

The background of the cover is a dark blue field filled with numerous bright, white-to-light-blue light trails. These trails are mostly vertical, with some horizontal streaks, creating a sense of dynamic movement and energy. The trails vary in length and intensity, with some appearing as sharp lines and others as more diffuse, glowing clouds.

Baal's Priests

The Loyalist Clergy and the English Revolution

Fiona McCall

Baal's Priests

That which touches the heart is engraved in the memory
Voltaire

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FIONA MCCALL

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Abbreviations

AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
Attempt	J. Walker, <i>An Attempt Towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England: Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars, andc. who were Sequester'd, Harrass'd, andc. in the Late Times of the Grand Rebellion</i> (1714)
Barwick	P. Barwick, <i>The Life of the Reverend Dr John Barwick</i> (1724)
Basire	W.N. Darnell (ed.), <i>The Correspondence of Isaac Basire</i> (1831)
Baxter	R. Baxter, <i>Reliquiae Baxterianae</i> , ed. M. Sylvester (1696)
Bod	Bodleian Library
BL	British Library
BL Add	BL, Additional Manuscripts
BL Harl	BL, Harleian Manuscripts
BLARS	Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Records Service
BM	British Museum
Bodington	E.J. Bodington (ed.), 'The Church Survey in Wiltshire, 1649–60', <i>Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine</i> : 40 (129–31, 1918–19): pp. 253–72, 297–317, 392–416; 41 (132–3, 1919–20), pp. 1–39, 105–28
Bushnell	W. Bushnell, <i>A Narrative of the Proceedings ... for Ejecting Scandalous and Ignorant Ministers</i> (1660)
Calamy	E. Calamy, <i>An Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times: With An Account of Many Others of those Worthy Ministers who were Ejected</i> (1702)
CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives
CDC	E. Calamy, <i>Church & Dissenters Compared</i> (1719)
Century	J. White, <i>The First Century of Scandalous, Malignant Priests</i> (1643)
CCED	The Clergy of the Church of England Database
CJ	<i>Journal of the House of Commons</i>
CKS	Centre for Kentish Studies
CR	A.G. Matthews (ed.), <i>Calamy Revised</i> (Oxford, 1988)
CRO	Cambridgeshire Record Office
ChRO	Cheshire Record Office
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series</i>

CUL	Cambridge University Library
DCL Hunter	Durham Cathedral Library, Hunter Manuscripts
DLP	C. Jackson (ed.), <i>The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme</i> (Durham, Surtees Soc., 54, 1870)
Drake	Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Manuscript D158, diary of Richard Drake
DRO	Devonshire Record Office
Dugdale	W. Hamper (ed.), <i>The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale</i> (1827)
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
ERO	Essex Record Office
Foster	C.W. Foster, 'Admissions to benefices, and compositions of first fruits in the County of Leicester, AD 1635–1660', <i>Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers</i> , 37 (1923–24), pp. 144–76, 322–36
Fuller	T. Fuller, <i>Church History of Britain to 1648</i> (1868)
Green	I. Green, 'The persecution of "scandalous" and "malignant" parish clergy during the English Civil War', <i>EHR</i> , 94 (1979): pp. 507–31
GRO	Gloucestershire Record Office
Hacket	T. Plume, <i>An Account of the Life and Death of ... John Hacket</i> , ed. M.E.C. Walcott (1865)
Hall, Works	<i>The Works of Joseph Hall</i> (Oxford, 1837–39)
Hall, Levi	G. Hall, <i>Gods Appearing for the Tribe of Levi</i> (1655)
Hardacre	P.H. Hardacre, <i>The Royalists during the Puritan Revolution</i> (The Hague, 1956)
HaRO	Hampshire Record Office
Higgs	'Dr. Higgs' narrative of the siege of Lichfield, 1643', <i>English Historical Review</i> , 35 (1920), pp. 249–51
Hill	F. Hill (ed.), 'The royalist clergy of Lincolnshire', <i>Reports & Papers of the Lincolnshire Architectural & Archaeological Society</i> (ns, 2:1, 1941 for 1938), pp. 34–127
HJ	<i>Historical Journal</i>
HLMP	Parliamentary Archives, House of Lords Main Papers
HMC	<i>Historic Manuscripts Commission</i>
Holmes	C. Holmes (ed.), <i>The Suffolk Committees for Scandalous Ministers 1644–46</i> (Ipswich, The Suffolk Records Soc., 13, 1970)
HRO	Hereford Record Office
Illustrations	'Illustrations of the state of the church during the great rebellion', <i>The Theologian and Ecclesiastic</i> 7 (1849), pp. 289–93

<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of British Studies</i>
<i>Josselin</i>	A. Macfarlane (ed.), <i>The Diary of Ralph Josselin</i> (1976)
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
LRO	Leicestershire Record Office
LUL	Leicester University Library
M&C	P.E. More, F.L. Cross, <i>Anglicanism</i> (1957)
MA	<i>Mercurius Aulicus</i>
Moore	R. Bird (ed.), <i>The Journal of Giles Moore</i> (Lewes, Sussex Record Society, 68)
Morrill	J.S. Morrill, 'The Church in England 1643–9', in J.S. Morrill (ed.), <i>Reactions to the English Civil War 1642–1649</i> (1982), pp. 89–114
MR	B. Ryves, <i>Mercurius Rusticus</i> (1685)
Myddle	R. Gough, <i>The History of Myddle</i> , ed. D. Hey (1988)
Nichols	J. Nichols, <i>The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester</i> (1800–1804)
NA	National Archives
NCA	New College Archives, University of Oxford
NPG	National Portrait Gallery
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford, 2004–)
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1989–)
P&P	<i>Past & Present</i>
Peake	H. Peake, <i>Meditations upon a Siege</i> (Oxford, 1646)
QS	Quarter Sessions
Quick	Dr William's Library, J. Quick, <i>Icones Sacrae Anglicanae</i> , transcript
Redwood	B.C. Redwood (ed.), <i>Sussex Quarter Sessions Order Book</i> (Lewes, 1954)
Robinson	J.E.B. Mayor (ed.), <i>The Autobiography of Matthew Robinson</i> (Cambridge, 1856)
SCH	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
Shaw	W.A. Shaw, <i>A History of the English Church during the Civil Wars 1640–1660</i> (1900)
SHL	University of London, Senate House Library
SP	State Papers
SRO	Somerset Record Office
SAC	<i>Sussex Archaeological Collections</i>
Tatham	G.B. Tatham, <i>Dr John Walker and the Sufferings of the Clergy</i> (Cambridge Historical Essays, 20, Cambridge, 1911)

