

Cathedrals and the Church of England,
*c.*1660-1714



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This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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This dissertation is 76,245 words long, excluding footnotes and bibliography. It does not, therefore, exceed the prescribed word limit, of 80,000 words, for the Degree Committee of the Faculty of History.

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Mrs Alice Soulieux-Evans
Tuesday 19th March, 2019

CATHEDRALS AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, c.1660-1714

ALICE SOULIEUX-EVANS

Early modern cathedrals have often found themselves falling between the historiographical cracks. While antiquarians and art historians have seen their early modern pasts as nothing more than periods of ‘desecration and pillage’, early modern historians have dismissed cathedrals as medieval ‘fossils’, irrelevant and impermeable to the religious upheavals of the English Reformation. Recent scholarship, however, has sought to address this view of cathedrals by reconsidering them within their religious, social, political and cultural contexts, thereby re-assessing the Reformation’s impact on cathedrals. Such work, however, has been mainly confined to the period before 1660, and has indeed seen the Restoration as a turning point, after which cathedrals’ once contested and controversial place within the Church and society was secured, as ‘Anglicanism’ flourished after the turmoil of Civil War.

Focussing on the period between the Restoration in 1660 and the death of Queen Anne in 1714, this thesis seeks to reassess this understanding of cathedrals’ later Stuart history as one of peaceful monotony, by considering how cathedrals fitted into debates about religious settlement, moral reformation, and the nature of the Church of England. While an understanding of cathedrals as centres of ceremonial worship arose with the Laudian ascendancy in the 1630s, it is assumed this became the sole model for cathedrals after the Restoration. Although Restoration ‘high’ churchmen did indeed reassert this Laudian ideal, this did not go unchallenged. Earlier, competing visions of cathedrals survived into the Restoration period, notably as locales for evangelical reform. This study will suggest that the continued controversy surrounding their place and role within the Church of England raises doubts about the coherence and certainty of an ‘Anglican’ identity before the Act of Toleration. The significance of cathedrals evolved after 1689 in ways that also complicate our understanding of ‘Anglicanism’ in the long eighteenth century.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A&EH</i>	<i>Anglican and Episcopal History</i>
BL	British Library, London
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Journals of the House of Commons</i> [1547-] (London, 1802-)
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DCA	Durham Cathedral Archive
DCL	Durham Cathedral Library
DUL	Durham University Library
DWL	Dr Williams's Library, London
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Historical Journal</i>
<i>HLQ</i>	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of British Studies</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>LJ</i>	<i>Journals of the House of Lords</i> [1509-] (London, 1767-)
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library, London
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (http://www.oxforddnb.com)
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> (http://oed.com)
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
SCA	Salisbury Cathedral Archives
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
<i>SCH</i>	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>

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A NOTE ON DATING

Until 1752 England and Scotland (and from 1707 onwards Britain) used the Julian (Old Style) Calendar, which in the seventeenth century ran ten days and in the eighteenth century eleven days behind the Gregorian (New Style) Calendar in use on the Continent. In England the year was taken to begin not on 1 January, but rather on 25 March (the start of the year had been brought forward in Scotland in 1600). It was increasingly common in the period covered by this thesis, however, to see potentially ambiguous dates given in the form '1 January 1702/3'.

The dates given in this thesis, referring as they do to events in England and Wales, are given in the Old Style, but with the year taken to begin on 1 January, rather than 25 March.

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INTRODUCTION:

CATHEDRALS, RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

Painted in 1823, John Constable's depiction of *Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Grounds* [Plate 1] embodies a common understanding of English cathedrals.¹ They appear as peaceful and serene reminders of times past, as glimpses in the background of some picturesque view. Their delicate steeples reach up towards the skies, punctuating the horizon of this 'green and pleasant land'.² Such an understanding of cathedrals is, firstly, inherently connected to a certain vision of 'Englishness'.³ Scholars have repeatedly portrayed England's cathedrals as embodying the English character,⁴ and they are widely regarded as architectural treasures, national landmarks and objects of civic pride.⁵ Secondly, this view of cathedrals is tied to a certain understanding of the Church of England and Anglican identity. As Ian Atherton has highlighted in his contribution to the recent *Oxford History of Anglicanism*, many regard England's cathedrals as the Church's 'shop windows', whose practices – notably their choral tradition – are 'celebrated as the very embodiment of the Anglican *via media*'.⁶

This picture has long defined scholars' understanding of English cathedrals' early modern histories. This has emphasised religious conservatism, liturgical tradition, and continuity with the medieval past. Current work, however, has sought to reassess this view of cathedrals by reconsidering them within their religious, social, political and cultural contexts. Such work has highlighted the success of the Reformation within the cathedrals and sought to nuance previous scholars' emphasis on puritan opposition, showing instead how cathedrals could be subsumed into the Protestant cause, even after the Laudian experience, during the Long Parliament debates in 1641. Such work, however, has been mainly confined to the period before 1660, and has indeed seen the Restoration as a turning point, after which

¹ On Constable and the Church of England, see Paul D. Schweizer, 'John Constable and the Anglican Church Establishment', *Artibus et Historiae*, 3 (1982), 125-39. On Constable's works as embodying 'Englishness', see, for example, William Vaughan, 'Constable's Englishness', *Oxford Art Journal*, 19 (1996), 17-27; Michael Rosenthal, 'Constable and Englishness', *The British Art Journal*, 7 (2006), 40-5.

² On another of Constable's Salisbury Cathedral paintings as reflecting impending Church reforms, see Brian Young, 'Religion and Politics', in Amy Concannon (ed.), *In Focus: Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows exhibited 1831 by John Constable*, Tate Research Publication, 2017, <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/in-focus/salisbury-cathedral-constable/religion-politics> [accessed 17/09/18].

³ See Ian Atherton, 'Cathedrals', in Anthony Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I. Reformation and Identity c.1520-1662* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 228-42 (p. 229).

⁴ See, for example, John Harvey, *English Cathedrals* (London, 1950), pp. 7-8, 24; Gavin Stamp, 'Preface', in Nikolaus Pevsner and Priscilla Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England*, 3 vols (London, 2005), p. xi.

⁵ The recent 'Cathedral World Cup' on Twitter testifies to the continued fascination and pride surrounding England's cathedrals. 'Lincoln Cathedral wins the Twitter 'world cup' final', *BBC News*, 11 November 2017, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-41954194> [accessed 17/07/17].

⁶ Atherton, 'Cathedrals', p. 228. See also *Heritage and Renewal: The Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Cathedrals* (London, 1994), pp. 17, 51; Mark Chapman, *Anglicanism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2006), p. 49.

cathedrals' once contested and controversial place within the Church and society was secured, as 'Anglicanism' flourished after the turmoil of Civil War.⁷

My thesis focusses on the later Stuart period, from the Restoration in 1660, to the death of Queen Anne in 1714. It seeks to reassess this understanding of cathedrals' later Stuart history as one of peaceful monotony, by considering how cathedrals fitted into debates about religious settlement, moral reformation, and the nature of the Church of England, and in polemical works on the medieval and Reformation pasts. While this period is understood as an era during which 'Anglicanism' flourished as a coherent identity, my exploration of cathedrals' place in debates seeks to question such conclusions. While an understanding of cathedrals as emblems of 'the beauty of holiness' – centres of conservative and ceremonial worship – arose with the Laudian ascendancy in the 1630s, it is assumed this became the sole model for cathedrals after the Restoration. Although Restoration 'high' churchmen did indeed reassert this Laudian ideal after 1660, this did not go unchallenged. Earlier, competing visions of cathedrals survived into the Restoration period, notably as locales for evangelical reform and as seats of quasi-presbyterian collegiality.⁸ This study will suggest that the continued controversy surrounding their place and role within the Church of England raises doubts about the coherence and certainty of an 'Anglican' identity before the Act of Toleration. The status and significance of cathedrals evolved after 1689 in ways that also complicate our understanding of 'Anglicanism' in the long eighteenth century.

PART I: ENGLISH CATHEDRALS AND THEIR EARLY MODERN PASTS

Early modern cathedrals have often found themselves falling between the historiographical cracks. On the one hand, antiquarians and art historians, while taking cathedrals seriously as a category,⁹ have dismissed their early modern pasts as periods of 'desecration and pillage'.¹⁰ Early modern historians, on the other hand, have shown little interest in cathedrals, largely seeing them as medieval 'fossils', irrelevant and impermeable to the religious upheavals of the English Reformation.¹¹ Current scholarship, however, has sought to remedy this historiographical oversight, by re-placing early modern

⁷ See discussion below.

⁸ These competing visions are outlined in more detail below, pp. 30-1.

⁹ Most twentieth-century studies of cathedrals are monographs of individual cathedrals, but broader studies of English cathedrals include Harvey, *English Cathedrals*; G.H. Cook, *The English Cathedral through the Centuries* (London, 1957); Nikolaus Pevsner and Priscilla Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England*, 2 vols (Harmondsworth, 1985); Stanford Lehmborg, *English Cathedrals: A History* (London, 2005); Andrew Sanders, *English Cathedrals* (London, 2015); Nicholas Orme, *The History of England's Cathedrals* (Exeter, 2017). On other cathedrals of the British Isles, see Peter Galloway, *The Cathedrals of Ireland* (Belfast, 1992); idem, *The Cathedrals of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2000).

¹⁰ Cook, *English Cathedral through the Centuries*, p. 312.

¹¹ See below, pp. 5-7.

cathedrals within their religious, political, social and cultural contexts and by reassessing the impact and success of the Reformation in the cathedrals.

1. 'THE FORGOTTEN CENTURIES':¹² CATHEDRALS AND THE REFORMATION IN ANTIQUARIAN AND ART-HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP

Most studies of cathedrals have followed in the footsteps of early modern antiquaries and Victorian architects in their portrayal and understanding of cathedrals.¹³ Firstly, cathedrals have primarily been studied as buildings, isolated from their wider contexts, from the antiquarian William Dugdale's *History of St Paul's* (1658) onwards.¹⁴ While some have acknowledged the influence of broader religious developments, this has been confined to architectural developments. Nikolaus Pevsner, for instance, noted how changes in religious practice (such as the growth of bequests for chantries, the increasing importance of processions and the worship of saints) shaped the cathedral building, from the expansion of the east end to wider ambulatories.¹⁵ Secondly – and partly as a result of this – such studies have focussed on the medieval past, the golden age of cathedral building.¹⁶

¹² The expression is taken from Gerald Cobb, *English Cathedrals: The Forgotten Centuries: Restoration and Change from 1530 to the present day* (London, 1980).

¹³ For an overview of the genre, see Eric Fernie, 'The Cathedral Monograph: a History and Assessment', in Janet Blackhouse (ed.), *The Medieval English Cathedral: papers in honour of Pamela Tudor-Craig* (Donington, 2003), pp. 231-9.

¹⁴ This is due to the fact that such works have traditionally been written by antiquarians, architects and engineers. See, for example, William Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral in London, From its Foundation untill these Times* (London, 1658); the cathedral 'surveys' (1716-1730) of the antiquarian Browne Willis; the fourteen-volume *Cathedral Antiquities of England* (1814-1835) by the antiquarian and topographer John Britton; and the engineer Robert Willis' histories (1846-1864). On Dugdale and Willis' cathedral histories, see below, chapter 5. Studies which take this approach include Francis Kelly (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral* (Oxford, 1991); Thomas Cocke and Peter Kidson, *Salisbury Cathedral: Perspectives on its Architectural History* (London, 1993); Philip Barker, *A short architectural history of Worcester cathedral* (Worcester, 1994); Lisa A. Reilly, *An Architectural History of Peterborough Cathedral* (Oxford, 1997); J. Philip McAleer, *Rochester Cathedral, 604-1540: An Architectural History* (Toronto and London, 1999); Sarah Brown, 'Our Magnificent Fabrick': *York Minster, An Architectural History c.1220-1500* (Swindon, 2003); Timothy Tatton-Brown, *Salisbury Cathedral: The Making of a Medieval Masterpiece* (London, 2009); Alixe Bovey (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture & Archaeology at Canterbury* (Leeds, 2013). For an archaeological approach, see Tim Tatton-Brown and Julian Munby (eds), *The Archaeology of Cathedrals* (Oxford, 1996); Roberta Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close: The Evolution of the English Cathedral Landscape* (Woodbridge, 2005); John Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral Before Wren* (London, 2011); idem, *St Paul's Cathedral: Archaeology and History* (London, 2016).

¹⁵ Pevsner and Metcalf, *Cathedrals of England*, vol. I, p. 13. Other works which show an awareness of the impact of religious developments on cathedral architecture include Cook, *The English Cathedral through the Centuries*, ch. 2.

¹⁶ There are hundreds of articles on various aspects of cathedrals' medieval histories, but books which focus exclusively on cathedrals' medieval pasts include Kelly (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral*; David Lepine, *A Brotherhood of Canons serving God: English Secular Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1995); McAleer, *Rochester Cathedral, 604-1540*; Brown, 'Our Magnificent Fabrick'; Tatton-Brown, *Salisbury Cathedral*; Nicholas Orme, *Exeter Cathedral: The First Thousand Years, 400-1550* (Exeter, 2009); Francesca Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100* (Farnham, 2010); Peter Fergusson, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory in the Age of Becket* (New Haven and London, 2011); Joan Greatrex, *The English Benedictine Cathedral Priors: Rule and Practice, c.1270-1420* (Oxford, 2011); Dee Dyas (ed.),

Such concerns have consequently shaped the portrayal of cathedrals' early modern pasts. Interest in cathedrals' architectural and aesthetic qualities – from their monuments and sculpture, to woodwork and liturgical paraphernalia – has meant that many accounts of the early modern period have sought to chart the fate of these medieval artefacts.¹⁷ Such studies have thus portrayed the early modern period as one of mindless destruction and neglect – in stark contrast to the Middle Ages – with cathedrals caught between the iconoclasm of the 1540s and that of the 1640s.¹⁸ This primacy of the medieval past is particularly evident in Gerald Cobb's work which, while drawing attention to 'forgotten centuries' (1530 to the present) in cathedral scholarship, was written 'to draw attention to the many mutilations and restorations of our Greater Churches' in order to 'assess their true value as legacies of *medieval* building and craftsmanship'.¹⁹ Such accounts demonstrate the influence of art historians such as Roy Strong, for whom the religious changes of the sixteenth century were a 'holocaust' which 'contributed to making British art provincial, almost retrogressive in character'.²⁰ While some studies explore the influence of Renaissance ideals on cathedral furnishings and monuments,²¹ the majority continue to emphasise the medieval building by charting – beyond instances of destruction – early modern renovation campaigns.²² As a result, cathedrals' seventeenth-century histories have focussed almost entirely on William Laud, Inigo Jones, John Hacket, John Cosin and Christopher Wren – churchmen and architects with an interest in the materiality of the cathedral and its medieval past.²³

English Cathedrals and Monasteries through the centuries: History, Community, Worship, Art, Architecture, Music (York, 2013); Bovey (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Canterbury*.

¹⁷ Books on specific medieval cathedral features (apart from articles) include Deborah Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture* (Austin, 1991); Thomas French, *York Minster: The Great East Window* (Oxford, 1995); Martial Rose and Julia Hedgecoe, *Stories in Stone: The Medieval Roof Carvings of Norwich Cathedral* (London, 1997); Benjamin Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1998); Jerry Sampson, *Wells Cathedral, West Front: Construction, Sculpture and Conservation* (Stroud, 1998); Sarah Brown, *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd: The Decoration of Salisbury Cathedral* (London, 1999); Thomas French, *York Minster: The St William Window* (Oxford, 1999); Ian Pattison and Hugh Murray, *Monuments in York Minster: An illustrated inventory* (York, 2000); Tim Ayers, *The Medieval Stained Glass of Wells Cathedral* (Oxford, 2004); Matthew M. Reeve, *Thirteenth-century Wall Painting of Salisbury Cathedral: Art, Liturgy, and Reform* (Woodbridge, 2008); Marie-Hélène Andrée, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London: Perpetual Chantryes at St Paul's Cathedral, c.1200-1548* (Farnham, 2011); Andrew Budge and Charles Tracy, *Britain's Medieval Episcopal Thrones: History, Archaeology and Conservation* (Oxford, 2014).

¹⁸ See, for example, Harvey, *English Cathedrals*, ch. 6; Cook, *English Cathedral through the Centuries*, ch. 17; Edwin Smith and Olive Cook, *English Cathedrals* (London, 1989), pp. 183-4, 186-7; Pevsner and Metcalf, *Cathedrals of England*, vol. I, pp. 26-7; Sanders, *English Cathedrals*, chs 1-3.

¹⁹ Cobb, *English Cathedrals: The Forgotten Centuries*, p. 6. Italics mine.

²⁰ Roy Strong, *Lost Treasures of Britain: Five Centuries of Creation and Destruction* (London, 1990), pp. 15-7. See, for example, Harvey, *English Cathedrals*, p. 146.

²¹ See, for example, Trevor Brighton, 'Art in the Cathedral from the Foundation to the Civil War', in Mary Hobbs (ed.), *Chichester Cathedral: An Historical Survey* (Chichester, 1994), pp. 69-84; Pevsner and Metcalf, *Cathedrals of England*, vol. I, p. 26.

²² This also explains cathedral monographs' emphasis on the Victorian era, the age of restoration campaigns. However, the Victorian restoration campaigns, as well as the eighteenth-centuries ones, have not always been seen in a favourable light. See, for example, Harvey, *English Cathedrals*, p. 30; Cook, *English Cathedral through the Centuries*, p. 312; Cobb, *English Cathedrals: The Forgotten Centuries*, pp. 7-8.

²³ See, for example, Cook, *English Cathedral through the Centuries*, pp. 320, 323-5, 325-8; Cobb, *English Cathedrals: The Forgotten Centuries*, pp. 9-10; Smith and Cook, *English Cathedrals*, pp. 187-8; Pevsner and

While such accounts have emphasised the Reformation's brutal impact on the cathedral building, they have minimised its significance in religious terms by emphasising continuity with the medieval past. For example, while recognising the radical reordering of cathedral chapters during the Tudor Reformation, Andrew Sanders has asserted that, '[d]espite this, the English cathedrals continued to offer a regular pattern of liturgical worship', and emphasised the continuity of their buildings, chapters, liturgical worship, and commitment to learning and teaching.²⁴ Accounts of cathedrals' early modern pasts have therefore traditionally focussed either on the cathedral building or on what is considered the other key legacy of England's cathedrals: their choral tradition.²⁵ Cathedrals are thus presented as architectural 'artefacts' and as receptacles of a continuing medieval liturgical tradition. This divorces them from their wider contexts, particularly from the upheavals of the Reformation.

2. FROM 'CONSERVATIVE SEEDBEDS' TO PROTESTANT POWERHOUSES: THE REASSESSMENT OF CATHEDRALS IN EARLY MODERN HISTORY

Early modern historians have similarly overlooked cathedrals, seeing them as largely irrelevant to the upheavals of the Reformation. Belief in cathedrals' religious conservatism has not only permeated understandings of early modern cathedrals, but informed, and been informed by, scholars' understanding of the English Church. Unlike the continental reformed Churches, the English Church retained many of its medieval features. The continued existence of its cathedrals has therefore been seen as exemplifying the Church's 'half reformed' state – thereby echoing contemporary puritan polemic.²⁶ For Diarmaid MacCulloch, cathedrals are '[o]ne of the great puzzles of the English Reformation', surviving in a Protestant world as 'fossils' of the medieval past.²⁷

On the eve of the Reformation, England's cathedrals had, for centuries, stood as architectural showcases for the medieval Church's devotions, their numerous altars, chantry chapels and shrines testifying to their role in upholding the doctrines and sacraments of the Catholic Church. While the seat of a bishop, cathedrals were autonomous collegiate communities, some secular (ruled by a dean and chapter) and others monastic (with a prior in place of a dean). These differed significantly in terms of

Metcalf, *Cathedrals of England*, vol. I, pp. 26-7; Sanders, *English Cathedrals*, pp. 32, 40, 66. On Hackett's restoration of Lichfield Cathedral at the Restoration, see below, chapter 2, p. 78.

²⁴ Sanders, *English Cathedrals*, p. 10.

²⁵ See, for example, Harvey, *English Cathedrals*, p. 151; Smith and Cook, *English Cathedrals*, pp. 184-5; Sanders, *English Cathedrals*, pp. 8, 10.

²⁶ For an overview of puritan arguments against cathedrals, see Claire Cross, "'Dens of Loitering Lubbers': Protestant Protest against Cathedral Foundations, 1540-1640", in Derek Baker (ed.), *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest* (London, 1972), pp. 232-7. For a reassessment of puritan opposition, see below, chapter 1, pp. 44-7.

²⁷ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603* (Basingstoke, 2001; first publ. 1990), pp. 29, 142; idem, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490-1700* (London, 2003), p. 511. For an overview of this historiographical outlook, see Ian Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', *HJ*, 53 (2010), 895-918; idem, 'Cathedrals', pp. 229-30.

organization and wealth: canonries in the secular cathedrals were endowed with their own estates ('prebends'), while monastic ones received only a basic income. In both cases, revenues were derived from bequeathed lands, as well as from impropriations (which granted cathedrals the right to collect the rents, fees and tithes of parish churches). Cathedrals were thus distinguished from the parishes, not only in terms of the scale and magnificence of their worship, but also of their wealth.²⁸

With the dissolution of the monasteries, some had hoped to see these institutions similarly dissolved, their financial assets redistributed and their buildings re-purposed. However, not only did Henry VIII keep the nine secular cathedrals (known as those of 'the old foundation')²⁹ and re-found the eight monastic ones as secular institutions,³⁰ he also created six new bishoprics and cathedrals: Gloucester, Oxford, Peterborough, Chester, Bristol and Westminster.³¹ Although cathedrals retained their choral establishments, as well as their financial settlements, the preamble to Henry's Act for the erection of new bishoprics, dated 1539, outlined cathedrals' potential in a post-Reformation world. However, some scholars have dismissed this as devoid of meaning, with Joyce Youings calling it 'largely irrelevant jargon' – something which MacCulloch has described as 'unkind[...] if accurate[...]'.³²

Instead, scholars have explained cathedrals' survival as politically motivated. The Henrician government, it is argued, regarded them as central to the proper execution of episcopal government (itself essential to political stability) and as a useful means of Crown patronage.³³ Alternatively, their survival is seen as 'compensation for anguished conservatives'.³⁴ Indeed, the statutes for the 'new foundation' cathedrals are seen as lacking any clear reforming motive, reflecting 'the bastard Catholicism of Henry VIII', 'mean[ing] that by Elizabeth's reign they were already appearing decidedly out-of-date'.³⁵ Scholars have also repeatedly noted English reformers' suspicion, even opposition, to

²⁸ On this background to the medieval cathedrals, see Stanford Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society, 1485-1603* (Princeton, 1988), chs 1-2.

²⁹ These were Salisbury, Lincoln, York, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Chichester, Wells and London. On the process of reform in the medieval secular cathedrals, see Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, ch. 1.

³⁰ These were Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester, Rochester, Durham, Ely, Norwich and Carlisle. On the process of reform in the medieval monastic cathedrals, see Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, ch. 2.

³¹ The new diocese of Oxford originally had its cathedral at Osney Abbey, but being situated across the river west of Oxford, was later considered impractical and transferred to Christ Church in 1546. Made a cathedral under Henry VIII, Westminster returned to being a monastery under Mary I, then became a royal peculiar at Elizabeth I's accession. Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, pp. 86-7.

³² Joyce Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London, 1971), p. 85, as quoted in Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven and London, 1996), p. 264. The preamble to the Henrician act is quoted below, chapter 1, p. 35.

³³ See Cross, "Dens of Loitering Lubbers", p. 233; Felicity Heal, *Of Princes and Prelates: A Study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 2-3; David Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism: The search for a new identity, 1540-1660', in David Marcombe and C.S. Knighton (eds), *Close Encounters: English Cathedrals and Society since 1540* (Nottingham, 1991), pp. 43-61 (pp. 51-3); MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided*, p. 511.

³⁴ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 263.

³⁵ Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham, 2010), ch. 4 (p. 136). See also Richard Rex and C.D.C. Armstrong, 'Henry VIII's ecclesiastical and collegiate foundations', *Historical Research*, 75 (2002), 390-407. On the problem of cathedral

cathedrals. Cranmer, in particular, deplored the wealth allocated to prebendaries, who ‘spen[d] their time in much idleness, and their substance in superfluous belly cheer’, wishing instead to see the title of prebendary abolished and the revenues used for university scholarships.³⁶ Cathedrals have thus been portrayed as part of the ‘conservative tradition’ embodied by Stephen Gardiner which, despite the sixteenth-century events, was ‘to prevail, almost against the odds’.³⁷ This, in turn, has led historians to view them as the seedbeds for developing Laudian ideals, becoming ‘the Trojan horse by which Laudianism was introduced into the English Church’ in the 1620s and 1630s.³⁸

The work of Stanford Lehmborg marked an important turning-point in this field, although his reassessment took time to filter through (as MacCulloch’s reiteration of older views demonstrates).³⁹ Seeking to ‘analyze the role of cathedrals in English society during a time of intense political and theological change’,⁴⁰ Lehmborg’s *The Reformation of Cathedrals* (1988) and *Cathedrals under Siege* (1996) sought to integrate them into the upheavals of reformation, by describing the cathedrals ‘as they existed at the end of the Middle Ages’; by tracing ‘the changes associated with the Reformation ... and the Counter-Reformation’, the impact of the Elizabethan settlement and Laudian ascendancy; and finally, by charting their fate through dissolution and restoration.⁴¹ Envisaged as ‘piece[s] of social history’, both works considered the people and networks which framed these communities through

statutes, see James Saunders, ‘The Limitations of Statutes: Elizabethan Schemes to Reform New Foundation Cathedral Statutes’, *JEH*, 48 (1997), 445-67 (p. 457).

³⁶ Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. J.E. Cox (Cambridge, 1846), pp. 396-7, quoted in Marcombe, ‘Cathedrals and Protestantism’, p. 45. See also Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries*, p. 85; Cross, ‘Dens of Loitering Lubbers’, p. 233; John Rogan, ‘The Cathedral established 1542-1800’, in John Rogan (ed.), *Bristol Cathedral: History and Architecture* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 38-51 (p. 39). On Cranmer’s difficult relationship with his cathedral at Canterbury, see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 263-66. Archbishop Grindal similarly condemned the pluralism of cathedral clergy. See Marcombe, ‘Cathedrals and Protestantism’, p. 45. See also Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, pp. 267-71.

³⁷ Rogan, ‘The Cathedral established 1542-1800’, p. 39.

³⁸ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches’, p. 896. See, for example, Cross, ‘Dens of Loitering Lubbers’, p. 237; Ralph Houlbrooke, ‘Refoundation and Reformation, 1538-1628’, in Ian Atherton *et al* (eds), *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096-1996* (London and Rio Grande, OH, 1996), pp. 507-39 (pp. 538-9). On the idea of a ‘Westminster movement’ in the flowing of avant-garde conformity, see Julia Merritt, ‘The Cradle of Laudianism? Westminster Abbey, 1558-1630’, *JEH*, 52 (2001), 623-46; *idem*, *The social world of early modern Westminster: Abbey, court and community, 1515-1640* (Manchester, 2005), p. 325. See also, Diarmaid MacCulloch, ‘The change of religion’, in Patrick Collinson (ed.), *The Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 83-112 (pp. 105-6); Patrick Collinson, ‘Elizabeth I and the verdicts of history’, *Historical Research*, 76 (2003), 469-91 (p. 476); Graham Parry, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation: Glory, Laud and Honour* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 51; Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 82-3.

³⁹ Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*; *idem*, *Cathedral under Siege: Cathedrals in English Society, 1600-1700* (Exeter, 1996). See also his articles, ‘The reformation of choirs: cathedral musical establishments in Tudor England’, in DeLloyd J. Guth and John W. McKenna (eds), *Tudor Rule and Revolution: Essays for G.R. Elton from his American friends* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 45-68; ‘Henry VIII, the Reformation, and the Cathedrals’, *HLQ*, 49 (1986), 261-70; ‘Writings of English Cathedral Clergy (1600-1700), I: Devotional Literature and Sermons’, *Anglican Theological Review*, 75 (1993), 63-82; ‘Writings of Canterbury Cathedral Clergy, 1700-1800’, *A&EH*, 73 (2004), 53-77.

⁴⁰ Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, p. xi.

⁴¹ Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, p. xi.

studies of their clergy, musical establishments, finances, and the roles they played in society – thereby re-locating them within their broader contexts.

What emerged, firstly, was a clearer picture of the Reformation's impact on the cathedrals. Whilst accepting that the Henrician reformation of England's cathedrals was 'essentially constitutional and financial rather than theological and liturgical',⁴² Lehmborg's work charted the subsequent impact of Edwardian reforms and the Elizabethan settlement, demonstrating how '[t]he role of cathedrals – indeed the whole rationale for their existence – was transformed' over the course of the sixteenth century. Where once they had 'maintained an unceasing round of prayer and praise', they became 'centers of teaching and preaching, of instruction and admonition'.⁴³ Secondly, while seeing the 'rise of William Laud' as a defining moment for English cathedrals,⁴⁴ Lehmborg's work offered a different understanding of the relationship between cathedrals and the Laudian movement. Whereas early modern historians have seen it as *arising* from the cathedrals, Lehmborg's account drew attention to how Laud and Richard Neile's campaign for 'the beauty of holiness' was neither a natural development out of cathedrals' Tudor and Jacobean arrangements, nor unopposed.⁴⁵

THE PROTESTANT CATHEDRAL IN CURRENT HISTORIOGRAPHY

As a result of Lehmborg's work, early modern historians are increasingly sensitive to how cathedrals were involved in the process of reformation.⁴⁶ Edited volumes, such as *Close Encounters* (1991), have sought to consider England's cathedrals within their wider religious, political and social contexts.⁴⁷ This renewed interest in cathedrals' early modern pasts has also led to a shift in their treatment in more recent cathedral monographs, which no longer see the period simply in material or aesthetic terms but view cathedrals' histories as indicative of broader changes.⁴⁸ These historiographical developments can be

⁴² Lehmborg, 'Henry VIII, the Reformation, and the Cathedrals', p. 268.

⁴³ Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, pp. 304-6.

⁴⁴ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, p. 7.

⁴⁵ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, pp. 7-11.

⁴⁶ For recent work on the impact of the Marian Counter-Reformation on the cathedrals, see Thomas Mayer, 'Not Just the Hierarchy Fought: the Marian Cathedral Chapters, Seminaries of Recusancy', in Elizabeth Evenden and Vivienne Westbrook (eds), *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 93-126; Frederick E. Smith, 'The origins of recusancy in Elizabethan England reconsidered', *HJ*, 60 (2017), 301-32.

⁴⁷ Marcombe and Knighton (eds), *Close Encounters*.

⁴⁸ Work on the period before 1660 includes Claire Cross, 'From the Reformation to the Restoration', in G.E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds), *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 193-232; Andrew Foster, 'The Dean and Chapter 1570-1660', in Hobbs (ed.), *Chichester Cathedral*, pp. 85-100; Patrick Collinson, 'The Protestant Cathedral, 1541-1660', in Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay and Margaret Sparks (eds), *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 154-203; C.S. Knighton, 'The Reformed Chapter, 1540-1660', in Nigel Yates (ed.), *Faith and Fabric: A History of Rochester Cathedral 604-1994* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 57-76; Houlbrooke, 'Refoundation and Reformation, 1538-1628'; Stanford Lehmborg and G.E. Aylmer, 'Reformation to Restoration, 1535-1660', in G.E. Aylmer and John Tiller (eds), *Hereford Cathedral: A History* (London, 2000), pp. 87-108; Ian Atherton, 'The Dean and Chapter, Reformation to Restoration: 1541-1660', in Peter Meadows and Nigel Ramsay (eds), *A History of Ely Cathedral* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 169-92; David J. Crankshaw, 'Community,

divided into three main areas. The first concerns the Reformation's success in the cathedrals and their 'search for a new [Protestant] identity'.⁴⁹

Building on Lehmborg's view of England's early modern cathedrals as '[r]estructured, renewed' and with 'an altered role in society, different from the position they had enjoyed in the Middle Ages but no less vital because of the impact of the Reformation',⁵⁰ work by David Marcombe and C.S. Knighton, among others, has sought to explore this process in greater depth. As Marcombe has argued, there is 'considerable evidence of new thought being directed towards the Cathedrals during the Reformation period' – 'the most significant move ... [being] the creation of the New Foundations' by Henry VIII in the early 1540s.⁵¹ While recognising their continued wealth and the conservatism of many cathedral clergy (many ex-monks), Marcombe has claimed that 'nevertheless the orientation was different', with the Henrician statutes demonstrating Protestant influence on their (re)foundation, with 'a new emphasis ... [being] placed on the role of the Cathedral in the community'.⁵² For Marcombe, cathedrals had found a Protestant identity by the 1620s, with roles as preaching centres, driving reform – a role only eclipsed by the rise of the Laudian party.⁵³

The second development concerns cathedrals' role in Laudian developments. Building on the tacit implications of Lehmborg's account, and on subsequent studies on 'the Protestant cathedral' before 1620, recent work by Ian Atherton has sought to challenge the prevailing understanding of cathedrals as the 'midwives' of Laudianism.⁵⁴ He argues that Laudian ideals were 'not so much natural growths of past cathedral practice and experience as foreign grafts on to cathedral rootstock'.⁵⁵ Their chapters were 'by no means filled only with conservative churchmen', and, far from revelling in sumptuous liturgical ornament, many lagged behind even the most basic requirements of the 1604 canons.⁵⁶ While cathedrals' status as 'mother churches' was invoked in the altar controversies of the 1630s to justify Laudian innovations, such claims were 'deliberate falsification[s]' and misrepresentations of the real position of early seventeenth-century cathedrals.⁵⁷ For Atherton, Laudianism could only take hold of a

City and Nation, 1540-1714', in Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint (eds), *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London, 604-2004* (New Haven and London, 2004), pp. 45-70 and part III; Anne Orde, 'From the Restoration to the Founding of the University, 1660-1832', in David Brown (ed.), *Durham Cathedral: History, Fabric and Culture* (New Haven, 2014), pp. 97-109. However, not all of these accounts present a reassessment of cathedrals' place within the Reformation.

⁴⁹ Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism', p. 43.

⁵⁰ Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, p. 306.

⁵¹ Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism', p. 49. On 'evidence of some new thinking' in the Henrician (re)foundations, see also Cross, 'Dens of Loitering Lubbers', p. 233.

⁵² Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism', p. 49.

⁵³ Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism'; Knighton, 'The Reformed Chapter, 1540-1660'.

⁵⁴ Atherton, 'The Dean and Chapter, Reformation to Restoration'; idem, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches'. For a reassessment of Laudianism and the Scottish cathedrals, see Andrew Spicer, 'Laudianism' in Scotland? St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, 1633-39 – a reappraisal', *Architectural History*, 46 (2003), 95-108.

⁵⁵ Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', p. 918.

⁵⁶ Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', pp. 902-3.

⁵⁷ Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', p. 901. See also Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 161, 164, 178, 180, 193, 196, 219, 220.

cathedral through ‘sustained episcopal or metropolitan pressure’ or through the ‘Laudian capture of a chapter’ following deaths or resignations – as happened with Durham.⁵⁸

The third development concerns cathedrals’ fate during the Civil War and Interregnum. The Laudian experience, growing puritan discontent and rising tensions between cathedrals and civic authorities in the 1620s and 1630s have meant that scholars have often wrongly seen cathedrals’ dissolution in 1649 as inevitable.⁵⁹ Atherton, however, demonstrates that, far from being rejected outright, cathedrals were an important and distinct strand in the Long Parliament debates.⁶⁰ Earlier assessments of John Williams’ subcommittee for religion (1640-1) focussed on its plans for reduced or primitive episcopacy and have emphasised a broad consensus among its members.⁶¹ For Atherton, however, such an outlook ‘ignores ... [the committee’s] crippling differences over cathedrals’ and their future roles. As Atherton explores, the importance of the ‘cathedral question’ was firstly due to the possibility of asset-stripping their wealth, in an attempt to amass much-needed funds, and secondly, as an ‘easy’ first step towards the suppression of episcopacy.⁶²

The idea of cathedrals as abandoned, purged and without a role until the Restoration has similarly been reassessed. First highlighted by Lehmborg, Julie Spraggon has explored the use of cathedrals during the Civil War and Interregnum.⁶³ Although some were partially destroyed, locked up, or used as stables, others, such as York Minster, were turned into preaching centres and incorporated into a living ‘godly’ community.⁶⁴ Nor were all cathedrals left to physically decay during the Interregnum. Although many petitioned to have cathedrals demolished, members of city elites, such as Christopher Jay at Norwich, went to great lengths to preserve them.⁶⁵ Spraggon’s account also reassesses the long-established myth of the ‘mindless-ness’ of Civil War iconoclasm. By exploring the particular meanings behind cathedral iconoclasm – particularly its focus on bishops’ tombs or royal statues – Spraggon

⁵⁸ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches’, pp. 903-5.

⁵⁹ Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2003), ch. 6 (p. 180). On cathedral-city relations during the early seventeenth century, see Carl Estabrook, ‘In the midst of ceremony: cathedral and community in seventeenth-century Wells’, in Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky (eds), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1995), pp. 133-61; idem, ‘Ritual, Space, and Authority in seventeenth-century English Cathedral Cities’, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32 (2002), 593-620; Catherine Patterson, ‘Corporations, Cathedrals, and the Crown: Local Dispute and Royal Interest in Early Stuart England’, *History*, 85 (2000), 546-71.

⁶⁰ Ian Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, in Michael Braddick and David Smith (eds), *The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 96-116.

⁶¹ For an overview of the historiography, see Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, pp. 100-2.

⁶² Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, pp. 99-100.

⁶³ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, pp. 46-50; Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, pp. 186, 189-190, 193, 195-197, 199.

⁶⁴ Cross, ‘From the Reformation to the Restoration’, pp. 214-5; Suzanne Eward, *No Fine but a Glass of Wine: Cathedral Life at Gloucester in Stuart Times* (Salisbury, 1985), pp. 79-117; Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, pp. 106-7.

⁶⁵ Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, pp. 189-90, 192, 198. Sir Thomas Fairfax also famously intervened to protect the medieval windows of York Minster from the iconoclasm of the Parliamentary soldiers in 1644. See Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, pp. 193, 214; Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, p. 108.

demonstrates how such opposition was not necessarily to cathedrals *per se*, but revolved around precise focal points and meanings.⁶⁶

PART II: CATHEDRALS AND RELIGIOUS CULTURE IN THE LATER STUART PERIOD

Scholarship on cathedrals' Tudor and early Stuart pasts has thus seen comprehensive reassessment and reappraisal over the last thirty years. Where once they were seen as medieval remnants, 'conservative seedbeds' out of which Laudian ceremonialism emerged, work by Lehmborg, Marcombe, Knighton and Atherton, among others, has shown the Reformation's impact on cathedrals and their successful 'search for a new [Protestant] identity'.⁶⁷ Such work reflects broader developments in early modern historiography, which have sought to nuance revisionist emphasis on continuity and conservatism and offer a more nuanced understanding of religious identity over the course of England's 'Long Reformation'. Treatment of cathedrals' later Stuart histories, while building and emerging out of such work, presents, however, a very different picture, with respect both to these earlier conclusions regarding Tudor and early Stuart cathedrals, and to the broader historiography of the later Stuart period.

1. ENGLISH CATHEDRALS IN THE LATER STUART PERIOD, 1660-1714

While briefly noting the discontent of some presbyterians at Oxford regarding the return of the surplice, Lehmborg's account of the events in 1660 focussed on the celebrations, presenting cathedrals' restoration as swift and uncontroversial. As Lehmborg asserted,

The cathedrals were not significantly involved in debates about the character of the Restoration church – in the abortive movement for a broader establishment ... Instead, the cathedral clergy were concerned with the restoration of their buildings and services.⁶⁸

His following account of the Restoration period was one of peaceful monotony, punctuated by surveys and repairs, as cathedrals reinstated their worship, retrieved records, revenues and properties, 'made good the damage inflicted by the Civil War' and 'added embellishments and improvements to

⁶⁶ For recently (re)discovered sources on Civil War cathedral iconoclasm, see Ian Atherton and Norman Ellis, 'Griffith Higgs's Account of the Sieges of and Iconoclasm at Lichfield Cathedral in 1643', *Midland History*, 34 (2009), 233-45; Graham Hart, 'Oliver Cromwell, Iconoclasm and Ely Cathedral', *Historical Research*, 87 (2014), 370-6.

⁶⁷ Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism', p. 43.

⁶⁸ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, p. 58.

their buildings'.⁶⁹ Lehmborg's account continues to shape scholars' understanding of Restoration cathedrals in two ways: firstly, in portraying cathedrals' restoration as uncontroversial (and thus isolated from broader debates over settlement); and secondly, in attaching particular importance to their fabric, worship and clergy. For Atherton, this is due to the decisive experience of the 1640s and 1650s which 'transformed the fate of the cathedrals'. While their Scottish counterparts suffered from the experience, the English cathedrals 'emerged from the Revolution strengthened and with a renewed purpose at the heart of the church'.⁷⁰ It was this which led to their being 'rapidly re-established ... as a considered act of Anglican identity' at the Restoration.⁷¹ Other accounts similarly present the Restoration as a turning point in the history of (early modern) cathedrals, ending the preceding century's onslaught of iconoclasm, neglect and polemical attack.⁷² Such accounts invariably present a narrative of repairs and renovations, finances and governance, worship and charitable giving – thus charting cathedral communities' return to normality after the upheavals of the mid-century.⁷³ As one scholar has put it, 'Thus the old order was restored'.⁷⁴

While these accounts have portrayed Restoration cathedrals as inward-looking, concerned merely with their buildings, worship and estates, they have nonetheless departed from earlier antiquarian and art-historical works in showing some interest in the impact of local politics on the cathedrals. Lehmborg noted how 'Political involvements became increasingly important after 1680' in the wake of the Exclusion crisis,⁷⁵ recounting Monmouth's reception at Chester and Chichester in 1682-3, the impact of the rebellion on Wells Cathedral and that of 'high politics' at Durham during James II's reign.⁷⁶ While clearly relocating cathedrals within their political contexts, Lehmborg and others have nonetheless seen such episodes almost entirely within a local framework. Writing of Chichester Cathedral clergy's show of support for Monmouth in 1679 – to the horror of their bishop, Guy Carleton – Robert Holtby has spoken of its being 'of little significance', 'merely provid[ing] an opportunity for

⁶⁹ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, p. 86.

⁷⁰ Atherton, 'Cathedrals and the British Revolution', p. 115.

⁷¹ Atherton, 'Cathedrals and the British Revolution', p. 114.

⁷² See, for example, Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, p. 256; Foster, 'The Dean and Chapter 1570-1660', p. 85; Rogan, 'The Cathedral established 1542-1800', p. 44.

⁷³ See, for example, Dorothy Owen, 'From the Restoration until 1822', in Aylmer and Cant (eds), *A History of York Minster*, pp. 233-71; John R. Guy, 'From the Reformation to 1800', in L.S. Colchester (ed.), *Wells Cathedral: A History* (Shepton Mallet, 1982), pp. 148-78 (pp. 160-7); Robert T. Holtby, 'The Restoration to 1790', in Hobbs (ed.), *Chichester Cathedral*, pp. 101-18 (pp. 103-5); Tim Tatton-Brown, 'Destruction, Repair and Restoration', in Hobbs (ed.), *Chichester Cathedral*, pp. 143-56; Margaret Bowker, 'Historical survey, 1450-1750', in Dorothy Owen (ed.), *A History of Lincoln Minster* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 164-209 (pp. 193-5); Rogan, 'The Cathedral established 1542-1800', p. 44; Margaret Sparks, 'The Refitting of the Quire of Canterbury Cathedral 1660-1716: Pictorial and Documentary Evidence', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 154 (2001), 170-90; Peter Meadows, 'Dean and Chapter restored, 1660-1836', in Meadows and Ramsay (eds), *A History of Ely Cathedral*, pp. 193-212 (p. 195); Joseph Harold Bettey, 'Bristol Cathedral life during the early eighteenth century', in Martin J. Crossley Evans (ed.), *'A Grand City' – 'Life, Movement and Work': Bristol in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Bristol, 2010), pp. 1-13.

⁷⁴ Holtby, 'The Restoration to 1790', pp. 103, 105.

