs, though, to be placed in the balance with more constructive impulses within the Church, even if the physical restoration of the fabric of the Church was in many places a lengthy business. The scale of the damage that had been inflicted on 'the tidy physical world of Anglican religious experience' by a combination of radical puritan zeal and the broader breakdown of systems of administration and governance was immense.⁷ At a parochial level, in 1664 the churchwardens of Coldwaltham in Sussex recorded in typically spare prose: 'Our church was gone to decay, but is now in repayingr.'⁸ Just as it had been for Seth Ward when considering the political position of the Church, the emphasis here was on a process that was far from complete. Even in the cathedrals, the great 'mother churches' of the kingdom, it often took until c.1680 physically to restore the full gamut of luxurious liturgical equipment, and financial problems dogged several chapters for even longer.⁹ Monotonous complaints about tight-fisted patrons and parishioners litter the record. The bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, John Hacket, grumbled in 1665 that the rebuilding of his cathedral 'never went faster on, and never did monies come slower in', while the churchwardens of Dewsbury in Yorkshire criticized local Dissenters for failing to pay for the upkeep of the church clock, and presented four men 'who are noe Lovers of the Church and begrudge every penny that is layd out upon it'.¹⁰ Despite all these problems and delays,

⁵ J. Wickham Legg, *English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement* (London, 1914), p. 9; John Swinfen MP, 11 Mar. 1668, quoted in Caroline Robbins (ed.), *The Diary of John Milward* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 217.

⁶ John Spurr, 'Schism and the Restoration Church', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 41 (1990): 408–24.

⁷ R. A. Beddard, 'Sheldon and Anglican Recovery', *Historical Journal*, 19 (1976): 1005–17 (p. 1015); Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2003).

⁸ Hilda Johnstone (ed.), *Churchwardens' Presentments (17th Century): Part 1. Archdeaconry of Chichester*, Sussex Record Society 49 (Lewes, 1948), p. 133.

⁹ Grant Tapsell, 'Introduction: The Later Stuart Church in Context', in Grant Tapsell (ed.), *The Later Stuart Church, 1660–1714* (Manchester, 2012), pp. 1–17 (p. 10), and the sources given in nn. 71–2.

¹⁰ Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry to archbishop of Canterbury, 5 Aug. 1665, MS Tanner 45, f. 17; John Addy, *The Archdeacon and Ecclesiastical Discipline in Yorkshire 1598–1714: Clergy and the Churchwardens*, St Anthony's Hall Publications 24 (York, 1963), p. 26.

in the last four decades of the seventeenth century a ‘beauty of holiness’ gradually became the fashionable norm within English church buildings (especially in London) to an extent that would have astonished Archbishop Laud amidst his acrimonious attempts to change the face of English worship in the 1630s.¹¹ If the later Stuart Church was often buffeted by external threats, and locked in internecine polemical warfare, it was also boosted by phases of renewal that found expression in both physical fabric and devotional activity.¹²

In the rest of this chapter the focus will remain on the fundamental tensions within the restored Church. Should the narrow and exclusive ‘settlement’ of 1660–2 be defended at all costs, or was it imperative to modify its harsher edges to accommodate scrupulous Nonconformists? Was the later Stuart Church the perfect evolution of the English Reformation, or a perversion of its heritage, rightly understood? Did the Church fundamentally fail the Christian commonwealth of England, whether through arrogant clericalism, pallid parish worship, or separation from the wider European Reformed world; or did it actually prove an improbably successful and integrative national Church after the extreme disruptions and discontinuities imposed during the civil wars and Interregnum? It should be obvious that by focusing on different issues, places, or points in time, historians can readily construct very different images of the Church’s ‘success’ or ‘failure’.¹³ Overall, two approaches will be adopted in successive sections of this chapter: a descriptive account of events and issues, and a definitional analysis of what, ultimately, ‘the Church of England’—its character and compass—meant in this period.

DESCRIBING THE CHURCH: FORM AND CONTEXT

The re-established Church of England developed within a Petri dish of festering political affairs. Although the period after 1660 used to be presented as one characterized by a secularizing spirit and a gradual ‘growth of political stability’ after the cataclysm of the civil wars, the bulk of recent scholarship has instead exposed the chronic instability that was at the heart of the Restoration

¹¹ Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c.1700* (Oxford, 2007), ch. 8.

¹² Terry Friedman, *The Eighteenth-Century Church in Britain* (New Haven, CT and London, 2011); Brent S. Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680–1730* (New Haven, CT, 2014).

¹³ Jeremy Gregory, ‘The Making of a Protestant Nation: “Success” and “Failure” in England’s Long Reformation’, in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *England’s Long Reformation 1500–1800* (London, 1998), pp. 307–34.