<i>Taylor</i>	<i>The Whole Works of the Right Rev Jeremy Taylor</i> , ed. R. Heber, C.P. Eden (1850)
<i>Thornton</i>	C. Jackson (ed.), <i>The Autobiography of Alice Thornton</i> (Surtees Soc., 52, 1875)
<i>Townshend</i>	J.W. Willis Bund (ed.), <i>Diary of Henry Townshend</i> (Worcester Historical Society, 1920)
<i>TT</i>	<i>Thomason Tracts</i>
<i>Tullie</i>	I. Tullie, <i>A Narrative of the Siege of Carlisle</i> , ed. S. Jefferson (Whitehaven, 1988)
<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria County History</i>
<i>Verney</i>	BL microfilm M636, the Verney Papers
<i>Watts</i>	M. Watts, <i>The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution</i> (Oxford, 1978)
<i>WCAO</i>	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Western Circuit Assize Orders 1629–1648</i> (Camden Soc., 4th Series, 17, 1978)
<i>WMS</i>	Bod, MS J Walker
<i>Wood</i>	A. Wood, <i>Athenae Oxonienses</i> (1692)
<i>WQS</i>	WRO QS Great Rolls, A1/110
<i>WR</i>	A.G. Matthews (ed.), <i>Walker Revised</i> (Oxford, 1948)
<i>WRO</i>	Wiltshire Record Office
<i>WSRO</i>	West Sussex Record Office
<i>Wyatt</i>	Diary of Thomas Wyatt, vicar of Ducklington, Oxfordshire, Bod, MS Top. Oxon C378
<i>YMA</i>	York Minster Archives

Note on Conventions

For brevity, Walker manuscripts have been cited as follows:

WMS C1.26

Refers to MS J Walker C1, fol. 26

As far as possible, I have retained original spelling and punctuation, although it has occasionally been necessary to modernise the latter to facilitate reading of particular narratives. Proper names for people and places have been capitalised according to modern convention, otherwise the capitalisation practice of the original sources has been retained. I have silently expanded commonly used abbreviations, using square brackets only for uncommon abbreviations or where parts of words have been cut off or obscured in the original manuscript.

I have omitted 'London' as a place of publication in printed works.

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Introduction

Along the cool sequestered vale of life
They kept the noiseless tenor of their way¹

Unchanging, uneventful, unheroic: the lives of the English clergy down the centuries; or so we have been lead to believe. In the chancel at Dickleburgh in Norfolk, Christopher Barnard's monument records nothing else than that he had been rector there for 58 years.² At Bishopstrow in Wiltshire Walter Bisse claimed a similarly uninterrupted, unnoteworthy incumbency of 47 years.³ Yet both these clergy lived through the 1640s and 1650s, experienced a country torn by civil war, and were subsequently ejected from their livings, their lives far more full of incident than their epitaphs suggest. In choosing not to elaborate on their life experiences both were conforming to conventions of reticence about the private lives of the clergy and, more importantly, of public silence about a recent conflicted past.

The urge to consign Civil War experiences to oblivion has remained strong. Historians still instinctively downplay the social effects of the English Civil War. It is still considered a relatively mild conflict, a 'war without an enemy' as popular histories repeatedly tell us.⁴ With most accounts of the wars focused around the need to explain the highly complex military and political contingencies of this period, we gain little sense of how ordinary people engaged with the conflict. Their sufferings seem barely to register in the general historical consciousness, not being perhaps considered the best subject for study when attempting in subsequent centuries to inflate ideals of English decency. For to do is to begin to question this most powerful metanarrative in English history: the vision, appealing to people of many political persuasions, of English society as fundamentally stable, subject only to the gradual upward progress of liberal reform.

It would not have been possible to propagate this metanarrative without revisionist Whig historians like John Toland, Edmund Calamy and Daniel Neal who, from the 1690s onwards, began the process of writing violent religious hatred out of mainstream histories of the Civil War and

¹ Thomas Gray, 'Elegy written in a country churchyard'.

² J. Le Neve, *Monumenta Anglicana* (1718), p. 148.

³ T. Phillips, *Monumental Inscriptions of Wiltshire* (Trowbridge, 2000), p. 387.

⁴ See discussion in B. Donagan, *War in England 1642–1649* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 6–7.

reinterpreting it as a constitutional struggle, a view that became dominant in the nineteenth century.⁵ In the twentieth century radical historians, led by Christopher Hill, began to challenge this, seeking to re-formulate the Civil War as a conflict with economic causes, characterised not by moderation, but as a revolution involving violence between social classes. But this classic Marxist model, being a poor fit for the available evidence, did not remain long unchallenged. Since the mid-1970s revisionist historians, led by Conrad Russell and John Morrill, have sought instead to characterise the conflict as a war of religion.

Most historians now accept religion to have a central place amongst the causes of the Civil War. What they still do not quite agree on is its degree of impact on society: whether the conflict was relatively benign, a minor aberration in an English society which was essentially stable over the *longue durée*, or, on the contrary, a major discontinuity in seventeenth-century English history. David Cressy sees the period 1640–42 as profoundly revolutionary, an overturning of the established structures of society and those associated with them.⁶ Margaret James detailed the extensive economic disruption of the 1640s and 1650s.⁷ Ian Roy has queried whether the conflict was perhaps more comparable to the continental wars of religion than has previously been given credence.⁸ Charles Carlton's best estimate of the casualty figures suggests that this was, in terms of deaths per head of population, as Ronald Hutton states, the most profound and traumatic example of internal violence in the history of the state.⁹

Yet despite such challenges, as Ian Roy notes, 'there has not been to date a major revision of the old view'. Historians still instinctively downplay Civil War disorder.¹⁰ The statistically-based histories which predominated in the latter twentieth century facilitated this. It was easy to discount Civil War casualties and damage simply by offsetting them against worse examples in other countries and centuries. But for ordinary people who

⁵ See D.L. Wykes, "'To let the memory of these men dye is injurious to posterity": Edmund Calamy's account of the ejected ministers' (*SCH* 33, 1997), pp. 379–92; A.B. Worden, 'Whig history and puritan politics: the memoirs of Edmund Ludlow revisited', *Historical Research*, 75 (2002): pp. 209–37; J. Seed, 'History and narrative identity: religious dissent and the politics of memory in eighteenth-century England', *JBS*, 44 (2005), pp. 46–63; A.B. Worden, *Roundhead Reputations* (2002), pp. 9–12.