⁷⁵ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, p. 75.

⁷⁶ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, pp. 75-8.

the mob to riot, and for ecclesiastics to make a show of independence'. While recognising that '[i]n the background was the Exclusion controversy', Holtby simply commented that '[a] trivial local event *may well have* reflected national affairs'.⁷⁷ This is representative of other studies' approach, in which either cathedrals are portrayed as simply 'caught up' in local politics, or – when clergy are portrayed as actively engaged – the national significance of such local incidents is downplayed.⁷⁸

Whilst ending his account in 1700, Lehmborg's approach to the period following 1688 has also been representative of subsequent studies. For Lehmborg, despite initial reluctance – exemplified notably by the flight of the bishop and dean at William's arrival in Exeter – '[a]fter the Revolution became an accomplished fact, it was generally accepted at the cathedrals'.⁷⁹ Whilst it 'left the English clergy deeply divided', 'relatively few of ... [the cathedral clergy] became Non-Jurors'.⁸⁰ What followed was a short prosopographical survey of cathedral clergy unable to take the oaths.⁸¹ His subsequent account of the post-revolutionary period was – like that of the Restoration – one of embellishments and repairs,⁸² before finally closing with the destruction and rebuilding of St Paul's Cathedral.⁸³ Although acknowledging the Glorious Revolution ('this time of national crisis'),⁸⁴ subsequent studies have similarly confined their exploration of its impact to prosopographies of nonjuring clergy.⁸⁵ The rest of the later Stuart period is, as in Lehmborg's account, a narrative of later improvements to the cathedral fabric – notably with the building of their libraries – and focusses on political divisions within the chapters, particularly during the 'rage of party', and into the eighteenth century.⁸⁶

What emerges is a picture of decline. As Lehmborg concluded in *Cathedrals under Siege*, the cathedrals had

survived the siege of the seventeenth century, as they had the Reformation in the sixteenth.

Outwardly they appeared as strong as ever. Inwardly they had lost some of their sense of purpose,

⁷⁷ Holtby, 'The Restoration to 1790', pp. 106-7. Italics mine.

⁷⁸ See, for example, Guy, 'From the Reformation to 1800', pp. 167, 176; Bowker, 'Historical survey, 1450-1750', pp. 196, 205; Rogan, 'The Cathedral established 1542-1800', p. 46.

⁷⁹ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, p. 79.

⁸⁰ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, pp. 79, 80.

⁸¹ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, pp. 80-1.

⁸² Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, pp. 81-4.

⁸³ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, pp. 84-5.

⁸⁴ Holtby, 'The Restoration to 1790', p. 107.

⁸⁵ See, for example, Guy, 'From the Reformation to 1800', pp. 168-9; Holtby, 'The Restoration to 1790', p. 107; Bowker, 'Historical survey, 1450-1750', p. 200; Rogan, 'The Cathedral established 1542-1800', p. 46; Meadows, 'Dean and Chapter restored, 1660-1836', pp. 198-9.

⁸⁶ See, for example, Guy, 'From the Reformation to 1800', pp. 169-176; Holtby, 'The Restoration to 1790', pp. 108-11; Bowker, 'Historical survey, 1450-1750', pp. 201-8. On improvements and repairs, see also S.F. Baylis, 'The most untractable of all Saxon uncouthness': eighteenth-century painted glass in Ely Cathedral and the removal of the choir', *Antiquaries Journal*, 68 (1988), 99-114; Sparks, 'The Refitting of the Quire of Canterbury Cathedral 1660-1716'.

their deep commitment to the service of God and humankind. They emerged from the century as less vital institutions than they had been at its beginning.⁸⁷

Such a conclusion appears in other studies of late Stuart cathedrals, whose concentration on the clergy's social backgrounds and relations, and on their patterns of preferment, draws a picture of spiritual negligence, idleness and worldly ambition as the cathedrals entered 'the long eighteenth century'.⁸⁸ Yet such a decline is viewed as beginning with the Restoration itself. As one scholar has noted, 'the life of the cathedral settled down [at the Restoration] to a routine that remained unaltered until the middle of the nineteenth century'.⁸⁹ Indeed, the majority of existing studies on cathedrals in this period open with the Restoration, only to close with the Victorian reforms of 1828-32.⁹⁰

More recent work has begun to paint a more sensitive account of the period. Writing on Canterbury, Jeremy Gregory has highlighted the dedication of some eighteenth-century cathedral clergy to parish preaching and education, and how 'cathedral services ... [did not become] divorced from the life of the city', with the cathedral making service times more convenient for the public.⁹¹ Atherton and Victor Morgan have also shown how Norwich Cathedral 'became the religious powerhouse for city and diocese' during James II's reign.⁹² While this did not last, they have taken seriously the impact of the Act of Toleration on the cathedral, asking: 'now that the other Protestant churches and sects had been granted legal toleration, *what was the cathedral to do?*' – a question that deserves further attention.⁹³

2. RELIGION AND CULTURE IN LATER SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HISTORIOGRAPHY

These portrayals of cathedrals between 1660 and 1714 not only stand out in comparison to the more nuanced depiction of their Tudor and early Stuart 'predecessors', but sit in stark contrast to developments in the broader historiography of the Restoration and post-revolutionary periods. This is

⁸⁷ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, p. 257.

⁸⁸ Guy, 'From the Reformation to 1800', p. 176; Holtby, 'The Restoration to 1790', p. 116; Bowker, 'Historical survey, 1450-1750', p. 204. On the concept of 'the long eighteenth century', see below, fn. 112, p. 18.

⁸⁹ Rogan, 'The Cathedral established 1542-1800', p. 41.

⁹⁰ Chapters from recent cathedral monographs have tended to take the long eighteenth century as their timeframe. See, for example, Owen on York (1660-1822); Holtby on Chichester (1660-1790); Gregory on Canterbury (1660-1828); Musset on Rochester (1660-1820); Tomlinson on Hereford (1660-1832); Meadows on Ely (1660-1836) and Orde on Durham (1660-1832). Those which stand out as unusual are Guy on Wells (Reformation to 1800); Bowker on Lincoln (1450-1750); Atherton and Morgan on Norwich (1630-1720); Rogan on Bristol (1542-1800) and Crankshaw on St Paul's (1540-1714).

⁹¹ Jeremy Gregory, 'The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of the Anglican clergy after 1689', in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (eds), *The Church of England, c.1689-c.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 67-85 (pp. 69, 75, 84); idem, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform, 1660-1828: Archbishops of Canterbury and their Diocese* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 68, 235, 271, 273. See also Jeremy Gregory, 'Canterbury and the Ancien Régime: The Dean and Chapter, 1660-1828', in Collinson, Ramsay and Sparks (eds), *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 204-55.

⁹² Ian Atherton and Victor Morgan, 'Revolution and Retrenchment: The Cathedral, 1630-1720', in Atherton *et al* (eds), *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096-1996*, pp. 540-75 (pp. 565-7).

⁹³ Atherton and Morgan, 'Revolution and Retrenchment: The Cathedral, 1630-1720', p. 567. Italics mine.

particularly apparent regarding three areas of scholarship. First, on the Church of England and nonconformity during the Restoration period. Writing in 1979, Robert Beddard described the events of 1660 as leading ‘not only [to] the resurrection of the Church of England, but also [to] the creation of the Anglican establishment as it was to endure into the nineteenth century’.⁹⁴ Beddard’s understanding of this ‘Anglican establishment’ (and indeed his account of the period) was inherently political, seeing the Restoration settlement as the product of a Cavalier-Anglican alliance determined to guard and promote its interests.⁹⁵ J.C.D. Clark reiterated this view in 1985, speaking of an English *ancien régime*, a ‘confessional state’ founded on an ‘Anglican-aristocratic hegemony’ whose ‘intellectual coherence’ was ‘traced in the interlocking relations between the monarchy, the patrician elite, and the Church’ and which lasted from the Restoration to the Victorian reforms of 1828-32.⁹⁶ Such views permeated accounts of post-1660 dissent, with Christopher Hill’s *The Experience of Defeat* (1984) presenting nonconformity as defeated at the Restoration, retiring into political quietism and persecuted withdrawal after ‘the Great Ejection’.⁹⁷

In *The Restoration Church of England* (1990), John Spurr challenged this view of the Restoration Church as ‘lukewarm, emasculated and Erastian, as a spiritual moribund vehicle of reaction and intolerance’, upholding the aristocratic and authoritarian political culture of the eighteenth century.⁹⁸ Instead, he sought to show the Church’s vitality through a comprehensive account of her ecclesiological, theological, sacramental and devotional identity. Spurr’s work also acknowledged (and indeed played an important role in exploring) the contingency surrounding the Restoration religious settlement, the differences among Restoration churchmen, and continued attempts at comprehension.⁹⁹ Despite this, however, Spurr’s interpretation of the period emphasised consensus and unity.¹⁰⁰ His detailed account

⁹⁴ R.A. Beddard, ‘The Restoration Church’, in J.R. Jones (ed.), *The Restored Monarchy 1660–1688* (London, 1979), pp. 155-75 (p. 166). See also idem, ‘Sheldon and Anglican Recovery’, *HJ*, 19 (1976), 1005–17.

⁹⁵ See also Robert Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement: The Influence of the Laudians, 1649-1662* (London, 1951), ch. 4; Ian Green, *The Re-Establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663* (Oxford, 1978), ch. 9.

⁹⁶ J.C.D. Clark, *English society, 1660-1832: Religion, ideology and politics during the ancien regime* (Cambridge, 2000; first publ. 1985), p. 20. See also idem, ‘England’s Ancien Regime as a Confessional State’, *Albion*, 21 (1989), 450-74. Clark was, nonetheless, aware of repeated challenges to this ‘Anglican-aristocratic ascendancy’ through the ‘long eighteenth century’. Clark, *English society*, p. 25.

⁹⁷ Christopher Hill, *The Experience of Defeat: Milton and Some Contemporaries* (London, 1984). See also Gerald R. Cragg, *Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution 1660-1688* (Cambridge, 1957); Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London, 1972); Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1978), ch. 3; N.H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Leicester, 1987). For a reassessment of Restoration persecution, see, for example, Anthony Fletcher, ‘The Enforcement of the Conventicle Acts 1664-1679’, in W. J. Sheils (ed.), *Persecution and Toleration* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 235-46; Tim Harris, ‘Was the Tory reaction popular? Attitudes of Londoners towards the persecution of dissent, 1681-6’, *London Journal*, 12 (1988), 106-20; Grant Tapsell, *The Personal Rule of Charles II, 1681-85* (Woodbridge, 2007), ch. 3.

⁹⁸ John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (New Haven and London, 1991), p. xii.

⁹⁹ John Spurr, ‘“Latitudinarianism” and the Restoration Church’, *HJ*, 31 (1988), 61-82; idem, ‘The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689’, *EHR*, 104 (1989), 927-46; idem, *The Restoration Church of England*, pp. 29-42.

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England*, p. xv. His account of ‘latitudinarianism’ has similarly emphasised theological agreement over ecclesiological differences. Spurr, ‘“Latitudinarianism” and the

of comprehension focussed on ‘the unyielding attitude of the Church of England’ (even of moderate churchmen), asserting ‘[t]he unanimity of the Church of England’s rejection of comprehension’.¹⁰¹ This explains Spurr (as well as Neil Keeble and Nicholas Tyacke)’s emphasis on the increasing importance of toleration and puritanism’s transformation into ‘Dissent’ during the Restoration period.¹⁰² This should not obscure the fact that some scholars, such as J.D. Ramsbottom, chose not to emphasise a hardening of identities, arguing instead for the need to consider Restoration presbyterians as ‘moderate Puritans’ who still sought the ‘unity and security of the national Church’ through the practice of ‘partial conformity’.¹⁰³

Recent scholarship on the Restoration Church of England and nonconformity has taken this latter approach, emphasising the fluidity of religious identity in the period, and continued attempts at accommodation and reform.¹⁰⁴ Mark Goldie’s work has been central in highlighting continuities between pre-1660 and Restoration puritanism, arguing that ‘[d]uring the Restoration, Puritanism persisted and ... still understood itself as a movement within and not outside the national Church’. The

Restoration Church’. See also N.H. Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s* (Oxford, 2002), p. 126. From a lay perspective, see John Spurr, ‘The lay Church of England’, in Grant Tapsell (ed.), *The later Stuart Church, 1660–1714* (Manchester, 2012), pp. 101–24.

¹⁰¹ Spurr, ‘The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689’, pp. 928, 942, 943. Spurr’s study of comprehension sought to provide a more detailed account than that of earlier scholars. See, notably, Norman Sykes, *From Sheldon to Secker: Aspects of English Church History 1660–1768* (Cambridge, 1959), ch. 3; Walter G. Simon, ‘Comprehension in the Age of Charles II’, *Church History*, 31 (1962), 440–8; Roger Thomas, ‘Comprehension and indulgence’, in Geoffrey F. Nuttall and Owen Chadwick (eds), *From Uniformity to Unity, 1662–1962* (London, 1962), pp. 189–253; H.G. Horwitz, ‘Protestant reconciliation in the Exclusion Crisis’, *JEH*, 15 (1964), 201–17.

¹⁰² Nicholas Tyacke, ‘The ‘Rise of Puritanism’ and the Legalizing of Dissent, 1571–1719’, in Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel and Nicholas Tyacke (eds), *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 17–49; John Spurr, ‘From Puritanism to Dissent, 1660–1700’, in C. Durston and J. Eales (eds), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560–1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 234–65; idem, *English Puritanism 1603–1689* (Basingstoke, 1998), ch. 9; Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s*, chs 5, 6; John Spurr, ‘Later Stuart Puritanism’, in John Coffey and Paul C.H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 89–107. On the growing cause of toleration during the Restoration period, see also R.A. Beddard, ‘Vincent Alsop and the Emancipation of Restoration Dissent’, *JEH*, 24 (1973), 161–84; Gordon J. Schochet, ‘“The tyranny of a popish successor” and the politics of religious toleration’, in Gordon J. Schochet, P.E. Tatspaugh and Carol Brobeck (eds), *Restoration, Ideology, and Revolution* (Washington, DC, 1990), pp. 83–103; idem, ‘From Persecution to ‘Toleration’’, in J.R. Jones (ed.), *Liberty Secured? Britain before and after 1688* (Stanford, CA, 1992), pp. 122–57. For a recent overview and reassessment of this ‘transformation’ of puritanism into ‘Dissent’, see Mark Goldie, ‘What happened to Puritanism?’, in *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs: The Entering Book, 1677–1691* (Woodbridge, 2016; first publ. 2007), pp. xiii–xvi.

¹⁰³ J.D. Ramsbottom, ‘Presbyterians and ‘partial conformity’ in the Restoration Church of England’, *JEH*, 43 (1992), 249–70 (p. 251).

¹⁰⁴ On the Restoration Church, see, notably, Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform, 1660–1828*; Donald A. Spaeth, *The Church in an Age of Danger: Parsons and Parishioners, 1660–1740* (Cambridge, 2000); Jeremy Gregory and Jeffrey S. Chamberlain (eds), *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660–1800* (Woodbridge, 2003); Tapsell (ed.), *The later Stuart Church*; Kenneth Fincham and Stephen Taylor, ‘The Restoration of the Church of England, 1660–2: Ordination, Re-ordination and Conformity’, in Stephen Taylor and Grant Tapsell (eds), *The Nature of the English Revolution Revisited: Essays in Honour of John Morrill* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 197–232. For recent work which emphasises the cementing of religious identities around the memory of 1662, see, for example, N.H. Keeble, ‘The Nonconformist Narrative of the Bartholomeans’ and Mark Burden, ‘John Walker’s *Sufferings of the Clergy* and Church of England Responses to the Ejections of 1660–2’, in N.H. Keeble (ed.), *‘Settling the Peace of the Church’: 1662 Revisited* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 209–32 and pp. 233–62.

idea of 1662 as leading to a ‘more or less ordered array of separate denominations’ in opposition to the Church of England ‘is misleading’ – both in suggesting a coherence to dissent and in assuming ‘an immediate commitment to denominationalism’ on the dissenters’ part.¹⁰⁵ Grant Tapsell’s edited volume, *The later Stuart Church, 1660–1714* (2012), has further emphasised continued dialogue and debate over the nature of the national Church in the Restoration period.¹⁰⁶

A second area of scholarship with which post-Restoration cathedral historiography is at odds is the relation between politics and religion. In the edited volume *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (1990), Tim Harris called for ‘a major historiographical revision’ of the view of the Restoration as a ‘fundamental watershed’ after which politics became increasingly ‘secularized’ and religion ‘ceased to be such an important issue’.¹⁰⁷ Scholars have since explored both the inherent instability of the period and the continued importance of religion in political affairs.¹⁰⁸ Jonathan Scott has reinterpreted the Exclusion crisis as a broader Restoration crisis, demonstrating how – far from confined to political or constitutional issues – it arose out of fears of popery and arbitrary government, notably due to Counter-Reformation advances in Europe.¹⁰⁹ Drawing on Scott’s work, Gary De Krey has explored both the 1667-73 and 1679-82 crises through the lens of nonconformist calls for reformation and toleration.¹¹⁰ Mark Goldie has argued for the importance of anti-episcopacy in the exclusion debates, of anticlericalism more generally within contemporary political culture, and the role of the

¹⁰⁵ Goldie, *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs*, pp. 225-6.

¹⁰⁶ Tapsell (ed.), *The later Stuart Church*. On Restoration nonconformity, see notably George Southcombe, ‘Dissent and the Restoration Church of England’, in Tapsell (ed.), *The later Stuart Church*, pp. 195-216. See also Michael P. Winship, ‘Defining puritanism in Restoration England: Richard Baxter and others respond to *A friendly debate*’, *HJ*, 54 (2011), 689-715.

¹⁰⁷ Tim Harris, ‘Introduction: Revising the Restoration’, in Tim Harris, Paul Seaward and Mark Goldie (eds), *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 1-28 (p. 2). For an overview of the historiography on politics during the Restoration, see Tim Harris, ‘What’s New about the Restoration?’, *Albion*, 29 (1997), 187-222.

¹⁰⁸ Edited volumes which treat of religious and political culture together include Harris, Seaward and Goldie (eds), *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England*; Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (eds), *Religious politics in post-Reformation England: essays in honour of Nicholas Tyacke* (Woodbridge, 2006); George Southcombe and Grant Tapsell, *Restoration Politics, Religion, and Culture: Britain and Ireland, 1660-1714* (Basingstoke, 2010). Works which take this approach include Tim Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts. Party Conflict in a Divided Society 1660-1715* (Harlow, 1993); Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s*; Tim Harris, *Restoration. Charles II and his Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (2005), chs 1-2; Gary S. De Krey, *Restoration and Revolution in Britain. A political History of the Era of Charles II and the Glorious Revolution* (Basingstoke, 2007).

¹⁰⁹ Jonathan Scott, ‘England’s Troubles: Exhuming the Popish Plot’, in Harris, Seaward and Goldie (eds), *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England*, pp. 108-18; idem, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1683* (Cambridge, 1991); idem, *England’s Troubles: Seventeenth Century Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge, 2000). For an argument that anticipated Scott’s interpretation in some respects, see K.H.D. Haley, ‘“No Popery” in the Reign of Charles II’, *Britain and the Netherlands*, 5 (1975), 104-17. On anti-popery, see, for example, John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660-1688* (Cambridge, 1973); Scott Sowerby, ‘Opposition to Anti-Popery in Restoration England’, *JBS*, 51 (2012), 26-49. On anti-popery as a political phenomenon in the early Stuart period, see Peter Lake, ‘Anti-popery: the Structure of a Prejudice’, in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (eds), *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642* (London, 1989), pp. 72-106.

¹¹⁰ Gary S. De Krey, ‘The First Restoration Crisis: Conscience and Coercion in London, 1667-73’, *Albion*, 25 (1993), 565-80; idem, ‘Reformation in the Restoration crisis, 1679-1682’, in Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier (eds), *Religion, literature and politics in post-Reformation England* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 231-52.

Church's political ideology in bringing about 'the Anglican Revolution' of 1688.¹¹¹ Scholars are now more sensitive to the interpenetration of religious and political life, the religious influence of laymen and the political role of clerics – thereby showing the Church of England and its institutions as fully integrated in broader political culture and involved in local and national debates.

The third area of scholarship concerns the Church of England in 'the long eighteenth century'.¹¹² Where once the eighteenth-century was viewed as an era of spiritual decline, clerical negligence and idleness, the past three decades have seen a substantial revision of this pervasive Victorian myth, as scholars have sought to reconsider it on its own terms.¹¹³ John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor's edited volume *The Church of England, c.1689-c.1833* (1993) marked the beginnings of this interest, with essays capturing the divided response of churchmen to the 1689 Act of Toleration, demonstrating both impetus for reform in the face of a denominational marketplace and continued opposition to (and uncertainty regarding) toleration.¹¹⁴ Jeremy Gregory's essay on the pastoral role of the clergy in this period first asserted the need to consider it 'as part of that continuing drama, 'the English Reformation''.¹¹⁵ A subsequent edited volume (1998) by Tyacke advocated the concept of England's 'Long Reformation'.¹¹⁶ Not only has this further promoted a reassessment of a secular view of the eighteenth century, but its understanding of religious reformation as extending into the eighteenth

¹¹¹ Mark Goldie, 'Danby, the Bishops and the Whigs', in Harris, Seaward and Goldie (eds), *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England*, pp. 75-105; idem, 'The Political Thought of the Anglican Revolution', in R.A. Beddard (ed.), *The Revolutions of 1688* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 102-36; idem, 'Priestcraft and the birth of Whiggism', in Nicholas T. Phillipson and Quentin Skinner (eds), *Political discourse in early modern Britain* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 209-31. On anti-episcopacy and anticlericalism, see J.A.I. Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and its Enemies, 1660-1730* (New York, 1992); idem, "'To govern is to make subjects believe': anticlericalism, politics and power, c.1680-1717", in Nigel Aston and Matthew Cragoe (eds), *Anticlericalism in Britain, c.1500-1914* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 42-66. See also the recent *Intellectual History Review*'s special issue on priestcraft, notably James A.T. Lancaster and Andrew McKenzie-McHarg, 'Priestcraft. Anatomizing the anti-clericalism of early modern Europe', *Intellectual History Review*, 28 (2018), 7-22.

¹¹² While the concept of 'the long eighteenth century' was at first disputed, it is now widely accepted. For an overview of its limitations and usefulness, see Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History 1688-1832* (London and New York, 2016; first publ. 1997), p. 3.

¹¹³ For an overview of approaches to the eighteenth-century Church, see John Walsh and Stephen Taylor, 'Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the 'long' eighteenth century', in Walsh, Haydon and Taylor (eds), *The Church of England, c.1689-c.1833*, pp. 1-64; Mark Goldie, 'Voluntary Anglicans', *HJ*, 46 (2003), 977-90.

¹¹⁴ Jeremy Gregory uses the terminology 'the 'commercialization of religion'' and 'the market-place' to describe the post-1689 religious landscape. Gregory, 'The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of the Anglican clergy after 1689', p. 70. On the post-revolutionary Church's response to this denominational marketplace, see essays by Gregory, John Spurr, Craig Rose and Jonathan Barry in Walsh, Haydon and Taylor (eds), *The Church of England, c.1689-c.1833*. On continued debates about toleration after 1689, see, for example, Mark Goldie, 'John Locke, Jonas Proast and religious toleration 1688-1692', in Walsh, Haydon and Taylor (eds), *The Church of England, c.1689-c.1833*, pp. 143-171; Martin Greig, 'Heresy hunt: Gilbert Burnet and the Convocation controversy of 1701', *HJ*, 37 (1994), 569-92; Mark Knights, 'Occasional Conformity and the representation of dissent: hypocrisy, sincerity, moderation and zeal', *Parliamentary History*, 24 (2005), 41-57; Martin Greig, 'Bishop Gilbert Burnet and Latitudinarian Episcopal Opposition to the Occasional Conformity Bills, 1702-1704', *Canadian Journal of History*, 41 (2006), 247-62.

¹¹⁵ Gregory, 'The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of the Anglican clergy after 1689', p. 69.

¹¹⁶ See the edited volume, Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *England's Long Reformation 1500-1800* (London, 1998), particularly the essays by Tyacke, Duffy, Collinson and Gregory. For recently, see Lucy Bates, 'The limits of possibility in England's long Reformation', *HJ*, 53 (2010), 1049-70; and on Scotland, John McCallum, *Scotland's Long Reformation: New Perspectives on Scottish Religion, c.1500-c.1660* (Leiden, 2016).

century has been crucial in inspiring scholars to engage with – and take seriously – attempts at reform and renewal after the Glorious Revolution.¹¹⁷ This has consequently shaped institutional studies of the period which have been more attuned to clerical industry, lay involvement and spiritual vitality.¹¹⁸

More recently, scholars such as Sarah Apetrei have used the methodology of the ‘Long Reformation’ (which privileges the role of religion in historical change) to explore other aspects of later Stuart culture – in Apetrei’s case, the idea of a ‘religious feminism’ in the 1690s-1710s.¹¹⁹ Similarly, Brent Sirota has explored what Goldie has termed ‘voluntarism’ through the post-revolutionary emergence of social and philanthropic institutions and endeavours.¹²⁰ Although not explicitly drawing on the framework of the ‘Long Reformation’, Sirota has nonetheless emphasised continuity between the Restoration and post-revolutionary periods in his account of this ‘Anglican revival’.¹²¹ Both Apetrei and Sirota demonstrate recent scholars’ interest in religion beyond traditional ‘Church history’ and across traditional chronological markers. However, recent doctoral work by Ralph Stevens and Carys Brown, for instance, exemplify a growing scholarly interest in re-examining the challenges faced by the established Church after the Act of Toleration and its impact on relations with nonconformists.¹²²

¹¹⁷ See, for example, Grant Tapsell, ‘Pastors, preachers and politicians: the clergy of the later Stuart church’, in Tapsell (ed.), *The later Stuart Church*, pp. 71-100. Earlier works which painted a pessimistic picture of eighteenth-century reforms include Sykes, *From Sheldon to Secker*, ch. 6; G.V. Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730: The Career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 20-1; Peter Virgin, *The Church in an Age of Negligence: Ecclesiastical Structure and Problems of Church Reform, 1700-1840* (Cambridge, 1989); W.M. Spellman, *The Latitudinarians and the Church of England, 1660-1700* (Athens, GA, 1993), ch. 7 (esp. pp. 132-3). On the concept of ‘failure’ or ‘success’, see Jeremy Gregory, ‘The making of a Protestant nation: “Success” and “failure” in England’s Long Reformation’, in Tyacke (ed.), *England’s Long Reformation 1500-1800*, pp. 307-33.

¹¹⁸ See notably W.M. Jacob, *Lay people and religion in the early eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 1996); Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform, 1660-1828*; Spaeth, *The Church in an Age of Danger*; Gregory and Chamberlain (eds), *The National Church in Local Perspective*.

¹¹⁹ On the use of ‘the Long Reformation’ framework, see Sarah Apetrei, *Women, Feminism and Religion in Early Enlightenment England* (Cambridge, 2010), esp. pp. 24-6.

¹²⁰ Goldie had pointed for the need for a study of the phenomenon of ‘voluntarism’ in his 2003 review article. Goldie, ‘Voluntary Anglicans’.

¹²¹ Brent S. Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730* (New Haven and London, 2014).

¹²² Ralph Stevens, ‘Anglican Responses to the Toleration Act, 1689-1714’, unpubl. PhD dissertation (University of Cambridge, 2014); Carys Brown, ‘Religious coexistence and sociability in England after the Toleration Act, c.1689-c.1750’, unpubl. PhD dissertation (University of Cambridge, 2018). For recent work examining these questions from a nonconformist perspective, see, for example, David L. Wykes, ‘So Bitterly Censur’d and Revil’d: Religious Dissent and Relations with the Church of England after the Toleration Act’, in Richard Bonney and David Trim (eds), *Persecution and Pluralism: Calvinists and Religious Minorities in Early Modern Europe, 1550-1700* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 295-314; idem, ‘Religious Dissent, the Church, and the Repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, 1714-19’, in R.D. Cornwall and W. Gibson (eds), *Religion, Politics and Dissent, 1660-1832* (Aldershot, 2010), pp. 165-83; James Bradley, ‘Nonconformist Schools, the Schism Act, and the Limits of Toleration in England’s Confessional State’, in Richard Muller (ed.), *Church and school in early modern Protestantism* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 597-611; Teresa M. Bejan, *Mere Civility: Disagreement and the Limits of Toleration* (Cambridge, MA, 2017); Carys Brown, ‘Politeness, Hypocrisy and Protestant Dissent in England after the Toleration Act, c.1689-c.1750’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 41 (2018), 61-80.

Developments in the historiography of the Restoration and post-revolutionary periods thus contrast with current views of cathedrals between 1660 and 1714 in three ways. Firstly, the view of cathedrals' restoration as uncontroversial and of peaceful monotony throughout the Restoration period conflicts with recent emphases on both the contingency of the religious settlement, and the continued debates regarding the nature of the Church of England. Current work on Restoration cathedrals has shown little, if any, interest in dissenters and their engagement with these buildings and institutions.¹²³ This is particularly striking considering the importance attached to puritan opposition to cathedrals in their Tudor and early Stuart historiographies. Secondly, the view of cathedrals as merely 'caught up' in local and national politics – or indeed a view of such incidents as insignificant – is at odds with current historiography's interest in the continued importance of religion in politics. Such a view downplays how cathedrals were implicated in broader debates, from the Restoration and its crises in 1667-73 and 1679-82, to the Glorious Revolution onwards. Thirdly, the portrayal of cathedrals after 1689 as inward looking and politically divided contrasts strongly with current scholarship on the long eighteenth century which emphasises the vitality of the Church's response to the Act of Toleration and its initiatives for pastoral reform. As Jonathan Willis noted, cathedrals were '[h]ighly visible clerical communities' which 'became a focus for anger at and dissatisfaction with the difficult processes of Reformation'.¹²⁴ That scholars now understand it as a 'Long Reformation', extending into the eighteenth century, reinforces the need for a reassessment of cathedrals between 1660 and 1714.

3. CATHEDRALS, RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND THE QUESTION OF 'ANGLICANISM'

The view of cathedrals' restoration as uncontroversial is partly derived from scholarship which has seen the middle decades of the seventeenth century as crucial in the formation of 'Anglicanism'.¹²⁵ The last fifty years have shown the inadequacy of earlier studies' understanding of 'Puritanism' as a radical religious tradition opposed to and distinct from the official, ceremonialist 'Anglican' mainstream during the early Stuart period. Attitudes formerly regarded as 'Puritan' (i.e. reformed doctrine, a centrality of the Word and anti-popery) are now understood to have been closer to the lay and clerical establishments than previously thought, rendering such a dichotomy meaningless.¹²⁶ Realisation of the existence of a

¹²³ Essays which do mention nonconformists include Bowker, 'Historical survey, 1450-1750', pp. 196, 201; Atherton and Morgan, 'Revolution and Retrenchment: The Cathedral, 1630-1720'.

¹²⁴ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, p. 159.

¹²⁵ Such an interpretation is now established, as the recently published Oxford History makes clear. Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I*. This is discussed below.

¹²⁶ Earlier studies which establish a dichotomy between 'Puritanism' and 'Anglicanism' include Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans: Seventeenth-Century Essays* (Chicago, 1987). For subsequent views and debates, see, for example, Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640* (Oxford, 1990; first publ. 1987); Peter Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?: Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London, 1988); Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: the Roman and*

‘Calvinist consensus’ within the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church has helped reassess and nuance a number of pervasive myths about the nature and origins of ‘Anglicanism’ (although the idea of a ‘Calvinist consensus’ has since been nuanced).¹²⁷ It has also helped re-emphasise the Church of England’s status as the *national* Church.

Scholars have sought to locate when precisely the ‘Anglican’ Church began to take shape. A consensus started to emerge, which recognised the impossibility of talking about ‘Anglicanism’ as a self-conscious religious identity before the mid-seventeenth century, when the episcopal Church was abolished and adherence to it represented a purposeful and meaningful stand in the face of opposition and amidst a growing religious ‘market place’.¹²⁸ John Morrill saw the experience of the 1640s and 1650s as central to this identity, when the Church was ‘bereft of episcopal leadership, lacking any power of coercion, its observances illegal, [and yet] anglicanism thrived’.¹²⁹ This view was reflected in Spurr’s account of the Restoration (which begins in 1646), which argued that ‘the Restoration church and Restoration Anglicanism were the creation of the Puritan Revolution’.¹³⁰ Cemented with the 1662 Act of Uniformity and the ejection of nonconformists, Spurr went so far as to claim that ‘between the 1640s

Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640 (Cambridge, 1995); Nicholas Tyacke, ‘Anglican Attitudes: Some Recent Writings on English Religious History, from the Reformation to the Civil War’, *JBS*, 35 (1996), 139-67; Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998); Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism c. 1530-1700* (Manchester, 2001). For a recent overview of revisionist scholarship in this area, see Anthony Milton, ‘Arminians, Laudians, Anglicans, and Revisionists: Back to Which Drawing Board?’, *HLQ*, 78 (2015), 723-43.

¹²⁷ Diarmaid MacCulloch, ‘The Myth of the English Reformation’, *JBS*, 30 (1991), 1-19. On the idea of a ‘Calvinist consensus’, see below, chapter 1, fn. 14, p. 34. For opposing views, see Peter White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1992); idem, ‘The via media in the early Stuart Church’, in Kenneth Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642* (London, 1993), pp. 211-30; George Bernard, ‘The Church of England c.1529-c.1642’, *History*, 75 (1990), 183-206; Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 275-402; Julian Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism, 1625-1641* (Oxford, 1992). On the related issue of ‘the rise of Arminianism’, see below, chapter 1, fn. 105, p. 48. For subsequent work which has nuanced the idea, see, for example, David Como, ‘Puritans, Predestination and the Construction of Orthodoxy in Early Seventeenth-Century England’, in Peter Lake and Michael Questier (eds), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 64-87; Peter Lake, ‘Introduction: Puritanism, Arminianism and Nicholas Tyacke’, in Fincham and Lake (eds), *Religious politics in post-Reformation England*, pp. 1-15.

¹²⁸ This interest has been reflected in wider studies of the period 1640-1660 which have moved away from a focus on the Interregnum’s more radical components towards a consideration of episcopalian thought and practice. See, for example, Isabel Rivers, ‘Prayer-book Devotion: the Literature of the Proscribed Episcopal Church’, in N.H. Keeble (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 198-214; Judith Maltby, ‘“The Good Old Way”: Prayer Book Protestantism in 1640s and 1650s’, *SCH*, 38 (2004), 233-56; C. Durston and J. Maltby (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (Manchester, 2007); Kenneth Fincham and Stephen Taylor, ‘Episcopalian conformity and nonconformity 1646-60’, in Jason McElligott and David Smith (eds), *Royalists and Royalism during the Interregnum* (Manchester, 2010), pp. 18-43; Braddick and Smith (eds), *The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain and Ireland*.

¹²⁹ John Morrill, ‘The Attack on the Church of England in the Long Parliament, 1640-1642’, in Derek Beales and Geoffrey Best (eds), *History, society and the churches: essays in honour of Owen Chadwick* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 105-24 (p. 124). See also, idem, ‘The Church of England 1642-9’, in John Morrill (ed.), *Reactions to the English Civil War* (London, 1982), pp. 89-14; idem, ‘The Church in England 1642-1649’, in John Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution* (Harlow, 1993), pp. 148-75.

¹³⁰ Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England*, p. xvi. Spurr devoted a whole chapter to this preceding period. Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England*, ch. 1.

and the 1690s, the Church of England came close to enjoying, perhaps for the first and only time, a single identity, a single ‘Anglicanism’, one ‘finally dissipated’ with the events of 1688-9.¹³¹ While not reiterating such claims, work on the post-revolutionary and Hanoverian Church has shown less interest than Spurr in defining ‘Anglicanism’ in clear ecclesiological, theological, sacramental and devotional terms, with Walsh and Taylor defining eighteenth-century ‘Anglicanism’ merely through its supposed ‘cult of religious moderation’.¹³²

Subsequent work on the question of ‘Anglicanism’ has focussed on the 1640s and 1650s. Judith Maltby has explored how ‘the experiences of the suppression [of the Prayer Book, episcopacy and the ritual year] helped to form an ‘Anglican’ identity’.¹³³ However, Maltby highlighted the difficulties surrounding the term, observing that ‘[t]o single out Prayer Book loyalists as ‘*the* Anglicans’ before the Restoration begs enormous scholarly and historical questions’.¹³⁴ Anthony Milton expressed similar doubts regarding the terms ‘Anglican’ or ‘Anglicanism’ before the Restoration, and specifically before the 1662 Act of Uniformity, in the recently published first volume of *The Oxford History of Anglicanism* (2017) (which takes 1662 as its end date). Milton claims that ‘to seek to locate ‘Anglicanism’ within the first 130 years following Henry VIII’s break with Rome is a quixotic enterprise’.¹³⁵ However, while this first volume has problematised the question of ‘Anglicanism’, it is interesting that the second volume of *The Oxford History of Anglicanism* (2017), which covers 1662-1829, has not.¹³⁶ This is partly due to its approach to the period, which has emphasised the Church’s legal position as ‘supported by the civil authority’ with certain rights and privileges (as its subtitle, ‘*Establishment and Empire*’, reveals), rather than conceptualised it in religious terms or in relation to other religious identities.¹³⁷ While recognising that ‘its place was contested’, this volume emphasises that ‘the Church effectively dominated society and politics and sought to marginalize those who challenged its role’ until Catholic emancipation in 1829.¹³⁸

¹³¹ Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England*, pp. xiii, xiv.

¹³² Walsh and Taylor, ‘Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the ‘long’ eighteenth century’, p. 30. On the importance of worship in eighteenth-century Anglicanism, see below, chapter 3, pp. 128-9.

¹³³ Judith Maltby, ‘Suffering and surviving: the civil wars, the Commonwealth and the formation of ‘Anglicanism’, 1642-60’, in Durston and Maltby (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England*, pp. 158-80 (p. 174). See also Diarmaid MacCulloch, ‘The Birth of Anglicanism’, *Ecclesiastical Law Journal*, 7 (2004), 418-28; Maltby, ‘“The Good Old Way”: Prayer Book Protestantism in 1640s and 1650s’; Anthony Milton, ‘Anglicanism and Royalism in the 1640s’, in J. Adamson (ed.), *The Civil Wars: Rebellion and Revolution in the Kingdoms of Charles I* (Palgrave, 2009), pp. 61-81.

¹³⁴ Maltby, ‘Suffering and surviving: the civil wars, the Commonwealth and the formation of ‘Anglicanism’, 1642-60’, p. 159.

¹³⁵ Anthony Milton, ‘Introduction: Reformation, Identity, and ‘Anglicanism’, c.1520-1662’, in Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I*, pp. 1-27 (p. 26).

¹³⁶ Jeremy Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II. Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829* (Oxford, 2017).

¹³⁷ Jeremy Gregory, ‘Introduction’, in Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II*, pp. 1-21 (p. 4).

¹³⁸ Gregory, ‘Introduction’, p. 8.

Cathedrals have often been seen as ‘essential’ to this identity and to the ‘post-Reformation Anglican Settlement’,¹³⁹ perfectly embodying the ‘catholic and reformed’ nature of the Church of England. Atherton’s work has been the most important in *problematizing* cathedrals’ place within early modern scholars’ discussions of religious identity. His consideration of ‘the cathedral question’ over the course of the Civil War and Interregnum, by seeking to ‘re-evaluate arguments about the creation of Anglicanism in the 1640s and 1650s’, has also confirmed and asserted their importance to Anglican identity.¹⁴⁰ ‘Their rapid reinstatement’ in 1660 ‘was a function of what few in the century since the break with Rome could have foreseen, that cathedrals *had come to represent the English Church*’: they had ‘secured a permanent place in the Church of England’.¹⁴¹ While this has laid strong foundations, this thesis will reconsider some of these conclusions regarding cathedrals, ‘Anglicanism’ and the Restoration.

Such work on the question of ‘Anglicanism’ (and of cathedrals’ place within it) raises questions when placed alongside broader scholarship – particularly on the Restoration period – which has emphasised repeated attempts to renegotiate the religious settlement.¹⁴² Yet despite this – and what it says about the continued fluidity of religious identity during the Restoration – there remains a willingness to continue speaking about ‘Anglicans’ and ‘Anglican’ identity, although recent scholars appear to be retreating from talking specifically of ‘Anglicanism’.¹⁴³ Some, such as Milton (as a result of working on the *Oxford History of Anglicanism* project), are beginning to recognise these issues and to question the extent to which the Restoration and the 1662 Act of Uniformity mark the beginnings of ‘Anglicanism’ proper – seeing rather the 1689 Act of Toleration as the turning point at which the Church of England became a ‘denomination’ among others.¹⁴⁴

While this thesis is concerned neither with the issue of Anglicanism *per se*, nor with the emergence of ‘denominations’, its findings reinforce these growing doubts and contribute to the questions raised by the new *Oxford History* in relation to the period 1660-1714. As I hope to show, cathedrals’ continued involvement in ecclesiastical and polemical debate during the Restoration period demonstrates the difficulties of speaking about ‘Anglicanism’, ‘Anglicans’ or ‘Anglican’ identity during the Restoration period. Partisan readings of cathedrals continued after 1689, which further complicate the idea that ‘Anglicanism’ existed as a monolithic entity in the long eighteenth century. Nonetheless, 1689 did see

¹³⁹ Sanders, *English Cathedrals*, p. 10.

¹⁴⁰ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, p. 98.

¹⁴¹ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals’, p. 241. Italics mine.

¹⁴² See above, pp. 15-7.

¹⁴³ Grant Tapsell’s essay on the later Stuart Church in the recent *Oxford History of Anglicanism*, for instance, only speaks of ‘Anglicanism’ once, and – interestingly – only in relation to the period 1640-60. Grant Tapsell, ‘The Church of England, 1662-1714’, in Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II*, pp. 25-48 (p. 35).

¹⁴⁴ Anthony Milton, ‘Can/should we write a history of pre-Restoration Anglicanism?’, University of London Seminar on the Religious History of Britain 1500-1800, in association with the Ecclesiastical History Society, Lambeth Palace Library, 14 February 2017.

a shift in perceptions of cathedrals, which demonstrates the importance of the 1689 Act of Toleration when thinking about the Church's religious identity within an emerging denominational marketplace.

PART III: METHODOLOGY

The aim of this thesis is to reassess the place of cathedrals between 1660 and 1714, integrating them into recent developments in the historiography of the later Stuart period, particularly in view of England's 'Long Reformation'. While the reasons for this chronological timeframe are essentially dynastic, this thesis also draws on current historiography which sees the period between 1689 and c.1714 as a period of transition. Spurr, for instance, highlighted the generational shift evident in this period, with the last of the Bartolomeans – those nonconformist ministers ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662 – dying in 1720.¹⁴⁵ Others, such as Tyacke, have seen the period between 1689 and c.1714 as marked by continued attempts to limit, and even reverse, the Act of Toleration. This is most evident in the Occasional Conformity controversy in the early 1700s, which sought to outlaw the dissenting practice of taking communion in the Church of England in order to become eligible for public office.¹⁴⁶ For Tyacke, its repeal in 1719 marked the end of such debates, thereby finally securing England's policy of toleration.¹⁴⁷ By taking c.1714 as its end-date, this thesis follows this view of the post-revolutionary period, using it as a lens through which to consider shifts in English religious culture in the wake of the Act of Toleration, and when earlier Restoration concerns were still relevant and open to renegotiation and adaptation.

This will be done by exploring cathedrals' place in debates about the Restoration settlement, their envisaged role within pastoral reforms in the 1690s, and by considering their portrayal in historical and antiquarian scholarship as contributions to wider polemical debates. This thesis does not seek to offer a *history* of cathedrals during this period. Lehmburg's *Cathedrals under Siege* has already provided such a survey, by charting the backgrounds and career patterns of cathedral clergy, their writings, the finances and musical tradition of cathedrals, and finally, their intellectual, social and civic roles within their communities and English society more generally. Rather, this thesis seeks to consider how cathedrals were deployed *conceptually* as an ecclesiological category in the debates of the Restoration and post-revolutionary periods.

¹⁴⁵ Spurr, 'Later Stuart Puritanism', p. 89.

¹⁴⁶ On the extent of toleration after 1689, see above, fn. 122, p. 19. On the Occasional Conformity controversy, see, for example, Brent S. Sirota, 'The occasional conformity controversy, moderation, and the Anglican critique of modernity, 1700-1714', *HJ*, 57 (2014), 81-105.

¹⁴⁷ Tyacke, 'The 'Rise of Puritanism' and the Legalizing of Dissent, 1571-1719', pp. 43-4, 47-9.

As previously mentioned, studies of cathedrals have tended to treat them as individual institutions and buildings, rather than as an ecclesiological category. ‘Ecclesiological’ is taken throughout the thesis to mean that which is related to the polity of the Church, its nature and structure (rather than in the sense of the study of church building and decoration). Cathedrals have rarely been engaged with as a *type* of institution within the Church of England. This is especially true for cathedral monographs, and even more so with their most recent incarnation as anniversary volumes commemorating cathedrals’ foundations, which – through their celebratory function – have reinforced the locally-specific character of the genre. Other studies of cathedrals – in the form of articles and chapters – have either appeared in works of local history or in the journals and transactions of county societies. Lehmborg and Atherton stand out in their engagement with cathedrals as an ecclesiological category.

But how might looking at cathedrals as an *ecclesiological category* deepen our understanding of the Restoration and post-revolutionary periods? Indeed, cathedrals sit uneasily within the ecclesiastical hierarchy (having no direct jurisdictional power, unlike bishops or archdeacons), making it difficult to see their usefulness for studying the Church of England, or indeed religious culture more generally. Contemporaries themselves were aware of the ambiguous position of cathedrals as royal peculiars and separate jurisdictions. This ambiguity was often drawn upon in disputes between bishops, deans and chapters over episcopal visitation rights in cathedrals – most notoriously at Salisbury in the 1680s between Bishop Seth Ward and Dean Thomas Pierce.¹⁴⁸ Cathedrals’ ambiguous position also meant that their position within the diocese was unclear. The Bishop of Winchester George Morley’s description of the process of circulating petitions demonstrates how far cathedrals were an administrative ‘dead end’ in the running of a diocese – archdeacons and rural deans roles were much more important.¹⁴⁹

These perceptions of cathedrals have continued to dominate modern historiography. Whilst earlier scholarship focussed on the episcopate,¹⁵⁰ recent work on later Stuart and Hanoverian religion has

¹⁴⁸ See, for instance, SCA, CH/1/19, Chapter Act Book, 1675-[?], pp. 75-8; FG/8/1/1-2, Dean Pierce’s Miscellanea, vols I-II. For a discussion of which, see below, chapter 2, pp. 86-7.

¹⁴⁹ Bodl., Tanner MS 37, fo. 9: Dr George Morley to Archbishop Sancroft, April 10, 1680.

¹⁵⁰ See, for example, Norman Sykes, *Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London 1669-1748* (Oxford, 1926); idem, ‘Episcopal Administration in England in the Eighteenth Century’, *EHR*, 47 (1932), 412-46; idem, ‘Queen Anne and the Episcopate’, *EHR*, 50 (1935), 433-64; C.E. Whiting, *Nathaniel, Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham 1670-1721* (London, 1940); E. Carpenter, *Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury: His Life and Times* (1948); A.T. Hart, *The Life and Times of John Sharp, Archbishop of York* (London, 1949); E.A.O. Whiteman, ‘The Episcopate of Dr Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter (1662-7) and of Salisbury (1667-1688/9), with Special Reference to the Ecclesiastical Problems of his Time’, unpubl. DPhil dissertation (University of Oxford, 1951); A.T. Hart, *William Lloyd, Bishop, Politician, Author and Prophet 1627-1717* (London, 1952); E. Carpenter, *The Protestant Bishop, Being the Life of Henry Compton, 1632-1713, Bishop of London* (1956); G.V. Bennett, *White Kennett 1660-1728. Bishop of Peterborough* (London, 1957); M.G. Smith, ‘A Study of the Administration of the Diocese of Exeter during the Episcopate of Jonathan Trelawny 1689-1707’, unpubl. BD dissertation (University of Oxford, 1965); W.M. Marshall, *George Hooper 1640-1727: Bishop of Bath and Wells* (Sherborne, 1976).

focussed either on the parishes, such as Donald Spaeth's study (2000), or on dioceses, such as Jeremy Gregory and Jeffrey Chamberlain's edited volume *The National Church in Local Perspective* (2003).¹⁵¹ While studies at the diocesan level show how the Church's policies were implemented in different regional contexts, studies at the parish level are perceived as particularly important for understanding nonconformist engagement with the Church of England.¹⁵² This is especially relevant considering certain nonconformist' endorsement of and continued commitment to the parochial model.¹⁵³ Studies of parish religion are therefore central to understanding how the idea of a *national* Church affected religious practice and relations. Such studies also allow scholars more generally to chart the practice and social context of established religion and the progress of reformation among the population. Cathedrals, by contrast, are seen as ecclesologically isolated, and thus largely inconsequential when studying developments in the Church of England.

Atherton's recent contribution to the *Oxford History of Anglicanism* has, however, shown how '[c]athedrals were neither unique nor anomalies in the post-Reformation English Church', sharing (among other things) 'similarities with other vital institutions of English learning', such as the colleges – thereby highlighting the usefulness of studying early modern cathedrals.¹⁵⁴ While cathedrals were indeed repeatedly associated with the universities,¹⁵⁵ they were most often bracketed with royal chapels and collegiate churches.¹⁵⁶ Paths of preferment for senior clergy, all three institutions shared in a more conservative and ceremonial style of worship, and were referred to as 'mother churches' due to their influential status – similarities which would become especially important during the Laudian ascendancy. Collegiate churches were similarly governed by a dean and chapter.¹⁵⁷ However, cathedrals' connection to episcopacy, their greater visibility in national debates, and their particular Reformation narrative, which not only saw them survive, but increase in number (whereas only a handful of collegiate churches survived out of the 170 or so existing before 1545) are important

¹⁵¹ See notably Spaeth, *The Church in an Age of Danger*; Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828*; Gregory and Chamberlain (eds), *The National Church in Local Perspective*; W.M. Marshall, *Church Life in Hereford and Oxford, 1660-1760: A Study of Two Sees* (Lancaster, 2009).

¹⁵² See, for example, Andrew Thomson, 'Continuity and Change: A Comparison of the Parish Clergy in the Diocese of Winchester, 1642-1663', *Southern History*, 30 (2008), 1-23; idem, 'Restorer or Reformer? George Morley's Spiritual Jurisdiction over the Diocese of Winchester, 1662-1684', *Southern History*, 34 (2012), 73-100; Richard Clark, 'How was the Church of England Restored in the 1660s? Bishop Hacket, the Act of Uniformity of 1662, and the Archdeaconry of Derby', *Midland History*, 38 (2013), 16-35; Andrew Thomson, 'George Morley, Dissenters and Recusants: National and Diocesan Perspectives 1660-84', *Southern History*, 36 (2014), 84-108.

¹⁵³ On the idea of a 'Baxterian parochial model', see Eamon Duffy, 'The Long Reformation: Catholicism, Protestantism and the multitude', in Tyacke (ed.), *England's Long Reformation 1500-1800*, pp. 33-70 (p. 52).

¹⁵⁴ Atherton, 'Cathedrals', p. 239.

¹⁵⁵ For an example of which, see below, chapter 1, p. 42.

¹⁵⁶ See, for example, below, chapter 2, p. 97.

¹⁵⁷ On collegiate churches, see G.H. Cook, *English Collegiate Churches of the Middle Ages* (London, 1959); C.S. Knighton, 'Collegiate foundations, 1540-70, with special reference to St Peter in Westminster', unpubl. PhD dissertation (University of Cambridge, 1975); Rex and Armstrong, 'Henry VIII's ecclesiastical and collegiate foundations'; Paul Jeffery, *The Collegiate Churches of England and Wales* (London, 2004); Clive Burgess and Martin Heale (eds), *The Late Medieval English College and its Context* (Woodbridge, 2008).

differences.¹⁵⁸ These render cathedrals particularly significant when studying ecclesiastical politics in the later Stuart period, notably if one looks at them as an ecclesiological category, and one deployed *conceptually* in debates, rather than as local case studies.

CATHEDRALS AS A CONCEPTUAL IDEAL

Previous studies have understandably focussed on the practical realities of life in cathedrals as institutions and communities, treating them as case studies and unique institutions. Indeed, contemporaries were aware of the differences between England's various cathedrals – particularly the distinction between the old and new foundations.¹⁵⁹ Differences of wealth, geographical location, community, and scholarly attractiveness suffuse the period's clerical correspondence, particularly in requests for preferment. Cathedrals were therefore, not surprisingly, engaged with and understood as different communities, buildings and institutions, whose statutes and cities made them unique entities. The very idea of a cathedral, as an ecclesiological and religious ideal, was nonetheless important and held particular power in how clerics and laymen alike engaged with the Church of England. For instance, while cathedral clergy have been systematically portrayed as driven by greed and desire for preferment, their correspondence, writings and publications reveal the extent to which belonging to a cathedral could act as a powerful and legitimate spiritual calling.¹⁶⁰

Recent work has begun to show an interest in engaging with cathedrals *conceptually*. Fincham and Tyacke's *Altars Restored* first highlighted cathedrals' place (conceptually) within early modern polemic and particularly within the Laudian vision.¹⁶¹ Atherton's work built on this, by exploring how Laudian churchmen polemically constructed and deployed this cathedral ideal within the cathedrals themselves. His work on the 'cathedral question' during the Parliamentary debates of 1640-1 similarly demonstrates how a very different cathedral ideal – that connected to primitive episcopacy – could be central to discussions over the nature of the Church of England at a crucial time. This growing interest in cathedrals conceptually has filtered into more recent cathedral monographs. Returning to the 1530s and 1540s, and to cathedrals' very survival within a Protestant English Church, some scholars have begun to take Henry VIII's motivations more seriously, by exploring how his foundation charter – and the ideal of a religious community it outlined – was actually drawn upon in the remoulding of the

¹⁵⁸ Atherton, 'Cathedrals', p. 236.

¹⁵⁹ This included in requests for preferment. See, for example, Bodl., Tanner MS 49, fo. 144: Meric Causabon to Dr Gilbert Sheldon, (n.d.).

¹⁶⁰ See, for example, Bodl., Tanner MS 49, fo. 39: Dr William Sancroft to Dr John Bramhall, Nov. 24, 1660 [draught]; Tanner MS 35, fo. 138: Dr Laurence Womock to Archbishop Sancroft, Ely, Dec. 6, 1682; idem, fo. 220: Samuel Crossman to Archbishop Sancroft, Bristol, March 24, 1683; Tanner MS 32, fo. 47: Dr Thomas Comber to Archbishop Sancroft, York, May 5, 1684; idem, fo. 89: Dr Laurence Womock to Archbishop Sancroft, Brecon, July 14, 1684; idem, fo. 177: Dr Thomas Comber to Archbishop Sancroft, Stonegrave, Nov. 19, 1684.

¹⁶¹ See index entries for 'cathedrals' in Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*.

cathedrals.¹⁶² Although the parish was the main unit of identification in early modern England, the ways in which cathedrals were deployed *conceptually* as an ecclesiological category in Protestant debates reveals much about how lay- and churchmen alike understood, defended, opposed and sought to mould the identity and nature of the Church of England during the ‘Long Reformation’.

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

For the period 1660-2, when the shape of the Restoration religious settlement was still under debate, this thesis speaks of ‘episcopalians’ and ‘presbyterians’. Such a use might suggest an anti-episcopal stance on the part of English presbyterian divines, when Richard Baxter himself claimed that ‘Presbytery ... was but a stranger here [in England]’, where ‘most ... were ... for the moderate Primitive Episcopacy’.¹⁶³ Nonetheless, the use of such terms has contemporary justification, being drawn from Baxter’s own account of the 1660-2 proceedings. Furthermore, the term ‘presbyterian’ is employed without a capital letter, in order to highlight its status as a trend within the English Church and distinguish it from its post-1689 status as a recognised denomination.

While the term ‘Anglican’ is overtly challenged, this thesis employs the categories of ‘high’ churchmen and ‘latitudinarians’ to capture the range of positions among conforming members of the Church of England.¹⁶⁴ I follow Fincham and Tyacke’s definition and use of ‘‘high’ churchmen’ to designate those individuals who, though ‘too young to have experienced the Laudian reformation of the 1630s’ were nonetheless heavily influenced by older Laudians and by Laudian thought during the Interregnum years and into the Restoration. It is used ‘as a convenient shorthand for a group drawn together by a set of shared views and objectives about issues of conformity, ritual, and theology, but representing neither a single party not a factional interest’ and different from its post-1689 meaning (as a high church party).¹⁶⁵

Similar reservations underline the use of the term ‘latitudinarian’, whose meaning scholars have questioned, with Spurr in particular highlighting ‘how little the attitudes of putative ‘latitudinarians’ differed from the views of most anglican clergyman’.¹⁶⁶ While recognising these ambiguities, the term has contemporary justification (being first used in 1662), and is used in this thesis to designate those

¹⁶² See, for example, Bettey, ‘Bristol Cathedral life during the early eighteenth century’, pp. 2-3.

¹⁶³ Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae, or, Mr. Richard Baxters narrative of the most memorable passages of his life and times* (London, 1696), p. 146.

¹⁶⁴ On the problem of labels more generally in this period, see notably Spurr, ‘‘Latitudinarianism’ and the Restoration Church’; Spellman, *The Latitudinarians and the Church of England, 1660-1700*; Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism c. 1530-1700*, p. 24, ch. 12; Peter Nockles, ‘Church parties in the pre-Tractarian Church of England 1750-1833: the ‘Orthodox’ – some problems of definition and identity’, in Walsh, Haydon and Taylor (eds), *The Church of England, c.1689-c.1833*, pp. 334-59; J.C.D. Clark, ‘Church, Parties, and Politics’, in Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II*, pp. 289-313.

¹⁶⁵ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 306-7.

¹⁶⁶ Spurr, ‘‘Latitudinarianism’ and the Restoration Church’, p. 62.

whose style of churchmanship included ‘the “plain” preaching style ... the advocacy of comprehension ... the commitment to education ... the adoption of a new criterion of truth and a “commonsense” rule of faith, and the promotion of science as an ally of true religion’, all underpinned by a commitment to ‘renewal and reform’.¹⁶⁷

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The aim of this thesis is to consider cathedrals as an ecclesiological category, and more precisely, how they were understood and deployed *conceptually* in Protestant debates during the Restoration and post-revolutionary periods. As such, this thesis focusses primarily on printed publications, manuscript works or notes, and correspondence which engage with cathedrals as a category. These are either works concerned with ecclesiology, ecclesiastical and religious debates, and polemic, or works of historical and antiquarian scholarship. It uses administrative records (for e.g. visitation records) or case studies relating to individual cathedrals (for e.g. particular disputes within a chapter or city) to explore how cathedrals were perceived and understood more generally as institutions within the Church. This will help chart how cathedrals – as an important and controversial aspect of England’s Reformation legacy – were understood, perceived and debated over the course of the ‘Long Reformation’, and thus investigate shifting attitudes to the Church of England and questions about religious identity. Constraints on space mean that it is not possible to investigate the success or failure of attempts to implement the visions discussed in particular dioceses. For the same reason, there is little discussion of St Paul’s Cathedral apart from William Dugdale’s antiquarian work, discussed in chapter 5. This is because of its unusual position as the capital’s cathedral, and further study is needed to explore and delineate these differences. Similarly, this thesis does not include an examination of Roman Catholic debates and perceptions of English cathedrals, which deserve study in their own right – particularly to investigate whether James II’s reign saw renewed Catholic interest in the nation’s cathedrals (as opposed to rumours of such).¹⁶⁸ Instead, this thesis focusses on Protestant perceptions of cathedrals in England.

The first chapter considers the period directly preceding that of this thesis, covering the years between 1558 and 1660. This chapter seeks to highlight those cathedral debates which went on to shape subsequent discussions, assumptions and perceptions. It also aims to recapture the variety of ways in which cathedrals were conceptualised within English Protestantism, and to provide a reassessment of

¹⁶⁷ Spellman, *The Latitudinarians and the Church of England, 1660-1700*, pp. 6-7, 9. On its first use by Simon Patrick, see *idem*, pp. 11-3.

¹⁶⁸ For rumours of Catholic interest in regaining the cathedrals, see, for example, William King, *The state of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James’s government* (London, 1691), p. 208. The Elizabethan Jesuit Robert Parsons had observed on the ease of returning England to Catholicism ‘as namely we have our Cathedral Churches and Bishopricks yet standing’. This text was, interestingly, republished in 1690. Robert Parsons, *The Jesuit’s memorial for the intended reformation of England under their first popish prince* (London, 1690), p. 5.

puritan opposition to cathedrals to enable a better understanding of later nonconformist attitudes. The second chapter considers the place of cathedrals in debates about conformity, comprehension and toleration during the Restoration period. It explores the different ways in which cathedrals were understood by churchmen and laymen across the religious spectrum in response to the Restoration settlement of 1662 and reveals differing attitudes and hopes for the Church of England. The third chapter considers the challenges brought about by the Glorious Revolution and the place of cathedrals in the Church's response to a denominational marketplace – particularly how they were included in pastoral reforms. It also considers the emergence of shared discourses which provided consensus regarding cathedrals' role in the Church and society after 1689. While the first three chapters are chronological, the fourth and fifth chapters concentrate on different literary genres: histories and antiquarian works. These provide different lenses through which to consider how cathedrals were understood and engaged with outside formal ecclesiastical debates in this period, complementing the picture outlined in chapters 1-3. Finally, an epilogue, based on the observations of a late seventeenth-century dissenter, Celia Fiennes, concludes by considering evolving attitudes to cathedrals and what might be surmised about the question of 'Anglicanism' during this period and the impact of the Act of Toleration on perceptions of cathedrals in the Church of England.

This thesis will demonstrate that there existed myriad ways in which cathedrals were conceptualised within English Protestantism and this variety persisted into the Restoration period. While the Laudian ideal of cathedrals as ceremonial 'mother churches' was particularly prominent – both for its emphasis on conformity and episcopal jurisdiction, and for the theological positions of the Restoration archbishops – it did not go unchallenged. An earlier model, propagated especially by the Elizabethan divine (and later archbishop) John Whitgift in the 1570s and the early Stuart churchman (and later Restoration bishop) John Hacket in 1641, was influential in positing a different view of cathedrals as centres of learning and education, as locales of evangelical reform, and as embodying a godly model of ecclesiastical government. Before the 1620s, such a vision had provided a form of consensus among English Protestants, with puritan churchmen seeing cathedrals as embodying a quasi-presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government. While supplanted by the Laudian ascendancy, this vision did not, however, vanish, but continued to prove influential, particularly as a means of bringing about reconciliation during debates in 1660-2 and throughout the Restoration period. It further underpinned the reforming efforts of certain post-revolutionary churchmen seeking to draw dissenters into communion with the Church and address the challenges of a newly-created denominational marketplace. While these two models are interwoven throughout the period under discussion, both did not represent monolithic traditions, but were open to adaptation, negotiation, contestation and challenge – sometimes in response to conflict between bishops and cathedral chapters. This demonstrates the malleability of cathedrals' ecclesiological significance at a time of intense (and shifting) polemical challenge in the context, first, of a restored national episcopal Church, and second, of what amounted

to its semi-disestablishment after the passing of the Act of Toleration. Debates over cathedrals between 1660 and 1714 offer an insight into conflicting and evolving visions of the Church and English Protestantism at a time of huge political, religious and cultural change.

CHAPTER I: ‘VERIE DENNES OF THEVES’ OR ‘PROFITABLE TO THE CHURCH’?

CRITIQUES AND DEFENCES OF CATHEDRALS, c.1558-1660

In 1681, the author and press censor Sir Roger L’Estrange (1616–1704) published one of his ‘most effective pamphlets’, entitled *The Dissenter’s Sayings*.¹ A collection of texts and quotations by earlier puritan and contemporary nonconformist authors, it sought to highlight the true character of the dissenter.² Among the collected sayings, in a section seeking to expose nonconformists’ behaviour towards the government and Church, were several quotes demonstrating their longstanding opposition and suspicion of cathedrals. One, taken from the puritan Bridges’ *Prelatical Hogsty*,³ told of how

The Cathedrals are a Nest and Cage of all Unclean Birds, a Harbour of dumb dogs, a Crew of Ale-swilling Singing-Men, offering daily near the Holy Table the blinde Whelps of an Ignorant Devotion.⁴

The inclusion of such critiques in L’Estrange’s compilation is but one example of how Tudor and early Stuart cathedral debates continued to shape those of the Restoration period. Firstly, they continued to shape perceptions of cathedrals. Restoration nonconformists continued to quote and draw on what had by then become an established language of puritan opposition to cathedrals, one reinforced by the Laudian experience. The Restoration poet George Wither, for instance, described cathedral corporations as ‘Drone[s]’ and ‘Locusts’, coming forth from a ‘Bottomless Pit’ – terms reminiscent of the language of the *Admonition* and of later puritan critiques.⁵ Secondly, the memory of earlier debates shaped conformist-nonconformist relations. Conformist writers – such as L’Estrange – actively drew on earlier puritan critiques of cathedrals to demonstrate the greed, fanaticism and deceitfulness of nonconformists.⁶ To this was added the memory of the mid-seventeenth century, particularly of

¹ ODNB, ‘L’Estrange, Sir Roger (1616-1704)’. On L’Estrange’s instrumental role in the shaping Restoration political, literary, and print culture, see Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch (eds), *Roger L’Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture* (Aldershot, 2008).

² On the figure of the puritan or nonconformist, see Kristen Poole, *Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2006); Patrick Collinson, ‘Antipuritanism’, in Coffey and Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, pp. 19-33.

³ It is not clear who ‘Bridges’ is (L’Estrange includes no first name) and the *Prelatical Hogsty* does not appear in the ESTC. The most likely candidate is the Independent minister William Bridge. See ODNB, ‘Bridge, William (1600/01–1671)’.

⁴ Sir Roger L’Estrange, *The dissenter’s sayings* (London, 1681), p. 13. See also *idem*, p. 6.

⁵ George Wither, *Fides-Anglicana, or, A plea for the publick-faith of these nations* (London, 1660), p. 48. For other works in this period which quoted or evoked this linguistic memory, see, for example, E.K., *That neither temporallitie[s] nor tythes is due to the bishops, prelates nor clergy, by a Gospel rule* ([?], 1672), p. 41. On Wither, see below, chapter 2, pp. 87-8.

⁶ This was often done in the form of compilations of puritan and nonconformist statements (like L’Estrange’s *dissenter’s sayings*). For examples of conformist uses of puritan or nonconformist critiques, see, for example, William Assheton, *Evangelium armatum, A specimen, or short collection of several doctrines and positions destructive to our government, both civil and ecclesiastical* (London, 1663), p. 24; John Nalson, *The countermine, or, A short but true discovery of the dangerous principles and secret practices of the dissenting party, especially the Presbyterians* (London, 1677), p. 155; William Manby, *Some considerations towards peace and quietness in*

cathedral iconoclasm and dissolution. Finally, they influenced specific debates. From the primitive episcopacy debates of the early 1660s, to the anti-popery outbreak of the 1670s, and the reforms of the 1690s, all referred back to previously articulated hopes, ideals, fears and uncertainties which had defined engagement with cathedrals from the time of the Henrician Reformation.

Scholars have, however, seen the Restoration as a *tabula rasa* of sorts for cathedrals. As previously mentioned, Stanford Lehmborg has claimed that ‘cathedrals were not significantly involved in debates about the character of the Restoration Church. ... Instead, cathedral clergy were concerned with the restoration of their buildings and services’.⁷ While the renovation of their buildings and the re-establishment of their worship were central to their experience of the early 1660s, such a claim portrays the Restoration as isolating cathedrals from the broader Church and from political culture.⁸ Firstly, this ignores the continued controversy surrounding cathedrals in the Restoration period. As this thesis will explore, they were neither isolated from debates, nor was their place and role in the Church secured. Secondly, it ignores the continuity between pre- and post-Restoration engagement with cathedrals. By the Restoration, cathedrals had been debated for over a century and earlier attitudes, perceptions, arguments and debates would continue to influence how cathedrals were understood after 1660. The Restoration did not resolve cathedrals’ problematic and polemical pasts.

One aim of this thesis is to (re)place post-Restoration cathedrals within the framework of England’s ‘Long Reformation’. This chapter therefore considers the period between c.1558-1660 in order to outline particular debates, arguments and perceptions that would influence those of the post-Restoration period. However, this chapter will not simply survey late Tudor and early Stuart debates and attitudes. It will seek to reassess current understandings of both conformist and puritan views of cathedrals before 1660.

As outlined in the introduction, where once cathedrals were seen as the ‘conservative seedbeds’ out of which Laudianism emerged, recent work has explored the influence of a Protestant conception of cathedrals in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁹ Closer study of attempts to implement this Protestant vision – particularly during Elizabeth’s reign – has led David Marcombe to speak of the period between 1540 and 1620 as an ‘era of Cathedral reform’, during which ‘a unified Protestant church interest ... succeeded in moulding a new profile for the Cathedrals which was acceptable to the

religion ([?], 1680), p. 13; *Kedarminster-stuff, a new piece of print, or, A remnant of Mr. Baxter’s piae fravdes unravelled* (London, 1681), p. 28; George Hooper, *The Church of England free from the imputation of popery* (London, 1683), p. 25; *The Quakers art of courtship, or, The Yea-and-nay academy of complements* (London, 1689), p. 13. That puritan and nonconformist opposition to cathedrals continued to be drawn on by conformist writers after 1689 can be gleaned from Daniel Lafite, *A friendly discourse between an English dissenter and a French Protestant concerning the liturgy and ceremonies of the Church of England* (London, 1691), pp. 56-7. On cathedrals’ destruction as the first step in society’s descent into chaos and anarchy, see below, chapter 2, p. 88.

⁷ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, p. 58.

⁸ For a more detailed overview of the historiography, see introduction and chapter 2, pp. 11-3, 64-6.

⁹ See above, introduction, pp. 8-9.

vast majority of Englishmen'.¹⁰ Such work, however, has been limited in two ways. Firstly, it has focussed on the successes or failures of (arch)bishops and deans to implement this vision within their cathedrals. There has been limited discussion of how this vision was formulated, circulated and engaged with through texts and in debates.¹¹ Yet it was in Elizabeth's reign, during the *Admonition* controversy in the 1570s, that this Protestant cathedral ideal would be delineated more fully by John Whitgift. This ideal would play an important role in the Restoration period and into the eighteenth century. Secondly, work on this vision for cathedrals has been limited to the activities and perceptions of conformists. There has been limited exploration of puritan engagement with this supposed 'Protestant cathedral ideal'.¹² Puritan attitudes to cathedrals are still viewed as involving straightforward opposition.

This view contrasts strongly with broader scholarship which has critiqued the longstanding categories of 'Anglican' and 'Puritan' in the Tudor and early Stuart period.¹³ Nicholas Tyacke, Patrick Collinson, Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake have demonstrated the existence of a 'Calvinist consensus' and of a 'Grindalian' strand of reformed churchmanship in the Elizabethan and early Jacobean Church.¹⁴ This has nuanced puritan attitudes, notably to episcopacy.¹⁵ Such a reassessment, however, has not extended to puritan attitudes to cathedrals – thereby perpetuating an artificial dichotomy between 'Anglican' defenders of cathedrals and 'Puritan' opponents.¹⁶ Yet far from simply dismissing cathedrals as 'popish remnants', Elizabethan and early Stuart puritan engagement with cathedrals was far more complex. To reassess puritan attitudes to cathedrals between 1558 and 1660 is to highlight the complexities surrounding cathedrals, their place in the Church of England and in the process of reformation – as well as contribute to a deeper understanding of religious identity in the period. This

¹⁰ Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism', pp. 48, 58.

¹¹ Marcombe, for instance, does not mention Whitgift's defence, although he does mention another text. See below, fn. 12, p. 34. Collinson briefly discusses Whitgift's *manuscript* defence of cathedrals (distinct from his *Admonition* response which is not mentioned) from the mid-1580s, but dismisses these as 'weak arguments for the perpetration of [wealthy] foundations'. Collinson, 'The Protestant cathedral, 1541-1660', pp. 156-7.

¹² Marcombe includes William Harrison's 1577 *Description of England* as setting down this Protestant cathedral ideal. However, nowhere does he mention Harrison's being a moderate puritan. Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism', p. 55. On Harrison's vision of cathedrals, see below, pp. 46-7.

¹³ See above, introduction, pp. 20-1.

¹⁴ See most notably Nicholas Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution', in Conrad Russell (ed.), *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London, 1973), pp. 119-43; idem, *Anti-Calvinists*; Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal, 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (Berkeley, 1979), pp. 283-93; idem, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 79-91; idem, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1988), pp. 140-1; Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford, 1990); Peter Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church, 1570-1635', *P&P*, 114 (1987), 32-76; idem, *Anglicans and Puritans?* For opposing views and subsequent reassessment of the idea of a 'Calvinist consensus', see above, introduction, fn. 127, p. 21. For historiographical overviews, see Kenneth Fincham, 'Introduction', in Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church*, pp. 1-22; Lake, 'Introduction: Puritanism, Arminianism and Nicholas Tyacke'.

¹⁵ On puritan understandings (and advocacy) of 'episcopacy', see, for example, Patrick Collinson, 'Episcopacy and Reform in England in the later Sixteenth Century', in Patrick Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), pp. 155-89; Karl Gunther, *Reformation unbound: Protestant visions of reform in England, 1525-1590* (Cambridge, 2014), ch. 1.

¹⁶ The only study of puritan critiques of cathedrals remains Cross, 'Dens of Loitering Lubbers'.

reassessment will both highlight the complexities of nonconformist attitudes after the Restoration and help reconsider the question of ‘Anglicanism’ between 1660 and 1689.

**PART I: THE ELIZABETHAN *ADMONITION* CONTROVERSY AND THE FORMULATION
OF A PROTESTANT CATHEDRAL IDEAL, C.1558-1603**

Dated 1539, the preamble to Henry VIII’s Act for erecting new bishoprics outlined cathedrals’ potential in a post-Reformation world. Lamenting the ‘slothful and ungodly Life’ of the religious, it presented an outline of reform:

that Gods word might be better set forth, Children brought up in Learning, Clarks nourished in the Universities, and that old decayed Servants might have Livings, poor people might have Alms-Houses to maintain them, Readers of Greek, Hebrew, and Latine, might have good Stipend, daily Alms might be Ministred, and Allowance might be made for mending of the high-ways, and Exhibition for Ministers of the Church, *for these ends, if the King thought fit to have more Bishopricks or Cathedral Churches erected* out of the Rents of these Houses; full Power was given to him to erect, and found them.¹⁷

This vision of cathedrals portrayed them as fulfilling the role once held by monasteries, as centres of education and learning, hospitality and charity, providing for their communities’ material and spiritual needs.¹⁸ Some scholars have dismissed this vision as meaningless, instead emphasising the political motives for cathedrals’ survival in a Protestant world and the shallowness of the Henrician Reformation.¹⁹ Edward VI’s reign would see more significant reforms, while Mary I’s reign would see Cardinal Pole’s plans to transform cathedrals into seminaries.²⁰ However, this should not diminish earlier hopes for cathedrals’ future in the English Church. Although the preamble to Henry VIII’s Act

¹⁷ Henry VIII’s preamble to the Act to erect new bishoprics of 23 May 1539, as quoted in Gilbert Burnet, *The history of the reformation of the Church of England*, 3 vols (London, 1679-1715), vol. I, p. 262. Italics mine. This is discussed below, chapter 4, pp. 156-61 (esp. pp. 158-9).

¹⁸ On the Henrician proposals and the preamble, see Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, pp. 84-6.

¹⁹ Lehmborg, ‘Henry VIII, the Reformation, and the Cathedrals’, p. 268. See above, introduction, pp. 6-7.

²⁰ On the history of English cathedrals under Edward VI and Mary I, see Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, chs 4 and 5. On Pole’s plans, see, for example, David Michael Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion in England 1553-58* (London, 1991; first publ. 1979), p. 293; John Edwards, *Archbishop Pole* (London, 2014), pp. 176-7, 197. See also Thomas Mayer, ‘Cardinal Pole’s concept of Reformation: the *Reformatio Angliae* and Bartolomé Carranza’, in John Edwards and Ronald Truman (eds), *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: the achievement of Friar Bartolomé Carranza* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 65-80; idem, ‘Not Just the Hierarchy Fought: the Marian Cathedral Chapters, Seminaries of Recusancy’. On Gilbert Burnet’s engagement with Cardinal Pole’s plans for cathedrals, see below, chapter 4, pp. 160-1.

did not provide a comprehensive defence of or vision for cathedrals' survival in a post-Reformation world, it did acknowledge cathedrals' potential, whilst also highlighting the difficulties and delays in formulating a proper Protestant cathedral ideal. It would later be used by some post-Restoration historians as evidence of cathedrals' Reformation credentials.²¹ Nonetheless, the lack of a clear apology for cathedrals, along with the experience of returning Marian exiles, meant that cathedrals' problematic status dramatically came to the fore during Elizabeth's reign.

Although the Elizabethan religious settlement returned England to Protestantism and sought to provide it with doctrinal articles and a liturgy, returning Protestant exiles desired further reforms which would align England with the continental reformed Churches. Published anonymously in 1572,²² the *Admonition to the Parliament* has been described as 'the first great Puritan manifesto' to emerge from these debates over the vestments, ceremonies and polity of the English Church after Elizabeth's accession.²³ Although discussion of the *Admonition* has revolved around issues of Church government, Claire Cross has noted its critique of cathedrals.²⁴ While critiques had already been voiced from the time of the Henrician Reformation,²⁵ the publication of the *Admonition* marked both a high- and starting point for a tradition of puritan opposition and suspicion of cathedrals, which would continue into the Restoration period.

Yet it also prompted the first coherent defence of cathedrals in the post-Reformation English Church. Cambridge Regius Professor of Divinity and later Archbishop of Canterbury (from 1583), John Whitgift (1530-1604) responded to the *Admonition* and subsequently debated it with the puritan churchman Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603).²⁶ Whitgift not only provided clear responses to puritan arguments, but delineated a Protestant cathedral ideal which would prove influential and long-lasting over the

²¹ See below, chapter 4, pp. 158-9, 168.

²² It is now widely accepted as having been written by the London clergymen John Field and Thomas Wilcox. See Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford, 1990; first publ. 1967), pp. 118-20; idem, 'John Field and Elizabethan Puritanism', in Collinson, *Godly People*, pp. 335-70; *ODNB*, 'Field [Feilde], John (1544/5?-1588)' and 'Wilcox, Thomas (c.1549-1608)'.

²³ Roland H. Bainton, 'Review of *The Admonition Controversy*, by Donald Joseph McGinn', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 3 (1950), 43-4 (p. 43). On the rise of 'puritanism', see notably Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*; Tyacke, 'The 'Rise of Puritanism' and the Legalizing of Dissent, 1571-1719'.

²⁴ Cross, 'Dens of Loitering Lubbers', p. 231.

²⁵ Including by churchmen, most famously Cranmer. See Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, pp. 267-71. See above, introduction, pp. 6-7.

²⁶ See notably Donald Joseph McGinn, *The Admonition Controversy* (New Brunswick, 1949). More recently, see Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?*, ch. 1. The *Admonition* controversy would generate a lot of polemical material, but the main writings in the exchange between Whitgift and Cartwright are (in chronological order): [John Field and Thomas Wilcox], *An admonition to the Parliament* ([?], 1572); [Thomas Cartwright], *A second admonition to the parliament* ([?], 1572); John Whitgift, *An ansvvere to a certain libel intituled, An admonition to the Parliament, by Iohn VWhitgift, D. of Diuinitie* (London, 1572); Thomas Cartwright, *A repleye to an ansvvere made of M. Doctor VWhitgift* ([?], 1573); John Whitgift, *The defense of the ansvvere to the Admonition* (London, 1574); Thomas Cartwright, *The second replie of Thomas Cartwright: agaynst Maister Doctor Whitgiftes second answer, touching the Church discipline* ([Heidelberg], 1575); Thomas Cartwright, *The rest of the second replie of Thomas Cartvurihgt [sic]: agaynst Master Doctor Vuhitgifts second ansvuer, touching the Church discipline* ([Basel], 1577).

course of England's 'Long Reformation'.²⁷ However, there has been limited interest in Whitgift's response.²⁸ This lack of interest in a conformist defence of cathedrals is partly due to the centrality of episcopacy (both in the debates themselves, and in scholars' engagement with these debates) but also to the fact that neither John Jewel, nor Richard Hooker – the other two great Elizabethan defenders of the Church of England – concerned themselves with cathedrals. Jewel's famous *Apologie or Answere in Defence of the Church of England* (1562) included no mention of cathedrals. It was only in the later 1564 English edition that cathedrals appeared in an appended account on 'The manner how the Church of Englande is admintred & gouerned'.²⁹ Hooker's *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* similarly made no mention of cathedrals. This section will therefore not only explore Whitgift's answer to the *Admonition* and to Cartwright's reply, but will consider them together – by contrast with existing accounts which have tended to treat puritan critiques in isolation from conformist responses. I argue that these need to be considered in parallel in order to properly chart the evolution of religious identities and engagement with the national Church over the course of England's 'Long Reformation'.

1. THE *ADMONITION TO THE PARLIAMENT* AND PURITAN CRITIQUES OF CATHEDRALS, c.1558-1603

Prepared for the 'godly consideration' of Parliament, the *Admonition* presented a model of a truly reformed Church, and drew attention to 'the great unlikenes betwixt it & this our english church' so as to move Parliament to 'seeke to promote, plant, and place the same amongst us'.³⁰ Surveying the failings and corruptions of the English Church, it contained the first coherent polemical attack on cathedrals. In the appended 'A view of Popishe abuses yet remayning in the Englishe Church', the writers of the *Admonition* spoke of

cathedral churches, the dens aforesaid of all loitering lubbers, where Master dean, Master vice-dean, Master canons ... &c., live in great idleness, and have their abiding. If you would know whence all these came, we can easily answer you that they came from the pope, as out of the Trojan horse's belly, to the destruction of God's kingdom. *The church of God never knew them; neither doth any reformed church in the world know them.*³¹

²⁷ See, for example, below, chapter 4, p. 171.

²⁸ Scholarly interest in Whitgift (including in his role in the *Admonition* controversy) has tended to focus on the issue of episcopacy. See, for example, P.M. Dawley, *John Whitgift and the Reformation* (London, 1955), esp. ch. 5; Daniel Eppley, 'Defender of the peace: John Whitgift's proactive defense of the polity of the Church of England in the admonition controversy', *A&EH*, 68 (1999), 312-35; Marcus K. Harmes, 'Calvin and the English Episcopate, 1580-1610', *A&EH*, 81 (2012), 22-46.

²⁹ John Jewel, *An apologie or answere in defence of the Church of Englande* (London, 1564), sigs R0v-R1r. On the various editions, see *ODNB*, 'Jewel, John (1522-1571)'. The 1564 edition was a translation by Ann, Lady Bacon, with a preface by Matthew Parker.

³⁰ *An admonition to the Parliament*, sigs A2r, A7v.

³¹ 'A view of Popishe abuses yet remayning in the English Church, for the which Godly Minsters have refused to subscribe', in [John Field and Thomas Wilcox], *An admonition to the Parliament*, sig. B6r. Italics mine.

The conclusion to this passage captured two recurring criticisms levelled by Elizabethan puritan writers at cathedrals' continued existence in the post-Reformation English Church. The first was that cathedrals were absent from God's vision of the true Church, ordained in Scripture and exemplified in the early Church. Throughout the *Admonition*, and in puritan thought more generally, 'the olde church' embodied the true, pure and ordered vision of the Church, to which the current Church should seek to return.³² Cathedrals were considered later, medieval additions, and therefore a popish corruption of the primitive Church. As the *Admonition*'s authors made clear, 'If you would know whence all these came, we can easily answer you *that they came from the pope*'.³³ The second was the perceived chasm between the contemporary English Church and other reformed Churches, especially in terms of ecclesiology. Overwhelmed by longing and frustration, the writers of the *Admonition* cried out: 'Is a reformation good for France? and can it be evyl for England? Is discipline meete for Scotland? and is it unprofitable for this Realme?'³⁴ The continued existence of cathedrals in the post-Reformation English Church, as opposed to their dissolution in other reformed Churches, was seen to demonstrate the need for further reform in England.

Such arguments, and particularly this view of the English Reformation, were reiterated in broader puritan culture. However, this elicited different responses regarding the fate of cathedrals. While the majority proposed that cathedrals be dissolved, and their revenues and buildings converted to other uses,³⁵ a minority of more radical Protestants believed that further reformation demanded their wholesale destruction. Responding to those claiming that 'these synagogues may be purged or ... reformed, and so stil used to the worship of God',³⁶ the English separatist Henry Barrow claimed '[those] idols cannot be clensed',

*Againe the idolatrous shape so cleaveth to everie stone, as it by no meanes can be severed from them whiles there is a stone left standing upon a stone. So that neither they can be used to the worship of God, nor we have any civil use of them, seing they are execrable and devote[d] to destruction.*³⁷

For Barrow, cathedrals were inherently idolatrous spaces, in which past acts of popish worship left an indelible mark incapable of being erased.³⁸ A true reformation of the English Church was thus only

³² *An admonition to the Parliament*, sigs A1v, A5v. On the importance of the primitive Church in English Protestantism, see, most recently, Jean-Louis Quantin, 'Perceptions of Christian Antiquity', in Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I*, pp. 280-97.

³³ 'A view of Popishe abuses yet remayning in the English Church', sig. B6r. Italics mine.

³⁴ *An admonition to the Parliament*, sig. A7r.

³⁵ On Cartwright's proposal for cathedrals, see below, pp. 40-1.

³⁶ Henry Barrow, *A Brief Discoverie of the False Church* (Dort, 1590), repr. in *Protestant Nonconformist Texts, Volume 1. 1550 to 1700*, ed. R. Tudur Jones, Arthur Long and Rosemary Moore (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 73-86 (p. 82).

³⁷ Barrow, *A Brief Discoverie*, p. 83.

³⁸ Barrow's critique also echoed Matthew 24:2, in which Jesus, surveying the Temple, announced to his disciples that "there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down".

possible if its cathedrals were torn down to the very last stone. Barrow thus urged Elizabeth to act on her ‘good right to abolish these, *as her auncestor hath their brethren the monkes and freeres*’.³⁹ This parallel between cathedrals and monasteries was frequently reiterated in puritan critiques. Firstly, it constructed a particular narrative of the Reformation, which highlighted both continuity with the medieval past and the perceived shallowness of earlier reformations.⁴⁰ One puritan writer, calling for cathedrals to be ‘utterly destroyed’, highlighted their being ‘much lyke the synnefull houses of Friars that were some tyme emongest us’.⁴¹ Secondly, this comparison sought to show that the dissolution, and even destruction, of cathedrals was the next logical step in furthering the Reformation: it would bring to completion the Henrician dissolution of the monasteries. As we shall see, the memory of these critiques (and particularly their subversiveness), along with the experience of the 1640s and 1650s, would shape conformist perceptions of nonconformists during the Restoration period.⁴²

While the *Admonition* drew on examples from Scripture, the early Church and other reformed Churches to argue against cathedrals’ place in the English Church, it also highlighted more immediate, tangible concerns: first, the nature of cathedral worship, and second, the idleness, greed and wealth of cathedral clergy. In their critique of the English liturgy, the writers of the *Admonition* spoke of the ‘organes and curious singing’ which were ‘proper to Popyshe dennes, I meane to Cathedrall churches’.⁴³ As Cross has explored, cathedral liturgy and ministry were portrayed as ‘[i]mitating the Manners and fashions of Antechriste the pope’,⁴⁴ focussing on music and ritual, instead of preaching and prayer – critiques which would reappear after 1660.⁴⁵ Puritan critiques also attacked the idleness, greed and wealth of cathedral clergy. ‘They are Dennes of Lazie Loytring Lubberds’ filled ‘for the moste parte [with] Dumme Doggs, Unskilfull sacrificing priestes, Destroyeing Drones, or rather Caterpillars of the Word’.⁴⁶ They were idle ‘wicked belligods’ (echoing Philippians 3:19 which speaks of those ‘whose

³⁹ Barrow, *A Brief Discoverie*, p. 82. Italics mine. A recurring theme in Elizabethan puritan writing was to appeal to the monarch’s duty to further the Reformation. See, for example, ‘Exceptions to be taken against those articles proposed to be subscribed unto by mynisters and people’ (1573), in *The Second Parte of a Register: Being a Calendar of Manuscripts under that title intended for publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr. Williams’s Library*, London, ed. A. Peel (Cambridge, 1915), vol. I, pp. 93-7 (p. 96).