⁶ D. Cressy, *England on Edge* (Oxford, 2006), p. 6.

⁷ M. James, *Social Problems and Policy during the Puritan Revolution, 1640–1660* (1966), pp. 35–66.

⁸ I. Roy, 'England turned Germany', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser., 28 (1978): pp. 127–44.

⁹ C. Carlton, *Going to the Wars* (1992), pp. 204–14; R. Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort* (Harlow, 1982), p. xvii.

¹⁰ Roy, p. 129, see also Donagan, *War in England*, p. 9.

lived through the English Civil Wars, such statistical comparisons were meaningless. They remembered their own experiences and, as Mark Stoyale has noted, the associated trauma stayed with them for the rest of their lives, making the war, according to Katherine Briggs, the most prominent conflict in English folk tradition.¹¹ Some have questioned remembered accounts, arguing that their traumas were imagined, a product of anxiety and terror not actual experience, or else exaggerated in memory. But such arguments merely highlight the need for more extensive and systematic research into personal experiences of the revolution and the effects of the associated religious changes on individuals and on the social life of the parish. As Geoff Mortimer argues so eloquently, history should not just confine itself to structural questions, but should also consider the psychological impact of events on the participants in history, as feeling, acting and suffering individuals. We need to know not just what happened but what it was like to be there.¹² Most accounts of the English Civil Wars, even those claiming to be ‘popular’, still draw on a very limited range of familiar gentry sources, and suffer in comparison with recent work on the Thirty Years War, for example Mortimer’s own excellent study of eyewitness accounts, and Krusenstjern’s biographical register of personal writing from the time.¹³

The lack of balance in existing accounts of the English Civil Wars has other dimensions. As Ronald Hutton has noted, royalists have always been the ‘poor relations’ of Civil War historiography.¹⁴ The motives and actions of those who instigated the rapid, radical, religious changes of the early 1640s continue to preoccupy historians; relatively few have tried to understand the arguments of those who opposed them.¹⁵ Histories of religion, in particular W.A. Shaw’s standard work on the English Church during this period, are often overwhelmingly based on what James Scott terms the ‘public transcripts’ of the victors, their official documentation, or published justifications of their actions.¹⁶ The activities of those in opposition, in contrast, are often ‘hidden transcripts’ to which close attention and careful analysis is required but still, regrettably, all too infrequently given. The lack of attention to royalism is partly a fault of the

¹¹ M. Stoyale, “‘Memories of the maimed’: the testimony of Charles I’s former soldiers: 1660–1730”, *History*, 88 (2003): p. 204; K. Briggs, *A Dictionary of British Folk-tales* (1970–71), ii, 3.

¹² G. Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years War, 1618–48* (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 191, 198.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁴ Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, p. xiii.

¹⁵ The exception being Judith Maltby’s work on the prayer book petitions: J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People* (Cambridge, 1998).

¹⁶ J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990), pp. 1–20.

cause's own making: royalists rarely wrote memoirs or spiritual diaries, and their obsession with hierarchy permeates down into secondary histories which, as Jason McElligott points out, remain unrewardingly addicted to the study of squabbling elite factions.¹⁷ Few, apart from Mark Stoyale and David Underdown, have shown much interest in the wider basis of royalist support, or the personal experiences and mentalities of those below the gentry level.¹⁸

The aim of this book is to enable a better understanding of the effect of the Civil Wars on English society, and at the same time both of royalism and of the role of religion in the conflict, via a study of the personal experiences of one significant 'middling-sort' group affected by the conflict, the thousands of royalist, Anglican clergy and their families ejected from their livings during and after the conflict. Although most modern historians of the seventeenth century are aware of the Anglican ejections, the subject has not been particularly well-served by secondary histories. It is often treated in a fairly summary fashion as tangential to the main issue, with analysis confined to at best a chapter or a paper. It has never been the subject of a full-length historical study. It is a principal concern of this book to challenge this assessment. Traditionalist clergy formed a significant group amongst those who supported the King's cause and were amongst the worst affected by his eventual defeat. The scale of clerical ejections was unprecedented, even compared to the Reformation, one of the main events of the Civil War period. The seventeenth century cannot be fully comprehended without considering them. This book aims to do what secondary histories to date have conspicuously failed to do, to engage with the mentalities of those affected. To achieve this, it draws on many primary and secondary sources, but principally provides a major critical study of the substantial collection of loyalist memories contained within the Walker Archive in the Bodleian Library. By careful use of these sources, the book aims to provide a challenge both to conventional approaches to the period and our understanding of the events themselves.

A Short History of the Anglican Ejections

The history of the religion during this period is quite byzantine, so it is useful to begin with a brief outline of the main facts concerning the Anglican ejections. Between 1642 and 1660 the Church of England was profoundly transformed. Episcopacy was totally abolished, the use of the liturgy

¹⁷ J. McElligott, *Royalists and Royalism* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 9.

¹⁸ Stoyale, "Memories of the maimed"; D. Underdown, *Riot, Revel and Rebellion* (Oxford, 1985).

banned and successive systems of more ‘godly’ religion established. Bishop Joseph Hall vividly describes the violent popular hatred of the early 1640s towards established religion, the ‘rabble of London’ invading Parliament, crying out: ‘no Bishops, no Bishops’.¹⁹ A flood of anti-episcopal pamphlets stoked their anger: ‘There is *Little Laud in Limbo*, and *Lambeth Fair*, and *Rome for a Corner’d Cap*, and the *Character of a Bishop*’ offers a pamphlet seller in Robert Wilde’s *The Benefice*, written at this time.²⁰ But if the intensity of religious discontent had risen sharply after 1640, its roots were longstanding, the tensions between its ‘puritan’ and ‘Catholic’ wings as old as the English Protestant Church itself. Laud’s repression of puritan practices, and his attempts to standardise parish church practice along the more ceremonial lines of the cathedral churches, increased tensions. The disastrous attempt to foist the prayer book on Scotland and the resultant ‘Bishops’ Wars’ against the Scottish covenanters forced the cash-strapped Charles I to recall parliament in 1640.