⁴⁰ See also Martin, Marprelate, *Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges, for it is worthy worke: or an epitome of the fyrste booke, of that right worshipfull volume, written against the puritanes* ([?], 1588), sigs C4r, F2v.

⁴¹ ‘The request of all true Christians to the moste honourable high courte of Parliament for the Succession and restoring of Christe to his full Regiment that he may reigne onely in his Churches by the Sceptor of his Worde’ (1587), in *The Second Parte of a Register*, ed. Peel, vol. II, pp. 208-11 (p. 211).

⁴² See below, chapter 2, p. 88.

⁴³ ‘A view of Popishe abuses yet remayning in the English Church’, sig. B5r.

⁴⁴ ‘The request of all true Christians’, p. 211.

⁴⁵ See below, chapters 2 and 3, pp. 90-1, 92, 95, 122, 124-5. Music was a central feature of puritan critiques of cathedrals. See, for example, ‘A view of Popishe abuses yet remayning in the English Church’, sig. B6r; Dudley Fenner, *A briefe and plaine declaration, concerning the desires of all those faithfull ministers, that haue and do seeke for the discipline and reformation of the Church of Englande* (London, 1584), pp. 67-8.

⁴⁶ ‘The request of all true Christians’, p. 211. The use of ‘den’ echoed the Biblical passage of Christ expelling the money-changers from the Temple, in which he exclaims “But you have made it a den of thieves” (Mark 11:17, Geneva Bible).

God is their belly’), who worshipped their wealth and comfort in place of the true God.⁴⁷ The idea of cathedral clergy’s ‘uselessness’ and their perceived greed and wealth reappeared at the Restoration, notably in response to cathedrals’ financial re-establishment.⁴⁸

This second strand in puritan critiques – the greed, idleness and wealth of cathedral clergy – held wider significance and caused the most outcry during the *Admonition* controversy. Indeed, such problems were not understood as containable corruptions, limited to the cathedral proper. Cathedrals’ wealth derived, notably, from impropriations, the ‘redirection’ of parish livings through the practice of pluralities.⁴⁹ Cathedrals were therefore repeatedly portrayed as exploiting the parishes. In his *Reply* to Whitgift, Cartwright spoke of those non-residents who ‘*spoyle and rauen in other places* [the parishes where they have charges] ... [to] spend and make good cheare wyth [in the cathedrals]’.⁵⁰ Such language conveyed the perceived violence of these impropriations and their effect on the community. As the *Second Admonition* (1572) made clear, it was because of such practices that the English Church was unable to provide sufficient maintenance for competent preaching ministries in every parish.⁵¹ While cathedral clergy ‘ma[d]e good cheer’ in their closes, the parishes were ‘served by *lean curates* with *lean stipends*’.⁵² Yet it was the dangerous spiritual consequences of these practices which led to such urgent calls for cathedral reform. Indeed, retaining tithes was understood not simply in material terms but as ‘defraud[ing] some parish of a preaching minister and *hazard[ing] the souls of the people*’.⁵³

However, cathedrals did not simply deprive the Church of preaching ministries through their financial practices, but by keeping (learned) clergy away from their parochial cures and tempting them to lives of idleness and leisure. In *The Rest of the Second Replie* (1577), Cartwright thus deplored cathedrals as being ‘rather a lure, to draw hyrelinges into the church: then an honest prouocation, to cal in faithful Pastors’.⁵⁴ Such a view of cathedrals – as misdirecting valuable financial and clerical resources, thereby impeding the reformed gospel’s spread – led Cartwright to propose that cathedrals be ‘conuerted into Colledges, for the bringing vp of scholers’,

⁴⁷ ‘A copy of the articles “preferred by certaine of the parishe of Kingston ... againste Mr John Udall’ (1586), in *The Second Parte of a Register*, ed. Peel, vol. II, p. 44.

⁴⁸ See below, chapter 2, pp. 87-8.

⁴⁹ One puritan writer went so far as to claim that ‘the verie foundation of some Cathedrall Churches standeth upon mere impropriations’. ‘Certaine points concerninge the pollicie and government of the Ecclesiastical State’, in *The Second Parte of a Register*, ed. Peel, vol. II, pp. 5-26 (p. 17).

⁵⁰ Cartwright, *A replye to an ansvere*, p. 204. Italics mine.

⁵¹ *A second admonition to the parliament*, p. 12.

⁵² ‘Certaine points to be considered of touching the petition made to her Ma^{tie} ... for the better ordering and direction of Ecclesiastical government’ (1584), in *The Second Parte of a Register*, ed. Peel, vol. I, pp. 174-185 (p. 178). Italics mine.

⁵³ ‘Certaine articles to be enquired upon by the authoritye of the most gracious and highest pastor of the church of England’ (1586?), in *The Second Parte of a Register*, ed. Peel, vol. II, p. 195. Italics mine.

⁵⁴ Cartwright, *The rest of the second replie*, p. 75.

where now, they serue but for the fatting vp of a few, and those ether vnworthy to be norished of the Almes of the church, or els whose presence is necessary in other places, and dutiful by reason of pastoral residence.⁵⁵

This, Cartwright declared, would be of ‘singuler profit boeth [to] the church and common wealth’ and would see the former cathedrals become centres for training and sending out clergy into the parishes, where once they had been ‘dens’ where idle ministers had hidden from their calling.⁵⁶ Attempts to confront the problem of pluralism and non-residence – and thus the question of cathedral ministry – would notably reappear during the reforming campaigns of Williamite bishops in the 1690s.

2. JOHN WHITGIFT, THE *ADMONITION* CONTROVERSY AND THE FORMULATION OF A PROTESTANT CATHEDRAL IDEAL, c.1572-1603

Whitgift’s *Answer to the Admonition* (1572) and subsequent *Defence of the Answer* (1574) (in response to Cartwright’s attack on his *Answer*) addressed each of these puritan arguments in turn, laying out a clear conformist position on cathedrals. Firstly, responding to the puritan charge of unscriptural origins, Whitgift proclaimed cathedrals’ status as *adiaphora*, which, as things not explicitly *forbidden* in Scripture, could be acceptable to God and serve to edify His people, being ‘good, profitable, and necessarie’ human institutions, from which the Church could derive ‘great profite and singular commoditie’.⁵⁷ Secondly, responding to the *Admonition*’s claims that ‘the church of God never knew them’, Whitgift defended cathedrals’ claim to being ‘of great antiquitie, euen since the yeare of our Lorde .235’.⁵⁸ But claims to antiquity were not of value in themselves. Whitgift continued by clarifying that, at this time, ‘the Bishops of Rome were godly men and Martyres’, which explained why ‘it is vntrue that Cathedrall Churches came from the Antichristian Pope’.⁵⁹ Thirdly, responding to comparisons with other reformed Churches, Whitgift emphasised the uniqueness of national reformations, with English reformers needing to ‘consider what is most méete for *this* Church, and state’.⁶⁰ Questioning calls for their destruction, Whitgift sarcastically asked: ‘Can you name any reformed Church that hath plucked them downe?’⁶¹

Yet Whitgift’s response to the *Admonition* and to Cartwright’s answer did not only refute puritan arguments. Whitgift also outlined a Protestant ideal of the cathedral which would prove influential

⁵⁵ Cartwright, *The rest of the second replie*, p. 74.

⁵⁶ Cartwright, *The rest of the second replie*, p. 74.

⁵⁷ Whitgift, *An ansuvere to... An admonition to the Parliament*, p. 225; idem, *The defense of the aunsuvere to the Admonition*, p. 748.

⁵⁸ ‘A view of Popishe abuses yet remaying in the English Church’, sig. B6r; Whitgift, *An ansuvere to... An admonition to the Parliament*, p. 225.

⁵⁹ Whitgift, *The defense of the aunsuvere to the Admonition*, p. 747.

⁶⁰ Whitgift, *An ansuvere to... An admonition to the Parliament*, p. 226. Italics mine.

⁶¹ Whitgift, *An ansuvere to... An admonition to the Parliament*, p. 225.

throughout England's 'Long Reformation'. It was an ideal which Whitgift presented, firstly, as returning to cathedrals' godly origins in the early Church, and secondly, as already embodied in the contemporary English Church. In his *Defence of the Answer*, he described how cathedrals were, in the early Church,

places wherein are nourished for the most parte, the best, the wisest, the learnedst men of the Clergie in the lande, whiche not onely, in the respect of their soundnesse in religio[n], profoundnesse in learning, dilige[n]ce in preaching, but wisdom also, experience, & dexteritie in gouerning, are not onely an ornament to the realme, profitable to the Churche, honour to the Prince: but also a stay from barbarisme, a bridle to sectes & heresies, & a bulwarke agaynst confusion. *Wherefore as the vse of them then, for those times & states was good and godly: so is the vse of them now in this age and state no lesse comuenient, godly, and necessarie.*⁶²

Whitgift presented a coherent and comprehensive vision of cathedrals' role in the early Church, which echoed reformed notions of ministry and faith. For Whitgift, such a vision remained powerful and relevant, for it was to this that contemporary cathedrals, 'furnished with wyse, learned, and godly men', were portrayed as returning.⁶³ Firstly, this vision presented cathedrals as centres of education and learning.⁶⁴ They were 'next to the vniuersities, [the] chiefest mainteyners of godlinesse, religion, and learning'.⁶⁵ This connection between the cathedrals and universities recurred in Elizabethan writings. They were understood as 'both depending vpon one thréede' and Cartwright's attack on cathedrals inevitably led him to attack the universities as similarly 'fraught them wyth Non residences'.⁶⁶ However, cathedrals were understood as complementing, rather than replicating the role of the universities. While 'Grammer schooles, and the Uniuersities serue[d]' as a 'meanes to maynteyne men whiles they be in learning', 'Cathedrall churches with such other preferments serue[d]' as 'rewardes for those that haue spent much time in getting learning, and be learned'.⁶⁷ Whilst understood in terms of theological training and education, cathedrals were also seen as having a unique role as 'rewardes' for learning for older, wiser divines. This latter point, and its reiteration after 1660, would continue to be controversial (even among conformists), being seen to celebrate the idleness of cathedral clergy.⁶⁸

Secondly, this vision presented cathedrals as centres of evangelism, both homiletically and polemically. As Whitgift sought to show, cathedrals and their clergy were known for 'their soundnesse in religio[n], profoundnesse in learning, dilige[n]ce in preaching', and for many Elizabethan writers, cathedrals were thus to act as the mission centres in spreading the reformed gospel, just as they had in

⁶² Whitgift, *The defense of the aunsvvere to the Admonition*, p. 747. Italics mine.

⁶³ Whitgift, *An ansvere to... An admonition to the Parliament*, p. 206.

⁶⁴ On the development of this particular point of the vision after 1689, see below, chapter 3, pp. 117-20.

⁶⁵ Whitgift, *An ansvere to... An admonition to the Parliament*, p. 225.

⁶⁶ Whitgift, *An ansvere to... An admonition to the Parliament*, p. 225; idem, *The defense of the aunsvvere to the Admonition*, p. 744; Cartwright, *A replee to an ansvere*, p. 204.

⁶⁷ Whitgift, *The defense of the aunsvvere to the Admonition*, p. 748.

⁶⁸ See below, chapter 3, pp. 113-4.

the early Church.⁶⁹ However, their ‘soundnesse in religio[n]’, wisdom and learning were to play another role in this evangelistic process, by acting as a ‘stay from barbarisme, a bridle to sectes & heresies, & a bulwarke agaynst confusion’.⁷⁰ Cathedrals were envisaged as fundamental to the defence and propagation of orthodoxy against recusant and sectarian polemical attack. Whitgift boasted of English cathedral clergy, claiming that ‘the worst wherof in learning shal encounter with al Papists, Puritans, Anabaptists, and what other sects soeuer in England’.⁷¹ Belief in cathedral clergy’s polemical gifts and role in defence of the established Church would not only continue during the Restoration period, but well into the eighteenth century.⁷²

Thirdly, this vision presented cathedrals as collegiate institutions, embodying a godly model of governance. This part was developed in response to Cartwright’s extended challenge on this point. Indeed, Whitgift’s defence of cathedrals’ antiquity had rested on claims that ‘Collegiate Churches be of great antiquitie’.⁷³ Acknowledging their antiquity, Cartwright had defined the collegiate churches of the early Church as ‘a senate Ecclesiasticall standing of godly learned mynisters & elders which gouerned and watched ouer that flocke which was in the citie or towne where suche churches were’.⁷⁴ However, Cartwright emphasised that such churches corresponded neither to present-day collegiate churches, nor to cathedrals.⁷⁵ Whitgift by contrast (attempting to defend *cathedrals*’ antiquity) asserted that ‘Collegiate and Cathedrall Churches be all one’.⁷⁶ For Whitgift, the model defined by Cartwright was that of the primitive cathedral, ‘a Colledge of ministers ouer whom the Bishop bare rule’, which ‘with the Bishop had the deciding of al co[n]trouersies in doctrine or ceremonies, & the direction[n] of diuers other matters in al those places that were vnder that citie, that is in all that shyre or Diocesse’.⁷⁷ While recognising that this model had evolved, with some of the authority of cathedral presbyters passing to the civil magistrate, Whitgift nonetheless claimed that this ‘kinde of gouernment’ was ‘not so cleane blotted out’:

For the Bishop who was then, and is now the chiefe of that colledge or Church, keepeth his authoritie still, & may if he please ... g[a]ther those ministers or Priestes of the Cathedrall Church to consult of such things as are expedient, & in diuers pointes he can do nothing without them.⁷⁸

Whitgift’s defence asserted cathedrals’ collegiate character, while defending them as upholding a primitive understanding of episcopacy – itself interesting, considering Whitgift’s reputation as a

⁶⁹ Whitgift, *The defense of the aunsvvere to the Admonition*, p. 747.

⁷⁰ Whitgift, *The defense of the aunsvvere to the Admonition*, p. 747.

⁷¹ Whitgift, *An ansuvere to... An admonition to the Parliament*, p. 206.

⁷² See below, chapters 2 and 3, pp. 77, 115-7.

⁷³ Whitgift, *An ansuvere to... An admonition to the Parliament*, p. 225.

⁷⁴ Cartwright, *A replye to an ansuvere*, p. 205.

⁷⁵ Cartwright, *A replye to an ansuvere*, pp. 204-5.

⁷⁶ Whitgift, *The defense of the aunsvvere*, p. 747.

⁷⁷ Whitgift, *The defense of the aunsvvere*, p. 747.

⁷⁸ Whitgift, *The defense of the aunsvvere*, p. 747.

disciplinarian. It demonstrates how his broader views on conformity did not extend to his vision for cathedrals (unlike future Laudian churchmen).⁷⁹ This primitive view of cathedrals would reappear in 1640-1 during the Long Parliament debates and in 1660-2 during debates over the Restoration settlement.

3. PURITANISM, REFORM AND THE PROTESTANT CATHEDRAL IDEAL, c.1572-1603

Whitgift's contributions to the *Admonition* controversy not only sought to answer puritan arguments against cathedrals, but formulated a distinct vision of a Protestant cathedral – one portrayed as having existed in the early Church, and to which the current English Church had returned. Neither the *Admonition*, nor Whitgift's answer, however, settled the question of cathedrals – nor brought about that hoped-for reformation of the English Church – and arguments from both sides would be reiterated in debates after the Restoration. While the appointment of Edmund Grindal as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1575 briefly raised hopes of reform, his subsequent suspension and sequestration, and the nomination of the 'testy disciplinarian' Whitgift to the archbishopric in 1583 once more provoked puritan opposition.⁸⁰ His drive for clerical subscription, begun in October 1583, led to 'a renewed sense of urgency among the puritan clergy for reform of the church', which would be raised notably during the 1584 and 1586 parliaments.⁸¹ The 1580s, during which 'Presbyterianism was at its strongest', would also see increased polemical attacks on cathedrals.⁸²

Scholars have used such writings to demonstrate the continued strength of puritan opposition to cathedrals.⁸³ Just as Cartwright wanted cathedrals converted to other uses, puritan reformers are perceived as disinterested in retaining cathedrals as an institutional model (even reformed and purged) within the Church. This view, however, obscures how – beneath the vehement language – many calls for reform from the mid-1580s gave cathedrals a role in a reformed Church (or at least displayed expectations of what a reformed cathedral would look like). Closer inspection of these writings reveals how their antagonism demonstrated belief in cathedrals' importance and influence, and even a desire to use it. Furthermore, while diametrically opposed to Whitgift's aims, these texts demonstrate how a Protestant cathedral ideal could appeal beyond conformist circles and underpin puritan calls for reform. That puritan engagement with cathedrals was not simply one of opposition is particularly significant

⁷⁹ This is discussed below, pp. 53-5.

⁸⁰ John Craig, 'The growth of English Puritanism', in Coffey and Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, pp. 34-47 (p. 41).

⁸¹ Craig, 'The growth of English Puritanism', pp. 41-2.

⁸² Spurr, *English Puritanism, 1603-1689*, p. 55. See also Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?*; Polly Ha, *English Presbyterianism, 1590-1640* (Stanford, CA, 2011).

⁸³ Cross, 'Dens of Loitering Lubbers', pp. 231-2; Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism', pp. 44-5.

for understanding the Restoration debates and for charting nonconformists' evolving engagement with an important and controversial aspect of England's Reformation legacy.

Firstly, cathedrals held potential as centres of learning and education. A 1586 petition concerning the establishment of a 'learned and sufficient ministrye', celebrated how the English Church benefitted not only from 'two famous Universities', but also from 'many good Schooles of Cathedrall Churches'.⁸⁴ Although it lamented that these had not yet produced the number of ministers required (unlike the 'Churches of reformed discipline, wanting all these meanes') it nonetheless demonstrates how puritan reformers saw cathedrals' educational potential as valuable and worth harnessing for further reformation. Another 1586 petition for the 'reformation of the mynisterie', similarly sought to utilise cathedrals' prominent position in the Church, demanding that 'everie cathedral church have an ordinarie lecture of divinity at least thrice in the weeke, *both for the instruction of such as shall be trained in the ministry and for the benefite of the people*'.⁸⁵

Secondly, cathedrals could act as mission centres in spreading the Protestant faith. As the above petition shows, cathedral lectures would be both for training ministers, *and* 'for the benefite of the people'. However, even more aggressive attacks on cathedrals maintained their institutional framework as useful for evangelising. One 1587 petition argued that cathedrals 'should therefore be pulled down, *or else all the loiterers turned out, and four or five preachers put in their places, and attached to adjoining parishes*' and any additional revenue redirected to 'the maintenance of a learned preacher in some parish unable to afford it'.⁸⁶ Although not elaborating a vision of *cathedral* ministry, the cathedral still played an institutional and financial role in enabling proper parish ministry – a proposal which would reappear in the post-revolutionary Church.⁸⁷

Thirdly, cathedrals could be seen to embody an attractive model of Church government. Written in 1584 in response to Whitgift's articles, and 'for the better ordering and direction of Ecclesiastical government', one anonymous author demanded that 'dispensations for non-residents to derive great benefit from cathedral churches be not granted' and lamented that reform of England's cathedrals had still not been attempted 'after twenty-six years of the Gospel'. Denouncing cathedral clergy for 'hav[ing] brought non-residence to a fine art', this puritan writer lamented how 'they neither preach nor visit their people, keep hospitality nor *attend on the bishop*'.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ 'A meanes for the establishing of a learned and sufficient ministrye' (1586), in *The Second Parte of a Register*, ed. Peel, vol. II, pp. 198-9 (p. 198).

⁸⁵ 'Articles of reformation of the mynisterie' (1586), in *The Second Parte of a Register*, ed. Peel, vol. II, pp. 199-202 (p. 200). Italics mine.

⁸⁶ 'The request of all true Christians', p. 211. Italics mine.

⁸⁷ See below, chapter 3, pp. 114-6.

⁸⁸ 'Certaine points to be considered of touching the petition made to her Ma^{tie} ... for the better ordering and direction of Ecclesiastical government', p. 178. Italics mine.

*They should form a body of advisers for their Ordinary, but instead they quarrel among themselves and with him – especially about leases and fee-farms – and all the time.*⁸⁹

While not outlining a vision of reform as such, this puritan writer had expectations of what a reformed cathedral should look like. Not only should the duties of cathedral clergy include preaching and pastoral care, but they should support the bishop in governing his Church. Writing in 1586 on ‘the pollicie and government of the Ecclesiastical State’, another complained that among cathedral clergy were ‘few or none employed in attendance or execution of Church government’ and that they were ‘far from cherishing the mutuall conferences of learning and tongues with their close’.⁹⁰ Although once again highlighting failures of contemporary cathedral clergy, this demonstrates how puritan writers could portray cathedral clergy as a corporate body committed to the execution of Church government, rather than dismissing such a role as unnecessary. Indeed, this particular writer went so far as to give cathedral clergy a specific role in the event of ‘the generall Invasion and Usurpation of Bishops over the residue of their diocese’.⁹¹ In such cases, clergy should ‘adopt the custom still practised in “ancient Cathedrall Churches,” i.e. the right of appeal, not to the Bishop, but to the Dean and Chapter’.⁹² Just as cathedrals had a role in the education of ministers and provision of preaching, so too could a role be envisaged for them in providing Church government, both alongside, and even instead of, the bishop.

*

As calls for reform from the mid-1580s demonstrate, puritan attitudes to cathedrals were more complex than simply of straightforward opposition. Far from dismissing cathedrals as lacking a future in a reformed English Church, some wanted to use cathedrals as institutions for educating ministers, evangelising the people and governing the Church. This vision was given historical depth in the moderate puritan William Harrison’s ‘hystoricall description of Britaine’ in *Holinshed’s Chronicle* (1577, 1587). Harrison both celebrated cathedrals’ status in the early Church (as theological centres in the Christianisation of the nation) and portrayed puritan calls for reform as a return to this original purpose.⁹³ Such texts demonstrate how a Protestant cathedral ideal could influence and appeal beyond

⁸⁹ ‘Certaine points to be considered of touching the petition made to her Ma^{tie} ... for the better ordering and direction of Ecclesiastical government’, p. 178. Italics mine.

⁹⁰ ‘Certaine points concerning the pollicie and government of the Ecclesiastical State’, p. 18.

⁹¹ ‘Certaine points concerning the pollicie and government of the Ecclesiastical State’, p. 18.

⁹² ‘Certaine points concerning the pollicie and government of the Ecclesiastical State’, p. 18.

⁹³ This would deserve a study in its own right, which I hope to publish in an article. William Harrison, ‘Of the number of Bishoprijcks in Englande and Wales, and of the present state of the churche there’, in Raphael Holinshed, *The chronicles of England* (London, 1577), vol. I, Book II, ch. 5; idem, ‘Of the ancient and present estate of the church of England’, in Raphael Holinshed, *The chronicles of England* (London, 1587), vol. I, Book II, ch. 1. On Harrison, see Glyn Parry, ‘William Harrison and Holinshed’s Chronicles’, *HJ*, 27 (1984), 789-810; idem, ‘William Harrison and the Two Churches in Elizabethan Puritan Thinking’, *JEH*, 36 (1985), 370-93; idem, *A Protestant Vision: William Harrison and the Reformation of Elizabethan England* (Cambridge, 1987).

strict conformist circles. This contributes to Marcombe's arguments about the success of such an ideal, especially during the Elizabethan era, and before the Laudian ascendancy in the 1620s.

However, within this shared Protestant cathedral ideal, were underlying tensions and differences which would later prove problematic, particularly during debates in 1660-2.⁹⁴ Such differences concern the relationship between cathedrals and episcopacy. While Whitgift and some puritan reformers saw cathedrals as providing a body of advisers to the bishop, others divorced their Protestant conception of the cathedral from episcopacy. As already mentioned, one puritan reformer celebrated cathedrals' role in the government of the Church because of their *independence*, so that local clergy could appeal to the dean and chapter *against* their bishop.⁹⁵ Although not wholly dissociating cathedrals from episcopacy, Harrison only described this relationship spatially ('because the bishops dwell or lie néere vnto the same') and through relations of patronage (with bishops placing scholars in cathedrals).⁹⁶ Harrison did not describe the relationship between cathedrals and bishops in terms of ecclesiastical governance.

This ambiguity over cathedrals' exact relationship with episcopacy – and within a seemingly identical Protestant conception of the cathedral – could be seen as *allowing* broader engagement with cathedrals in the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean period. Such differences could be ignored or interpreted differently to suit individual needs, with some seeing cathedrals as independent, collegiate, almost 'proto-prebysterian' institutions, whilst others celebrated cathedrals as upholding a primitive reading of episcopacy. The first could explain why one early Jacobean writer believed cathedrals were filled with puritan churchmen, who – to escape episcopal censure – had abandoned parochial cures for prebendal posts.⁹⁷ Whilst an overarching Protestant conception of cathedrals allowed such differences to go largely unnoticed and a wider range of puritan churchmen to engage with cathedrals, the rise of the Laudian party in the 1620s, with its increasing emphasis on cathedrals' episcopal and diocesan status, would render such ambiguities difficult to ignore.

⁹⁴ See below, chapter 2, pp. 72-6.

⁹⁵ 'Certain points concerninge the pollicie and government of the Ecclesiastical State', p. 18.

⁹⁶ Harrison, 'Of the ancient and present estate of the church of England', pp. 135, 138.

⁹⁷ BL, Royal MS 18B XIX, pp. 10-11, quoted in Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, p. 139.

PART II: FROM CENTRES OF REFORMED RELIGION TO CEREMONIAL ‘MOTHER CHURCHES’:
THE LAUDIAN SHIFT AND THE PURITAN RESPONSE, C.1620-1640

The Protestant cathedral ideal, as most clearly articulated by Whitgift during the *Admonition* controversy, continued to influence conformist and moderate puritan churchmen’s conception of cathedrals into the early Stuart period.⁹⁸ One example is the minister and anti-puritan writer William Covell (*d.*1613). Defending the endowments of the Church against proponents of the ‘new discipline’, Covell directly quoted from Whitgift’s *Defense* to promote a vision of cathedrals as centres of preaching and reformed doctrine, staffed by godly, wise and experienced divines.⁹⁹ Covell also propagated the late Elizabethan connection of cathedral and university, describing both places as ‘the rich storehouses of learned men seruiceable to the Church for many vses’,¹⁰⁰ whose dissolution could ‘bring litle aduantage vnto Gods church’.¹⁰¹ The antiquity of its collegiate system similarly inspired Covell, as it had his Elizabethan predecessors, for through it,

when our kingdome shall haue cause to send to the greatest councell, ... the church shall haue, men of wisest moderation, best liues, and deepest iudgements, that these places, shalbe able to furnish them, with much honor.¹⁰²

Marcombe has viewed the period between 1540 and 1620 as an ‘era of Cathedral reform’,¹⁰³ during which ‘a unified Protestant church interest had succeeded in moulding a new profile for the Cathedrals which was acceptable to the vast majority of Englishmen’.¹⁰⁴ Only with the Laudian ascendancy was this Protestant cathedral ideal challenged and supplanted by a very different cathedral ethos – one which would have profound consequences for the fate of cathedrals.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁸ See, for instance, Andrew Willet, *An antilogie or counterplea to An apologeticall (he should haue said) apologeticall epistle published by a fauorite of the Romane separation* (London, 1603), p. 113.

⁹⁹ Whitgift’s defence of his answer to the *Admonition*, quoted in William Covell, *A modest and reasonable examination, of some things in vse in the Church of England, sundrie times heretofore misliked* (London, 1604), p. 156. See Whitgift, *The defense of the aunsvvere to the Admonition*, p. 747.

¹⁰⁰ Covell, *A modest and reasonable examination*, p. 151.

¹⁰¹ Covell, *A modest and reasonable examination*, p. 156.

¹⁰² Covell, *A modest and reasonable examination*, p. 156.

¹⁰³ Marcombe, ‘Cathedrals and Protestantism’, p. 48.

¹⁰⁴ Marcombe, ‘Cathedrals and Protestantism’, p. 58.

¹⁰⁵ Marcombe, ‘Cathedrals and Protestantism’, pp. 55-6. On ‘Avant-Garde Conformity’ during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see, for example, Peter Lake, ‘Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I’, in Linda Levy Peck (ed.), *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 113-33; idem, ‘The “Anglican Moment”?’ Richard Hooker and the Ideological Watershed of the 1590s’, in Stephen Platten (ed.), *Anglicanism and the Western Christian Tradition: Continuity, Change and the Search for Communion* (Norwich, 2003), pp. 90-121; Peter McCullough, ‘“Avant-Garde Conformity” in the 1590s’, in Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I*, pp. 380-94. On the idea of ‘the rise of Arminianism’, see notably Peter White, ‘The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered’, *P&P*, 101 (1983), 34-54; Nicholas Tyacke, ‘Debate, The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered’, *P&P*, 115 (1987), 201-16; Peter White, ‘A Rejoinder’, *P&P*, 115 (1987), 217-29.

In parallel to existing historiography which explores the shift from a ‘Calvinist consensus’ to a Church dominated by Arminianism, recent work on early modern cathedrals has investigated the eclipse of a Protestant conception of cathedrals by that of a Laudian vision. Ian Atherton has charted this transition, demonstrating how only through a Laudian ‘takeover’ could early Stuart cathedrals become showcases for the ‘beauty of holiness’.¹⁰⁶ Behind this Laudian ‘takeover’ lay a powerful vision of cathedrals and their place within the Church, which, though initially remote from the reality of the early modern English cathedral, ‘could function as an inspiration for conservative experiment’.¹⁰⁷ This vision derived, firstly, from their view of the Reformation. Laudian churchmen propagated the idea that cathedrals had kept themselves pure from later puritanical excess, preserving the principles of England’s first reformation. Cathedrals’ liturgical practices and sacramental standards were understood as representing perfect conformity to the Elizabethan injunctions, and thus as embodying true reformed religion.¹⁰⁸ Secondly, it derived from their understanding of cathedrals’ place in the wider Church. Laudian churchmen revived cathedrals’ medieval status as ‘mother churches’ and ‘liturgical exemplar[s]’ of their dioceses to which the parish churches were to conform. This vision would shape the ecclesiastical policies of the Restoration archbishops, Gilbert Sheldon and William Sancroft.¹⁰⁹

While the Laudian conception of cathedrals has been widely acknowledged and discussed by scholars (notably Tyacke and Fincham in *Altars Restored*) there has been little engagement with early Stuart critiques of cathedrals. Earlier scholars such as Cross have depicted puritan opposition to cathedrals as a coherent and consistent feature of the early modern English religious landscape.¹¹⁰ Recent work, however, has highlighted how criticism of cathedrals was substantially muted from the 1590s and confined to separatist circles.¹¹¹ Marcombe has claimed that ‘the rhetoric of the Elizabethan puritans had faded into insignificance’ by 1620.¹¹² Atherton has asserted that ‘[c]ensorship during the Personal Rule ... ensured that public criticism of English cathedrals had been restricted to the circles of aspiring martyrs, such as the Puritans William Prynne and Henry Burton’.¹¹³ For Atherton, it was not

¹⁰⁶ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches’. See above, introduction, pp. 9-10.

¹⁰⁷ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches’, p. 918.

¹⁰⁸ This was a view promoted in the Laudian Peter Heylyn’s histories. See below, chapter 4, pp. 149-54.

¹⁰⁹ See below, chapter 2, pp. 79-81.

¹¹⁰ Cross, ‘Dens of Loitering Lubbers’.

¹¹¹ See, for example, Francis Johnson, *Certayne reasons and arguments proving that it is not lawfull to heare or have any spirituall communion with the present ministerie of the Church of England* (Amsterdam, 1608), p. 88; Jean de L’Écluse, *An advertisement to everie Godly reader of Mr. Thomas Brightman his book ... In which advertisement is shewed how corruptly he teacheth, that notwithstanding all the sinns & abominations that are in the Church of England, and by him shewed, yet that it is blasphemous to separate from it* (Amsterdam, 1612), p. 12. Far from focussing on cathedrals, such criticisms were voiced within the context of general opposition to the English Church. See, for example, Henry Ainsworth, as quoted in Hugh Broughton, *Certayne questions ... Handled betwene Mr Hugh Broughton ... and Mr Henry Ainsvorth teacher of the exiled English Church at Amsterdam aforesaid* ([Amsterdam?], 1605), pp. 10-1.

¹¹² Marcombe, ‘Cathedrals and Protestantism’, p. 57.

¹¹³ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, p. 98. See, for instance, William Prynne, *A briefe suruay and censure of Mr Cozens his couzening deuotions* (London, 1628), pp. 71, 97; *Certaine arguments and motives of speciall moment propounded to the consideration of our most noble King and state tending to perswade them to abolish that unhappy and unhallowed government of our church by bishops* ([?], 1634), pp. 28-9; William

until the opening of the Long Parliament in 1640 and the breakdown of censorship after the abolition of the Star Chamber in July 1641 that the scale of hostility to cathedrals became apparent.¹¹⁴

This view, however, risks portraying puritan critiques simply in terms of intensification, rather than of changing focus, between Elizabeth's death and the opening of the Long Parliament in 1640. This contrasts to broader understandings of puritanism as 'a thing [not] definable in itself but only one half of a stressful relationship', which 'inevitably altered to reflect the evolving priorities and preoccupations of church, state and people'.¹¹⁵ This section will therefore focus on another, little-discussed aspect of the Laudian cathedral vision – the question of authority and jurisdiction, and the related issue of diocesan episcopacy – and puritan responses to these theological developments. Such issues deserve emphasis because they would play a far greater role than cathedral ceremonialism in shaping nonconformist responses to cathedrals during the Restoration period.¹¹⁶ Indeed, the Restoration Church, with its emphasis on the enforcement of conformity, would reawaken memories of Laudian attempts to shape cathedrals into seats of episcopal power.

1. CATHEDRALS AS AUTHORITARIAN 'MOTHER CHURCHES': THE QUESTION OF JURISDICTION AND AUTHORITY

Studies on the Laudian campaign for a 'beauty of holiness' and for the restoration of clerical authority and wealth have demonstrated that – far from representing simply an 'unconventionally zealous pursuit of the largely conventional aims of uniformity, unity, order and obedience' – the Laudian obsession with conformity arose out of a 'coherent, distinctive and polemically aggressive vision of the Church'.¹¹⁷ The Laudian narrative made cathedrals a powerful ecclesiological category, whose liturgical and ceremonial example was used, most notably, to enforce the controversial altar policies of the

Prynne, *A quench-coale* (Amsterdam, 1637), p. 37; Henry Burton, *A replie to a relation, of the conference between William Laude and Mr. Fisher the Jesuite* (Amsterdam, 1640), pp. 66-7, 104, 107.

¹¹⁴ Atherton, 'Cathedrals and the British Revolution', p. 98. Broader polemical works picked up this thread. See, for example, John Blaxton, *A remonstrance against the non-residents of Great Brittain, or, Non-residency condemned by Scripture* (London, 1642), pp. 12, 16-17. On the idea of a breakdown of press censorship in 1640, see David R. Como, 'Print, Censorship, and Ideological Escalation in the English Civil War', *JBS*, 51 (2012), 820-57.

¹¹⁵ Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, p. 143; Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales, 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700', in Durston and Eales (eds), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700*, pp. 1-31 (p. 4). On the evolution of puritan concerns over the early Stuart period, see, for example, Tyacke, 'The 'Rise of Puritanism' and the Legalizing of Dissent, 1571-1719'; idem, 'The fortunes of English Puritanism, 1603-40', in Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism c. 1530-1700*, pp. 111-31.

¹¹⁶ See below, chapter 2, pp. 82-4.

¹¹⁷ Peter Lake, 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s', in Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church*, pp. 161-85 (pp. 161, 162). On the Laudian 'beauty of holiness' campaign, see, for example, Parry, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation*. On the idea of Laud as simply a Whitgiftian disciple of order and uniformity, see Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, p. 401.

1630s.¹¹⁸ Not only did their status as ‘mother churches’ emphasise their jurisdictional power over parishes (thereby aligning cathedrals more closely with the ecclesiastical hierarchy), but the portrayal of cathedral practices as embodying Elizabethan injunctions further tied cathedrals to issues of conformity and its implementation.

While some Elizabethan puritans had decried cathedrals’ status as ‘paternes and presidents to the people, of all superstitions’,¹¹⁹ such critiques had only portrayed cathedrals as exemplars, rather than as holding legal authority. Elizabethan puritans had seldom included cathedrals in their critiques of the ecclesiastical hierarchy’s disciplinary power. The *Admonition*, for instance, had decried those ‘Lorde Bishops, theyr suffraganes, Archdeaco[n]s, Cha[n]celers, Officials’ who ‘take vpon them ... the rule of Gods Church, spoyling the pastor ... of his lawful iurisdiction ouer hys own flocke’.¹²⁰ Although chancellors were part of the cathedral body, cathedrals themselves did not appear as centres of jurisdictional power.¹²¹ Only a rare example, dated 1586, had decried how ‘the Countrie Churches abroad must follow *the steppes and paterne of their Mother Church*, and conforme themselves to the example and dispositions of their governours’.¹²² This included the cathedral clergy who ‘chalenge the 2nd place of superioritie ... next to their ordinarie the Bishop’.¹²³ How, the writer asked, ‘can it be possible that a faithful, zealous, and learned minister, hitting upon anie pastorall charge in such a diocese ... should not quicklie feale the long heaue hands and cunning undermining stratagemes of the Consistorie and Chapter of that Diocese’?¹²⁴

This earlier puritan writer had implicated cathedrals in the ecclesiastical hierarchy’s persecutory power. His explicit use of the term ‘mother church’ demonstrates how far such a concept was never simply understood in terms of ceremony, but also in terms of jurisdiction and discipline. However, such a depiction was rare amongst Elizabethan and early Jacobean puritans. It was not until the Laudian ascendancy that cathedrals’ jurisdictional power would be harnessed and promoted through their status as ‘mother churches’. While, as Atherton has argued, the 1620s and 1630s saw few outright condemnations of cathedrals on charges of popery,¹²⁵ anti-cathedral polemic had evolved to respond to what was perceived as perhaps the more urgent issue of cathedrals’ increasing jurisdiction and authority,

¹¹⁸ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, esp. chs 5, 6. See also Kenneth Fincham, ‘The Restoration of Altars in the 1630s’, *HJ*, 44 (2002), 919-40.

¹¹⁹ ‘A view of Popishe abuses yet remayning in the English Church’, sig. B5r. Italics mine.

¹²⁰ *An admonition to the Parliament*, sig. B5v.

¹²¹ On chancellors’ role, see Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, p. 6.

¹²² ‘Certaine points concerninge the pollicie and government of the Ecclesiastical State’, p. 12. Italics mine.

¹²³ ‘Certaine points concerninge the pollicie and government of the Ecclesiastical State’, p. 12.

¹²⁴ ‘Certaine points concerninge the pollicie and government of the Ecclesiastical State’, p. 12. The author also included cathedral men in his description of the ‘Clergy of the Convocation house’. See *idem*, p. 8.

¹²⁵ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, p. 98; and above, pp. 49-50.

and their role in imposing conformity. One puritan writer spoke of cathedrals' example as the 'Law of Conformity' by which Laudian churchmen sought to impose controversial policies.¹²⁶

One example of this shifting emphasis in critiques in the late Jacobean period is a tract by the Scottish minister David Calderwood (c.1575-1650). Writing in 1621, Calderwood reiterated the critiques of the *Admonition* to denounce non-resident clergy as 'lurking in their Cathedrall Churches, as in dens, devouring the benefices of Parishes lying farre off in the meane time'.¹²⁷ However, Calderwood's greatest concern was the ecclesiastical hierarchy's disciplinary power over the wider Church. Lamenting the Church's intractable policy of conformity, Calderwood outlined its disciplinary mechanisms, how commissioners were able to 'inflict spirituall censures and punishments, as suspension, deprivation, deposition, excommunication' in their courts and call on ministers to 'comand ... [them] to denounce and declare in some Cathedrall Church, or other publick place, the offender to bee excommunicated'.¹²⁸ Cathedrals, for Calderwood, were the sites of penance and excommunication, inherently tied to the expression of the Church's authoritarian power. Yet they were also endowed with their own jurisdictional power, and Calderwood repeatedly critiqued how

The Deane and Prebendaries in many places have power severally to excommunicate in their parishes which belong to them in peculiar, but they convene not chapter[...] to exercise spirituall jurisdiction, and inflict spirituall punishments, and censures, upon every delinquent within the Dioci[s]e, yea or cathedral seat onely, either with the Bishop, or without him.¹²⁹

When considering the relationship between cathedral and parish church, earlier attacks had focussed on its financial dimension and spiritual consequences. The fact that critiques, after 1620, reconfigured this relationship as primarily about discipline and jurisdiction demonstrates how Laudian emphases on conformity and authority influenced the focus of puritan critiques. These developments would significantly affect how cathedrals were understood after 1660. However, early Stuart puritans did not simply decry cathedrals' newly asserted power. They also challenged the legality of such authority by turning to the Church's own claims – a polemical strategy which would reappear in Restoration nonconformists' engagement with cathedrals.¹³⁰

Writing in 1636, the puritan polemicist Henry Burton denounced the very idea of cathedrals as ceremonial exemplars, asking 'by what title doe Cathedrals come to be Mothers to other Churches?

¹²⁶ *Englands complaint to Iesus Christ, against the bishops canons of the late sinfull synod, a seditious conuenticle, a packe of hypocrites, a sworne confederacy, a traiterous conspiracy* (Amsterdam, 1640), sig. E1r. For a similar example from the Restoration period, see below, chapter 2, p. 84.

¹²⁷ David Calderwood, *The altar of Damascus or the patern of the English hierarchie, and Church policie obruded upon the Church of Scotland* (Amsterdam, 1621), pp. 154, 66.

¹²⁸ Calderwood, *The altar of Damascus*, p. 28.

¹²⁹ Calderwood, *The altar of Damascus*, p. 158.

¹³⁰ See below, chapter 2, pp. 94-5.

what Mothers? Except Step-Mothers'.¹³¹ Concerned with issues of law and legality, he asked from what authority they imposed their 'new rites' on the parishes:¹³²

But by what Law? By the Popes Canon? Doth not our Law exclude out of all Churches all other rites, besides those in the Communion Booke? ... And doth not another Homily co[n]demne the setting up of Images, Crucifixes, and such Reliques in Churches; and all for the perill of Idolatry ...? And doth not the Queenes Injunctions forbid all skrines and reliques of Idolatry and Superstition? And doth not another Homily condemne many Altars, Images, and Idols, as heathenish and Iewish abuses?¹³³

It demonstrates how puritan opponents challenged the Laudian vision by contrasting the Church's claims (in this case her rubrics and injunctions) with the reality in the cathedrals. Not only did such critiques increasingly emphasise the authority of cathedrals in enforcing conformity, but – as Burton's claim regarding 'the Prelates thus mak[ing] the Mother Cathedrals ... their Concubines' made clear – cathedrals were becoming increasingly associated with episcopal tyranny.¹³⁴

2. CATHEDRALS AS DIOCESAN 'MOTHER CHURCHES': THE QUESTION OF *IURE DIVINO* EPISCOPACY

While conceived of as holding significant jurisdictional power, cathedrals only derived this authority – and indeed their status as 'mother churches' – from their position as episcopal seats and diocesan centres. Although this had – technically – always been the case, the development of *iure divino* notions of episcopacy, particularly under the Laudian regime, ensured that cathedrals were increasingly understood in more elevated episcopal and diocesan terms. Where once scholars saw *iure divino* notions of episcopacy as emanating from Richard Bancroft's famous 1589 sermon, recent work has not only reappraised its origins but provided a more multi-faceted understanding of the position. Anthony Milton, for instance, has highlighted how 'many divines seemed able to maintain the *iure divino* position without holding it to imply the perpetual necessity of episcopal government as the ordained means of salvation'.¹³⁵ Such a position distinguished between asserting that episcopacy was apostolic, and asserting that it was instituted by Christ (implying immutability). Under Laud, such ambiguities were gradually erased, and a more inflexible understanding of episcopacy was promoted as an immutable institution and doctrine of the English Church. In both cases, accounts of the early Church – used to demonstrate the *iure divino* nature of episcopacy – gave cathedrals a special place.

¹³¹ Henry Burton, *For God, and the King* ([Amsterdam], 1636), p. 162.

¹³² Burton, *For God, and the King*, p. 163.

¹³³ Burton, *For God, and the King*, pp. 163-4.

¹³⁴ Burton, *For God, and the King*, pp. 163-4.

¹³⁵ Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, pp. 460-1.

Writing in 1611, the future Bishop of Derry, George Downham, represented the earlier position on *iure divino* episcopacy, asserting that ‘in respect of their first institution, ... [it is] Apostolicall, and so a diuine ordinance’, though not one that was ‘generally, perpetually, and immutably necessarie’.¹³⁶ Depicting ‘the Deanes and chapters of our Cathedrall Churches’ as ‘the remainder of the [early Church’s] Presbyteries’ joined to the bishop in the government of the Church,¹³⁷ cathedrals were primarily portrayed as enshrining diocesan power and an apostolically-instituted episcopacy, for

although in euery Diocesse there were many parish churches, both in country and citie, yet there was one chiefe church in the citie, which was the Bishops Cathedra or seat, wherein the Bishop most vsually performed the duties of the Episcopall and pastorall function.¹³⁸

The cathedral was primarily defined as the site of episcopal power and ministry. Furthermore, drawing on the early Church, Downham sought to prove ‘that the mother Church of Corinth was *diocesan*, (as all Cathedrall Churches bee) and that parishes distinguished from the Cathedrall, as children from the mother’, with cathedrals being ‘the mother Churches of euery diocesse’ since apostolic times.¹³⁹ This portrayal of cathedrals’ place in the early Church differed from earlier works, such as Whitgift’s, which – though also presenting cathedrals as upholding the bishop’s government of his Church – had put very little emphasis on this power being diocesan. Whitgift’s reading had celebrated cathedrals’ role within ecclesiastical government, rather than spatially enshrining episcopal power.¹⁴⁰ Proponents of *iure divino* episcopacy, such as Downham, incorporated cathedrals into their vision of the early Church, in ways which emphasised an apostolic and diocesan understanding of an episcopal Church. Laudian churchmen would propagate and reinforce this view, drawing on the power and precedence which this model conveyed to strengthen their vision of cathedrals as ‘mother churches’ whose authority played a central role in the implementation of conformity. This close association of cathedrals with a diocesan model of episcopacy would be particularly important during the Restoration period, tying cathedrals’ fate to churchmen’s attempts to reassert this model after the 1662 Act of Uniformity.¹⁴¹

Such developments profoundly affected puritan perceptions of cathedrals. Elizabethan puritan writers had, at numerous occasions, associated cathedrals with bishops in their critiques of the English Church, with regards to unscriptural origins, clerical corruption, and reliance on impropriations.¹⁴²

¹³⁶ These ideas were first laid out in a sermon preached on 17 April 1608 and subsequently defended in print in 1611. ODNB, ‘Downham, George (d.1634)’. George Downham, *A defence of the sermon preached at the consecration of the L. Bishop of Bath and VVelles* (London, 1611), p. 2.

¹³⁷ Downham, *A defence of the sermon*, pp. 42, 189-90.

¹³⁸ Downham, *A defence of the sermon*, p. 187.

¹³⁹ Downham, *A defence of the sermon*, pp. 104, 117. Italics mine.

¹⁴⁰ See above, pp. 43-4.

¹⁴¹ See below, chapter 2, pp. 73-6, 77, 81.

¹⁴² On clerical idleness and corruption, see, for example, ‘Certaine points to be considered of touching the petition made to her Ma^{tie} ... for the better ordering and direction of Ecclesiastical government’, p. 182. On reliance on

However, such critiques rarely related to diocesan power and jurisdiction. When it came to the connection between cathedrals and bishops in terms of ecclesiastical government, some Elizabethan puritans had even celebrated cathedrals as embodying primitive episcopacy. Although some were more ambiguous (instead seeing cathedrals as independent, collegiate, and ‘proto-presbyterian’ institutions), both positions had allowed Elizabethan puritans to celebrate the cathedral model of ecclesiastical government. This changed with the Laudian ascendancy. As Laudian churchmen and writers increasingly defended an *iure divino* view of episcopacy, cathedrals become increasingly associated with a rigid form of episcopal power and incorporated into diocesan and provincial frameworks of jurisdiction and discipline. Writing in 1622, the puritan divine William Ames (1576-1633) spoke of ‘the Prelates and their creatures’ as having ‘the disciplining of all the Cathedrall Churches in England’, and thus of ‘all the poore Parishes that depend upon them’.¹⁴³

The Root and Branch petition, presented to the Long Parliament in December 1640, demonstrated not only that cathedrals had, by the outbreak of Civil War, become widely associated with episcopacy, diocesan jurisdiction, and the imposition of conformity, but also how such claims had become central to anti-cathedral polemic. Indeed, the petition did not mention cathedrals specifically when critiquing the Church’s perceived popery, superstition and idolatry. Cathedrals were, however, explicitly mentioned with regard to issues of jurisdiction, authority and power:

the government of archbishops and lord bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c., with their courts and ministrations in them, have proved prejudicial and very dangerous both to the Church and Commonwealth, they themselves having formerly held that they have their jurisdiction or authority of human authority, till of these later times, being further pressed about the unlawfulness, that they have claimed their calling immediately from the Lord Jesus Christ.¹⁴⁴

This emphasis on the legal and jurisdictional dimensions of (arch)episcopal, capitular and archidiaconal power in the Root and Branch petition demonstrates that cathedrals were not conceived of as isolated jurisdictional entities, but that – by the outbreak of the Civil War and the opening of the Long Parliament – had become widely conceived of as part of a broader ecclesiastical framework of ‘offices and jurisdictions’, censorship and discipline, perceived as popish remnants in the hands of ‘the bishops’ creatures’.

impropriations, see, for example, ‘A Petition to the Queen’ (1584), in *The Second Parte of a Register*, ed. Peel, vol. I, pp. 254-6 (p. 255). See also ‘A meanes for the establishing of a learned and sufficient ministrey’.

¹⁴³ William Ames, *A reply to Dr. Mortons generall Defence of three nocent ceremonies* (Amsterdam, 1622), p. 29.

¹⁴⁴ ‘The Root and Branch Petition (1640)’, in *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, ed. Henry Gee and William John Hardy (New York, 1896), pp. 537-45.

PART III: RECAPTURING THE PROTESTANT CATHEDRAL IDEAL:

CATHEDRALS AND THE DEBATES OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT, C.1640-1649

The Laudian ascendancy had brought about a very different cathedral ethos to that formulated by Whitgift during the *Admonition* controversy, propagating a return to a liturgical understanding of cathedrals' place as ceremonial 'mother churches' and incorporating cathedrals into diocesan frameworks of power and jurisdiction. Both aspects of the Laudian ideal elicited a strong puritan response at the opening of the Long Parliament in 1640. While petitions and satirical works attacked the perceived popery, superstition and idolatry of the Laudian cathedrals,¹⁴⁵ the Root and Branch petition drew on issues of jurisdiction, discipline and authority in condemning cathedrals alongside other diocesan institutions. However, the scale and stridency of anti-cathedral polemic in the opening years of the Civil War obscures tensions amidst puritan attitudes to cathedrals. While there existed a longstanding tradition of puritan critiques of cathedrals, opponents also needed to propagate a narrative of Laudian innovation, particularly at the opening of the Long Parliament. As such, there was a distinctive trend within puritan polemic which presented cathedrals as *victims* of Laudianism. William Prynne, for instance, attacked the Bishop of Chester, John Bridgeman, who '[t]o comply with the times, ... erected divers stone Altars in his Diocesse, one in the Cathedrall at Chester *used in times of Popery, which hee caused to be digged up out of the ground where it was formerly buried*'.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, in his longstanding case against innovations at Durham, Peter Smart condemned the prebendaries Francis Burgoyne, John Cosin, and Bishop Richard Neile 'that *lately have brought into our Cathedrall Church such fanaticall fopperies*' that 'were *never before since the reigne of K. Philip and Q. Mary*'.¹⁴⁷ By setting forth a narrative of innovation which *included* cathedrals, Prynne and Smart implicitly portrayed cathedrals as having been reformed, at least to some extent, in the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁸

Such tensions within puritan attitudes held the potential to salvage cathedrals and bring about their reform once debates in the Long Parliament began to take place.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, Marcombe highlighted how opponents and iconoclasts 'were reacting not against Cathedral churches as such ... but what these churches had become since the accession of Charles I'.¹⁵⁰ Atherton similarly shows how cathedrals

¹⁴⁵ See Atherton, 'Cathedrals and the British Revolution', pp. 98, 104-5.

¹⁴⁶ William Prynne, *The antipathie of the English lordly prelacie, both to regall monarchy, and civill unity* (London, 1641), p. 291. Italics mine.

¹⁴⁷ Peter Smart, *A short treatise of altars, altar-furniture, altar-cringing, and musick of all the quire, singing-men and choristers, when the holy Communion was administered in the cathedrall church of Durham by prebendaries and petty-canons, in glorious copes embroidered with images, 1629* (London, 1643), pp. 16, 1-2. Italics mine.

¹⁴⁸ Burton had already commented in 1636 on 'how unlike our Cathedrals be to that they were formerly, being newly set out with a Romish dresse'. Burton, *For God, and the King*, p. 162.

¹⁴⁹ On the broader context of reform in this period, see, for example, Chad van Dixhoorn, 'The Westminster Assembly and the Reformation of the 1640s', in Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I*, pp. 430-43.

¹⁵⁰ Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism', p. 57.

were not immediately dismissed at the opening of the Long Parliament in 1640 but constituted a distinct strand in debates, notably in plans for a reduced or primitive episcopacy.¹⁵¹ While the failure of such plans has been seen as caused by increasing polarisation, stubbornness and political ineptitude, Atherton highlights the key role played by ‘internal divisions over the nature of any modified episcopal system, divisions that focussed on what role, if any, deans and chapters should play’.¹⁵² While some gave cathedrals a key role, with deans and chapters as bishops’ co-assessors, others (following Archbishop Ussher’s scheme) ignored cathedrals altogether.¹⁵³ Such divisions would reappear in the 1660-2 debates over religious settlement. Atherton has also shown how tracts associated with these debates revealed the committee’s broader interest in cathedral reform, notably regarding their music, singing and preaching arrangements.¹⁵⁴ Such concerns are significant in highlighting the continued hope of moderate churchmen in reforming the Laudian cathedrals.

Connected to these discussions were the ‘dean and chapter debates’ of the Long Parliament of 1640-2, particularly the churchman John Hacket’s speech in defence of cathedrals. Recent work on these debates (including Atherton’s) and current scholarship on Hacket has (like that on Whitgift) overlooked this elaborate and compelling vision of the Protestant cathedral. This could be partly due to Marcombe’s claim that ‘the death knell’ of the Protestant ideal of the cathedral (as outlined by Whitgift and others) had already tolled by 1620.¹⁵⁵ Although challenged and supplanted from 1620 with the Laudian ascendancy, this Protestant ideal did not, however, die in 1620.¹⁵⁶ Hacket’s speech (if anything) resuscitated it, showing its longstanding influence and appeal. Its continued formulation and advocacy is important, for it demonstrates the continued existence of other, alternative conceptions of cathedrals to the Laudian ideal well into the 1640s – crucial to understanding the complexity of attitudes to cathedrals in the Restoration period.¹⁵⁷ This is reinforced by the fact that Hacket’s speech – though partly included in contemporary histories (notably Thomas Fuller and Peter Heylyn’s) – would not be published in full until 1675.¹⁵⁸ An overview of Hacket’s defence is also important for highlighting continuities and changes within this Protestant cathedral ideal, demonstrating how it adapted to changing emphases within the Church of England. Understanding these will be particularly important

¹⁵¹ Spalding and Brass, ‘Reduction of episcopacy as a means to unity in England, 1640-62’.

¹⁵² Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, p. 101.

¹⁵³ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, pp. 101-2.

¹⁵⁴ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, p. 101. These tracts were *To the right honorable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament the humble petition of divers of the clergie of the Church of England: whereunto is added five motions with reasons concerning deanes and chapters* ([London?], 1641) and *A copy of the proceedings of some worthy and learned divines appointed by the Lords to meet at the Bishop of Lincolns in Westminster* (London, 1641).

¹⁵⁵ Marcombe, ‘Cathedrals and Protestantism’, p. 55.

¹⁵⁶ See, for example, James Peregin, *The letters patents of the presbyterie vwith the plea and fruits of the prelatie* ([?], 1632), p. 52.

¹⁵⁷ See below, chapters 2 and 4.

¹⁵⁸ On Fuller and Heylyn’s engagement with Hacket’s speech, see below, chapter 4, pp. 145-6, 150.

for tracing subsequent transformations during the Restoration and post-revolutionary periods and thus understanding shifting religious identities.¹⁵⁹

1. RESUSCITATING THE PROTESTANT CATHEDRAL IDEAL: JOHN HACKET AND THE LONG PARLIAMENT DEBATES

A member of Bishop John Williams' parliamentary subcommittee for religion, the archdeacon of Bedford John Hacket's (1592-1670) eloquent speech defending the Prayer Book led to his being nominated to speak in defence of cathedrals during the session of 12th May 1641 appointed by the House of Commons for the dean and chapters debates. A moderate Calvinist, Hacket's defence of cathedrals argued, among other things, for deans and chapters' particular status as 'the Council of the Bishop, to assist him in his Jurisdiction and greatest Censures, if any thing be amiss either in the Doctrine, or in the Manners of the Clergie'.¹⁶⁰ Its inclusion in his speech reflected both the importance of this issue in engagements with cathedrals in the early 1640s, but also Hacket's own involvement in the primitive episcopacy debates. However, Hacket's defence went far beyond the issue of Church governance. It demonstrated how Whitgift's vision of a Protestant cathedral had continued to influence and inspire churchmen throughout the 1620s and 1630s, despite the Laudian ascendancy.

Firstly, Hacket's portrayal of cathedrals echoed Whitgift's emphasis on education and learning. Depicting them as for 'the advancement and encouragement of Learning', Hacket elaborated on earlier models by presenting a more comprehensive picture of cathedrals' involvement in education: first, as the maintainers of grammar schools; second, as encouragements and rewards for the 'young Students in the Universities that enter into their first course of Divinity'; third, as communities of 'grave Divines of great proficiency, who maintain the cause of true Religion by their learned Pen'.¹⁶¹ Describing the latter as 'the Chariots and Horsemen of Israel, the Champions of Christs Cause against the Adversary by their learned Pen', Hacket portrayed cathedrals as a community of scholars, in parallel to the universities:

For as in the Universities the Society of many learned men may be had for advise and discourse; so when we depart from them to live abroad, we find *small Academies in the company of many grounded Scholars in those Foundations* There likewise we have copious and well furnished Libraries to peruse, learned Authors of all kinds, which must be consulted in great causes ... [to] powerfully convince gainsayers.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ On how this Protestant cathedral ideal evolved after 1689, see below, chapter 3, pp. 107-21.

¹⁶⁰ John Hacket, *A century of sermons upon several remarkable subjects*, ed. Thomas Plume (London, 1675), pp. xvii-xxv (p. xxi).

¹⁶¹ Hacket, *A century of sermons*, pp. xix-xx.

¹⁶² Hacket, *A century of sermons*, pp. xx-xxi. Italics mine.

Like his Elizabethan predecessors, Hacket believed in the close connection between the cathedrals and universities, the polemical use of cathedral divines' learning, and the collegiate character of cathedral institutions. That this was of particular importance in defending cathedrals was further demonstrated by two petitions issued by the universities to Parliament, which upheld cathedrals as 'the principal outward motive and encouragement of all Students', and 'the fittest reward of some deepe and eminent Schollars'.¹⁶³

Secondly, Hacket emphasised cathedrals' status as preaching centres. As Whitgift before him, Hacket connected this to evangelism, describing preaching as 'the great power of God to work our conversion and salvation'.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, Hacket argued for cathedrals' particular role in the spreading of the reformed gospel by outlining how,

in the beginning of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory, many of our Parochial Churches were supplied with men of slight and easie parts; but *especial care was taken, that in our Cathedral Churches, to which great concourses did resort, men of very able parts were planted to preach* both on the Lords day, and on some week day.¹⁶⁵

While recognising the need to re-establish 'the godly and profitable performance of Preaching' in English cathedrals, Hacket proclaimed their historic status as preaching centres in the early Reformation – a narrative which would continue to be propagated in Restoration and post-revolutionary historical writing.¹⁶⁶ Hacket also asserted their continued potential, being staffed with 'studied and able men to perform them', but also 'supplied with large and copious Libraries, and the Monuments of Antiquity, Councils, Fathers, Modern Authors, Schoolmen, Casuists, and many Books'.¹⁶⁷ Cathedral libraries were portrayed by Hacket as central to the ministry of preaching – and thus to cathedrals' particular status – because such works 'must be turn'd over by him that will utter that which should endure the test'.¹⁶⁸

While Hacket's defence demonstrated the lasting influence of the Protestant conception of the cathedral as delineated by Whitgift, it also contained additional arguments which show how this ideal had evolved during the late Jacobean and Caroline periods, and through the Laudian experience. Firstly, Hacket's opening argument focussed on cathedrals' status as houses of prayer – an argument wholly absent from Whitgift. This argument rested on the ideal of the primitive Church, in which 'the Christians did every day meet at Prayers, and for the most part at the Blessed Sacrament, if persecution did not distract them', and

¹⁶³ Judith Maltby (ed.), 'Petitions for episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer on the eve of the civil war 1641-1642', in Stephen Taylor (ed.), *From Cranmer to Davidson: A Church of England Miscellany* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 118-121 (p. 119).

¹⁶⁴ Hacket, *A century of sermons*, p. xix.

¹⁶⁵ Hacket, *A century of sermons*, p. xix. Italics mine.

¹⁶⁶ See below, chapter 4, p. 171.

¹⁶⁷ Hacket, *A century of sermons*, p. xix.

¹⁶⁸ Hacket, *A century of sermons*, p. xix.

whereas it cannot be supposed, but that divers remiss Christians do neglect oftentimes their daily duty of Prayer, ... *it is fit that there should be a publick duty of Prayer in some principal places, where many are gathered together to supply the defects that are committed by private men.*¹⁶⁹

Cathedrals were to act as powerhouses of prayer, offering up unto God – on behalf of the nation – the thanks and petitions of His people. The inclusion of this argument in Hacket's defence may reflect beliefs about providence, whilst also indicating a desire to promote prayer (and preaching), after the Laudian emphasis on the sacraments. This would be especially influential among certain post-revolutionary latitudinarian churchmen.¹⁷⁰

Secondly, Hacket defended cathedrals because of their buildings. Expressing his hope 'that the Structures themselves should speak for the Structures', Hacket made clear that his defence did not rest solely on the outward appearance of these 'goodly Fabricks'. He highlighted the fact 'that after the first foundations of Christianity were laid in this Kingdom, *the first Monuments of Piety that were built in this Kingdom were Cathedral Churches*'.¹⁷¹ The thought 'that those Churches, which were *the first harbors of Christian Religion*, should in this Age suffer in those persons who are intrusted with their reparation, and have the care and custody of them' was, for Hacket, inconceivable.¹⁷² That the fifth point of Hacket's defence drew on the antiquity of cathedrals buildings, and their embodying ancestral piety, demonstrates the wider influence of Laudian concerns for the material expression of faith, and developments in antiquarian endeavours – continued after 1660, as chapter 5 will explore.¹⁷³

Thirdly, Hacket defended cathedrals as socio-economic communities, speaking on behalf of the cathedral officers, tenants, cities and clergy whose existence relied on the continuance of these institutions.¹⁷⁴ This included 'the multitudes of Officers that have their maintenance, and no other livelihood but by them', such as the singing men, choristers, almsmen, schoolmasters and scholars; the tenants and farmers of cathedral lands; and the cities themselves, that

are much enricht partly by the Hospitality of the Clergy, partly because great numbers of the Inhabitants are chosen to be the Officers of our Churches, partly by the frequent resort unto them, especially where there are large and well furnished Libraries, the great Repositories of learning.¹⁷⁵

The two petitions from the universities similarly defended cathedrals on this basis, understanding cathedrals as significant players in the local economy, as employers and landholders at the centre of a

¹⁶⁹ Hacket, *A century of sermons*, p. xviii. Italics mine.

¹⁷⁰ See below, chapter 3, p. 133.

¹⁷¹ Hacket, *A century of sermons*, p. xxi.

¹⁷² Hacket, *A century of sermons*, pp. xxi-xxii. Italics mine.

¹⁷³ On cathedrals and antiquarianism, see below, chapter 5.

¹⁷⁴ For a manuscript defence of cathedrals by Whitgift from the mid-1580s which makes this point, see Westminster Abbey Muniments, Muniment Book 15, fo. 93. Collinson, 'The Protestant cathedral, 1541-1660', p. 156. However, this was neither widely circulated, nor included in Whitgift's *Admonition* defence of cathedrals.

¹⁷⁵ Hacket, *A century of sermons*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

community's existence.¹⁷⁶ Cathedrals were also portrayed as important to 'the King and Commonwealth' with their payments of first-fruits, tenths, and subsidies to the Exchequer. Finally, the most important group of people sustained by the cathedrals were the clergy themselves. Central to this last point was a comparison to other reformed Churches, demonstrating how the English clergy 'have a better maintenance than in the neighbour Reformed Churches' because of cathedrals' continued existence – without which 'we shall degenerate into such Priests as Jeroboam appointed, the refuse and most base of the people, from whom nothing can be expected, but Ignorance, Superstition, and Idolatry'.¹⁷⁷ Cathedrals' continued existence was thus portrayed as maintaining clerical standards, godliness and learning, and as providing pious and faithful clergy with financial bases for their ministries. Such was its acknowledged importance, that Hacket claimed that

the Reformed in France and the Low-Countries do sufficiently testify how much they desire, that they were Partners of the like prosperity, because many of their rarest Scholars have found great relief and comfort by being installed Prebendaries in our Cathedral and Collegiate Churches.¹⁷⁸

Men such as the Flemish theologian Hadrian à Saravia (1532-1612), the Huguenot scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614) – whom Hacket called 'a miracle of learning!' – his son Méric (1599-1671), the Dutch theologian Gerardus Vossius (1577-1649) and the Huguenot minister Pierre du Moulin (1568-1658) were all mentioned by Hacket, demonstrating the international significance of England's cathedrals, both as centres of reformed learning, and as maintainers of godliness.

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While Hacket's speech would supplant Whitgift's as the defence *par excellence* of cathedrals' place in a reformed English Church, interest in this Protestant cathedral ideal was not confined to parliamentary debate.¹⁷⁹ It had a wider appeal and a number of works, published throughout the early 1640s, sought to contribute to these debates and the vision they had for cathedrals.¹⁸⁰ One work by the moderate churchman and religious controversialist, Ephraim Udall (c.1587-1647) demonstrates how this Protestant cathedral ideal could underpin plans for reform – as it had those of Elizabethan puritan reformers in the 1580s.¹⁸¹ However, his work also demonstrates a broader shift in engagement with cathedrals which undermined such efforts. Whilst at the opening of the Long Parliament, cathedrals were portrayed as objects of ecclesiastical reform, by the end of 1642 cathedrals were being treated

¹⁷⁶ Such arguments would reappear during the first Restoration crisis. See below, chapter 2, pp. 90-1.

¹⁷⁷ Hacket, *A century of sermons*, p. xxiii.

¹⁷⁸ Hacket, *A century of sermons*, p. xxiii.

¹⁷⁹ On the propagation and interpretation of Hacket's speech, see below, chapter 4, pp. 145-6, 150.

¹⁸⁰ See, for example, Richard Bernard, *A short viewv of the praelaticall Church of England wherein is set forth the horrible abuses in discipline and government* (London, 1641), pp. 21-4.

¹⁸¹ Ephraim Udall, *Noli me tangere, or, A thing to be thought on* (London, 1641), pp. 23-31. This deserves a more in-depth study, which – given constraints on space – is not possible here.

primarily as financial assets to be disposed of.¹⁸² Udall's account, with its emphasis on sacrilege and cathedrals' financial reform, demonstrates how proponents of the Protestant cathedral ideal reconfigured their defence of this vision to address the growing financial emphasis of these debates. He decried those who 'sought onely after the Bishops Lands, ... [but now] seeke after the Cathedrall Churches', either to 'use them for the necessitie of the Common-wealth, ... or alienate them to some other persons or employments'.¹⁸³ While advocating cathedrals' roles as preaching centres, he also proposed to reform impropriations and leases, that cathedrals might 'drink the water of their own Cisterne'.¹⁸⁴ However, waves of iconoclasm, followed by the financial and social pressures of Civil War, eclipsed the need for urgent cathedral reform – with cathedrals already purged and stripped of their Laudian apparel and many under city corporations' control.¹⁸⁵

When 'An Act for abolishing ... Deans and Chapters' was passed on 30th April 1649, it opened by explaining that parliament had 'weighed the Necessity of raising a present supply of Moneys for the present safety of this Commonwealth' and 'finding that their other Securities ... [were] not satisfactory to Lenders' were 'necessitated to sell the Lands of the Deans and Chapters'.¹⁸⁶ While the title of the Act displayed earlier concerns regarding cathedral, diocesan and episcopal jurisdiction and authority, the explanation for it demonstrated this shift in debates during the early 1640s. The apparent straightforwardness behind cathedrals' dissolution – the result of financial necessity – should not, however, obscure the depth and complexity of debates which had, until then, surrounded cathedrals and their place in a reformed Church of England.

The Long Parliament debates in 1640-1 provided the arena for reasserting the Protestant cathedral ideal formulated during the *Admonition* controversy in the 1570s. While eclipsed and supplanted by the Laudian vision, this Protestant ideal did not die after 1620 as Marcombe has claimed. This variety in conceptions of cathedrals within English Protestantism between 1558 and 1660 – and the fact that this was reasserted during the 1640s – is particularly significant for understanding the complexity of perceptions of cathedrals after the Restoration. As this chapter has also sought to show, puritan engagement with cathedrals was more complex than has been appreciated. Closer inspection of some puritan writings reveals how far their very antagonism demonstrated belief in cathedrals' importance and influence, and even a desire to use it. That puritan engagement with cathedrals was not simply one

¹⁸² For evidence of this shift, compare, for example, *CJ*, II, pp. 747-8 and *LJ*, V, p. 402 (15 Oct. 1642). See also *CJ*, II, pp. 814 (19 Oct. 1642), 856 (19 Nov. 1642), 965 (14 Feb. 1643), 966 (15 Feb. 1643), 986 (2 March 1643); *CJ*, III, p. 458 (13 April 1644); *CJ*, IV, p. 275 (16 Sept. 1645). This shift was also evident in calls for cathedrals' destruction. See, for example, *CJ*, V, p. 478 (3 March 1648).

¹⁸³ Udall, *Noli me tangere*, pp. 2, 4.

¹⁸⁴ Udall, *Noli me tangere*, p. 23.

¹⁸⁵ Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, ch. 6; Atherton, 'Cathedrals and the British Revolution', pp. 105-7.

¹⁸⁶ 'April 1649: An Act for abolishing of Deans, Deans and Chapters, Canons, Prebends and other offices and titles of or belonging to any Cathedral or Collegiate Church or Chappel within England and Wales', in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait (London, 1911), vol. II, pp. 81-104. Italics mine.

of opposition is particularly significant for understanding the Restoration debates and for charting nonconformists' evolving engagement with an important and controversial aspect of England's Reformation legacy. As the following chapter will explore, while the act of dissolution would appear to have summarily dismissed and resolved the cathedral question, the Restoration would not only revive, but shape new challenges regarding their continued survival and role within the Church.

CHAPTER 2: CATHEDRALS, THE ENFORCEMENT OF CONFORMITY
AND THE CAUSE OF COMPREHENSION, 1660-1689

Writing in 1661, and reflecting back on the events of the Restoration, the newly appointed Bishop of Exeter, John Gauden, dedicated a *Pillar of Gratitude* to ‘the good Providence of God’, and to the graciousness and generosity of king and Parliament in restoring the Church of England and its clergy to their former dignities and to ‘the exercise of ... [their] Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction’.¹

Indeed, the blessed God hath in the midst of his Judgements remembred Mercy: HE, HE, hath commanded the Whales, which had devoured our Jonah’s (the Bishops, and other dignified Clergy of England, with all their Cathedral Churches, Honors, and Revenues) to cast them up again upon dry Land.²

For Gauden, as for many contemporaries, the restoration of the Church of England (including its cathedrals) was an act of divine mercy. Yet the biblical imagery from the book of Jonah also points to the transformative experience of the mid-seventeenth century events. A prophet, Jonah fled God’s command to go to the people of Nineveh. His sinful rejection of God’s calling led to his being thrown overboard and swallowed by a fish. Only upon his prayer of repentance did God will the fish to spit Jonah back out. For Gauden, the restoration of the national Church was not simply the re-establishment of the old order, but the re-establishment of a Church marked by the experience of trial and suffering.

Scholars have similarly emphasised the transformative experience of the 1640s and 1650s – during which the episcopal Church was abolished, and its liturgy and government suppressed – in shaping a distinctive, ‘Anglican’ identity.³ Such developments are seen as central to understanding the Restoration Church of England. For John Spurr, ‘[t]he Church of England emerged from the 1640s and 1650s with a distinct doctrinal, ecclesiological and spiritual identity’, one which would flourish during the Restoration period.⁴ Although recognising that ‘the Restoration clergy ... [did not speak] with a single voice’, and how this identity was ‘tempered by the challenges and disappointments of the next three decades’, Spurr’s interpretation of the period emphasised consensus and unity.⁵ Indeed, for Spurr, it was these same challenges which ‘contributed to a sense of shared purpose among the clergy’, thereby leading to the ‘creation of an Anglican identity, a common outlook born out of compromise between different views and aspirations’.⁶

¹ John Gauden, *A pillar of gratitude humbly dedicated to the glory of God* (London, 1661), p. 1.

² Gauden, *A pillar of gratitude*, p. 16.

³ See above, introduction, pp. 21-2.

⁴ Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England*, p. xiv.

⁵ Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England*, p. xiv.

⁶ Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England*, p. xiv. See above, introduction, pp. 15-6.

This emphasis on a common identity is also apparent in Spurr's account of Restoration nonconformity. Along with Keeble and Tyacke, Spurr emphasised the formation of a dissenting identity in the face of persecution and charted the evolution of puritanism into 'Dissent'. This is partly the result of highlighting the legal definition enshrined in the Act of Uniformity, with its binary distinction between 'conformist' and 'nonconformist'.⁷ Although these scholars acknowledged differences among nonconformist groups (particularly presbyterians' continued commitment to a national Church) all have emphasised a growing split among the latter over the pursuance of comprehension – most apparent in responses to the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence.⁸ Those presbyterians who continued to desire accommodation are thus portrayed as being increasingly a minority, 'the consequence of the Act of 1662 ... [being] not uniformity but diversity in the religious life of the nation'.⁹

This traditional understanding of the later Stuart Church as 'a church split on ecclesiological understandings ... but presumably not over fundamental theological issues' has begun to be challenged in recent years.¹⁰ Responding to the idea of a doctrinal consensus during the Restoration period, Stephen Hampton has demonstrated how the Reformed tradition survived among an influential minority of churchmen well into the eighteenth century.¹¹ Recent work has also given greater weight to ecclesiological divisions and debate, and has retreated from earlier scholars' confidence in talking of 'Anglicanism' as a coherent identity in the period (although the use of 'Anglican' remains).¹² Studies of nonconformity in the Restoration period have similarly placed greater emphasis on desire for accommodation and reform of the Church, with Mark Goldie, for instance, stressing how far 'The Presbyterians' closest affinities lay not with the 'sectaries' but with the established church, which until at least 1690 they craved to rejoin'.¹³ George Southcombe also notes that although 'persecution and dissenting resistance to it did much to harden identities', 'the relationship remained fundamentally dialogic'.¹⁴ Scholars have thus tended, in recent years, to emphasise the Church of England's continued status as a *national* Church during the Restoration period, and to take greater note of the shift in 1689,

⁷ The terms 'nonconformist' or 'dissenter' do not appear in the text of the Act. Charles II, 'An Act for the Uniformity of Publique Prayers and Administrac[i]on of Sacraments & other Rites & Ceremonies and for establishing the Form of making ordaining and consecrating Bishops Preists and Deacons in the Church of England', in *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628-80*, ed. John Raithby (s.l., 1819), pp. 364-70.

⁸ Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity*; Spurr, 'The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689'; Tyacke, 'The 'Rise of Puritanism' and the Legalizing of Dissent, 1571-1719', p. 38; Spurr, 'From Puritanism to Dissent, 1660-1700'; idem, *English Puritanism 1603-1689*, ch. 9; Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s*, chs 5, 6; Spurr, 'Later Stuart Puritanism'; N.H. Keeble, 'Introduction: Attempting Uniformity', in Keeble (ed.), *Settling the Peace of the Church*, pp. 1-28 (pp. 25, 28). This last article is an almost exact reiteration of his earlier argument in Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s*, ch. 5.

⁹ Keeble, 'Introduction: Attempting Uniformity', p. 28.

¹⁰ Paul S. Seaver, 'Review of *Anti-Arminians: The Anglican Reformed Tradition from Charles II to George I*, by Stephen Hampton', *Church History*, 78 (2009), 689-91 (p. 690).

¹¹ Stephen Hampton, *Anti-Arminians: The Anglican Reformed Tradition from Charles II to George I* (Oxford, 2008).

¹² See, for example, Tapsell, 'The Church of England, 1662-1714', p. 35. See also above, introduction, pp. 16-7, 23.

¹³ Goldie, 'Voluntary Anglicans', p. 981. See notably Goldie, *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs*.

¹⁴ Southcombe, 'Dissent and the Restoration Church of England', p. 211.

when – as Tapsell has recently observed – ‘[t]he Church of England remained the Established Church, but lost its claims to be the national Church’.¹⁵

Such work has portrayed the Restoration Church as having ‘inherited many of the [institutional, social and intellectual] problems that had been faced by its antecedents’, whilst also being ‘rocked by several new and profound challenges’.¹⁶ This contrasts strongly with current scholarship on cathedrals, which has portrayed their re-establishment as uncontroversial, and their experience of the Restoration period as one solely of institutional and material recovery after the disruption of the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁷ More recently, however, scholars have begun to uncover opposition and tension with regard to England’s cathedrals in this period.¹⁸ In *Altars Restored*, Fincham and Tyacke highlighted divisions within cathedral chapters regarding embellishments to the church fabric, particularly during the Popish Plot. In 1682, for instance, a dispute broke out in Bristol Cathedral over ‘an introduction of popery’ after the treasurer, Samuel Crossman, supervised the building of a new altarpiece, which included two niches in which he proposed to place free-standing carvings of St Peter and St Paul.¹⁹

However, cathedrals are still understood, predominantly, in Laudian terms. Fincham and Tyacke, for instance, have claimed that, ‘[i]n the 1630s many cathedrals had acted as ‘mother churches’ of Laudian ritualism in their dioceses, *a role they resumed after 1660*’.²⁰ This explains the focus given to opposition to cathedral ceremonialism and wealth – those critiques most vehemently expressed at the opening of the Long Parliament in 1640. Parallel to this is the assumption that opposition to cathedrals is not necessarily about cathedrals *per se* but simply reflects broader opposition to the ceremonialism and wealth of the Church of England.²¹ This claim, however, ignores the fact that criticism of cathedrals was a distinct strand within puritan critiques (as chapter 1 has explored) and held specific ecclesiological significance.²²

The aim of this chapter is twofold. First, it aims to recapture the multiple ways in which cathedrals were understood during the Restoration period. As chapter 1 has shown, the Laudian ideal was just one

¹⁵ Tapsell, ‘The Church of England, 1662-1714’, p. 30. See also Jacob, *Lay people and religion in the early eighteenth century*, p. 15.

¹⁶ Grant Tapsell, ‘Introduction: the later Stuart church in context’, in Tapsell (ed.), *The later Stuart Church*, pp. 1-17 (p. 1).

¹⁷ See above, introduction, pp. 11-3. Such is the belief in cathedrals’ uncontroversial Restoration pasts that some scholars have used cathedrals to symbolise the Church of England. See, for example, De Krey, ‘Reformation in the Restoration crisis, 1679-1682’, p. 241.

¹⁸ For recent work which has highlighted cathedrals’ implication in political affairs in this period, see notably Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform, 1660-1828*, pp. 49-52; Atherton and Morgan, ‘Revolution and Retrenchment: The Cathedral, 1630-1720’, pp. 563-5. See also Tapsell, ‘Introduction: the later Stuart church in context’, pp. 10-1.

¹⁹ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 343-4.

²⁰ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 313. Italics mine. See also Tapsell, ‘Introduction: the later Stuart church in context’, p. 26.

²¹ See Southcombe and Tapsell, *Restoration Politics, Religion, and Culture*, pp. 33-4; Tapsell, ‘Introduction: the later Stuart church in context’, p. 11; Southcombe, ‘Dissent and the Restoration Church of England’, p. 202.

²² See above, chapter 1, pp. 37-41.

way in which cathedrals were conceptualised within English Protestantism. While the Laudian legacy was indeed particularly prominent after 1660, it continued to be challenged by other competing visions, which are important for our understanding of religious identity in the period. Second, this chapter seeks to accord greater significance to critiques of cathedrals in light of continued debates about a national Church and the legacy of the Reformation. The first part will focus on the period 1660-2. It will both reconsider the process of cathedrals' re-establishment and situate cathedrals in debates about religious settlement. The second part will consider the Restoration period, particularly from a conformist perspective. It will examine the strength of the Laudian legacy, and how it was challenged, appropriated or re-interpreted by other churchmen. The third part will explore the nonconformist challenge and will focus especially on how cathedrals were deployed in debates about toleration and comprehension. In looking at the Restoration period through the lens of cathedrals, I hope to contribute to recent scholarship which has emphasised continued dialogue and debate over the nature of the national Church after 1660-2, particularly continued nonconformist engagement with controversial aspects of England's Reformation legacy and thus continued commitment to a national reformation.

PART I: CATHEDRALS, RE-ESTABLISHMENT

AND DEBATES OVER RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT, 1660-1662

The Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 was 'greeted with rejoicing at the cathedrals'. Even before their formal re-establishment, people flocked to them to celebrate Charles II's proclamation and "the happy return of the church".²³ Although most of their ejected clergy had died during the Interregnum, their buildings stood in disrepair and their choirs lay empty, cathedrals resumed their role at the centre of cities' festivities.²⁴ Local preachers and remaining choir members were promptly gathered to mark Charles' return, while bonfires, bell-ringing and almsgiving added to the atmosphere of celebration.²⁵ Such events would prefigure what scholars have described as the popular 're-establishment of the episcopal Church of England ... taking place at grass-roots level' over the summer and autumn of 1660. Across England, 'the sounds and sights of the national church abolished in 1645 ... gradually return[ed]', from prayer book worship and organ music, to the restoration of cathedral interiors.²⁶

²³ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, p. 57; SCA, Act Book 1675-1696, p. 51, quoted in idem, pp. 57, 58.

²⁴ On the fate of cathedrals during the Civil War and Interregnum, see Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, ch. 2; Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, ch. 6; Atherton, 'Cathedrals and the British Revolution', pp. 106-7.

²⁵ See Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, pp. 57-8.

²⁶ Keeble, 'Introduction: Attempting Uniformity', pp. 11-2. On the popular re-establishment of the Church of England at the Restoration, see also Beddard, 'The Restoration Church', pp. 155, 161-4; Green, *Re-Establishment*.

This movement gathered momentum ‘without any direction or sanction from central government and regardless of the discussions in London’.²⁷ Indeed, informal discussions between leading moderate episcopalians (such as John Gauden, later Bishop of Exeter) and presbyterian divines (notably Richard Baxter) had begun to take place regarding the shape of the religious settlement, even before Charles’ return. The central role played by presbyterian figures – notably General Monck – in Charles’ restoration, and the willingness of presbyterian divines to emphasise their support for episcopacy and liturgy, meant that the early months of Charles’ reign appeared promising to those hoping to see a national Church established on sufficiently broad terms to accommodate a range of Protestant opinion.²⁸ With Charles’ coronation, such discussions – now given the stamp of royal approval – intensified over the course of the summer and autumn of 1660, as both sides drew up proposals for a comprehensive Church settlement.²⁹

Scholars have seen the rapid re-establishment of cathedrals, particularly the replenishing of their chapters (ahead of the episcopate) as part of this conservative reaction in the localities, in opposition to the moderation of debates at the national level.³⁰ Cathedral chapters were indeed rapidly reconstituted during the summer and autumn of 1660, as clergy inundated Charles with petitions for cathedral positions.³¹ Some have even seen cathedrals’ rapid re-establishment as undermining plans for reduced or ‘primitive’ episcopacy – thereby playing a key role in shaping an ‘intolerant’ religious settlement.³² For Ronald Hutton, the refusal of offers of bishoprics by moderate presbyterians was ‘likely ... [due to] the spontaneous revival of deans and chapters ... [which] had already made the institution insufficiently

²⁷ Keeble, ‘Introduction: Attempting Uniformity’, pp. 11-2.

²⁸ On these early Restoration debates over religious settlement, see Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement*; E.A.O. Whiteman, ‘The Re-Establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663’, *TRHS*, 5 (1955), 111-31; idem, ‘The Restoration of the Church of England’, in Nuttall and Chadwick (eds), *From Uniformity to Unity, 1662-1962*, pp. 22-88; Green, *Re-Establishment*, ch. 1; Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s*, ch. 5; *ODNB*, ‘Participants in the Savoy conference (act. 1661)’; Keeble, ‘Introduction: Attempting Uniformity’; Jacqueline Rose, ‘The Debate over Authority: Adiaphora, the Civil Magistrate, and the Settlement of Religion’, in Keeble (ed.), *Settling the Peace of the Church*, pp. 29-56. On the role played by presbyterians in the Restoration, see, for example, Godfrey Davies, *The Restoration of Charles II, 1658-1660* (Oxford, 1955); Whiteman, ‘Restoration’, pp. 51-2; George R. Abernathy, ‘The English Presbyterians and the Stuart Restoration, 1648-1663’, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 55 (1965), part 2.

²⁹ See *State Papers Collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, ed. R. Scrope and T. Monkhouse, 3 vols (Oxford, 1767-86), vol. III, pp. 722, 727-8, 738, 743-4 [hereafter *Clarendon State Papers*]; Letter from Edward Hyde to Barwick, April 1660, in Barwick’s *Life*, p. 525, quoted in *A History of Conferences and other Proceedings connected with the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer; from the year 1558 to the year 1690*, ed. Edward Cardwell (Oxford, 1840), pp. 248-9. The lack of royal assent to earlier discussions had proved a source of anxiety for episcopalians. See *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. III, pp. 722, 727-8.

³⁰ See De Krey, *Restoration and Revolution in Britain*, p. 30. On the revival of the episcopate and episcopal administration, see Green, *Re-Establishment*, chs 4, 6.

³¹ See Green, *Re-Establishment*, ch. 3; Whiteman, ‘Restoration’, pp. 63-4. On the process of re-establishment in particular cathedrals, see, for example, Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform*, pp. 41-6; W.M. Marshall, ‘The Dioceses of Hereford and Oxford, 1660-1800’, in Gregory and Chamberlain (eds), *The National Church in Local Perspective*, pp. 197-222 (pp. 198-200); idem, *Church Life in Hereford and Oxford: A Study of Two Sees*, pp. 6-7.

³² For Spurr, cathedrals’ rapid re-establishment was a key element in leading to the collapse of an early moderate settlement. Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England*, pp. 35-6.