A parliamentary committee was set up at the start of the Long Parliament in November 1640 to look into the general state of religion.²¹ Many in parliament favoured moderate ecclesiastical reform. Parliament acted first against the ecclesiastical courts, passing a bill against the High Commission in 1640. A bill to curb the temporal roles of the bishops followed. There were parliamentary actions against prominent Laudians such as Bishop Wren and John Pocklington. Parliament legislated against innovations in ceremony, and for communion tables to be restored to their ‘antient place’.²² They seemed to be reacting to popular pressure for change, as an avalanche of petitions and publications appeared expressing a zeal for more radical changes in religious policy. But in 1641–42 counter-petitions were collected from several counties defending episcopacy and the liturgy. Some, like the Somerset petition, had a substantial number of signatures.²³ The introduction in 1641 into the Commons of the Root and Branch Bill, advocating complete abolition of bishops and higher church infrastructure, polarised attitudes away from consensual reform and towards settlement by armed conflict.

The Commons Committee for Scandalous Ministers began to investigate complaints against individual ministers from 1641 onwards.²⁴ Before the

¹⁹ ‘Hard Measure’, Hall, *Works*, i, 45.

²⁰ R. Wilde, *The Benefice* (1689), p. 43. The work is described on its title page as being ‘Written in his Younger Days’, and a composition date in the early 1640s, when Wilde was at Oxford, can be inferred from the text itself, see ODNB.

²¹ *CJ*, ii, 20–21.

²² *Shaw*, i, 105.

²³ See Maltby; SRO, TPHPw/5.

²⁴ *Holmes*, pp. 9–10.

Civil War, some were arrested or forced to share pulpits with lecturers, but few were removed.²⁵ Civil war altered the situation. Some royalist clergy abandoned areas controlled by parliament; supporters of parliament left royalist areas. Parliament set up the Committee for Plundered Ministers to find new livings for the displaced parliamentary clergy, but the committee also became responsible for ejecting royalist clergy. Under the CPM the pace of ejection increased, accelerating again after mid-1643 when parliament devolved powers to initiate ejections to county committees and removed the House of Lords' constitutional powers to inhibit them.²⁶ The procedure in the areas under control of the Eastern Association has been detailed by Clive Holmes.²⁷ In theory appeal to the CPM was still possible, although the committee rarely overturned cases referred to them.²⁸

In July 1643 parliament set up the Westminster Assembly of divines to make a final, scripturally justified, settlement of religion. But religious reform was driven by political necessity: the need for an alliance with the Scots. The Solemn League and Covenant, an oath to support Presbyterian Government, was introduced, to be taken by all males over eighteen. Refusal to take this led to many Anglican sequestrations; others were ejected in 1650 for refusing another oath, the Engagement, supporting non-monarchical government.

Parliamentary ordinances enforced new religious policies against episcopacy, ceremonialism and 'idolatry'. In 1645 that the most significant changes occurred: a bill for the sale of episcopal lands, a ban on the Book of Common Prayer, and its replacement with a Directory of Public Worship. The fundamentals of church ritual were attacked including the forms of baptism, funeral, and marriage. Clergymen still using the prayer book rites risked fines, imprisonment and sequestration.²⁹

According to Ian Green's estimate, between 1641 and 1660 around 2,425 benefices were sequestered, 28 per cent of the 8,600 in England; around 2,780 men were ejected or seriously 'harassed', with sequestrations peaking in the years 1646–47.³⁰ Their replacements were not usually 'plundered ministers' but new entrants to the profession, students leaving universities, a few, like Hugh Peters, Nathaniel Mather, Thomas Weld and Thomas Larkham, opportunists returning from New England.

By the ordinance of 1643 sequestrators were entitled to take the personal and real estates of royalist supporters. Sequestered ministers

²⁵ *Green*, p. 15.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11; *Green*, p. 517.

²⁷ *Holmes*, pp. 16–18.

²⁸ *Hardacre*, p. 20.

²⁹ *WR*, *ibid.*

³⁰ *WR*, pp. v–xxvii; *Green*, pp. 508, 522; *Holmes*, pp. 11–12.

could, like other royalists, compound, paying a fine to recover private property. But this usually required them to take parliamentary oaths, which many were reluctant to do. Some clergy were fined at rates higher than ordinary men because, like officers of the law, their position of authority was thought to make them more culpable.³¹ Because wives and children were not considered responsible, a system gradually evolved allowing them compensation of a fifth of the sequestered income.³²

Shaw describes 1648 to 1660 as a period of ecclesiastical confusion.³³ The elaborate Presbyterian hierarchy did not evolve as easily and spontaneously as expected. Neither the ban on traditional church practices nor new features, such as restricted sacraments, were popular or entirely successful. But the most significant trend was the rising influence of the radicalised army from 1647 onwards, who opposed any unified Presbyterian church. During the period 1648–53 ecclesiastical policy was in a state of flux, with successive short-lived committees responsible for different aspects of church policy, and conflict between Presbyterians and ‘Independents’, like Cromwell, who wanted congregations to control their own affairs and liberty of conscience for ‘God’s peculiar’: Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists, but not ‘prelatists’, Roman Catholics or those holding anti-trinitarian views.³⁴ In practice, an erastian form of church government evolved, involving lay influence via county committees and local JPs over parish churches, with central initiatives and ultimate authority resting with the state.³⁵

In 1653 a central Committee for the Approbation of Public Preachers (the ‘Triers’) was established to test those seeking new livings. Candidates had to pass an interrogation centred round the ‘evidence of grace’ seen as so important by the Independents who dominated the committee.³⁶ County ejectors were set up in 1654 but ejected relatively few: only 320 ministers listed in *Walker Revised* were ejected after 1649.³⁷ Anglican hopes were raised that official toleration might be extended to Common Prayer worship. But the Penruddock rising in 1655 brought reaction: local control by major generals and a draconian policy banning the employment of sequestered ministers as teachers or chaplains. *An Act for the Quiet Enjoyment of Sequestered Parsonages and Vicarages by the Present*

³¹ Hardacre, p. 46.