‘primitive’ for their taste’, with cathedrals depicted as one of ‘the trappings of prelatical episcopacy’.³³ That cathedrals are associated with the rapid re-establishment of the episcopal Church in the localities – rather than with debates at the national level – is most clearly reflected in Lehmborg’s claim that

The cathedrals were not significantly involved in debates about the character of the Restoration church – in the abortive movement for a broader establishment.³⁴

This section will focus on the years 1660-2 by considering these twin processes of re-establishment and debates over religious settlement. Firstly, it will reconsider scholars’ interpretation of cathedrals’ re-establishment as part of this conservative reaction. Secondly, it will explore cathedrals’ place within the debates over religious settlement. As such, it will seek to reassess both Atherton’s claim that cathedrals were ‘rapidly re-established ... as a considered act of Anglican identity’ and Lehmborg’s assertion concerning cathedrals’ isolation from ecclesiastical politics in these early years.³⁵ Both statements reflect a widely-held assumption that behind cathedrals’ re-establishment lay a single and coherent understanding of their place and purpose in the Church of England – one defined by royalist episcopalian ideals. However, as has been explored in chapter 1, the Laudian ideal was not the only vision for cathedrals within English Protestantism before the Civil War, and this diversity would be re-asserted during the crucial years 1660-2.

1. CATHEDRALS AND THE PROCESS OF RE-ESTABLISHMENT

At the Restoration, and after over a decade of abolition, much ecclesiastical patronage within the episcopal Church of England had fallen to the crown.³⁶ Making 223 presentations to cathedral dignities and archdeaconries between June and September 1660, Charles thus played a key role in (re)staffing the Restoration Church.³⁷ However, as Ian Green has explored, Charles’ cathedral appointments demonstrated an evolution in royal policy from that formulated in exile. While that elaborated in 1658/9 had listed only loyal royalist clergy as worthy of promotion, Charles’ appointments after the Restoration not only differed from these lists – passing over key episcopalian divines such as Peter Heylyn and Herbert Thorndike – but included many who had conformed during the Interregnum.³⁸ While there would have been only a limited number who had kept themselves ‘pure’ from the Cromwellian

³³ Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658–1667* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 143, 145.

³⁴ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, p. 58.

³⁵ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, p. 114. For a consideration of Atherton’s claims from an antiquarian perspective, see below, chapter 5.

³⁶ This was according to the canon law principle of lapse. For a definition of which, see Green, *Re-Establishment*, p. 52.

³⁷ Archdeacons were members of about half of the English chapters. Green, *Re-Establishment*, p. 64.

³⁸ Green, *Re-Establishment*, ch. 3, esp. pp. 69-70. Green believed that Thorndike might have been passed over for preferment for his ‘rather premature obituary of the episcopal Church of England’. *Idem*, p. 63.

Church,³⁹ Green has seen such appointments as demonstrating how Charles ‘was not anxious for the chapters to become the strongholds of the more extreme episcopalian clergy’.⁴⁰ For instance, of the eight men nominated to the Canterbury chapter, five had conformed during the 1650s, including one Peter Hardres, later described by the antiquarian Anthony Wood as a ‘severe Calvinist’ respected by local puritans.⁴¹

This was later reflected in Charles’ Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs of October 1660, which made clear his intention to appoint ‘the most learned and pious Presbyters of the Diocese’ to cathedral positions.⁴² For Green, however, this policy came from Charles’ ‘need[ing] the confidence of the Presbyterian clergy in the impartiality of the chapters in order to ensure their co-operation with the bishop in each diocese’.⁴³ Furthermore, Green claimed that, ‘[f]rom the very fact that they had petitioned him for a cathedral post, Charles could safely assume that the petitioners believed in monarchy and a hierarchical church’.⁴⁴ Such statements both downplay the significance of the vision outlined in Charles’ Declaration (and reflected in his cathedral appointments), and assume a certain ecclesiological coherence behind the motivations of cathedral petitioners – one which remains, essentially, conservative.⁴⁵

Recent work by Kenneth Fincham and Stephen Taylor on (re-)ordinations during 1660-2 has demonstrated what the reassessment of a ‘conservative’ dimension of the Church’s re-establishment can yield. Their study showed that episcopal policy on re-ordination in 1660-2, whilst authored by hardliners, was in fact implemented by moderate bishops, meaning the task of re-staffing was left to many who had conformed during the 1650s and were thus ‘much more sympathetic to the dilemmas and crises of conscience faced by so many clergymen in 1660-2’.⁴⁶ This study highlighted the fluidity surrounding ‘conformity’ (even with regard to a controversial aspect of the Restoration religious settlement) in these early months.⁴⁷ In a similar way, a reassessment of cathedrals’ re-establishment could be offered that takes more seriously the vision laid out in the Declaration, the variety of motives which might underpin petitioners’ requests for cathedral positions, and the effect this would have on

³⁹ On the extent of conformity to the Interregnum Church, see, most recently, Fincham and Taylor, ‘Episcopalian conformity and nonconformity 1646-60’. See also idem, ‘Vital Statistics: Episcopal Ordination and Ordinands in England, 1646-60’, *EHR*, 126 (2011), 319-44.

⁴⁰ Green, *Re-Establishment*, p. 70.

⁴¹ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform*, p. 43. For the names and backgrounds of some of the cathedral clergy appointed by Charles II in 1660, see Green, *Re-Establishment*, appendix 5.

⁴² See below, p. 74.

⁴³ Green, *Re-Establishment*, pp. 70-1.

⁴⁴ Green, *Re-Establishment*, p. 70.

⁴⁵ For accounts which portray the rapidity of cathedrals’ re-establishment as reflecting opportunism, if not indifference, see, for example, Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England*, p. 36; Keeble, ‘Introduction: Attempting Uniformity’, p. 13.

⁴⁶ Fincham and Taylor, ‘The Restoration of the Church of England, 1660-2: Ordination, Re-ordination and Conformity’, p. 228.

⁴⁷ Fincham and Taylor, ‘The Restoration of the Church of England, 1660-2: Ordination, Re-ordination and Conformity’, p. 198.

the composition of cathedrals during the Restoration period. Where Fincham and Taylor's work demonstrated widespread commitment to the idea of a national Church before the outline of the religious settlement became clear, the breadth of theological opinion among those petitioning for (and appointed to) cathedral positions demonstrates a broader interest in cathedrals, with churchmen across the religious spectrum seeing them as useful or beneficial to the English Church. Support for cathedrals and their re-establishment was not, therefore, the preserve of a narrowly defined group within the Church or confined to loyal royalists and episcopalian 'high' churchmen.⁴⁸

Furthermore, as chapter 1 has explored, cathedrals could be understood and conceptualised in different ways, and belonging to a cathedral chapter did not necessarily entail support for 'a hierarchical church'.⁴⁹ Late Elizabethan and early Stuart puritans might envision cathedrals as collegiate institutions outside direct episcopal jurisdiction or as reflecting a model of primitive episcopacy (and some specifically chose to pursue cathedral preferment for that reason).⁵⁰ That some cathedral clergy are reported during the Restoration period for their charitable or indifferent attitude to dissent might reflect the extent to which the identity of cathedrals was still open to negotiation in 1660-2.⁵¹ Although preceding an official religious settlement, their re-establishment (displaying a range of clerical opinion) did reflect how cathedrals were not isolated from broader moves towards accommodation. Indeed, in these early years, cathedrals were widely expected to play a central role in a comprehensive Church settlement.

2. CATHEDRALS AND THE DEBATES OVER RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT

As has already been noted, Lehmborg claimed that 'The cathedrals were not significantly involved in debates about the character of the Restoration church'.⁵² Firstly, this ignores the fact that key figures in the debates were cathedral men.⁵³ Although it included the Laudian John Cosin, this group represented a breadth of views on matters of conformity.⁵⁴ George Morley and John Gauden, for instance, were highly valued by their presbyterian counterparts for their part in promoting accommodation and for being 'somewhat more moderate than others of ... [the] clergy'.⁵⁵ Secondly, Lehmborg's claim ignores

⁴⁸ On the use of 'high', see above, introduction, p. 28.

⁴⁹ Green, *Re-Establishment*, p. 70. On how the Interregnum did not lead to a single understanding of cathedrals, see below, chapter 4, pp. 142-55.

⁵⁰ See above, chapter 1, pp. 44-7.

⁵¹ For an example, see below, p. 78.

⁵² Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, p. 58.

⁵³ These included George Morley, Canon and, from July 1660, Dean of Christ Church; Humphrey Henchman, Precentor and, from October 1660, Bishop of Salisbury; and John Cosin, Dean of Peterborough and, from December 1660, Bishop of Durham.

⁵⁴ On Cosin as a cathedral churchman during the early 1640s, see John G. Hoffman, 'John Cosin, prebendary of Durham Cathedral and dean of Peterborough, 1642-1643', *Durham University Journal*, 78 (1985), 1-10.

⁵⁵ George Morley to Edward Hyde, April 1660, in *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. III, p. 727. Morley's supposed moderation was, however, only in contrast to more vocal 'high' episcopalians. He would later prove an important

the fact that cathedrals were an important feature of the religious settlement debates in 1660-2. Although the experience of Civil War and Interregnum had affected cathedrals in that, unlike the debates in the 1640s, their very existence was rarely called into question, yet exactly what role they would play in the newly re-established Church was still open to discussion.⁵⁶

Disagreements over liturgy and ceremonies have tended to dominate narratives of these early Restoration debates, notably because of the importance of the 1661 Savoy Conference, established to revise the Prayer Book. Its failure to substantially revise it in response to presbyterian concerns – thus producing the 1662 Prayer Book to which assent would be a central requirement of the Act of Uniformity – has been seen as integral to the collapse of comprehension and the eventual ejection of nonconformist ministers in August 1662.⁵⁷ This is reinforced by current scholarship on comprehension schemes after 1662, which has focussed on the issues of liturgy, ceremonies and on the question of re-ordination.⁵⁸ The issue of Church government, by contrast, has been seen in much simpler terms.⁵⁹ While scholars, notably Keeble, have highlighted the growing importance of diocesan episcopacy among the episcopalian side, the debate over Church government has nonetheless been seen as a clear choice between traditional, diocesan episcopacy (what Baxter termed ‘the ancient Prelacy’)⁶⁰ and modified episcopacy, a model in which the bishop ruled in conjunction with a council of presbyters.⁶¹ The importance of Charles’ Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, issued on 25th October 1660, with its endorsement of modified episcopacy (and the presbyterians’ delight at it),⁶² has meant that scholars have seen the question of Church government as quickly resolved, and modified episcopacy as relatively uncontroversial.⁶³ However, by looking at the discussions in the lead-up to the Declaration through the lens of cathedrals, it becomes apparent that there were significant differences within

adversary to Baxter at the Savoy Conference. See Tim Cooper, ‘Richard Baxter and the Savoy Conference (1661)’, *JEH*, 68 (2017), 326-39 (pp. 327, 329). Gauden, on the other hand, held consistent moderate views and would later draw up a scheme for comprehension. For a discussion of which, see below, p. 99.

⁵⁶ For an example of doubts over cathedrals’ usefulness as buildings in a Protestant Church, see John Graunt, *Natural and political observations mentioned in a following index, and made upon the bills of mortality* (London, 1662), p. 58.

⁵⁷ See, for example, E.C. Ratcliff, ‘The Savoy Conference and the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer’, in Nuttall and Chadwick (eds), *From Uniformity to Unity, 1662-1962*, pp. 89-148; Christopher Haigh, ‘Liturgy and Liberty: The Controversy over the Book of Common Prayer, 1660-1663’, *Journal of Anglican Studies*, 11 (2013), 32-64. On a recent re-evaluation of the Savoy Conference, see Cooper, ‘Richard Baxter and the Savoy Conference (1661)’.

⁵⁸ See, most recently, Spurr, ‘The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689’; Tyacke, ‘The ‘Rise of Puritanism’ and the Legalizing of Dissent, 1571–1719’.

⁵⁹ On the dangers of turning Church polity into a question of *adiaphora*, see Rose, ‘The Debate over Authority: *Adiaphora*, the Civil Magistrate, and the Settlement of Religion’, pp. 52-4.

⁶⁰ Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, p. 281.

⁶¹ Whiteman, for example, has seen it as being a clear choice between traditional episcopacy, modified episcopacy or some form of Presbyterianism – the latter being dismissed early on in the debates. Whiteman, ‘Restoration’, p. 52.

⁶² On the presbyterians’ reaction at the final version of the Declaration, see Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, pp. 278-9.

⁶³ This is despite scholars being aware of the protracted nature of discussions in the lead-up to the Declaration and their mentioning several modified episcopacy schemes alongside Ussher’s. See Whiteman, ‘Restoration’, p. 66, n. 2 p. 50, n. 2 p. 67.

understandings of modified episcopacy which, while seemingly ‘resolved’ with the Declaration, point to underlying tensions which would later become apparent during the Restoration period.

Meeting with Charles in the early months of his reign, the presbyterian divines were asked to draw up ‘such Proposals as we thought meet, in order to Agreement about Church Government; *for that was the main Difference*’ between them and the episcopalian clergy.⁶⁴ Compiled over the summer of 1660, the presbyterian proposals clearly connected contemporary discussions to the Long Parliament debates of the early 1640s, citing, as they did, what they regarded to have been ‘amiss in the Episcopal Government, as it was practised before the Year 1640’. This went from the size of dioceses, and the employment of secular officials in Church business, to the arbitrary power of *iure divino* bishops.⁶⁵ Key to reforming this state of affairs was the model of a ‘Reduction of Episcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government’, first presented by James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1641, as a way of reforming episcopal government after the abuses of the Laudian regime.⁶⁶ Ussher’s model of modified episcopacy centred on the performance of Church discipline, with a series of interconnected synods at the parish, deanery, diocesan, provincial and national level. Of particular importance in the implementation of this model was the proposed revival of suffragans (or ‘*corepiscopi*’), present in the early Church, to oversee affairs, with the active participation of parish clergy in ruling the Church and administering discipline. For the presbyterian divines, this model carried particular significance because it represented a return to the principles of the early Church, with its ‘true Ancient and Primitive Presidency as it was ballanced and managed by a due Commixtion of Presbyters’.⁶⁷

While the bishops, in their response to these proposals, disagreed with the presbyterians’ particular understanding of episcopacy, stating their belief that ‘the true ancient primitive Episcopacy’ was ‘more than a meer presidency of Order’, they did agree on the importance of the clergy’s advice and assistance in the bishop’s ministry.⁶⁸ They highlighted their participation at ordination through the laying on of hands and made clear that they

[c]onceive[d] it [as] very fit, that in the exercise of that part of ... [the bishops’] Jurisdiction which appertaineth to the Censures of the Church, they should likewise have the Advice and Assistance of some Presbyters. And *for this purpose the Colledges of Deans and Chapters are*

⁶⁴ Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, pp. 229-32 (p. 231). Italics mine.

⁶⁵ Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, pp. 232-4 (p. 234).

⁶⁶ Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, p. 234. A copy of this work was attached to the presbyterians’ proposals which were delivered to Charles. Written in 1641, the work was not published until 1656, although it circulated widely in manuscript before then. It was included in Baxter’s account. See *idem*, pp. 238-41. On Ussher’s model, the 1640s debates and the Restoration presbyterians, see R. Buick Knox, ‘Archbishop Ussher and Richard Baxter’, *Ecumenical Review*, 12 (1959), 50-63; J.C. Spalding and M.F. Brass, ‘Reduction of episcopacy as a means to unity in England, 1640-62’, *Church History*, 30 (1961), 414-32; Elliot Vernon, *London Presbyterianism and the Politics of Religion in the British Revolution, c.1637-1664* (forthcoming).

⁶⁷ Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, pp. 233-4.

⁶⁸ The bishops’ answer to the presbyterian proposals is included in Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, pp. 242-7 (pp. 242-3).

thought to have been instituted, that the Bishops in their several Diocess might have their Advice and Assistance in the Administration of their weighty Pastoral Charge.⁶⁹

The bishops' reference to this specific role of cathedrals – one which was conceived of as inherent to them – was the first explicit mention of cathedrals in the debates over religious settlement. Although both Ussher and the Restoration presbyterian divines emphasised their support for episcopacy (including archepiscopacy) cathedrals and their clergy were notable for their absence from their schemes. Furthermore, the bishops' point was made to counteract and dismiss presbyterian claims for the need to establish synods, arguing that – in the very foundation of cathedrals – there already existed a system to undertake the role of co-assessors to the bishop.

The presbyterians' subsequent 'Defence of the Proposal' addressed the bishops' points in turn. On clerical participation in the act of ordination, they sharply declared: 'let ... [it] stand on Record against them when it is neglected or made an insignificant Ceremony'.⁷⁰ Yet the bishops' assertion of cathedrals' supremacy in their reading of the early Church (and therefore in their conception of an acceptable modified episcopacy) was, oddly, entirely ignored – despite the fact that such a claim essentially dismissed the presbyterians' emphatic portrayal of the rights of parish clergy in ruling the Church. The motives for ignoring this assertion are unclear, although the fact that they did not explicitly attack it suggests at least a lack of opposition to cathedrals. As discussed, clergy across the religious spectrum were interested in petitioning Charles for cathedral positions, and Charles offered bishoprics and deaneries to several leading presbyterian divines.⁷¹ In their drawn-out discussions over whether or not to accept their offers, Baxter, Edmund Calamy and Edward Reynolds agreed that 'a Bishoprick might be accepted according to the Description of ... [Charles'] Declaration', which, in fact, endorsed the bishops' cathedral-centric reading of modified episcopacy.⁷² In the end, only Reynolds accepted his offer. The protracted nature of their discussions, and the refusal of deanery offers 'after some time' demonstrate, however, that they were not wholeheartedly set against cathedrals in principle – only against a diocesan understanding of episcopacy, which they feared might be reasserted, were the Declaration not to be established in law.⁷³ That they were not opposed to cathedrals *per se* can be gleaned from Morley's claim that the offer of significant London positions to leading presbyterians –

⁶⁹ Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, p. 243. Italics mine.

⁷⁰ 'The Defence of the Proposal' is included in Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, pp. 248-58 (p. 252).

⁷¹ Those offered bishoprics were Baxter (Hereford), Calamy (Coventry & Lichfield) and Reynolds (Norwich); while those offered deaneries were Thomas Manton (Rochester), William Bates (Coventry & Lichfield) and Edward Bowles (York).

⁷² Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, p. 281. See Whiteman, 'Restoration', pp. 65-6. On Charles' Declaration and modified episcopacy, see below, p. 75.

⁷³ On the narrative of their discussions and later refusals of these offers, see Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, pp. 281-4. On the reassertion of diocesan episcopacy, see below, p. 81.

including ‘some of the chief Prebends of Pauls or Westminster’ – was envisaged as ‘a great means to bring over their whole party’.⁷⁴

The differences between the presbyterian proposals and the bishops’ response were not about opposition to cathedrals *per se*. Rather, they reflected two opposing conceptions of the Church: the one, bottom-up, the other, top-down. Whilst Ussher’s and the Restoration presbyterian divines’ proposals for a comprehensive Church settlement laid particular emphasis on parish ministers and their rights in ruling the Church,⁷⁵ the episcopalians asserted the cathedral clergy’s particular responsibilities and the cathedral’s elevated role within the diocese. The absence of cathedrals from the presbyterians’ model derived from the fact that their structural understanding of the Church – as composed of the parish, deanery, diocese and province – reflected cathedrals’ unusual position as institutional ‘oddities’ within the Church.⁷⁶

In the end, Charles’ Declaration of October 1660 endorsed the bishops’ cathedral-centric reading of modified episcopacy, over the bottom-up model of the presbyterians.⁷⁷ Cathedral chapters were to play an important role, acting as co-assessors to the bishop, alongside presbyters chosen annually from among the parish clergy. Furthermore, Charles declared that

To the End that the Deans and Chapters may be the better fitted to afford Counsel and Assistance to the Bishops ... We will take Care that those Preferments be given to the most learned and pious Presbyters of the Diocese.⁷⁸

Such proposals for modified episcopacy celebrated cathedrals as central to a broader, more comprehensive vision of the Church of England. Yet the importance of Charles’ Declaration has obscured the fact that this cathedral-centric understanding of modified episcopacy was only one version among many, much as it had been in the early 1640s. As Atherton has demonstrated, the Long Parliament debates over modified episcopacy in the 1640s were much more internally divided than previously appreciated, especially regarding cathedrals.⁷⁹ The discussions in 1660-2 thus continued the debates of the early 1640s, not merely in according importance to the concept of modified episcopacy, but also in respect of these differences over cathedrals. These differences were also apparent in

⁷⁴ *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. III, p. 738.

⁷⁵ On presbyterian attachment to the parochial system (and the idea of a ‘Baxterian parochial model’), see Duffy, ‘The Long Reformation: Catholicism, Protestantism and the Multitude’, p. 52; Whiteman, ‘Restoration’, p. 87.

⁷⁶ See above, introduction, p. 25.

⁷⁷ Charles II, ‘The King’s Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs’, in *LJ*, XI, pp. 178-82. It also outlined proposals, along Ussher’s lines, for reviving the office of suffragans to assist with larger dioceses.

⁷⁸ Charles II, ‘The King’s Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs’.

⁷⁹ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, pp. 101-3.

published works by episcopalian clergy, with Gauden's model of modified episcopacy omitting cathedrals, whereas John Lloyd's account of the early Church gave them a key role.⁸⁰

Although these differences might appear insignificant, particularly because of the presbyterians' warm reception of Charles' Declaration, they highlight underlying tensions which would later become apparent. While the cathedral-centric version of modified episcopacy differed substantially from diocesan episcopacy, which gave an even greater status to cathedrals as 'mother churches' ruling over the parishes, both were cathedral-centric models.⁸¹ The 'triumph' of the cathedral-centric model of modified episcopacy, whilst accepted by the presbyterians as relatively harmless, still pointed to the growing ecclesiological importance of cathedrals in conformist circles, which would later become problematic for advocates of comprehension after 1662.⁸²

PART II: CATHEDRALS, THE LAUDIAN LEGACY

AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF CONFORMITY, C.1660-1689

Charles' Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs had endorsed a model of modified episcopacy in which cathedrals would play a central role, with their clergy standing as the bishops' advisors *par excellence*. Opposition, notably by the House of Commons, meant that this model of Church government was never established in law and, with the election of a more staunchly conformist Parliament in the spring of 1661, hopes for a more comprehensive Church settlement soon vanished. Assent to the final Act of Uniformity – more rigorous than the old Elizabethan act – was required of all Church of England clergy by the 24th August 1662.⁸³ In *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (1951), Robert Bosher confidently asserted that these events represented the triumph of the Laudian party at the Restoration, thereby vindicating 'the religious programme of Archbishop Laud'.⁸⁴ While

⁸⁰ John Gauden, *Kakourgoi, sive Medicastris slight healings of publique hurts* (London, 1660); John Lloyd, *A treatise of the episcopacy, liturgies, and ecclesiastical ceremonies of the primitive times and of the mutations which happened to them in the succeeding ages* (London, 1660), p. 14.

⁸¹ On diocesan episcopacy and the appropriation of the language of primitive episcopacy by 'high' churchmen, see below, p. 81.

⁸² See below, pp. 96-102.

⁸³ On presbyterian attempts to pass the Declaration into law, see Whiteman, 'Restoration', pp. 71-2. On the build-up to St Bartholomew's Day, see Green, *Re-Establishment*, ch. 7. For an account of the broader significance of 1662 for nonconformists (beyond those ejected from the re-established episcopal Church), see Michael Davies, 'The Silencing of God's Dear Ministers: John Bunyan and His Church in 1662', in Keeble (ed.), '*Settling the Peace of the Church*', pp. 84-113.

⁸⁴ Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement*, p. xiii, quoted in Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 306. See also Whiteman, 'Restoration', pp. 38-40; Green, *Re-Establishment*. For a reassessment and nuancing of his argument, see, for example, Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 306-7; Paul Seaward, 'Circumstantial Temporary Concessions: Clarendon, Comprehension, and Uniformity', in Keeble (ed.), '*Settling the Peace of the Church*', pp. 57-84.

this has since been heavily nuanced, Fincham and Tyacke have nonetheless highlighted how far ‘a nexus of ideas from the 1630s ... shaped the thinking of some prominent churchmen and laymen in the Restoration church’. These men – such as the Laudians Gilbert Sheldon and Matthew Wren, and those of a younger generation such as William Sancroft, William Lloyd and Francis Turner – were ‘at the centre of power at the Restoration’.⁸⁵

The period after 1660-2 indeed saw a reassertion of a diocesan understanding of episcopacy and with it, a reassertion of cathedrals’ status as ‘mother churches’ as Restoration ‘high’ churchmen sought to ‘mould’ cathedrals into symbols of conformity.⁸⁶ While this would confirm Fincham and Tyacke’s claim that cathedrals’ Laudian status as ‘mother churches’ was ‘a role they resumed after 1660’, this should not obscure how cathedrals were regarded more generally as associated with conformity and the Church of England.⁸⁷ Both Whitgift in 1572 and Hacket in 1641 had asserted cathedrals’ importance as communities of scholars who ‘shal encounter with al Papists, Puritans, Anabaptists, and what other sects soeuer in England, *for the defence of religion now professed, eyther by worde or writing*’, being ‘grave Divines ... *who maintain the cause of true Religion by their learned Pen*’.⁸⁸ Cathedral clergy were widely perceived as those most apt to defend the Church of England and persuade people to conform to her precepts.⁸⁹ This would continue to shape churchmen’s understanding of cathedral ministry into the Restoration, with Laurence Womock, Bishop of St David’s, requesting in 1684 he be translated to ‘[his] beloved Ely’, that he might ‘pray & preach and (as occasion serves) ... *write in defence of the Crown and Church*’.⁹⁰ However, the example of the moderate Hacket – appointed Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield at the Restoration – demonstrates how this association of cathedrals with conformity was becoming sharper in the context of the Restoration period.

While cathedrals had been closely aligned with the enforcement of conformity under the Laudians in the 1630s, this had not necessarily influenced other churchmen’s conception of cathedrals. As has been explored in chapter 1, the subtle differences between Whitgift and Hacket’s defences of cathedrals showed the influence of Laudian concerns (notably regarding the importance of prayer and the church

⁸⁵ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 306, 307. This has been explored in greater detail by Tyacke. See Nicholas Tyacke, ‘From Laudians to Latitudinarians: a shifting balance of theological forces’, in Tapsell (ed.), *The later Stuart Church*, pp. 46-67. On the ‘Laudian’ elements of the Restoration Church, see, for example, Nicholas Tyacke, ‘Arminianism and the theology of the Restoration Church’, in Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism c. 1530-1700*, pp. 320-39; Kenneth Fincham, ‘“According to Ancient Custom”: The Return of Altars in the Restoration Church of England’, *TRHS*, 13 (2003), 29-54; Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, ch. 8.

⁸⁶ On the use of the label ‘high’ churchmen’, see above, introduction, p. 28.

⁸⁷ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 313. Italics mine. See also Tapsell, ‘Introduction: the later Stuart church in context’, p. 26.

⁸⁸ Whitgift, *An ansvere to... An admonition to the Parliament*, p. 206; Hacket, *A century of sermons*, pp. xix-xx. Italics mine.

⁸⁹ See above, chapter 1, pp. 41-2, 58-9. See also below, chapter 3, pp. 115-6.

⁹⁰ Bodl., Tanner MS 32, fo. 89: Dr Laurence Womock to Archbishop Sancroft, Brecon, July 14, 1684. Italics mine. Churchmen could also see the consultation of cathedral libraries as crucial when mounting defences of the Church and her practices (such as tithing). See Bodl., Tanner MS 35, fo. 222: Dr Thomas Comber to Archbishop Sancroft, Stonegrave, March 15, 1683.

building) in reshaping the Protestant cathedral ideal in the early Stuart period.⁹¹ However, Hacket's conception of cathedrals had not assimilated the Laudian obsession with the enforcement of conformity. From his correspondence during the Restoration, however, it becomes clear that this idea had become more prominent in his thinking after 1660.

Faced with a ruined cathedral after the damage and neglect of the mid-century upheavals, Hacket showed dedication in repairing the church fabric, energetically overseeing its rebuilding.⁹² Alongside the difficulties of raising funds, problems with cathedral management led to repeated clashes with his dean, Thomas Wood. While these tensions were partly due to the dean's opposition to Hacket's restoration endeavours, a more important reason came from the dean's sympathetic attitude to nonconformists.⁹³ Hacket repeatedly reported to Archbishop Sheldon on Wood's 'sid[ing] all together wth Puritans',⁹⁴ and his being 'a profest favorer of non Conformists'.⁹⁵ For Hacket, this was aggravated by the fact that the enforcement of conformity in Lichfield was in the dean's hands, his 'having the Jurisdiction of the cittie'.⁹⁶ Wood's repeated refusal to appoint a suitable delegate in the courts and his failure to cite nonconformists was perceived by Hacket as causing an upsurge in nonconformist activity.⁹⁷ Hacket further lamented his own powerlessness to 'prevent the concurse of these Schismaticks in Lichfield' and how he '[was] shut out of ye Jurisdiction, & can give no remedie'.⁹⁸ As he exclaimed, 'I know of no cittie in England so much neglected for ecclesiastical government, & this don under my nose'.⁹⁹ 'God send a speedie reformation for this, & manie other strang confusions in the Chapter of this Cathedral, only by one mans wickedness & obstinacy'.¹⁰⁰ This last reference to the cathedral further demonstrates how far, for Hacket, cathedrals were now perceived as intrinsically linked with the enforcement of conformity – and its challenges.

Although Hacket's increased concern with conformity can be explained by his new episcopal role, it also reflects the specific context of the Restoration years. As Goldie has noted, 'Restoration England was a persecuting society' – not only in its being marked by several periods of repression of Protestant nonconformists – but also in its underpinning ideology, with religious intolerance defended politically,

⁹¹ See above, chapter 1, pp. 59-61.

⁹² This has secured him a place in cathedral monographs' accounts of the seventeenth century. See above, introduction, p. 4.

⁹³ Wood is reported as saying to Hacket that he 'did more harm then good, in reedifying this Church'. Bodl., Tanner MS 44, fo. 66: Dr John Hacket to Archbishop Sheldon, Lichfield, Dec. 12, 1668.

⁹⁴ Bodl., Tanner MS 44, fo. 66: Dr John Hacket to Archbishop Sheldon, Lichfield, Dec. 12, 1668.

⁹⁵ Bodl., Tanner MS 44, fo. 69: Dr John Hacket to Archbishop Sheldon, Lichfield, Dec. 14, 1668.

⁹⁶ Bodl., Tanner MS 44, fo. 108: Dr John Hacket to Archbishop Sheldon, Lichfield, June 15, 1669.

⁹⁷ Bodl., Tanner MS 44, fo. 108: Dr John Hacket to Archbishop Sheldon, Lichfield, June 15, 1669; idem, fo. 140: Dr John Hacket to Archbishop Sheldon, Lichfield, Aug. 2, 1669; idem, fo. 196: Dr John Hacket to Archbishop Sheldon, Lichfield, April 23, 1670.

⁹⁸ Bodl., Tanner MS 44, fo. 140: Dr John Hacket to Archbishop Sheldon, Lichfield, Aug. 2, 1669; idem, fo. 206: Dr John Hacket to Archbishop Sheldon, Lichfield, May 16, 1670.

⁹⁹ Bodl., Tanner MS 44, fo. 196: Dr John Hacket to Archbishop Sheldon, Lichfield, April 23, 1670.

¹⁰⁰ Bodl., Tanner MS 44, fo. 206: Dr John Hacket to Archbishop Sheldon, Lichfield, May 16, 1670.

ecclesiologically and theologically.¹⁰¹ This charged atmosphere, due to the need to reassert the claims of a national Church after years of religious pluralism, clearly led to cathedrals being more closely aligned with conformity and its enforcement – even among moderate churchmen such as Hacket. This should be distinguished, however, from the active attempts of Restoration ‘high’ churchmen to ‘mould’ cathedrals into symbols of conformity.

1. CATHEDRALS, THE LAUDIAN IDEAL AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF CONFORMITY

Although increasingly challenged for prominence by latitudinarian churchmen over the course of the period, the Restoration Church of England was (as Tyacke has highlighted) led between 1660 and 1691 by three Archbishops of Canterbury who were all ‘men in the Laudian mould’.¹⁰² This would be particularly significant for cathedrals’ Restoration fate, with both Gilbert Sheldon and William Sancroft, in particular, seeking to reassert the idea of cathedrals as ceremonial ‘mother churches’ in addition to campaigns to restore and beautify cathedral buildings.¹⁰³ Writing in 1670, Sheldon reminded the episcopate that ‘our cathedrals are the standard and rule to all parochial churches of the solemnity and decent manner of reading the liturgy and administering the holy sacraments’. To fail to uphold cathedral standards would not only be an ‘offence ... [to] some of our friends’, but to ‘the advantage of sectaries’ and thus the Church’s ‘own just reproach’.¹⁰⁴ Sancroft similarly reminded his bishops of cathedrals’ ecclesiastical importance, launching a campaign in the early 1680s for weekly communion in the cathedrals.¹⁰⁵ This came after the careful campaigning of the Archdeacon (1662-84) and later Dean of Durham, Denis Granville.¹⁰⁶ Cosin’s son-in-law, Granville’s writings reveal how far Laudian conceptions of cathedrals were being revived during the Restoration, even among younger churchmen.

¹⁰¹ Goldie, ‘The Theory of Religious Intolerance in Restoration England’, p. 331. On post-Reformation attitudes to the enforcement of religious uniformity, see also John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (Harlow, 2000), ch. 2 and 7; Walsham, *Charitable hatred*, esp. ch. 2; John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge, 2006), ch. 3. For an older survey, see John E.E. Dalberg-Acton, ‘The Protestant theory of persecution’, in *The History of Freedom and Other Essays* (London, 1919; first publ. 1862), pp. 150-87. For a reassessment of Restoration persecution, see above, introduction, fn. 97, p. 15.

¹⁰² Tyacke, ‘From Laudians to Latitudinarians’, p. 47.

¹⁰³ On Restoration campaigns to embellish the cathedral interior, see Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 306, 313-6. For evidence of a distinct shift from initial restoration to ‘beautification’ of cathedral interiors during the Restoration period, compare DCA, DCD/A/DA/1, fo. 2v. (1662) and DCD/A/DA/4, fos 4v-5r. (1665).

¹⁰⁴ Vernon Staley, *The Life and Times of Gilbert Sheldon* (London, 1913), pp. 127-8, quoted in Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 313.

¹⁰⁵ This is briefly touched upon below, chapter 3, p. 131. This deserves a study in its own right, which this thesis is unable to provide here due to lack of space.

¹⁰⁶ Although Granville was influential in shaping Sancroft’s campaign, Sancroft had doubts about Granville’s suitability for the deanery (being constantly in debt). Denis Granville, ‘The Remains of Denis Granville, D.D., Dean and Archdeacon of Durham, &c.’, ed. George Ornsby, *Surtees Miscellanea* (Surtees Society, 37) (Durham, 1861), p. 187n., quoted in *ODNB*, ‘Granville [formerly Grenville], Denis (1637-1703)’.

Granville emphasised cathedrals' special status as exemplars, thereby reiterating earlier Laudian defences of ceremonial practices as being 'according to ... [the] antient Practice of this Cathedrall, & probably of all Cathedrall & Collegiate Churches'.¹⁰⁷ The idea of cathedrals as embodying 'antient Practice' – understood as that of England's first reformation (in opposition to later, 'puritan' developments), a key Laudian argument against the charge of innovation – would be reiterated in print during the Restoration period. Writing in 1682, Stephen Penton, master of St Edmund Hall, Oxford, noted how the practice of adoring God before the altar had been 'the constant practice of almost all our Cathedral Churches ever since our Reformation' and was therefore 'an Implicite Command' for all to follow.¹⁰⁸ For Granville, the cathedral community itself was envisaged as exemplary, and pressed the necessity of the close's inhabitants (including domestics) attending monthly communion in the cathedral, their being 'upon that Account ... to be more exemplary then others'.¹⁰⁹ Irregularities or 'breaches' of rubrics within the cathedral were portrayed by Granville as particularly grievous, for

Some of those Breached may seem to be but of small moment, but yet however they being Breaches of [our] Conformity, our Comon Prayer Booke, to which all give our unfeigned assent and Consent, must need (as I am sure I find them) of very bad Consequences. For when the Bounds are once broken, *and such breach authorised by the Cathedral Church, (wch should give law to ye whole Diocesse) it must needs give a great wound to the Uniformity of ye Country.*¹¹⁰

This was reinforced by the fact that – as the defining feature of a city – cathedrals would attract 'many strangers, Clergy & others wch A Cathedrall & City must necessarily draw thither'.¹¹¹ For Granville, this was not merely significant in theory, but drove his sense of calling. He saw his preferment to the deanery (from the archdeaconry) as endowing him with 'much greater Authority, and better Advantages, to struggle wth all those Difficultyes, wch I met wth all in ye past Execution of my Office', thereby enabling him to 'discharge ye Dutyes much better than I did before'.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ Bodl., Tanner MS 31, fo. 218: Dr Denis Granville to Archbishop Sancroft, Durham, Oct. 17, 1685. See also DCA, DCD/T/LP36/84: Denis Granville, 'Advice for ye better Setting & keeping upp ye weekly celebracon of ye holy comunion in ye church of Durham & securing A competent number of Comunicants in their owne Body', 1684-1688.

¹⁰⁸ Stephen Penton, *A discourse concerning the worship of God towards the holy table or altar* (London, 1682), p. 100. See also *The case of ministring at the communion-table when there is no Eucharist* (London, 1683), p. 15. This was part of a broader polemical exchange which included Richard Hart, *Parish churches turn'd into conventicles by serving God therein, and worshipping him otherwise then according to the established liturgy and practice of the Church of England* (London, 1683) (to which the above author was responding) and *Parish-churches no conventicles* (1683) (which, in turn, was responding to *The case of ministring*).

¹⁰⁹ DCA, DCD/T/LP36/84: Denis Granville, 'Advice for ye better Setting & keeping upp ye weekly celebracon of ye holy comunion in ye church of Durham & securing A competent number of Comunicants in their owne Body', 1684-1688.

¹¹⁰ DCL, Hunter MS 36, n.f., item 22: Detection of 'Breaches of Rubricks in the Cathedral'. Italics mine.

¹¹¹ DCA, DCD/T/LP36/84: Denis Granville, 'Advice for ye better Setting & keeping upp ye weekly celebracon of ye holy comunion in ye church of Durham & securing A competent number of Comunicants in their owne Body', 1684-1688.

¹¹² Bodl., Tanner MS 32, fos 180-1: Dr Denis Granville to Archbishop Sancroft, Nov. 26, 1684. For a similar sense of decanal calling, see below, p. 86.

Restoration ‘high’ churchmen revived cathedrals’ role as ceremonial ‘mother churches’, both within polemical works and in their own ministries as archdeacons, deans and bishops. They also reasserted cathedrals’ status as diocesan and episcopal institutions, with scholars such as the churchman Henry Maurice continuing to propagate Laudian accounts of the early Church as diocesan, centred on the bishop’s cathedral.¹¹³ For the cathedral churchman and archdeacon William Saywell, cathedrals’ historic diocesan status was seen as buttressing ecclesiastical order. He condemned nonconformist models of Church government as ‘hav[ing] a Minister imposed upon ... [people], by ignorant Plowmen, or the Factious Rabble’, ‘instead of the pious and learned choice made by Bishops, Cathedral Churches, and Colledges’.¹¹⁴ The example of the biblical scholar and theologian Herbert Thorndike is particularly interesting, however, in demonstrating how ‘high’ churchmen could appropriate the language of primitive episcopacy in propagating a diocesan (and indeed more authoritarian) vision of cathedrals. Writing in 1670 against a proposed comprehension of non-episcopally ordained ministers, Thorndike was nonetheless ‘sympathetic to the presbyterian stress on the need for greater spiritual discipline in English parishes’.¹¹⁵ In a section on ‘restoring and reforming the Jurisdictions of the Crown, and of the Church, in Ecclesiastical Causes’, Thorndike gave cathedrals a prominent role in diocesan discipline, speaking of restoring such powers ‘[t]o the Bishops in chief, then, to the Chapters of their Cathedrals, and to their Archdeacons’.¹¹⁶ This was necessary,

*For, the Chapters of Cathedral Churches are, by their Birth-right, Counsellors to the Bishops, and Assistants, in his whole Office ... Those, by the Rule first set on foot by the Apostles, and observed always by the Church, of planting Cathedral Churches in Cities, and making the Churches planted in Cities Cathedral Churches, for the Government of all Christendom within the Territories of those Cities.*¹¹⁷

The language of ‘counsellors’ and ‘assistants’ had been most prominently used by proponents of primitive episcopacy – although Whitgift had also used such terms against Cartwright.¹¹⁸ However, unlike Whitgift, Thorndike appropriated this language in order to elevate cathedrals’ status *above* parishes in enforcing conformity and administrating Church discipline.¹¹⁹

¹¹³ Henry Maurice, *A vindication of the primitive church, and diocesan episcopacy* (London, 1682). He would later write *A defence of diocesan episcopacy* (London, 1691).

¹¹⁴ William Saywell, *Evangelical and Catholick unity, maintained in the Church of England: or an apology for her government, liturgy, subscriptions, &c.* (London, 1682), p. 50.

¹¹⁵ *ODNB*, ‘Thorndike, Herbert (bap. 1597?, d. 1672)’.

¹¹⁶ Herbert Thorndike, *A discourse of the forbearance or the penalties which a due reformation requires* (London, 1670), p. 118. Thorndike repeatedly associated cathedrals to bishops and archdeacons. See also Thorndike, *A discourse of the forbearance*, pp. 126, 132.

¹¹⁷ Thorndike, *A discourse of the forbearance*, pp. 124-5. Italics mine.

¹¹⁸ See above, chapter 1, pp. 43-4.

¹¹⁹ Thorndike had made similar arguments in earlier works. See Herbert Thorndike, *Just weights and measures* (London, 1662), pp. 176, 182, 243. For Thorndike’s proposals to erect ‘Colleges of Presbyters, in all Shire Towns which have no Cathedral Churches’ for the purpose of ecclesiastical government, see Herbert Thorndike, *Just*

This Laudian ‘legacy’ – and its conception of cathedrals as diocesan and episcopal ‘mother churches’ – was highly influential among Restoration ‘high’ churchmen, cementing their own vision of a centrally-governed Church. However, this vision also proved influential among nonconformists, for whom its emphasis on conformity and uniformity resonated with their own experience and the puritan memory of persecution. The Baptist Thomas Grantham’s *Prisoner against the Prelate* (1662), written whilst in prison, illustrates the important role cathedrals could play in dissenters’ narratives of persecution – in this case, at the time of the passing of the Act of Uniformity.¹²⁰ Grantham’s poem was constructed as a doctrinal exchange between ‘Jayle’ and ‘Cathedral’ – with ‘Jayle’ representing ‘Dissent’, and ‘Cathedral’, the Church of England. Keith Durso has highlighted how this ‘symbolize[s] the titanic struggle Baptists and other dissenters faced when they would not violate their consciences by submitting to the demands of the Church of England’.¹²¹ However, as Southcombe and Tapsell have noted, it also demonstrates the extent to which cathedrals were perceived as symbolic of the Church’s persecuting policies.¹²² Grantham clearly associated cathedrals with conformity. He spoke of his Muse as imprisoned ‘Because thou canst not walk in th’ Minsters way’.¹²³ ‘Jayle’ greets ‘Cathedral’ by speaking of how

others lye within my Cells, because
They can’t conform to thy Prelatick Laws;
Whose case yet seemeth just and good to me,
Although, ‘tis true, they do dissent from thee.¹²⁴

In this dialogue, the idea of conformity (the ‘Minsters way’) was presented, firstly, as liturgical/doctrinal, and secondly, as legal. Grantham’s choosing a gaol to embody dissent (rather than a conventicle) demonstrates his interest in the legal dimension of conformity, with its related issues of religious coercion and persecution. Indeed, Cathedral and Conventicle were normally used in this period as shorthands for conformity and dissent, among both nonconformist and conformist writers.¹²⁵ Even after the Revolution, such was the widely held belief in the unforgivable sin of nonconformity, that the churchman Robert South claimed that ‘hardly can any one be found, who was first tainted with a

weights and measures, pp. 241-2; idem, *The due way of composing the differences on foot, preserving the Church* (London, 1660), p. 40.

¹²⁰ Thomas Grantham, *The prisoner against the prelate, or, A dialogue between the common gaol [ie. gaol] and Cathedral of Lincoln* ([?], 1662).

¹²¹ *No Armor for the Back: Baptist Prison Writings, 1600s-1700s*, ed. Keith E. Durso (Macon, GA, 2007), p. 155.

¹²² Southcombe and Tapsell, *Restoration Politics, Religion, and Culture*, pp. 33-4; Southcombe, ‘Dissent and the Restoration Church of England’, p. 202.

¹²³ Grantham, *The prisoner against the prelate*, p. 8.

¹²⁴ Grantham, *The prisoner against the prelate*, p. 12.

¹²⁵ See, for example, John Nalson, *The project of peace, or, Unity of faith and government, the only expedient to procure peace, both foreign and domestique and to preserve these nations from the danger of popery and arbitrary tyranny* (London, 1678), pp. 182-3.

Conventicle, whom a Cathedral could ever after cure'.¹²⁶ Grantham's work highlights the continued influence of Caroline puritan critiques (as focussing on legal – rather than simply ceremonial – definitions of conformity) after 1660.

While such examples demonstrate how cathedrals were widely held to *symbolise* the Restoration Church of England, cathedrals were also perceived as playing a specific role in enforcing conformity. This was partly due to their association with episcopacy and the legal apparatus of ecclesiastical discipline. The consistory (or 'Bishops') courts – the highest diocesan court – were almost always located within cathedral churches.¹²⁷ Recantations often took place before deans and chapters, and some acts of penance were enacted within cathedrals.¹²⁸ Cathedrals were also presented as official sites of (re-)conversion to the Church of England. One writer recorded the case of a Quaker who, on being healed of the king's evil, went to Winchester Cathedral to give 'publick Thanks' for his healing and was remarked upon as 'ha[ving] ever since remained a true Son of the Church'.¹²⁹ The fact that the rebuilding of St Paul's Cathedral after the Great Fire of London was partly funded through commutations of penance may have reinforced popular perceptions of cathedrals as deeply involved with the enforcement of conformity – indeed, as built on persecution.¹³⁰

Cathedral clergy were also regularly railed against as informers who perpetrated an 'irregular & arbitrary' form of justice in confronting nonconformity. The Quaker Ellis Hookes' account of the arrests of George Whitehead and Thomas Burr in 1680 provides an interesting example of how 'cathedral men' were perceived as heavily involved in the persecution of dissent. Hookes described how a number of 'Evil Agents, Persecuting Informers and Disturbers' came into the Friends' meeting house in Norwich,

¹²⁶ Robert South, *Animadversions upon Dr. Sherlock's book, entituled A vindication of the holy and ever-blessed Trinity, &c* (London, 1693), p. xviii.

¹²⁷ On cathedrals and the Consistory courts, see Joseph Harrold Bettey and W. John Lyes, 'The Consistory Court of Bristol Diocese', *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 126 (2008), 167-71. On the Church courts in the Restoration period more generally, see, for example, Barry Till, *The Church Courts 1660-1720: The Revival of Procedure* (York, 2006); Andrew Thomson, 'Church Discipline: The Operation of the Winchester Consistory Court in the Seventeenth Century', *History*, 91 (2006), 337-59; R.B. Outhwaite, *The rise and fall of the English ecclesiastical courts, 1500-1860* (Cambridge, 2006); Thomson, 'Restorer or Reformer? George Morley's Spiritual Jurisdiction over the Diocese of Winchester, 1662-1684'; Martin Ingram, 'Church Courts in England', in Charles H. Parker and Gretchen Starr-LeBeau (eds), *Judging faith, punishing sin: inquisitions and consistories in the early modern world* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 89-103; Jens Åklundh, 'Church Courts and Toleration in Restoration England', unpubl. PhD dissertation (University of Cambridge, 2017). For an example of a nonconformist's encounter with a cathedral as the site of the courts, see Oliver Heywood, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., 1630-1702: His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, ed. J. Horsfall Turner, 3 vols (Brighouse, 1882), vol. I, pp. 179, 180. I am grateful to Jens Åklundh for pointing me to this source.

¹²⁸ See Bodl., Tanner MS 36, fo. 33: Dr William Lloyd (Bishop of Peterborough) to Archbishop Sancroft, (n.d., 1681?); Tanner MS 35, fo. 171: Dr William Lloyd (Bishop of St Asaph) to Archbishop Sancroft, Jan. 31, 1683; Tanner MS 34, fo. 182: Robert Woodward to Archbishop Sancroft, Salisbury, Oct. 13, 1683.

¹²⁹ John Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia, or, An anatomick-chirurgial treatise of glandules & strumaes or, Kings-evil-swellings* (London, 1684), p. 173.

¹³⁰ Bodl., Tanner MS 40, fo. 21: Order of the commissioners for rebuilding St Paul's that a portion of all commutations of penance be set apart for the cathedral; with a draught of a letter from Archbp. Sheldon to the bishop of London on the subject, Sept. 1, 1676.

where they attempted to hand Whitehead over to the authorities.¹³¹ Although witness testimonies mentioned a number of informers by name, it is significant that Hookes focussed on one ‘Persecutor’ in particular: the cathedral singing-man, Charles Alden.¹³² For Hookes, it was specifically Alden’s ‘informing, muttering and whispering’ which led to Whitehead and Burr’s imprisonment.¹³³ Such complaints against ‘cathedral men’ were not, however, confined to nonconformists. Even conforming ministers, such as William Ramsay, attacked those ‘busie Sycophants turn’d Informers, at Court and Cathedral’ who had falsely accused him of nonconformity.¹³⁴

Such experiences of cathedrals’ role in enforcing the Church’s persecutory policies may explain Baxter’s response to the churchmen Edward Stillingfleet’s attack on nonconformists as schismatics.¹³⁵ Attacking the Five Mile Act (1665) as having been issued at a time ‘when we were intending to come to your Churches’, the injustice of this Act, and of the Church which had devised it, led Baxter to make clear his aversion to ‘[t]his ... your Cathedrall Justice’.¹³⁶ As earlier puritans had articulated it, cathedrals were not so much caring and protective ‘mother churches’ as authoritarian and unjust stepmothers to the godly.¹³⁷

2. THE ‘LAUDIAN’ CATHEDRAL IDEAL AND CONFORMIST CHALLENGES

The Laudian legacy was particularly influential with regard to cathedrals during the Restoration period, appealing to both conformists’ and nonconformists’ perceptions of the contemporary Church (as either ceremonial and centred on conformity, or as persecutory). However, the debates of 1660-2 had re-asserted other readings, notably an interpretation of cathedrals as upholding primitive episcopacy. Not only did this continue to be propagated after 1662 – thereby placing pressure on the episcopal-diocesan reading of cathedrals – but other polemical agendas challenged the stability of this attempt to ‘remould’ cathedrals into Laudian ‘mother churches’, even within conformist circles.

The first example is that of the latitudinarian churchman and popular London preacher, Edward Stillingfleet.¹³⁸ Published on the eve of the Restoration in 1659, Stillingfleet’s *Irenicum* ‘contributed to debates about ecclesiastical restoration by showing the legitimacy of obeying decisions on rites and worship left undetermined in the Bible (*adiaphora*), but nevertheless urging governors to restrain their

¹³¹ Ellis Hookes, *Due order of law and justice pleaded against irregular & arbitrary proceedings in the case and late imprisonment of George Whitehead and Thomas Burr in the city and county gaol of Norwich* (London, 1680), p. 3.

¹³² Hookes, *Due order of law and justice*, p. 5.

¹³³ Hookes, *Due order of law and justice*, p. 5.

¹³⁴ William Ramsay, *The Julian ship, or, Paul’s transportation to Rome* (London, 1681), p. 4.

¹³⁵ For a discussion of which, see below, pp. 94-5.

¹³⁶ Richard Baxter, *Richard Baxters answer to Dr. Edward Stillingfleet’s charge of separation* (London, 1680), p. 66. For a similar early Stuart iteration, see above, chapter 1, p. 52.

¹³⁷ Burton, *For God, and the King*, p. 162. See above, chapter 1, pp. 52-3.

¹³⁸ *ODNB*, ‘Stillingfleet, Edward (1635-1699)’.

impositions'.¹³⁹ Stillingfleet's account, combining both conformity and moderation within a *iure humano* account of episcopacy, also provided a subtle reconfiguration of the Laudian conception of cathedrals as authoritative 'mother churches' – even before the Church's re-establishment.¹⁴⁰

Turning to Church history, Stillingfleet's narrative of the early Church resembled that of other conformists. It recounted the apostles' planting of churches in cities and 'the subordination of the Villages and Territories about' from 'the Gospel ... [being] spread abroad from the several Cities into the Countreys about'.¹⁴¹ As the 'Matrix Ecclesia', cathedrals were portrayed as having been central to converting the surrounding countryside, bringing 'the faith by the assistance of the Presbyters of the City', making them 'but one Church with the City'.¹⁴² Furthermore, Stillingfleet highlighted how this relationship was later remembered. Speaking of the early practice of sending consecrated bread 'from the Cathedral Church' 'to the several parish-Churches, to note their joint-communion in the faith of the Gospel', Stillingfleet noted how this had continued by sending 'some other in Analogy to that, to denote their mutual contesseration in the faith and communion in the same Church'.¹⁴³ For Stillingfleet, it was this primitive spiritual relationship of assistance and love, rather than the authority of apostolic precedence, which endowed cathedrals with their dignity and influence as 'mother churches'. Only through this realisation would conformity be manageable and desirable. Stillingfleet's appropriation and reinterpretation of cathedrals' status as 'mother churches' challenged the Laudian (and what would become Restoration 'high' churchmen's) conception of cathedrals by denying the validity of cathedrals' supposed power, authority and control over the parishes in the enforcement of conformity.

A second example, that of the churchman and religious controversialist Thomas Pierce (1621/2-1691), exemplifies another way in which the ecclesiastical hierarchy's attempt to 'mould' cathedrals into episcopal and diocesan 'mother churches' was challenged during the Restoration period, even by 'high' churchmen. A staunch royalist, Pierce was priested in a clandestine episcopal ordination in 1646, encouraged by his friend Henry Hammond.¹⁴⁴ Ejected from his fellowship at Magdalen College, Oxford, Pierce found employment in the house of the Countess of Sunderland and – alongside his Oxford colleagues Hammond and Peter Heylyn – became 'one of the most forceful apologists for anti-Calvinist theology and episcopal Anglicanism during the period of its suppression' in the 1650s. At the Restoration, Pierce was rewarded with (among other things) a Canterbury canonry and a Lincoln

¹³⁹ Jacqueline Rose, *Godly Kingship in Restoration England: The Politics of the Royal Supremacy, 1660-1688* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 141.

¹⁴⁰ On Stillingfleet's turning the issue of Church polity into a question of *adiaphora*, see Rose, 'The Debate over Authority: Adiaphora, the Civil Magistrate, and the Settlement of Religion', pp. 52-4. On Stillingfleet's account of *iure humano* episcopacy more generally, see Rose, *Godly Kingship in Restoration England*, pp. 141-8.

¹⁴¹ Edward Stillingfleet, *Irenicum, A weapon-salve for the churches wounds, or The divine right of particular forms of church-government: discuss'd and examin'd* (London, 1662; first publ. 1659), p. 368.

¹⁴² Stillingfleet, *Irenicum*, pp. 368, 369.

¹⁴³ Stillingfleet, *Irenicum*, pp. 369-70.

¹⁴⁴ *ODNB*, 'Pierce [Peirse], Thomas (1621/2-1691)'.

prebend. He appeared on the episcopal side at the Worcester House and Savoy conferences, where he ‘had to be discouraged from raising the polemical temperature ... by more level-headed colleagues’.¹⁴⁵

As Dean of Salisbury from 1675, Pierce held ‘extensive and almost quasi-episcopal powers over extensive peculiar jurisdictions’, which included around eighty parishes and chapelries.¹⁴⁶ Although he did not explicitly mention the cathedral, Pierce’s understanding of his decanal ministry shows the cathedral’s importance as a centre of institutional power in the drive for conformity:

I am fixed in ye midst of my great Decanal Jurisdiction (lying dispers’d in 4 Counties) *where I am doing much greater & better Service to His Majestie*, than I could possibly do by preaching a Thousand Sermons at the Court. *For I am riveting into ye Minds as well as Memories of the people*, (especially of ye Thousands who are committed to my Care ... to Fear God & Honour The King).¹⁴⁷

Like Granville, Pierce’s understanding of his decanal ministry showed the continued influence of the Laudian conception of the cathedral as a ‘mother church’ to the surrounding parishes and how it was appropriated and woven into cathedral clergy’s sense of calling ‘to disseminate These Doctrines in peoples Hearts as well as Heades’.¹⁴⁸ However, growing tensions with his bishop, Seth Ward, and the subsequent controversy over episcopal jurisdiction demonstrate how far this Laudian conception of the cathedral could be placed under considerable polemical strain, even by ‘high’ churchmen such as Pierce.¹⁴⁹

While the controversy did not openly erupt until the 1680s, Pierce was already collecting material for polemical use from 1676.¹⁵⁰ In his *Vindication of the King’s Sovereign Rights* (1683), Pierce sought to demonstrate that Salisbury Cathedral was, in fact, a royal ‘Free Chappel’ beyond the bishop’s jurisdiction, but also asserted ‘the King’s Sovereign Rights, *As in all Cathedral Churches*’.¹⁵¹ That this controversy was feared to have broader repercussions can be gleaned from Ward’s letter to Archbishop Sancroft, dated 1683, in which he thanked him for his assistance, ‘whereby I humbly conceive it may be reasonably hoped that yr Gr: *hath so settled the foundations of one Cathedral as may prevent the shakeing of the rest* thorowout his Maties Dominions’.¹⁵² Jacqueline Rose has recently explored this controversy from the angle of the royal supremacy, demonstrating how churchmen manipulated such

¹⁴⁵ ODNB, ‘Pierce [Peirse], Thomas (1621/2-1691)’.

¹⁴⁶ ODNB, ‘Pierce [Peirse], Thomas (1621/2-1691)’; Donald Spaeth, ‘“The enemy within”: the failure of reform in the diocese of Salisbury in the eighteenth century’, in Gregory and Chamberlain (eds), *The National Church in Local Perspective*, pp. 121-44 (p. 123).

¹⁴⁷ SCA, FG/8/1/2, p. [126]: Dr Thomas Pierce to the Earl of Mulgrave, Jan. 2, 1687. Italics mine.

¹⁴⁸ SCA, FG/8/1/2, p. [126]: Dr Thomas Pierce to the Earl of Mulgrave, Jan. 2, 1687.

¹⁴⁹ This would continue into James II’s reign. See R.A. Beddard, ‘The Church of Salisbury and the Accession of James II’, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 67 (1972), 132-48. For details, see Whiteman, ‘The Episcopate of Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter (1662 to 1667) and Salisbury (1667 to 1688/9)’, ch. 10.

¹⁵⁰ The material Pierce collected on the subject includes SCA, FG/8/1/1-2: Dean Pierce’s Miscellanea.

¹⁵¹ Thomas Pierce, *A vindication of the King’s sovereign rights* (‘printed for private use’, 1683), p. 1. Italics mine.

¹⁵² Bodl., Tanner MS 35, fo. 231: Dr Seth Ward to Archbishop Sancroft, March 17, 1683. Italics mine.

debates for their own polemical ends – in this case, to counter episcopal authority.¹⁵³ This debate also demonstrates how ‘high’ churchmen – for whom Laudian ideals had been central in shaping their understanding of the Church and ministry – could supplant the Laudian conception of the cathedral (as episcopal and diocesan) when under pressure.

Stillingfleet and Pierce are two examples of how attempts by Restoration ‘high’ churchmen to ‘mould’ cathedrals into diocesan and episcopal ‘mother churches’ were subtly challenged during the Restoration period within conformist ranks. For Stillingfleet, this involved denying the validity of cathedrals’ *enforcing* conformity, and, for Pierce, attacking their status as episcopal. Other conformist visions were also propagated in the period. The Protestant cathedral ideal – with an emphasis on education, preaching and evangelism – did not die out in 1640-1 with the close of the Long Parliament ‘dean and chapter’ debates. It continued to be propagated, notably by the latitudinarian churchman Gilbert Burnet and the College head Thomas Good.¹⁵⁴ However, as the next section will show, this ecclesiological construction of cathedrals as diocesan and episcopal ‘mother churches’ was not only challenged in conformist circles, but also found itself under attack by nonconformist groups seeking to further their cause and dispute ‘high’ churchmen’s understanding of the national Church.

PART III: CATHEDRALS, THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

AND THE NONCONFORMIST CHALLENGE, C.1660-1689

By 1660, cathedrals had been objects of debate for over a century, and earlier puritan attitudes and perceptions continued to influence the ways in which cathedrals were understood and engaged with. Puritan critiques of cathedral greed and idleness, for instance, re-emerged at the Restoration in response to cathedrals’ financial re-establishment – particularly the return of their lands, sold after their abolition in 1649.¹⁵⁵ Petitioning against a revocation of these purchases, the poet George Wither (himself in possession of former episcopal lands)¹⁵⁶ argued that this would impoverish ‘so many thousands of

¹⁵³ Rose, *Godly Kingship in Restoration England*, pp. 139-41.

¹⁵⁴ This is explored below, chapter 4, pp. 157-61.

¹⁵⁵ This included the (re-)publication of earlier works on the subject (from both sides), including Cornelius Burges, *No sacrilege nor sin to alienate or purchase cathedral lands* (London, 1660; first publ. 1659); Daniel Featley, *The league illegal* (London, 1660), p. 32. On the financial fate of cathedrals during the Civil War and Interregnum, see Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, pp. 41-3; Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, esp. pp. 103-4. On cathedrals’ financial re-establishment, see Green, *Re-Establishment*, ch. 5.

¹⁵⁶ See *ODNB*, ‘Wither, George (1588-1667)’. On Wither, see also Stephen Bardle, *The Literary Underground in the 1660s: Andrew Marvell, George Wither, Ralph Wallis, and the World of Restoration Satire and Pamphleteering* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 12-36.

Families’, and this, ‘for the superfluous enriching of an inconsiderable number of *useless* persons’.¹⁵⁷ Throughout his attack, Wither questioned ‘to what good end ... [cathedrals] may be continued’ and how far cathedrals were ‘necessary’, their revenues being ‘consumed to so little purpose’.¹⁵⁸

Conformist writers such as Roger L’Estrange were aware of nonconformist critiques, and manipulated them to demonstrate nonconformist greed, deceitfulness and radicalism (as earlier conformists had before them).¹⁵⁹ Spurr has drawn attention to conformist writers’ use of polemical rhetorical devices, especially ‘quotation of unrepresentative puritan writings, distortion of their opinions, and other misrepresentations’, notably during the first Restoration crisis.¹⁶⁰ To this were added memories of Civil War iconoclasm which construed historic nonconformist hostility to cathedrals as evidence of religious and political radicalism, with cathedrals’ destruction or dissolution often being presented as first steps in society’s descent into chaotic anarchy.¹⁶¹ Puritan critiques were not, in and of themselves, taken seriously, but used to construct the figure of the dissenter in the popular imagination.¹⁶²

However, this should not disguise the fact that churchmen repeatedly agonised over irregularities in cathedrals as being ‘of very bad Consequences’, ‘they being Breaches of [our] Conformity’.¹⁶³ Having sought to ‘mould’ cathedrals into symbols of conformity, churchmen were only too aware of the fragility of this ecclesiological construction. Throughout the Restoration period, incidents reveal how many cathedral clergy were unclear as to cathedrals’ exact position with regard to the Act of Uniformity and its requirements,¹⁶⁴ as well as to royal declarations.¹⁶⁵ Not only were they conscious that cathedrals were far from being symbols of conformity, they were also aware that cathedrals’ failure to live up to this ecclesiological standard was polemically dangerous. Sheldon spoke of cathedral irregularities as

¹⁵⁷ Wither, *Fides-Anglicana*, p. 48. Italics mine. For awareness of nonconformists’ critique of cathedrals’ ‘usefulness’, see Thomas Good, *Firmianus and Dubitantius, or, Certain dialogues concerning atheism, infidelity, popery, and other heresies and schisme’s that trouble the peace of the church and are destructive of primitive piety* (Oxford, 1674), p. 122. This is discussed below, chapter 4, pp. 153-4.

¹⁵⁸ Wither, *Fides-Anglicana*, pp. 44, 46.

¹⁵⁹ Critiques of cathedrals in the hands of conformists only served as proof of the nonconformist character as self-serving, greedy, deceitful and fanatical, either through direct quotation, attribution or evocation. For examples, see above, chapter 1, fn. 6, pp. 32-3. For earlier conformist critiques of puritan critiques as evidence of greed, see Whitgift, *An answer to... An admonition to the Parliament*, p. 226.

¹⁶⁰ John Spurr, ‘Style, Wit and Religion in Restoration England’, in Taylor and Tapsell (eds), *The Nature of the English Revolution Revisited*, pp. 233-60 (p. 249).

¹⁶¹ See, for example, Samuel Parker, *A discourse of ecclesiastical politie* (London, 1671), p. 178; idem, *A defence and continuation of the ecclesiastical politie* (London, 1671), p. 515.

¹⁶² See fn. 2, p. 32.

¹⁶³ DCL, Hunter MS 36, n.f., item 22: Detection of ‘Breaches of Rubricks in the Cathedral’.

¹⁶⁴ On uncertainty regarding the reading of the Act of Uniformity in cathedrals in August 1662, see Bodl., Tanner MS 48, fo. 38: Dr William Sancroft to Dr John Barwick, Durham, August [?], 1662. Some cathedrals still did not possess a copy of the new Prayer Book in October 1662, despite the Act of Uniformity requiring clergy to ‘assent and consent’ to it. See Bodl., Tanner MS 48, fo. 61: Dr Isaac Basire to Dr William Sancroft, Westminster, Oct. 14, 1662. On uncertainties in cathedrals regarding specific requirements, see, for example, Bodl., Tanner MS 32, fo. 142: Dr John Lake to Archbishop Sancroft, Bristol, Sept. 18, 1684.

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, Bodl., Tanner MS 37, fo. 241: Dr Henry Edes to Dr Zachary Cradock, Chichester, Feb. 4, 1681.

being to ‘the advantage of sectaries’.¹⁶⁶ Even at the height of the Tory reaction, in 1684, the Bishop of Worcester, William Thomas, expressed concern over the ‘notorious omission of residence in this Cathedral’ as being open to the ‘reproach of the enemyes of the Church in Citty and country’.¹⁶⁷

Such anxieties suggest that nonconformist engagement with cathedrals was not limited to critiques of cathedral greed, idleness and popery, but was seen to feed into broader debates which challenged (in particular) ‘high’ churchmen’s vision of the Church of England. Indeed, the Restoration period – while inheriting earlier problems (and thus critiques) – also presented new challenges, and with them, new modes of engagement with cathedrals. Over the course of the 1640s and 1650s, failure to implement a ‘system of rigid Protestant uniformity’ had led to the explosion of religious sects and the evolution of a broad, religiously pluralist society.¹⁶⁸ While the 1662 Act of Uniformity saw the re-establishment of religious uniformity, Charles’ Declaration of Breda, issued on 4th April 1660, had made clear his intention to declare a ‘liberty to tender Consciencs’, offering hope to those seeking comprehension and toleration.¹⁶⁹ Writings advocating both continued to be published throughout the Restoration period, with proposals repeatedly put forward.¹⁷⁰ Such debates provided another arena in which cathedrals were engaged with by nonconforming Protestants during the Restoration period.

Nonconformist engagement with cathedrals evolved throughout the period, demonstrating how nonconformist writers responded and adapted to the evolving context of the Restoration years – as puritan writers had during the early Stuart period.¹⁷¹ An example from the first Restoration crisis (1667-72) points to these developments.¹⁷² Defeat in the second Anglo-Dutch war (1665-7), amplified by losses to trade and Charles’ growing financial problems, prompted calls to investigate governmental mismanagement and corruption, leading – most famously – to Clarendon’s fall in 1667. Alongside this, the war had played a key role in producing opposition to the persecution of Protestants, and it was ‘parliamentary consideration of an act to replace the expiring Conventicle Act of 1664’ which, according to Gary De Krey, precipitated the first Restoration crisis.¹⁷³ It was within this context of mounting challenge to the Restoration settlement, growing anti-episcopal feeling and royal financial

¹⁶⁶ Staley, *The Life and Times of Gilbert Sheldon*, pp. 127-8, quoted in Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 313.

¹⁶⁷ Bodl., Tanner MS 32, fo. 174: Dr William Thomas to Archbishop Sancroft, Worcester, Nov. 15, 1684.

¹⁶⁸ On attempts to establish a presbyterian form of Church government in the 1640s and 1650s, see Claire Cross, ‘The Church in England, 1646-1660’, in G.E. Aylmer (eds), *The Interregnum: the Quest for Settlement, 1646-1660* (London, 1972), pp. 99-120; Whiteman, ‘Restoration’, pp. 26-30; William M. Lamont, ‘Episcopacy and a ‘Godly Discipline’, 1641-6’, *JEH*, 10 (1959), 74-89.

¹⁶⁹ Charles II, ‘The King’s Declaration from Breda’, in *The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons*, 10 vols (London, 1742), vol. I, pp. 2-25.

¹⁷⁰ See, for example, Spurr, ‘The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689’; Tyacke, ‘The ‘Rise of Puritanism’ and the Legalizing of Dissent, 1571–1719’.

¹⁷¹ For an evolution in early Stuart puritan critiques of cathedrals, see above, chapter 1, pp. 49-55.

¹⁷² These later developments are explored below, pp. 93-6.

¹⁷³ De Krey, ‘The First Restoration Crisis: Conscience and Coercion in London, 1667-73’, p. 565; idem, *Restoration and Revolution in Britain*, p. 56.

problems, that the diarist Samuel Pepys recorded rumours of ‘the King’s taking away the Deanes and Chapters’ lands to supply his wants, they signifying little to him’ in early 1668.¹⁷⁴

Scholars have highlighted the anxiety which such calls prompted among conforming clergy, notably Sheldon.¹⁷⁵ Writing to Thomas Turner, Dean of Canterbury, in July 1670, Sheldon spoke of how Turner ‘[could not] be ignorant with what an evill Eye some men Looke upon the possessions of the Church and how much Deans and Chapters are thought to be at present more than others of the Clergie’. It was for this reason, Sheldon claimed, that he required all cathedrals to submit their accounts of expenditures since the Restoration, ‘that we be prepared to answer such as will be apt enough to charge us wth having much and doing little good’.¹⁷⁶ Throughout 1670-1, bishops and capitular clergy sent in their accounts, highlighting their cathedrals’ contributions to their communities, from augmentations and the maintenance of schoolmasters and scholars, to charity and abatements allowed to tenants at the Restoration.¹⁷⁷

Such calls should be seen in parallel with Tudor and early Stuart proposals to dissolve cathedral lands to pay for military expenses.¹⁷⁸ However, works published in response to these debates also reveal an evolution in nonconformist engagement with cathedrals from earlier puritan critiques. Writing in 1667 before the end of the war, and in the wake of the plague and Great Fire, the ejected minister John Humfrey argued for the need for unity in the face of these national challenges, and thus for accommodation and indulgence.¹⁷⁹ Humfrey sought to demonstrate that the decisions of those who had shaped the Restoration settlement had not always been wise. One example was the restoration of episcopacy, ‘of men as low in their interests as in their condition, unto such vast Emoluments which never were, and are ever like to be again, being the fruits of twenty years together in one’.¹⁸⁰ While similar to critiques of the Church’s financial restoration published in 1660-2, Humfrey’s engagement with cathedrals was undertaken in the light of broader debates about unity, coercion and religious settlement. Indeed, Humfrey also claimed that ‘[i]t is not their Cathedrals, Organs, and their Divine

¹⁷⁴ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A new and complete transcription*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols (London, 1995; reissued 2000), vol. IX, p. 36 (Jan. 23, 1668). See also idem, pp. 44-6 (Jan. 31, 1668), 360-1 (Nov. 13, 1668). For a religious and political account of this period, see Lorenzo Magalotti, *Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England, during the Reign of King Charles the Second (1669). Translated from the Italian Manuscript in the Laurentian Library at Florence...* (London, 1821). While it shows an interest in English cathedrals’ financial settlements, it does not appear to mention these contemporary debates.

¹⁷⁵ See, for example, Tapsell, ‘Introduction: the later Stuart church in context’, pp. 10-1.

¹⁷⁶ Bodl., Tanner MS 128, fos 58v-59v: Archbishop Sheldon to Dr Thomas Turner, July 24, 1670.

¹⁷⁷ See Bodl., Tanner MS 123, fo. 68: Dr Thomas Turner to Archbishop Sheldon, Canterbury, Nov. 22, 1670; MS 129, fos 25, 29, 31a: Richard Towgood to Archbishop Sheldon, Bristol, Oct. 17, 1670; idem, fo. 31: Dr Gilbert Ironside to Archbishop Sheldon, Bristol, Oct. 3, 1670; MS 134, fo. 139; MS 140, fos 2, 3, 5, 13, 140, 143; MS 141, fos 166, 169; MS 143, fos 242, 259; MS 146, fos 2-3, 159; MS 147, fos 10, 53, 55, 79, 81-4, 227, 229.

¹⁷⁸ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, p. 99. For broader plans, see Atherton, ‘The Dean and Chapter, Reformation to Restoration: 1541-1660’, pp. 182-3.

¹⁷⁹ [John Humfrey?], *A proposition for the safety & happiness of the King and kingdom, both in church and state, and prevention of the common enemy* (London, 1667).

¹⁸⁰ [Humfrey?], *A proposition for the safety & happiness of the King and kingdom*, p. 47.

Service in what state and magnificence they please’, but rather the fear of perjury, with ‘these Declarations, Subscriptions, and Oaths which you impose on them in your Acts’ that had led nonconformists to leave the Church.¹⁸¹

Humfrey’s work – and broader attacks upon cathedrals’ financial settlement during 1667-72 – elicited responses from conformist writers. Writing in 1668, the Canterbury canon Peter du Moulin responded directly to Humfrey’s description of cathedral clergy as ‘low’, ‘covetous’, and ‘undeservedly rewarded’, highlighting the suffering and loyalty of cathedral clergy during the 1640s and 1650s. He further argued for the necessity of a sufficient financial settlement, ‘the Revenue of the [cathedral] Church without Fines ... [not being] sufficient ... to keep Hospitality, and maintain the Quire, the Officers, the Schools, and the Almsmen’.¹⁸² The churchman Thomas Tomkins attacked Humfrey’s claim that ‘Bishops, and Deans, and Prebends ... should not have had the whole profit of their Leases’, questioning the extent to which such monies would – if re-directed – ‘have been employed wholly in good works’, and listing the pious uses to which cathedral revenues were put.¹⁸³ An anonymous manuscript work similarly sought to defend cathedrals’ financial establishment by demonstrating the pious and charitable uses to which such wealth was put within their communities.¹⁸⁴

Yet while the prospect of the sequestration of cathedral lands brought forth a defence of their role within the community, this was accompanied by dismissal. For du Moulin, such financial debates not only sought the ruin of church buildings, but at that of the spiritual Church.¹⁸⁵ Another author, ‘B.P.’, charged those who ‘would have the Bishops and Cathedral-Church-Lands sold to supply the present necessities of the Nation’ with sacrilege, calling to mind the words of Charles I, who spoke of ‘such sacrilegious reformings’ as aiming at ‘the abasing of Episcopacy into Presbytery’.¹⁸⁶ Tomkins questioned how Humfrey could attack the Church’s financial settlement ‘[i]n a Discourse which pretends wholly to Peace and Accommodation’, or how those with tender consciences (who are ‘afraid of the very appearance of Sin’) could be ‘angry that the State did *not* commit Sacriledg’.¹⁸⁷ More importantly, however, Tomkins drew attention to Humfrey’s claim that it was not ‘Cathedrals, Organs,

¹⁸¹ [Humfrey?], *A proposition for the safety & happiness of the King and kingdom*, p. 18.

¹⁸² Peter du Moulin, *A letter to a person of quality, concerning the fines received by the church at its restoration, wherein, by the instance of one of the richest cathedrals a very fair guess may be made at the receipts and disbursements of all the rest. By a prebend of the Church of Canterbury* (London, 1668), p. 4.

¹⁸³ Thomas Tomkins, *The inconveniencies of toleration, or, An answer to a late book intituled, A proposition made to the King and Parliament for the safety and happiness of the King and kingdom* (London, 1667), pp. 18-9.

¹⁸⁴ Bodl., Tanner MS 141, fos 86-9: Defence of cathedral churches, shewing their suppression to be sacrilegious and unwise, (n.d.).

¹⁸⁵ Du Moulin, *A letter to a person of quality, concerning the fines received by the church at its restoration*, p. 5.

¹⁸⁶ B.P., *A modest and peaceable letter concerning comprehension* (London, 1668), pp. 10, 12.

¹⁸⁷ Tomkins, *The inconveniencies of toleration*, p. 18. Italics mine.

and ... Divine Service', but rather the imposition of oaths that proved an obstacle to conformity, as evidence of nonconformists' stubbornness and the lack of any real opposition.¹⁸⁸

While offering arguments for cathedrals' continued financial endowments, these works demonstrate how conformists were only too willing to dismiss nonconformist engagement with cathedrals as insignificant, or as simply revealing an aspect of the nonconformist character. Such dismissal is all the more interesting for the fact that such arguments were made in the context of broader debates about religious settlement. Indeed, Humfrey's latter claim demonstrates how nonconformists were becoming increasingly aware of cathedrals' place in discussions of conformity and deploying it in debates during the first Restoration crisis. However, this still focussed on cathedral practices as *symbolic* of conformity, rather than challenging cathedrals' *ecclesiological* significance – something which would change during the second Restoration crisis (1678-82).

These different modes of engagement were perceived as more or less threatening, and were often correlated with different nonconformist groups. Differentiating between separatists and presbyterians, the Church of England minister and religious controversialist John Nalson spoke of how

[those] having no Pretensions to a National Government, appear not so Dangerous to the State as to themselves; nor so troublesome as those who contend for Sovereignty, and endeavour to pull down the Pillars of the Church, to Establish their own Synagogue and Spiritual Sannedrim of Lay-Ecclesiasticks; and whereas the other will be contented with a Chappel of Ease, *these make the World Uneasie, because they may not have the Cathedral and Mother Church.*¹⁸⁹

This claim captured how far conformist anxieties regarding nonconformist attitudes to cathedrals lay less in their critiques of cathedral practices than in those critiques which challenged established understandings of the Church of England. Baptists and Quakers' engagement with cathedrals – largely critiques of the cathedral building, popery and power – were easier to dismiss, as L'Estrange and other conformist works demonstrate.¹⁹⁰ Those of presbyterians, however, carried greater significance because of their commitment to a national Church and were thus seen as an attempt to 'have the Cathedral and Mother Church'.¹⁹¹ However, it was not simply advocates of comprehension who threatened this 'high' church cathedral narrative. Proponents of toleration also engaged with and challenged this conformist

¹⁸⁸ [Humfrey?], *A proposition for the safety & happiness of the King and kingdom*, p. 18; Tomkins, *The inconveniencies of toleration*, p. 12.

¹⁸⁹ Nalson, *The project of peace*, p. 277. Italics mine.

¹⁹⁰ See, for example, the Baptist Grantham, *The prisoner against the prelate* and the Quaker Dorothy White, *To all those that vvorship in temples made vvith hands, but more especially to them of Pauls, as a vvarning to them to repent* ([?], 1663). For a rare Quaker example, see Quaker Archive London, Temp MS 16/1: 'A Letter from a Widow Gentlewoman of the Island of Jersey, lately deceased – to the Parson of the Parish to which she belonged: Shewing that the Clergy have no manner of right, either by the Law of Moses, or the Gospel, or even by the Laws of men, to compel Christians to pay Tithes. Written about the latter end of the 17th, or the beginning of the 18th century'. Interestingly, a later note appears on the back of the manuscript letter, saying 'not a Quaker'.

¹⁹¹ Nalson, *The project of peace*, p. 277. Italics mine.

ideal in their cause. This discussion will focus on how advocates of both toleration and comprehension used cathedrals *ecclesiologically* to challenge this ‘high’ church cathedral narrative within their arguments for indulgence and accommodation. It will demonstrate that, just like their Elizabethan and early Stuart predecessors,¹⁹² Restoration nonconformists’ engagement with cathedrals was far more complex, going beyond simple critiques of cathedral practices. Yet the experience of Civil War and Interregnum had also created new challenges and ways in which cathedrals, and indeed the Church of England, were engaged with.

1. CATHEDRALS, THE FAILURE OF UNIFORMITY AND THE CAUSE OF TOLERATION

Studies of toleration in this period are now more sensitive both to the political dimension of campaigns for indulgence and to the multitude of arguments promoted by advocates of liberty of conscience.¹⁹³ De Krey has explored dissenting cases for conscience made during the first Restoration crisis (1667-72), highlighting the radicalism of many arguments and how – by broadening the issues of debate to the purpose of government, the rights of subjects and the limits of authority – these debates would lay the foundations for the crisis of 1679-82.¹⁹⁴ He has also looked at London during this period, considering nonconformist attempts to undermine and discredit the institutions of the persecuting state – notably the Corporation of London and through City elections.¹⁹⁵ De Krey’s work has thus highlighted how nonconformists engaged with institutions in seeking to further their cause. An underappreciated aspect of these debates is how contemporary Church of England institutions, such as cathedrals, were exploited in arguments for toleration, notably during the second Restoration crisis of 1679-82.

As De Krey has argued, the second Restoration crisis of 1679-82 ‘was a crisis about reformation’.¹⁹⁶ While Jonathan Scott, Mark Goldie and Mark Knights have explored how the ‘Exclusion crisis’ went beyond issues of exclusion and succession, De Krey has explored how nonconformists ‘turn[ed] a crisis that began with the issue of popery into an opportunity for the further reformation of the Church of England’, as evidenced by parliamentary efforts to achieve comprehension in 1680-1.¹⁹⁷ Arguing for the need to reform the Church’s ceremonial life in order to achieve Protestant unity, nonconformist

¹⁹² See above, chapter 1, pp. 44-7.

¹⁹³ On the political dimension of campaigns for toleration in the Restoration period, see notably Grell, Israel and Tyacke (eds), *From Persecution to Toleration*, esp. chapter by Tyacke.

¹⁹⁴ Gary S. De Krey, ‘Rethinking the Restoration: Dissenting Cases for Conscience, 1667-1672’, *HJ*, 38 (1995), 53-83.

¹⁹⁵ De Krey, ‘The First Restoration Crisis: Conscience and Coercion in London, 1667-73’.

¹⁹⁶ De Krey, ‘Reformation in the Restoration crisis, 1679-1682’, p. 231. See also idem, *Restoration and Revolution in Britain*, ch. 4.

¹⁹⁷ De Krey, ‘Reformation in the Restoration crisis, 1679-1682’, p. 232. See Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1683*, esp. pp. 9-17; Goldie, ‘Danby, the Bishops and the Whigs’; idem, ‘Priestcraft and the Birth of Whiggism’, p. 214; Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge, 1994).

writings also drew on anti-prelatical sentiments and attacked the diocesan model of episcopacy.¹⁹⁸ Yet they also drew on ‘high’ churchmen’s vision of cathedrals, highlighting how such a narrative was, in fact, an empty ecclesiological construction, far removed from the reality of the English Church. This emerged following Edward Stillingfleet’s controversial sermon, *The Mischief of Separation*, preached on 11th May 1680, in which he accused dissenters of schism.¹⁹⁹ This unleashed a wave of publications, as nonconformists defended their beliefs.²⁰⁰

Although Stillingfleet’s sermon did not refer to cathedrals, nonconformist writers drew on their example, firstly to argue against the possibility of religious uniformity and secondly, to respond to the charge of schism. The independent minister John Owen, for instance, questioned Stillingfleet’s narrow definition of conformity (which, if unobserved, was equated with sin), remarking, ‘then what Conformist is not guilty in a high degree of sinning? then who can conform? ... Is there such to be found at all times, *even in Cathedral Churches?*’²⁰¹ Owen was clearly aware of cathedrals’ special place in ‘high’ churchmen’s vision of the Church. Yet he also subverted it by highlighting the unspoken reality: that their claim that cathedrals were the exemplars of conformity faltered under close scrutiny. This demonstrated the impossibility of religious uniformity, and thus of conformity.²⁰² The religious controversialist Edmund Hickerlingill was less charitable in his denunciation of cathedrals, whose failures he decried as ‘publick transgressions, ... [in] defiance of the Act of Uniformity’. Because of their special status within the Church, such failure was overlooked, for, as Hickerlingill put it, ‘‘tis some Priviledg to sin in good Company’.²⁰³ As churchmen had feared, cathedrals’ failure to live up to their status as symbols of conformity was used to prove both the impossibility of conformity as an achievable goal, and the Church’s hypocrisy.

Differences between cathedrals and parish churches were also exploited to emphasise these points. Responding to Stillingfleet in his *Mischief of Impositions* (1680), the presbyterian minister (and pro-tolerationist) Vincent Alsop asserted:

This is the upshot of his Reasonings, There can be no Peace under separate Communiones ... Does he, by Separated Communion, intend such as differ only in some external Modes? How then, do the Countrey Villages agree so well with the Cathedral Mother-Churches? It’s certain that the Cathedral

¹⁹⁸ De Krey, ‘Reformation in the Restoration crisis, 1679-1682’, pp. 233, 240-1.

¹⁹⁹ Edward Stillingfleet, *The mischief of separation* (London, 1680).

²⁰⁰ See, for instance, Baxter, *Richard Baxters answer to Dr. Edward Stillingfleet’s charge of separation*; John Howe, *An answer to Dr. Stillingfleet’s Mischief of separation* (London, 1680); John Humfrey, *An answer to Dr. Stillingfleet’s sermon, by some nonconformists, being the peaceable design renewed* (London, 1680); John Owen, *A brief vindication of the non-conformists from the charge of schisme* (London, 1680).

²⁰¹ John Owen, *Moderation a vertue, or, A vindication of the principles and practices of the moderate divines and laity of the Church of England* (London, 1683), p. 34. Italics mine.

²⁰² On Owen’s views more generally, see, for example, Paul C.H. Lim, ‘*Adiaphora*, Ecclesiology and Reformation: John Owen’s Theology of Religious Toleration in Context’, in Bonney and Trim (eds), *Persecution and Pluralism*, pp. 243-72.

²⁰³ Edmund Hickerlingill, *The black non-conformist discover’d in more naked truth* (London, 1682), p. 66.

Service, and that of the under Parishes, differ so much, that a poor Countrey-man dropping in by chance into the Worship would be half affrighted out of his Wits, such a Ditty, such a Din, with Organs, Choristers, Singing-men, and Boys, that from the uncertain Sound and confused noise, the poor Fellow would not know what was Piped or Tooted.²⁰⁴

Yet, argued Alsop, if such differences were not regarded as constituting ‘separate Communion[s]’ or schism, then the Church of England clearly endorsed the concept of unity. No one, Alsop argued, could ‘prove ... [a man] a Schismatick, who ... either out of choice, or necessity, transplant[ed] himself from under the spreading shadow of a Goodly Cathedral, to a Parochial Church’ when one had such ‘multitudes of Rites and Observances, unknown to the Villages, and far more differing from the Parochial Usages and Customs, then the Worship of most Country Towns differ from that of the Non-conformists’.²⁰⁵ Why, then, could the Church not grant them toleration, when she already accepted its principles?²⁰⁶ Interestingly, Baxter (provocatively) approached the argument from the opposite angle, asking: ‘Are all different modes of Worship enough to make our Party Separatists? Then ... the Cathedrals or the Parish-Churches ... are Separations’.²⁰⁷

By basing their arguments on cathedrals, Owen, Hiceringill and Alsop showed an awareness of conformists’ need to uphold cathedrals to bolster their vision of a confident, authoritative English Church. By discrediting this portrayal, they exposed both the insecurities of (‘high’) churchmen and the fluidity of what it meant to ‘belong’ to the Church of England. Through these debates, cathedrals emerged as less imposing or formidable than conformists sought to portray them. However, conformist responses to these debates similarly – and unwittingly – undermined ‘high’ churchmen’s vision of cathedrals as ceremonial ‘mother churches’ to the parishes. In *The Unreasonableness of Separation* (1681), Stillingfleet responded to nonconformist claims regarding differences between cathedrals and parish churches by asking ‘what is all this to the purpose? If the same Man puts on finer Clothes at London, than he wears in the Countrey, Is he not the same Man for all that?’²⁰⁸ Laurence Womock similarly asserted that ‘‘Tis the same Duty still, whether performed at 9. or the 12th. hour in a Church or Chappel, Cathedral or a Parish Church, in a Cloak or Cassock, Gown or Surplice, standing or

²⁰⁴ Vincent Alsop, *The mischief of impositions, or, An antidote against a late discourse, partly preached at Guild-hall Chappel, May 2, 1680, called The mischief of separation* (London, 1680), p. 48.