³² Shaw, ii, 192.

³³ Shaw, ii, 98.

³⁴ A.B. Worden, ‘Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate’ (SCH 21, Oxford, 1984), pp. 199–233.

³⁵ C. Cross, *The Church in England* (Hassocks, 1976), p. 213.

³⁶ Watts, i, 168–79.

³⁷ Green, p. 525.

Incumbent was passed, placing financial limits on claims for fifths of £500 in capital or an income of £30 per annum. By the late 1650s, plans for more radical religious change, such as the move by the Barebones Parliament to abolish tithes, had been defeated.³⁸ Conservative forces favouring unified religious governance were resurgent, due to widespread fears of what Henry Newcombe termed the 'Munsterian anarchy' of socially disruptive sectarian groups.³⁹

Charles II's restoration promised ecclesiastical compromise. In the event, political and popular impetus restored Anglicanism in many aspects as it had been in 1640. The 1660 Act for the Settling of Ministers returned surviving sequestered ministers to their livings and removed religious and political extremists: 695 ministers were ejected in England as a result. Following the failure to achieve a comprehension between Anglicans and Presbyterians, a revised prayer book was issued in 1662 without the changes sought by Presbyterians. On 24 August 1662, the Act of Uniformity was brought into force. It required disavowal of the covenant, episcopal ordination for those without it, and complete acceptance of the new prayer book. Having examined their conscience, a further 936 non-conforming ministers left English livings.⁴⁰

Historians and the Anglican Ejections

The latter years of the Stuart dynasty were riven with religious controversy, much of it centred around a contested view of the past. Following the Toleration Act of 1689, the established Church appeared to be in decline. Thousands of licensed dissenter meeting houses had sprung up while Anglican church attendance, no longer statutorily enforced, progressively decreased. High clerical taxation and clerical poverty were real issues. With uncertainty over the royal succession, tensions were particularly acute in the early 1700s. The Occasional Conformity Bills of 1702–1704 polarised opinion between dissenters and moderate Anglicans on the one hand, and High Churchmen on the other, whose motto became *the Church in Danger*.⁴¹

³⁸ Watts, i, 150.

³⁹ R. Parkinson (ed.), *The Autobiography of Henry Newcombe* (Manchester, Chetham Soc., 26, 1852), p. 119.

⁴⁰ CR, p. xiii.

⁴¹ G.V. Bennett, 'Conflict in the Church', in G. Holmes (ed.), *Britain After the Glorious Revolution* (1969), pp. 162–4, 8; G. Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell* (1973), pp. 43, 47.

Freed from restraint after the expiry of the Licensing Act in 1695, a number of dissenters published attacks on the established Church. But what caused particular outrage was the publication by Edmund Calamy in 1702 of his abridged edition of Richard Baxter's autobiography, particularly its ninth chapter, consisting of biographical 'characters' of clergy who had suffered for refusing to comply with the Act of Uniformity. Calamy's subjects were uniformly depicted as saintly men; provocatively, Calamy accused the Church of England of a grave sin in persecuting them.⁴²

A response from the established Church was needed, and John Walker, an Exeter clergyman, was persuaded by a neighbouring clerical polemicist, Thomas Long, to make the attempt. From 1704 onwards Walker began compiling the work now commonly known as *The Sufferings of the Clergy*, which was eventually published in 1714.⁴³ In it he argued that Anglican clergy and their families were the true victims of the religious conflicts, their sufferings during the Civil Wars far outnumbering and surpassing anything subsequently experienced by dissenters. Walker conducted his research using printed and manuscript sources available to him. He also directly solicited information, via a circular sent to archdeacons to disseminate amongst parish clergy.⁴⁴ He received over a thousand letters in response. After his death individual accounts were deposited, along with his other papers, as the J. Walker archive in the Bodleian Library.

The archive was little consulted until 1911, when Tatham wrote *Dr John Walker and the Sufferings of the Clergy*, outlining the context in which Walker's *Attempt* was produced, assessing Walker's research methods and creating a rudimentary calendar of the archive. In 1948, A.G. Matthews produced *Walker Revised*, a longer and more authoritative list of the sequestered Anglicans, with brief listings of known evidence about each individual. Much of Matthews's information came from official sources unavailable to Walker, including records of county sequestration committees, the Committee for Plundered Ministers and the House of Lords Journals.⁴⁵ Matthews's meticulous accumulation of source material enabled him to add over a thousand names to those previously known to have been sequestered and his superb coverage of state papers often renders it unnecessary to consult the originals. However 'Revised' is the operative word. Geoffrey Nuttall considered *Walker Revised* a misnomer because it contained so much new material, but the same could be said about what is omitted. Many of the original accounts included, sometimes verbatim, in the *Attempt* are excluded. Some are not even cited, and the

⁴² Tatham, p. 5; WR, p. v; CR, p. xix.

⁴³ *Attempt*; Tatham, p. 7.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 30.

⁴⁵ WR, pp. xviii–xx.

historian is better advised to turn to Tatham's calendar for a guide to what is actually in the Walker archive.⁴⁶

Walker Revised cites many sources, but this is also its drawback. Given the Herculean task of chronicling thousands of clergy, Matthews's reading of longer or more complex documents and scenarios can become superficial or idiosyncratic. Neither is it as exhaustive as often assumed. Using diaries, memoirs, college and ecclesiastical archives, parish records and local correspondence, I came across more than fifty further parishes from which incumbents may have been ejected and several previously unknown intruders. Matthews's focus is very narrow: for example he attached little importance to economic explanation; most entries exclude the name of the patron and the value of the living. The longer term background to sequestrations, even the events of the 1640–42 period, are ignored in favour of a narrow focus around Civil War events so that, reading his entries, it is easy to overlook the role of long-standing parochial conflicts or controversies which lie at the heart of some sequestrations.

There are issues of bias as well as omission. A Congregationalist himself, Matthews seems to have intended the publication to be something of a corrective to Walker, and his omissions nearly all tend towards minimising any sympathy we might feel for sequestered clergy by omitting key details of their sufferings contained in Walker accounts. Evidence of popular support for a loyalist incumbent is frequently not mentioned and Matthews quotes at length from anticlerical and parliamentarian, but not royalist, propaganda. Above all, with the historical biases of his time, he seems to have considered families' experiences largely irrelevant.

Walker Revised apart, discussions of the Anglican sequestrations have usually been local studies, or have focused on more celebrated writers and theologians who, well esteemed among their peers, obtained a measure of protection from friends among the gentry and thus possibly suffered less severely. In recent decades, the main focus of historical research has been on the accusations against the clergy, with the publication by Clive Holmes of the proceedings against the Suffolk clergy and a paper by James Sharpe on the Essex clergy.⁴⁷ The nature of the Restoration settlement has also been debated: Boshier's arguments in favour of a well-planned Laudian settlement prepared under conditions of relative toleration during the Interregnum being challenged by Ian Green amongst others.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ A. Argent, 'The passing show of A.G. Matthews', *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, 4 (1990): p. 432.

⁴⁷ Holmes; J. Sharpe, 'Scandalous and malignant priests in Essex: the impact of grassroots puritanism', in C. Jones, M. Newitt, S. Roberts (eds), *Politics and People in Revolutionary England* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 253–73.

⁴⁸ I. Green, *The Re-establishment of the Church of England 1660–1663* (Oxford, 1978).

In 1978 Green also provided a welcome answer to a defect in *Walker Revised*: Matthews's failure to provide significant analysis of the data he had amassed. Using *Walker Revised* and other sources, Green elicited important statistics about the sequestrations.⁴⁹

Green's analysis is extremely valuable, the first place to turn to, along with the introduction to *Walker Revised*, for analysis of the Anglican sequestrations. But it shares an obsession with enumeration that the topic has suffered from since Walker's time. This has led to some questionable conclusions, the most persistent being the tendency to take the quoted sequestration rate and then extrapolate to suggest that everywhere else was unaffected by religious change. Boshier states that 'some 70 per cent of the parishes were unaffected by the upheaval', conducting 'traditional services without molestation'. Claire Cross concludes that in three-quarters of parishes the incumbent survived the Civil War in possession of the living. John Morrill makes similar claims.⁵⁰ Such statements underestimate the amount of mobility and disruption during this period. Ministers supporting parliament fled their livings as well as royalists. After the loyalist ejections they might be offered lucrative vacancies, leaving further spaces in their wake. And although some cases of harassment or intra-parochial friction falling short of ejection are documented, others probably are not. Unsettled parishes might see a considerable turnover of ministers, of uncertain and varying theological persuasions. In Leicestershire at the Restoration four out of five livings had changed hands since 1640 due to ejections, normal clerical attrition and other movements.⁵¹

Statistics alone cannot fully show the different ways incumbents and their parishioners experienced the Church of the 1640s and 1650s. For that we need a variety of approaches. Since the 1990s, historians have begun to appreciate how unconventional sources can be used to challenge 'official' histories based on Von Rankean methods which are biased in favour of those enjoying political and patriarchal hegemony. So the Walker narratives, previously little regarded because of their localism, their dependence on memory and oral tradition, have begun to be exploited. For example, Anne Laurence and Michelle Wolfe have investigated what they reveal about the experiences of women and about ideas of gender in the mid seventeenth century.⁵² But although several papers on the Walker

⁴⁹ Green.

⁵⁰ R.S. Boshier, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (1951), pp. 5, 12; Cross, p. 222; Morrill, p. 100.

⁵¹ J.H. Pruett, *The Parish Clergy under the Later Stuarts* (1978), pp. 11–15.

⁵² M. Wolfe, "There very children were soe full of hatred": royalist clerical families and the politics of everyday conflict in Civil War and Interregnum England' (*SCH* 40, Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 194–204; A. Laurence, "This sad and deplorable condition": an attempt towards recovering an account of the sufferings of northern clergy families in

narratives have been published, all are limited in scope or oblique in focus. There has been no serious attempt to face the methodological challenges of this heterogeneous set of documents, nor anything like a comprehensive study of the archive, in order to re-evaluate what they were collected to commemorate, the Anglican ejections.

Understanding the Experience of Ejection

'Human beings are too important to be treated as mere symptoms of the past', wrote Lytton Strachey. Rather than seeing the Anglican ejections as data to be organised, my central aim has always been to understand the Anglican clergy and their families as human beings, involved and engaged as actors in the momentous events of their time. I wanted to discover how they experienced, wrote about, and remembered the threatening 1640s and 1650s. At the centre of my research are the original documents in the Walker archive, rich accounts describing the social impact of sequestration. I consulted over 1100 folios of these documents, relating to just over 700 clergy. Nearly a third of the accounts came from South-West England, due to Walker's success in exploiting his own local contacts, but there is a good distribution nation-wide (see Table 1.1).

Taken together, the Walker narratives are the discourse of a sector of early eighteenth-century society, with common forms of expression and much consensus over the main issues. Common threads within such discourse have been used to structure this book. But they are not presented uncritically. My intention is more ambitious than a mere exercise in understanding group mentalities: to investigate the intersection between real and remembered experience regarding the contentious events of the 1640s and 1650s. Thus each chapter takes a central theme from the Walker correspondence and compares such evidence with other sources, which may affirm or challenge the way Walker's correspondents remembered and presented events. A wide variety of manuscript and published sources have been used: letters and memoirs; portraits and monuments; official documentation of central government and county committees; private diaries and correspondence of both loyalists and their opponents; probate records; ecclesiastical and equity court documents; quarter sessions records. Despite Matthews's previous best efforts, as I progressed in my research, I became struck by how much useful information still remained to be uncovered, often sitting barely-indexed in various archives.

the 1640s and 1650s' (*SCH* 12, Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 465–88; A. Laurence, "'Begging pardon for all mistakes or errors in this writeing I being a woman & doing itt myselfe": family narratives in some early eighteenth-century letters', in J. Daybell (ed.), *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450–1700* (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 194–206.

Table 1.1 Geographic distribution of Walker accounts

Region	No. Accounts	%
South-West excluding Devonshire	134	17
Devonshire	110	14
East Anglia	98	12
East Midlands	89	11
Home Counties	89	11
West Midlands	88	11
South-East	67	9
North-East	56	7
North-West	35	4
London	22	3

This book departs from previous accounts of the crisis in Anglicanism in several ways. Firstly, this book is primarily intended as a social history. Although I have quoted from sequestered clergy's theological writings concerning the experience of suffering, I do not seek to engage in any detail with the theological controversies of the time. Nor is this a political history: there is little here on central policy initiatives or on the intrigues of a few highly placed clergy. This book is more concerned with what was experienced by ordinary parish incumbents, and their parishioners, as a result of these political forces.

Secondly, it is based on a close analysis of language, essential when understanding the often convoluted and coded ways in which seventeenth-century people expressed themselves. Associated with this is the desire to recover the authorship of loyalist accounts, often obscured by Walker and Matthews, and the original voices, which they overlaid with their own. Textual analysis is supplemented by some new statistical information and by visual evidence, mostly portraits and funeral monuments, which serve as an important reminder that the Walker narratives are not just texts, but concern the material existence of real individuals.

Thirdly, the experience of the family lies at the heart of the study. By the mid-seventeenth century, marriage had become the norm amongst parish clergy. Of a sample of 98 Wiltshire clergy whose marital status is known, 85 per cent had wives or children, who suffered with them the consequences of their loyalty. The accounts of these dependents form the bedrock of the Walker archive. Yet their experiences have often been edited out of earlier histories. It was a time when convention drew a veil

of secrecy over the private lives of ecclesiastics to such an extent that the marriages and children even of celebrated loyalists like Thomas Fuller and Jeremy Taylor have often been subject to debate.⁵³ This book aims to put the family back into the centre of the story: as sufferers themselves; as guardians and narrators of family histories; and as the essential structure which sustained the clergy through difficult times.

As the Walker archive provides much evidence for this book, it is essential from the outset to understand the methodological issues associated with using such material. Thus, Chapter 2 considers the characteristics of the Walker narratives, looking at how they were shaped by the social, narrative and literary conventions of their time, and investigating in detail the important question of their reliability. Subsequent chapters follow a broadly chronological thematic sequence, looking at the lives of loyalist clergy families before, during and after the Civil Wars, the rhetoric and reality of Anglican sufferings and their impact in the post-Restoration period.

Religion was of vital importance in seventeenth-century society, and so were the clergy. They were an emergent middling-rank professional class and a hub of the local community, a vital link between rulers and populace. In a voluminous correspondence, long neglected, relatives and successors of the loyalist clergy described the impact of the Civil Wars on their own lives, and on those around them. By understanding how one group of ordinary people coped with and later remembered the experience of living through 'interesting times' this book seeks to shed important light on the effects of Civil War on society, and a vital window into a time when religious hatred and extremism created deep and long-lasting fissures in English society.

⁵³ C.J. Stranks, *The Life and Writings of Jeremy Taylor* (London, 1952), pp. 107, 305; R. Askew, *Muskets and Altars: Jeremy Taylor and the Last of the Anglicans* (London, 1997), p. xii; J.E. Bailey, *The Life of Thomas Fuller* (London, 1874), p. 170.

Memories of Ejection

Much of what we know about the experiences of Anglican clergy during the Civil War comes from documents in the Walker archive. These are a rich historical source, full of beguiling and emotive stories, quite frequently from people in society whose voices are rarely heard in the historical record. But before such correspondence can conceivably be used as any kind of historical evidence, it is necessary first to understand both its characteristics as a set of memories, a discourse produced by particular social group, and also to address the challenges presented by its peculiar, some might say dubious, provenance.

John Walker began his researches into Anglican clergy sufferings over seventy years after the Civil Wars began. It was another ten years before he was ready to publish them. This extraordinarily delayed publication was mocked by the Whigs at the time, but Walker was anxious to produce a credible piece of historical research, something that would earn the respect of his clerical peers, many of whom were members of the flourishing late-seventeenth-century antiquarian community.¹ His choice of the word 'Attempt' in the book's title signalled his awareness of the Baconian belief that 'perfect history' was an ideal worth labouring towards, but rarely achieved.² G.B. Tatham recounts some of the difficulties Walker faced in his research. Travel and communication were difficult and slow. Original documents were often kept piecemeal by different individuals or libraries, some of whom refused Walker access. Other papers had simply disappeared: in his diary, Presbyterian minister John Shaw recorded how in 1660, following the 'late turne of the times', he burnt the records he had kept for Lord Fairfax's committee for ejecting ministers in York. Many other documents are presumed to have met a similar fate.³

Thus Walker would not have been able to create any convincing history using surviving published or official material available to him. He relied

¹ WR, pp. viii, xi; B.W. Griggs, 'Remembering the puritan past: John Walker and anglican memories of the English Civil War', in M.C. McClendon, J.P. Ward, M. MacDonald (eds), *Protestant Identities* (Stanford, 1999), pp. 158–91; D. Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past* (Oxford, 2003), p. 161.

² B. Shapiro, *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton, 1983), p. 132.

³ Tatham, pp. 78–82; J. Shaw, 'The life of Master John Shaw', in *Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies* (Surtees Soc. 65, 1875), p. 140.

hugely on details he obtained of the experiences of ordinary parish clergy, sent in by numerous correspondents in response to a circular. He was helped by a network of enthusiastic collaborators, members of that formidably well-organised block of high church Tory clergy. They prepared lists of loyalist sufferers known to them, contacting descendants and anyone who might have useful information.⁴ Samuel Hill, Archdeacon of Wells, for example, a noted high churchman, was active in soliciting contributions and personally interviewed several people in order to secure their testimony.⁵ What was obtained as a result was a highly heterogeneous collection; an admixture of documentary sources, remembered stories and oral tradition, which in its very variety reveals the shifting ideas of the time about what constituted historical evidence. In seventeenth-century legal cases and even in works such as Richard Gough's *History of Myddle*, oral tradition was still regarded as a valid source of historical information. But a preference for the written source was beginning to emerge in scholarly circles, and Walker's correspondents fully appreciated the value of producing documentary evidence wherever possible.⁶ They transcribed contemporary letters and personal accounts, sent in copies of parliamentary orders for ejection, minutes of the Welsh and Cornish sequestrators, and copies of accusations against several clergy, including an almost complete set of the evidence produced against the Leicestershire clergy: accusations, replies and witness depositions. Nevertheless, what is presented as 'documentary' evidence must be treated with some caution since, as Daniel Woolf reminds us, 'a great deal depended on the principle of selection, on the presentation of the materials'.⁷ Correspondents were hardly likely to send in material depicting their clerical subjects unfavourably. In some cases there is editing, acknowledged or unacknowledged, of original material.⁸ On the other hand, some Walker correspondents pride themselves on their exact transcription methods, duplicating page layouts from originals, describing attempts to imitate the 'dashes' of Cromwell's pen, or the erratic spelling of the Leicestershire depositions.⁹

The bulk of the Walker archive consists of narratives of the past, written down years afterwards. These are often carefully crafted, by

⁴ G. Holmes, *Doctor Sacheverell*, p. 44.

⁵ WMS C1.139; C2.93, 95, 191, 474, 477.

⁶ D. Woolf, 'The "Common Voice": history, folklore and oral tradition in early modern England', *P&P*, 120 (1988): pp. 26–52.

⁷ D. Woolf, 'Narrative historical writing in the Restoration: a preliminary survey', in G. Marshall (ed.), *The Restoration Mind* (Newark, 1997), p. 220.

⁸ WMS C5.63 and BL Add 5829 show signs of bowdlerisation; see *Tatham*, pp. 94–6, concerning Walker's use of the Nalson transcripts of charges against East Anglian clergy.

⁹ WMS C3.368; C5.62–3.

correspondents who were cautious about local sensitivities, and selective about what they considered appropriate to tender into the public domain. Parish incumbents, often coerced to participate by ecclesiastical superiors, many times preferred the brief, factual entry over anything potentially contentious.¹⁰

At the other extreme are oral memories jotted down by Walker or his associates, the unrefined product perhaps of only a single conversation, yet often including rich serendipitous detail edited out of the more considered written accounts. Oral transmission gave another major benefit: it facilitated the inclusion of narratives from individuals who were not fully literate. In 1700 this was still most of the population; in particular, literacy rates for women lagged well below those of men. Only 30 per cent of women were literate, compared to 50 per cent of men; hardly any letters by clergy wives have survived from the Civil War period.¹¹ Incumbents' children did not necessarily have literacy matching that of their highly educated fathers: education probably suffered under sequestration, with children forced to work, or separated from fathers who might have educated them at home.

Many Walker narratives describe events which took place prior to the lifetime of the narrator, and are properly classed as oral *tradition* rather than oral *history*. Of these, there are three main types: clerical anecdotes, parish 'legends' and family stories, told by the first or second generation after that of the sequestered clergyman. Experts on oral tradition, including Joseph Miller and Jan Vansina, distinguish this type of oral tradition, sometimes termed 'extended personal recollections', from stories relating to the more distant past because, unlike 'oral tradition proper', the exploits of named individuals and their social world remain clearly visible. With a lifespan of around 120 or 130 years, and as what Miller terms the 'first step in transforming a personal reminiscence into a tradition', such accounts are likely to be reasonably accurate, although some detail is lost and, with each step in the chain of transmission, inaccuracies commonly establish themselves.¹²

Assessing the contents of the Walker archive is further complicated by the fact that many accounts combine different types of evidence. A single letter may include documentary evidence interwoven with family or parish memories. Children relate some parts of their family story from personal experience; other events they have learned second-hand via family

¹⁰ See WMS C2.403–5, where 83-year old 'trimmer' Anthony Lovise of Hennock attempts to excuse himself from the task.

¹¹ J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 89.

¹² J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, 1985), p. 192; J.C. Miller (ed.), *The African Past Speaks: Essays on Oral Tradition and History* (Folkestone, 1980), pp. 2, 10–11, 21.

tradition. Thus, for example, Frances King, daughter of Cambridgeshire rector John Manby, recalls relations with local children from her own experience, but earlier events when, as she describes, she was a babe in arms, must have been related to her by older family members.¹³

Even if the narrator was alive at the times of the events described, we should not presume that what is described was actually witnessed. Early modern society thrived on hearsay, and although generally taken as less authoritative than eye-witness testimony, hearsay evidence was not outlawed in courts of law until well into the eighteenth century.¹⁴ In times of Civil War going abroad, like the diarist Sir Humphrey Mildmay, to hear 'the Prate of the tymes' became an all-important method of trying to assess the course of events beyond parish boundaries.¹⁵ In his Civil War diary, Oxfordshire incumbent Thomas Wyatt repeatedly employs the phrases, 'Tis said ...', 'I heard that ...', 'Much speech that ...', 'Report that ...'.¹⁶ Many Walker accounts will be of events that have been heard about rather than witnessed.

Thus it cannot be stressed too strongly that Walker accounts do not have a uniform etymology. Even those firmly based on oral tradition vary in their provenance: some traceable down the family line from a known original eye-witness source; others more like legend, their origins unspecified.¹⁷ In writing about them I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to recover the authorial voice, so often obscured in other secondary histories, and to identify the chain of transmission from available internal evidence.

Most of Walker's informants or 'authors' fall into one of a set of clearly identifiable categories: 1) clergy sufferers; 2) family members; 3) eyewitnesses and contemporaries; 4) later incumbents and their parishioners. The first group is the smallest. Mostly over thirty when the Civil War began, clergy sufferers themselves were nearly all dead by Walker's time. One rare exception was Gloucestershire incumbent Robert Rowden, aged ninety in 1706, whose personal history was collected by White Kennett.¹⁸ Other accounts by clergy sufferers themselves survive as copies of original letters or other documents. These include: the substantial manuscript autobiography of Martin Blake of Barnstaple; a brief memoir by Shropshire parson Ambrose Phillips; letters written from prison by

¹³ WMS C1.26.

¹⁴ J.H. Langbein, 'Historical foundations of the law of evidence: a view from the Ryder sources', *Columbia Law Review*, 96 (1996): pp. 1168–1202; B.J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact* (Ithaca, NY, 1999), p. 15.

¹⁵ BL Harl 454, fol. 52.

¹⁶ Wyatt.

¹⁷ Vansina, pp. 18, 31.

¹⁸ WMS C3.227.