²⁰⁵ Vincent Alsop, *Melius inquirendum, or, A sober inquirie into the reasonings of the Serious inquirie* ([?], 1678), p. 162.

²⁰⁶ Baxter similarly drew attention to the differences between cathedrals and parish churches as an example of the lack of agreement between ‘Zealots for Imposition of Conformity’. Richard Baxter, *A search for the English schismatick* (London, 1681), pp. 7, 23. See also Baxter, *The English nonconformity as under King Charles II and King James II truly stated and argued* (London, 1689), p. 296.

²⁰⁷ Richard Baxter, *An apology for the nonconformists ministry* (London, 1681), p. 88; idem, *Richard Baxters answer to Dr. Edward Stillingfleet’s charge of separation*, p. 48.

²⁰⁸ Edward Stillingfleet, *The unreasonableness of separation, or, An impartial account of the history, nature, and pleas of the present separation from the communion of the Church of England* (London, 1681), p. 146.

Kneeling'.²⁰⁹ Stillingfleet and Womock, in an attempt to downplay these awkward differences, unwittingly undermined 'high' churchmen's attempts to assert cathedrals' special status as 'mother churches', whose practices should be enforced in the parishes.²¹⁰

These arguments demonstrate how cathedrals were regarded as a powerful polemical tool in debates over religious identity. This provides a deeper insight into how advocates of toleration engaged with the national Church. Far from isolating themselves from it, their response to cathedrals shows them to have been particularly sensitive to the complexities of 'conformity' politics – and increasingly so, when compared to Humfrey's engagement with cathedrals during the first Restoration crisis.²¹¹ Like their early Stuart predecessors, Restoration nonconformists drew on conformists' 'theology' of cathedrals to further their cause. Early seventeenth-century separatists had challenged Laudian denials of innovation by presenting cathedral practices as breaking canon law.²¹² Restoration nonconformists similarly challenged 'high' churchmen's portrayal of cathedrals by highlighting cathedrals' failure to follow the Act of Uniformity's requirements and their differences from parish practice. These debates highlight continuity between the discourses of pre-Civil War and Restoration separatists and their engagement with the national Church.

2. CATHEDRALS AND THE EVOLVING CAUSE OF COMPREHENSION

Proponents of comprehension also rejected and challenged this 'high' conformist vision. However, differences in approach (evident, most notably, in the various understandings of modified episcopacy in the 1660-2 debates) shaped different comprehensionist responses to the 'high' conformist narrative. Firstly, there were those who had supported a 'cathedral-centric' understanding of modified episcopacy. Their vision of the Church was similar to 'high' conformists' in that cathedrals were at the centre. They simply disagreed with conformists' reading of cathedrals: for 'high' churchmen, cathedrals were 'mother churches' at the centre of an episcopal, diocesan Church, while for supporters of comprehension, cathedrals were ecclesiastical 'senates' at the centre of a 'primitive' Church. The second group, for whom cathedrals had never played an important part in their understanding of modified episcopacy, rejected the conformist narrative not so much for its reading of cathedrals as for the very idea that cathedrals stood at the centre of the Church. Their response to the 'high' conformist narrative was to undermine cathedrals' claims to embody the true Church of England. Such writers

²⁰⁹ Laurence Womock, *The verdict upon the dissenters plea, occasioned by their Melius inquirendum* (London, 1681), p. 218. On a similar argument which nonetheless acknowledges cathedrals' superior 'solemnity', see John Phillips, *Speculum crape-gownorum, or, An old looking-glass for the young academicks, new foyl'd* (London, 1682), p. 19.

²¹⁰ The implications of this are discussed briefly below, chapter 3, p. 133.

²¹¹ See above, pp. 90-2.

²¹² See above, chapter 1, pp. 52-3.

sought to isolate cathedrals from the main body of the Church in an attempt to reclaim the Church for comprehension. Interestingly, it was Charles himself who made such a case possible.

As discussed, Charles' Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs (1660) gave cathedrals a prominent role in its proposals for modified episcopacy. Yet alongside this, Charles – by advocating a 'liberty to tender consciences' on matters such as the wearing of the surplice – made clear that any such liberties were *not* to 'extend to our Own Chapel, Cathedral or Collegiate Churches, or to any College in either of Our Universities'.²¹³ This was a significant contradiction, for it gave cathedrals a prominent role in a comprehensive Church, while forbidding them from participating in the consequences of such a settlement. This is particularly odd when one considers that Charles had offered bishoprics and deaneries to leading presbyterian divines, for whom such practices were deeply problematic.²¹⁴

While pressure from 'high' churchmen might provide some explanation for this proviso, Charles' own religious preferences may lie behind this desire to protect cathedrals' distinct practices. When the delegation of presbyterian divines met with him at Breda in the spring of 1660, Charles had emphasised that, while he was willing to show a 'liberty to tender consciences', he would accept no attempts to infringe on his own religious liberty.²¹⁵ What caused this outburst was the presbyterian divines' plea that Charles limit the use of the Prayer Book and discontinue the use of the surplice in his own chapel.²¹⁶ For 'it would be much wondered at, if his majesty should, at his first landing in the kingdom, revive the use of ... [the Prayer Book] in his own chapel, wither all persons would resort'.²¹⁷ Charles' angry reaction to this suggestion highlights his own attachment to the liturgy and ceremonies of the Church of England.²¹⁸ Yet he was clearly aware of the contradictions of his position, being keen to promote religious liberty whilst also remaining deeply attached to the Church's *adiaphora*. His attempt to limit the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity in March 1662, for instance, was heavily qualified, emphasising that such a gesture was 'not [to be] thought or ... interpreted to be an argument of his Maties indifference in the use of those Ceremonyes', but only of his compassion.²¹⁹

In this sense, his desire not to extend such liberties over *adiaphora* to his own chapel is understandable. But why also exempt cathedrals, collegiate churches and college chapels? An important

²¹³ Charles II, 'The King's Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs'. On the similarities between these institutions, see above, introduction, pp. 26-7.

²¹⁴ See above, p. 74.

²¹⁵ The account of the meeting comes from Edward Hyde, the first Earl of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, 7 vols, (Oxford, 1849), vol. VI, Book XVI, §§242-4, pp. 261-3, quoted in *Documents Relating to the Settlement of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity of 1662*, ed. George Gould (London, 1862), pp. 4-5.

²¹⁶ On the request to discontinue use of the surplice in the Chapel Royal, see *Documents*, ed. Gould, p. 5.

²¹⁷ *Documents*, ed. Gould, p. 5. Italics mine.

²¹⁸ On the Chapel Royal in exile and during the Restoration period, see Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 288-9, 311-13; Anna Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (London and New York, 2008). On Charles' religious beliefs/position, see Ronald Hutton, 'The religion of Charles II', in R. Malcom Smuts (ed.), *The Stuart court and Europe* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 228-46.

²¹⁹ *Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1879), appendix, pp. 162-3.

aspect of the presbyterian divines' anxiety and uneasiness about Charles' revival of the use of the Prayer Book in his chapel was the fact that '*wither all persons would resort*'.²²⁰ Indeed, although Charles' response emphasised his personal liberty in his own chapel, the Chapel Royal was not an entirely private space. It was its public significance which caused presbyterian concern.²²¹ The same applied even more obviously to cathedrals. Situated in prominent cities, cathedrals – and the sort of churchmanship they displayed – had the potential to influence large numbers of people, and thus significantly alter and shape the nation's religious tone. This argument would later be invoked by Denis Granville in his campaign to establish weekly communion in Durham Cathedral in the mid-1680s.²²² For Granville, such a campaign was crucial to reviving the nation's devotional life, for the cathedral held an influence and power other churches simply did not have, reaching 'many strangers, Clergy & others wch a Cathedrall & City must necessarily draw thither'.²²³ For the presbyterian divines, Charles' proviso would not only – in effect – create a Church within a Church, but one which would hold all royal, episcopal, capitular and academic power.²²⁴

As discussed, Baxter and other leading presbyterian divines had shown little interest in cathedrals in their own proposals for a comprehensive Church settlement over the summer and autumn of 1660.²²⁵ Furthermore, they had mounted little challenge to a cathedral-centric reading of primitive episcopacy – both in their answer to the bishops' response or to their amendments to Charles' initial draft of the Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.²²⁶ Yet it was Charles' brief, and seemingly innocent proviso that any liberties regarding *adiaphora* should *not* 'extend to our Own Chapel, Cathedral or Collegiate Churches, or to any College in either of Our Universities' that finally – and dramatically – drew the presbyterians' attention to the cathedral question. Within Baxter's account of the early Restoration attempts at comprehension is included a 'Petition to the King upon our sight of the First Draught of his Declaration'. Composed by Baxter in the early autumn of 1660, it presented the presbyterian divines' response to the initial draft of the Declaration. Gratefully acknowledging his concessions to 'tender consciences', Baxter and his fellow petitioners nonetheless

²²⁰ *Documents*, ed. Gould, p. 5.

²²¹ On the influence of the Chapel Royal on bishops, leading churchmen and chaplains, see Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 313.

²²² See above, pp. 79-80.

²²³ DCA, DCD/T/LP36/84. On cathedrals' local socio-economic role, see above, chapter 1, pp. 60-1.

²²⁴ On conformist fears of comprehension as creating a Church within a Church, see Spurr, 'The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689', pp. 941-2.

²²⁵ See above, pp. 73-6.

²²⁶ For the presbyterian divines' 'Defence of the Proposal' (in answer to the bishops' response), see Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, pp. 248-58; for their amendments of the initial draft of the Declaration, see *idem*, pp. 275-6.

humbly beseech[ed] ... [his] Majesty 1. *That this Liberty in forbearing the Surplice, might extend to the Colledges and Cathedrals also* that it drive not thence all those that Scruple it, and make not those Places receptive only of a Party.²²⁷

Those responding here to Charles' Declaration recognised the dangerous consequences which his singling out of cathedrals could have on Church unity – a point they would reiterate during the Savoy Conference in the spring of 1661.²²⁸ However, this petition, though delivered to the Lord Chancellor, was never presented to Charles. Not only did these presbyterian concerns lie unaddressed, but Charles' proviso would have a lasting impact on the Restoration Church. It proved highly influential in legitimising conformists' cathedral-centric understanding of English ecclesiology and would go on to shape any future attempts at comprehension in this period.

As Tyacke and Spurr have explored, the religious landscape of the Restoration period was repeatedly punctuated by discussions, proposals and bills for comprehension – even after the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662.²²⁹ Scholars have, however, focussed on how these proposals engaged with the legal requirements of the Act of Uniformity, rather than on what these proposals tell us about the nature of the Church.²³⁰ Yet such proposals were not simply concerned with addressing the specifics of conformity as legal facts, but incorporated such points into their vision for the Church – one heavily influenced by Charles' pronouncement on cathedrals. Indeed, proposals and bills for comprehension throughout this period drew on the limitations set out by Charles in his Declaration.

One of the first to be drawn up was Bishop Gauden's scheme for comprehension. Composed in May 1662 as the Act of Uniformity was going through Parliament,²³¹ it advocated '[t]hat ye surplice may bee *restrained* universally to Chathedralls, Colleges and Royal Chappells' and that, while the sign of the cross in baptism and kneeling at communion could be dispensed with if the minister held scruples, 'all Chathedralls and Royal Chappells ... [were] to continue their practise as now'.²³² Although unique in that it also included kneeling at communion and the sign of the cross in baptism in its exemption (Charles' original proviso had only related to the surplice) it demonstrates how much Charles' position was already re-shaping the cause of comprehension even before the Act of Uniformity had been officially established in law. Bills for comprehension drawn up or presented in 1668, c.1672, 1680, 1681-5 and 1688-9 made similar statements, either by stating that the surplice was to be left indifferent

²²⁷ Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, pp. 265-74 (p. 273).

²²⁸ DWL, MS 12.50: 'An Account of the Conference in Order to that at the Savoy 1661'.

²²⁹ Spurr, 'The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689'; Tyacke, 'The 'Rise of Puritanism' and the Legalizing of Dissent, 1571-1719'. On the period following the Act of Toleration, see H.G. Horwitz, 'Comprehension in the Later Seventeenth Century: A Postscript', *Church History*, 34 (1965), 342-8.

²³⁰ See, for example, Spurr, 'The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689'.

²³¹ The bill was first brought from the House of Commons on 11 July 1661 and Charles gave his assent to the Act on 19 May 1662.

²³² BL, Stowe MS 180, fos 61-2 (fos 63-6 is a draft of the same proposal). The final 'as now' – written in a lighter ink – seems to have been added to the text. Gauden mentions this scheme in a letter to the Earl of Bristol, dated 1 May 1662. *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. III, supplement, p. xcix.

‘in Parochiall churches’,²³³ or more explicitly, that it could be dispensed with ‘except onely in the Kings Chappells and Cathedrall Churches’.²³⁴ Of those proposals which did not limit such liberties over *adiaphora*, that of October 1667 (which was ‘never printed nor brought into ye House (though intended)’)²³⁵ was replaced by that of February 1668, which did exempt cathedrals. The other two bills which ignored such distinctions were those drawn up during James II’s reign.²³⁶ The omission of the exemption regarding cathedrals during James’ reign may demonstrate how cathedrals were actively included in moves for greater Protestant unity in the face of Catholic challenge.²³⁷

Conformist publications similarly qualified any support for comprehension by restricting its application, notably during the early 1680s, when parliamentary efforts were being made to achieve accommodation.²³⁸ Writing in 1681 on removing obstacles to Church communion, Stillingfleet made clear that, ‘as to Cathedral Churches, there is no necessity of alteration’.²³⁹ Similarly, the churchman Edward Pierce, reflecting on Charles’ Declaration in 1682, admitted that

It is clear, that Cathedrals must not be touched, neither Revenues, nor Ceremonies, let them enjoy both, and allow unto others a Liberty in another kind, while they may enjoy theirs, without mutual and uncharitable Censures and Contentions.²⁴⁰

Charles’ Declaration – and responses to it, such as Stillingfleet’s – reflected a desire to protect cathedrals and their distinctive practices. However, Pierce’s response reveals how this intention could be subtly re-configured, with far-reaching consequences for cathedrals. Pierce echoed Charles’ prescription that ‘Cathedrals must not be touched’. But the rhetoric of toleration had insinuated itself into Pierce’s proposal, with his advocating ‘a Liberty ... without mutual and uncharitable Censures and Contentions’. Pierce took Charles’ position to its logical conclusion. For to single cathedrals out and protect them from broader moves towards comprehension was to accept the possibility of a gravitational

²³³ Those bills using the phrasing ‘in Parochiall Churches’ are those dated February 1668 (composed by Baron Hale) and c.1672 (by Philip, Lord Wharton). Bodl., B.14.15. Linc., fos 9-13 [Hale]; Carte MS 81, fo. 346 [Wharton].

²³⁴ Those with explicit provisos exempting cathedrals are the bills dated December 1680, c.1681-5 and 1688-9; Bodl., Carte MS 77, fo. 588r and Ballard MS 70, fos 48-51 [1680]; BL, Harley MS 1237, fos 27-30 [1681-5]; idem, fos 1-2, 4-24 [1688-9].

²³⁵ Bodl., B.14.15. Linc., fo. 4. This comment was made by Thomas Barlow, then Provost of Queen’s College, Oxford, and Lady Margaret Prof. of Divinity (later Bishop of Lincoln) to whom the scrapbook belonged.

²³⁶ BL, Harley MS 1237, fos 31-4, 35-40. The dating to James’ reign comes from Spurr, ‘The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689’, n. 4, p. 937.

²³⁷ See Atherton and Morgan, ‘Revolution and Retrenchment: The Cathedral, 1630-1720’. This deserves further study, which this thesis is unable to provide due to lack of space, but for a brief overview, see above, chapter 3, pp. 131-2.

²³⁸ See De Krey, ‘Reformation in the Restoration crisis, 1679-1682’.

²³⁹ Stillingfleet, *The unreasonableness of separation*, p. lxxxiii; idem, *Proposals tender’d to the consideration of both Houses of Parliament for uniting the Protestant interest for the present, and preventing divisions for the future* (London, 1689), p. 32. See also Edward Wettenhall, *The Protestant peace-maker, or, A seasonable persuasive to all serious Christians who call themselves Protestants* (London, 1682), pp. 118, 125.

²⁴⁰ Edward Pierce [Pearse], *The conformist’s third plea for the nonconformists* (London, 1682), p. viii.

shift which could see cathedrals, rather than moderate dissent, as the entity to be ‘comprehended’ within the Church.

Charles’ Declaration had (unwittingly) popularised the idea that cathedrals should not be touched, whatever direction the Church was to follow. Such a proviso was enthusiastically accepted by those conformists for whom cathedrals’ importance in their vision of the Church made them unwilling to allow for change. While some were more charitable in their response to this – such as Pierce and his talk of ‘Liberty’ – others were more forceful. Chief among them was Baxter in his *English Nonconformity* (1689). Composed as a dialogue between a lawyer and a silenced minister, the exchange leads them onto the issue of *adiaphora*. Differentiating between those ‘necessary things’ which ‘God in his mercy hath made ... intelligible and plain’, and those to be chosen ‘according to the general Rules of Charity, Edification, Order, and Decency’, the minister concludes that divisions over such matters were the result of ‘accidental scandal’, and that

If any were so silly that they scrupled; e.g. singing our Metre or Tunes of David's Psalms, but are only for the Cathedral singing of the Prose; *it's fitter to let them be silent, or let them go only to Cathedrals, than to Excommunicate or Destroy them.*²⁴¹

Although these were the words of a fictional character, they reflected the attitudes of a minority, desirous of comprehension. This position found a precedent in the ejected minister John Humfrey’s writings. Responding in 1680 to Stillingfleet’s controversial sermon *The Mischief of Separation*, Humfrey had sought to give a truthful account of nonconformity and propose a ‘way of Accommodation in the matter of Religion’.²⁴² Differentiating between those able to join the Church ‘in Parochial Union’ and those unable to, Humfrey called for a double bill for comprehension and toleration. Central to this bill would be the demand that ‘*Bishop Laud be confined to his Cathedral*; and the other that Chancellor Hyde be totally expelled [from] our Acts of Parliament’, meaning ‘that the Ceremonies in the ordinary Parish Churches be left to the liberty of the Minister’ and according to his conscience.²⁴³ Although stating nothing new, Humfrey’s phrasing was significant. Firstly, it reflected how the memory of Archbishop Laud was still perceived, by some, as clinging to cathedrals. Secondly, his use of ‘confined’ was striking, for although its physical connotations are not surprising in the context of literary personification, it highlighted how certain nonconformists wanted to see cathedrals’ influence and practices clearly demarcated, isolated and contained. Cathedrals therefore became the minority position to be tolerated, rather than the representative standard to be enforced.

²⁴¹ Baxter, *The English nonconformity as under King Charles II and King James II*, p. 269. Italics mine.

²⁴² Humfrey, *An answer to Dr. Stillingfleet’s sermon*, p. 3.

²⁴³ Humfrey, *An answer to Dr. Stillingfleet’s sermon*, p. 29. Italics mine.

While Baxter and Humfrey held different views on toleration, both presented a model for the Church of England, which included comprehension for those attached to the ‘cathedral way’.²⁴⁴ Cathedrals were to become the refuge – or the dumping ground – of those unable to follow the wider Church’s move towards comprehension. Abandoned and relegated to the Church’s fringes, cathedrals – whose special status Charles had sought to protect – were instead isolated, and their place in the future of the Church of England rendered uncertain. It also reveals a clear evolution in Baxter’s thinking about comprehension. While his original proposals in 1660 showed little interest in cathedrals, Charles’ Declaration momentarily drew Baxter’s attention to them and to the danger of not including them in moves towards comprehension. However, the widespread impact of the Declaration – combined with the ‘high’ church narrative – cemented the idea of cathedrals as ‘untouchable’ institutions.²⁴⁵ A number of comprehensionists, responding to this, preferred to ‘abandon’ cathedrals rather than risk encountering unsurmountable opposition, which would jeopardise the precious cause of comprehension.

*

As this chapter has argued, cathedrals’ place in the Restoration period was much more contested than has previously been appreciated. The idea that cathedrals were ‘rapidly re-established ... as a considered act of Anglican identity’ assumes that cathedrals’ place within the Church was assured at the Restoration, and that that place could only be understood (or appreciated) along traditional, ‘high’ conformist lines.²⁴⁶ While the experience of the 1640s and 1650s led – as Atherton has claimed – to an increased awareness and interest in cathedrals’ materiality (which chapter 5 will explore), their Interregnum fate did not cement their ecclesiological significance. Between 1660 and 1662, their role was open to reinterpretation during the debates over religious settlement. Cathedrals were envisaged, by the majority of those involved (including Charles) as having a place in a comprehensive Church settlement – and indeed, an active role, with deans and chapters acting as co-assessors to bishops.

After the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662, and the failure to secure a comprehensive Church settlement, ‘high’ churchmen sought to mould cathedrals into symbols of conformity to bolster their vision of an episcopal and diocesan Church of England – in stark contrast to the more comprehensive role they had been accorded by proponents of modified episcopacy. This ecclesiological construction proved particularly influential, with cathedrals being perceived as critical sites in the Church’s persecution of dissent. However, as an ecclesiological construction propagating a particular understanding of the Restoration Church, it did not go unchallenged – including in conformist circles.

²⁴⁴ On Humfrey’s views on toleration, see De Krey, ‘Rethinking the Restoration: Dissenting Cases for Conscience, 1667-1672’, pp. 57-9.

²⁴⁵ This is also partly due to the fact that cathedrals were incorporated into an *iure divino* view of episcopacy. See above, chapter 1 pp. 53-5.

²⁴⁶ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, p. 114.

Proponents of toleration subverted this ‘high’ church narrative, demonstrating that, far from being exemplars, the reality of cathedrals demonstrated the impossibility of strict conformity, and the Church’s implicit acceptance of tolerationist principles. Proponents of comprehension similarly rejected the ‘high’ conformist narrative, either for reading cathedrals as diocesan/episcopal – or for portraying cathedrals as embodying the English Church. Recognising the strength of this narrative, however, and the opposition they would encounter in seeking to reform cathedrals, either in worship or regarding their role in the Church, this minority among comprehensionists adapted their proposals by ‘abandoning’ cathedrals and focussing, instead, on moving the wider Church towards comprehension. These engagements with cathedrals demonstrate how nonconformists – far from disengaging from the religious establishment – were not only (increasingly) sensitive to the contemporary Church’s attempts at constructing an ecclesiological narrative, but exploited its limitations in advocating their own causes. This deepens our understanding both of the breadth of nonconformist arguments and rhetorical strategies, but also of their engagement with the contemporary Church.

This is particularly the case with the cause of comprehension. Although scholars are sensitive to the contested nature of the Restoration religious settlement, there is an unacknowledged assumption that moderate nonconformists, such as Baxter, were incapable of moving on, burdened by nostalgia, and that their repeated efforts to promote comprehension displayed a stubborn refusal to accept that the Church of England had moved on from the 1660-2 debates.²⁴⁷ By looking at the debates through the lens of cathedrals, it becomes obvious that, far from sticking to past solutions, they responded to the changed context of the Restoration years and actively adapted their proposals, seeking new ways of envisaging a comprehensive Church settlement. This rethinking not only demonstrates the continued commitment of this group to the Church of England, despite challenges and persecution, but also displays just how fluid religious identity was within the boundaries of the Church – thereby raising questions regarding the existence of ‘Anglicanism’ in the period.

²⁴⁷ Whiteman, for example, has portrayed the presbyterian divines – notably Baxter – not as victims, but as stubborn and inflexible, determined to get conformity ‘on their own terms’. Whiteman, ‘Restoration’, pp. 84-5, 87.

CHAPTER 3: CATHEDRALS AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

AFTER THE ACT OF TOLERATION, c.1689-1714

Addressing the new sovereigns on their coronation day on 11th April 1689, the royal chaplain, and soon-to-be Bishop of Salisbury, Gilbert Burnet, spoke of the importance of religion in the proper governing of a nation. While he warned of those princes who ‘make a pretence of their Religion’, Burnet outlined a vision of a truly godly prince and government,

*When the encouraging and promoting of a vigorous Piety, and sublime Vertue, and the maintaining and propagating of True Religion ... is the chief design of their Rule: When Impiety and Vice are punished, and Error is repressed ... When the decency of the Worship of God is kept up, without adulterating it with Superstition ... And above all, when Princes are in their own deportment, Examples of the Fear of God.*¹

For Burnet, as for many of his contemporaries, the Glorious Revolution – and the coronation of William and Mary – not only represented deliverance from popery and the securing of the Protestant religion: it carried with it the hope of reformation, standing as a ‘godly revolution’ which would see the nation restored to ‘its pristine faith, piety, and virtue’.² However, writing in 1713, and reflecting back on the decades following this momentous event, Burnet deplored ‘the inward State into which we are unhappily fallen’. For while the events of 1688-9 had led to an ‘awakening [of] the Consciences of so many Clergymen to a better Sense of their Duty, and to more Diligence in the Discharge of it’, they had also created divisions within the Church. As Burnet lamented: ‘we are unhappily broken among our selves; and under the Names of high and low Church ... Bodies of Men owning the same Religion and Worship ... are yet as much alienated from one another, if not more, than if their Differences were ever so great and visible’.³

Scholars have similarly emphasised both the revival and the divisions caused by the events of 1688-9. Where once the Glorious Revolution was understood purely in political terms,⁴ historians have increasingly stressed the moral and providential significance of the events of 1688-9. Some, such as

¹ Gilbert Burnet, *A sermon preached at the coronation of William III and Mary II, King and Queen of England... in the Abby-Church of Westminster, April 11, 1689* (London, 1689), pp. 17, 19-20. Italics mine.

² Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 3. See, for example, *ODNB*, ‘Tillotson, John (1630-1694)’.

³ Gilbert Burnet, *The New Preface and Additional Chapter to the Third Edition of the Pastoral Care* (London, 1713), pp. 4, 5, 9.

⁴ Thomas B. Macaulay’s *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, 5 vols (1848) most famously embodies this ‘Whig’ interpretation of the Glorious Revolution as a constitutional milestone. Works which have challenged or engaged with this include W.A. Speck, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: Englishmen and the Revolution of 1688* (Oxford and New York, 1988); Eveline Cruickshanks, *The Glorious Revolution* (New York, 2000); Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England 1689–1727* (New York, 2000); Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685–1720* (London and New York, 2006); Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, 2009).

Tony Claydon, have explored how this was exploited by the post-revolutionary regime, whilst others have examined the subsequent moral revolution of the 1690s and the role of the societies for the reformation of manners.⁵ Others have considered the place of the Church of England within this movement, notably by emphasising lay engagement – what Mark Goldie has termed ‘voluntary Anglicanism’ – thereby departing from earlier institutional histories.⁶ However, scholars have highlighted the Church’s divided response, both to the Act of Toleration and to these endeavours.⁷ For while low churchmen sought to encourage this movement and initiate reforms to compete in the religious marketplace, high churchmen sought to retain and strengthen the Church’s coercive power – notably by tightening the discipline of the church courts – and preserve her denominational boundaries.⁸

Such work on the impact of the Act of Toleration on the established Church contrasts strongly with scholarship on cathedrals, which has portrayed them as largely unaffected by the events of 1688-9 (confining their study of its impact to prosopographies of nonjuring clergy). Instead, post-revolutionary cathedrals are portrayed as inward-looking and isolated from the broader Church – a picture of spiritual idleness, worldly ambition and political squabbling which would last until the Victorian reforms of 1828-32.⁹ More recently, however, scholars have sought to integrate cathedrals into their broader post-revolutionary contexts, demonstrating that they continued to play an important role within religious and

⁵ There is a vast scholarship on the subject. See, for example, Dudley W.R. Bahlman, *The Moral Revolution of 1688* (New Haven, 1957); T.C. Curtis and W.A. Speck, ‘The Societies for the Reformation of Manners’, *Literature and History*, 3 (1976), 45-64; A.G. Craig, ‘The Movement for the Reformation of Manners, 1688-1715’, unpubl. PhD dissertation (University of Edinburgh, 1980); R.B. Shoemaker, ‘Reforming the city: the reformation of manners campaign in London, 1690-1738’, in L. Davison, T. Hitchcock, T. Kiern and R.B. Shoemaker (eds), *Stilling the Grumbling Hive: The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England, 1688-1750* (Stroud, 1992), pp. 99-120; Craig Rose, ‘Providence, Protestant Union and Godly Reformation in the 1690s’, *TRHS*, 3 (1993), 151-69; Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*; Tim Hitchcock, *English Sexualities, 1700-1800* (Basingstoke, 1997), ch. 7; Manuel José Gómez-Lara, ‘The Politics of Modesty: the Collier Controversy and the Societies for the Reformation of Manners’, in P. Cuder-Domínguez, Z. Luis Martínez and J. A. Prieto-Pablos (eds), *The Female Wits: Women and Gender in Restoration Literature and Culture* (Huelva, 2006), pp. 117-34; Faramerz Dabhoiwala, ‘Sex and Societies for Moral Reform, 1688-1800’, *JBS*, 46 (2007), 290-319; Karen Sonnelitter, ‘The Reformation of Manners Societies, the Monarchy, and the English State, 1696–1714’, *The Historian*, 72 (2010), 517-42.

⁶ Goldie, ‘Voluntary Anglicans’, pp. 989-90. On the place or role of the Church of England within this movement, and its relationship with the societies and ‘voluntarism’, see Eamon Duffy, ‘Primitive Christianity Revived: Religious Renewal in Augustan England’, in Derek Baker (ed.), *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 287-300; Tina Isaacs, ‘The Anglican hierarchy and the reformation of manners 1688-1738’, *JEH*, 33 (1982), 391-411; Walsh and Taylor, ‘Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the ‘long’ eighteenth century’, pp. 17-20; John Spurr, ‘The Church, the societies and the moral revolution of 1688’ and Craig Rose, ‘The origins and ideals of the SPCK 1699-1716’, in Walsh, Haydon and Taylor (eds), *The Church of England, c.1689-c.1833*, pp. 127-42 and pp. 172-90, respectively. On Church renewal more generally in this period, see Sirota, *The Christian Monitors*, ch. 1.

⁷ On the Church’s divided response to the Act of Toleration, see Bahlman, *The Moral Revolution of 1688*, p. 22; Sykes, *From Sheldon to Secker*, ch. 3, p. 102; G.V. Bennett, ‘Conflict in the Church’, in Geoffrey Holmes (ed.), *Britain after the Glorious Revolution 1689-1714* (London, 1969), pp. 155-75; idem, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730*, ch. 1; Walsh and Taylor, ‘Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the ‘long’ eighteenth century’, pp. 16-7; Sirota, , *The Christian Monitors*, chs 4-5. For more recent work which has highlighted division after 1689, see above, introduction, fn. 122, p. 19.

⁸ On the use of labels, see above, introduction, pp. 28-9.

⁹ See above, introduction, pp. 13-4.

political culture throughout the long eighteenth century.¹⁰ Jeremy Gregory has highlighted how Canterbury Cathedral ‘became a centre of [political] support for the new regime’, both ‘[d]uring the politically sensitive years following the Revolution of 1688-9’ and after the Hanoverian succession.¹¹ Ian Atherton and Victor Morgan have shown how Norwich Cathedral ‘became a focus of the struggle’ during James II’s reign, claiming that it ‘became the religious powerhouse for city and diocese’, playing a key role in defending the Protestant religion.¹² While this did not last, Atherton and Morgan have nonetheless taken seriously the impact of the Act of Toleration on the cathedral: ‘For the few previous years the cathedral had found a cause, defending the Church of England and resisting the claims of other churches; *now that the other Protestant churches and sects had been granted legal toleration, what was the cathedral to do?*’¹³

The aim of this chapter is to explore Atherton and Morgan’s question further, by considering how cathedrals fitted into the established Church’s response to the Act of Toleration and its challenges. As chapter 2 has explored, Restoration cathedrals were deeply involved in debates about the nature of the Church, its religious settlement and relations with dissenters. While these discussions shifted as a result of the Act of Toleration, cathedrals were still implicated in debates. In particular, deliberations in 1689-90 raised the question of cathedral ministry afresh – a question first propounded by puritan reformers in the sixteenth century. This chapter will consider three contemporary responses to this question (which all placed different emphases on the issue) as the post-revolutionary Church sought to engage with this new denominational marketplace. After outlining the 1689-90 debates, the first section will investigate one response which sought to redefine the focus of cathedrals’ ministry away from worship. While in many ways a reassertion of an earlier Protestant cathedral ideal (as centred on evangelism and education), this vision was adapted to fit the priorities and needs of the post-revolutionary Church. The second section will explore another response, which sought not to redefine cathedral ministry *per se*, but to reform cathedral worship. This demonstrates continued attempts at comprehension after 1689, although ones in which cathedrals were given different roles. The third section will investigate a final response, which sought neither to redefine nor reform, but to celebrate cathedral worship as a unique form of devotion within the “commercialization of religion”.¹⁴ As chapters 1 and 2 have explored, the vision of cathedrals’ as ceremonial ‘mother churches’ was deeply intertwined with issues of conformity and coercion – and this was significantly affected by the Church’s loss of monopoly, demonstrating the impact of the events of 1688-9 on understandings of cathedrals. Through this study, I hope to contribute to understandings of religious practice and identity in the long eighteenth century. As Gregory has observed, ‘[i]n legal terms the Toleration Act of 1689 marked a definite break in the relationship

¹⁰ See also above, introduction, p. 14.

¹¹ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828*, pp. 49-51.

¹² Atherton and Morgan, ‘Revolution and Retrenchment: The Cathedral, 1630-1720’, pp. 565-7.

¹³ Atherton and Morgan, ‘Revolution and Retrenchment: The Cathedral, 1630-1720’, p. 567. Italics mine.

¹⁴ Gregory, ‘The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of the Anglican clergy after 1689’, p. 70.

between Anglican clergy and nonconformity, but at the parish level the distinctions between Anglicans and dissenters remained blurred'.¹⁵ 'The ideal of a national Church continued in the minds of many parish clergy throughout the eighteenth century'.¹⁶ While parish religion renders it difficult to chart the Act's impact, it is hoped that looking at the question through the lens of cathedrals – more obviously problematic symbols of religious identity and practice – might help understand shifts in the Church's religious identity after the creation of a denominational marketplace.

PART I: CATHEDRALS, REFORM AND THE CHALLENGES OF TOLERATION, C.1689-1714

Passed in the spring of 1689 as 'An Act for exempting Their Majesties Subjects ... from the Penalties of certain Laws', the Act of Toleration – and the failure of comprehension – brought about the legalising of dissent and with it, the creation of a denominational marketplace. Central to the Church's response to the events of 1688-9 was a reassertion of the clergy's pastoral responsibilities.¹⁷ As Gregory has observed, '[t]he Toleration Act of 1689 made the pastoral task and responsibilities of Anglican clergy appear even more central to the well-being of the established Church; lacking the exclusive support of the state, pastoral pressure was seen as the most effective method of making any headway against the presence of Dissenters'.¹⁸ Scholars have recognised that these concerns were not the preserve of a specific party.¹⁹ However, the prominence of latitudinarian (or low) churchmen in the post-revolutionary Church – the result of a 'theological shift' brought on by the 1688-9 crisis and the ejection of the non-jurors – has meant that particular importance has been accorded to their attempts at pastoral, moral and clerical reform.²⁰ Such work has therefore focussed either on zealous Whig bishops, such as Gilbert Burnet, or on the parishes – the coal-face of pastoral ministry.²¹

Little interest has been shown in cathedrals, which are seen as irrelevant, both to the values and priorities of the post-revolutionary Church. Firstly, cathedrals are understood as naturally 'Laudian'.²² That these ecclesiastical (and indeed political) propensities were perceived at the time is evidenced by

¹⁵ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828*, p. 207.

¹⁶ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828*, p. 207.

¹⁷ On the clergy's various roles in the period more generally, see, for example, Tapsell, 'Pastors, preachers and politicians: the clergy of the later Stuart church'.

¹⁸ Gregory, 'The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of the Anglican clergy after 1689', pp. 69-70.

¹⁹ Gregory, 'The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of the Anglican clergy after 1689', pp. 83-4; Sirota, *The Christian Monitors*, p. 70.

²⁰ Tyacke, 'From Laudians to Latitudinarians'. On the use of the term 'latitudinarian', see above, introduction, pp. 28-9.

²¹ For an overview of 'pastoralia', see Walsh and Taylor, 'Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the 'long' eighteenth century', pp. 13-22.

²² This is partly derived from understandings of the Restoration Church. See above, chapter 2, pp. 64-7, 76-7, 79.

contemporary remarks which designated non-jurors as ‘Cathedral Rebels’ and commented on the prevalence of Jacobites in cathedral towns.²³ Others highlighted the discrepancy between cathedrals and latitudinarian values, with one remarking how, ‘I never see ... [a latitudinarian] at the Cathedral, but he makes me think of an Algerine putting out Christian Colours’.²⁴ The ejection of the non-jurors in 1690-1 is therefore seen as depriving cathedrals of their main advocates, those for whom cathedrals were central – or indeed had any role at all – in their vision of the Church. Secondly, cathedrals are understood as diametrically opposed to the priorities of the post-revolutionary Church. Without parish congregations (or ‘cure of souls’), cathedrals lacked any pastoral ministry in the true sense of the word. While repeatedly a point in critiques from the sixteenth century onwards,²⁵ this became increasingly problematic in a Church for which pastoral reform was key to reforming the lives and manners of the nation.

This uninterest in cathedrals could be perceived in the episcopal injunctions of the newly-elevated bishops. Writing to his diocesan clergy after his visitation in May 1690, the new latitudinarian Bishop of Chichester, Simon Patrick, made clear his intention not to retain the cathedral’s privileged position as *the* location for episcopal confirmations, preferring instead to confirm during his visits to ‘any Church in my Diocess, where those in the Neighbourhood, who are fitted to be confirmed, may resort to me’.²⁶ Gilbert Burnet similarly stated his desire to confirm ‘not only in our Cathedral ... but as we go about to any of the Churches of our Diocess’, ‘for [the] avoiding of Crowds and Disorders in Confirmations’.²⁷ While this may seem to suggest that the specific roles of cathedrals (as centres of episcopal ministry) were not valued by the new latitudinarian bishops, such a view obscures how some of them sought to incorporate cathedrals into their vision for the post-revolutionary Church.

As chapter 2 has explored, cathedrals were deeply implicated in Restoration debates regarding Church government (notably on primitive/diocesan episcopacy) and the Church’s policies and identity as a national Church (notably on conformity and coercion). While such debates had repercussions for the envisaged role of cathedral clergy, the question of cathedral *ministry* – how it was understood and defined – had not featured in these debates. With its emphasis on ministerial efficiency in the face of legalised dissent, the post-revolutionary context, however, raised this question afresh – notably in 1689-90. After outlining these debates, this section will focus on attempts to *redefine* the focus of cathedral

²³ [John Macbride], *Animadversions on the defence of the answer to a paper* ([Belfast], 1697), p. 43; *A dialogue betwixt Whig and Tory, aliàs Williamite and Jacobite* (1693), p. 5. *A dialogue betwixt Whig and Tory* has sometimes been attributed to Daniel Defoe, but more recently, to Benjamin Overton. See J.A. Downie, ‘Ben Overton: an alternative author of *A dialogue betwixt whig and tory*’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 70 (1976), 263-71.

²⁴ Thomas Brown, ‘A letter from a Gentleman in the Country, to his Friend in the City’, in *A collection of miscellany poems, letters, &c. ... to which is added, A character of a latitudinarian* (London, 1699), p. 10.

²⁵ See above, chapter 1, pp. 39-40.

²⁶ [Simon Patrick], *A letter of the Bishop of Chichester to his clergy* (London, 1690), p. 5. On Patrick’s cathedral antiquarianism, see below, chapter 5, pp. 201-2.

²⁷ Gilbert Burnet, *Injunctions for the arch-deacons of the diocess of Sarum* ([London], 1690), p. 2.

ministry. This is apparent, firstly, in debates over pluralities, which demonstrate that there existed a movement seeking to harness cathedrals' pastoral potential and render them 'more serviceable to the Church'.²⁸ This was complemented, secondly, by a desire to develop cathedrals' educational potential, thereby incorporating them into the movement for the reformation of manners, and enlisting them in the task of persuading dissenters back into the Church.

1. 'TO RENDER THESE ORDERS OF MEN... MORE SERVICEABLE TO THE CHURCH':²⁹ THE QUESTION OF CATHEDRAL MINISTRY AFTER 1689

In July 1688, on the eve of the Revolution, Archbishop Sancroft appointed a committee with the intention of overseeing alterations to the liturgy, in a conciliatory move aimed at enlisting the support of nonconformists against James II's policies.³⁰ As Sancroft observed, this was so "that should another revolution come, we ... [would] be better provided; and ... have duly consider'd how we might ... improve our own Constitution".³¹ Once the Revolution had taken place, however, the impetus for comprehension shifted, with the Act of Toleration passed in April 1689, and the Comprehension Bill referred to Convocation.³² While such attempts ultimately failed, the ecclesiastical commission (set up to make recommendations over alterations) met regularly throughout October and November 1689 in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey, even producing a revised liturgy.³³

As explored in chapter 2, the 1689 Comprehension Bill (like earlier bills) sought to protect cathedrals' distinct practices from the consequences of accommodation, stating that the surplice would no longer be an obligation 'Except onely in the King and Queenes Majties Chappelle and in all Cathedrall or Collegiate Churches'.³⁴ While such attempts suggest widespread acceptance of

²⁸ Iraeneus Junior, *Deo ecclesiae & conscientiae ergo, or, A plea for abatement in matters of conformity to several injunctions and orders of the Church of England* (London, 1693), p. 82. This text is discussed below, pp. 123-5.

²⁹ Junior, *Deo ecclesiae & conscientiae ergo*, p. 82.

³⁰ Spurr, 'The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689', pp. 937-8; Sirota, *The Christian Monitors*, pp. 56-9, 63-4, 78-9.

³¹ R.A. Beddard, 'Observations of a London Clergyman on the Revolution of 1688-9: Being an Excerpt from the Autobiography of William Wake', *Guildhall Miscellany*, 2 (1967), 406-17 (p. 414), quoted in Spurr, 'The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689', p. 938.

³² See Sirota, *The Christian Monitors*, pp. 77-86.

³³ ODNB, 'Tillotson, John (1630-1694)'. See especially Timothy J. Fawcett, *The Liturgy of Comprehension, 1689: An Abortive Attempt to Revise the Book of Common Prayer* (Southend-on-Sea, 1973); Spurr, 'The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689', pp. 937-9; Gordon J. Schochet, 'The Act of Toleration and the failure of Comprehension: persecution, nonconformity, and religious indifference', in Dale Hoak and Mordechai Feingold (eds), *The world of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89* (Stanford, CA, 1996), pp. 165-87; Charles Hefling, 'The "Liturgy of Comprehension"', in Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck (eds), *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 61-3; Wouter Troost, 'Comprehension or toleration? The Williamite solution of 1689', *Dutch Crossing*, 31 (2007), 73-90. For a contemporary account, see Thomas Tenison, *A Discourse Concerning the Ecclesiastical Commission Open'd in the Jerusalem Chamber* (London, 1689).

³⁴ BL, Harley MS 1237, fos 1-2, 4-24 (fo. 2r). Italics mine. See above, chapter 2, pp. 99-100.

cathedrals' status and practices by 1689, the ecclesiastical commission's deliberations – and the debates it generated – raised the question of cathedral ministry. The prospect of altering the Church's liturgy brought forth a flood of publications, both for and against the move. These demonstrate not only the impact of the recent Act of Toleration on understandings of ordained ministry, but also how the role of cathedral clergy – particularly the usefulness and definition of their ministry – had once again become a pressing issue after the legalising of dissent.

Writing in support of the alterations, the author of *A Letter from a minister in the country, to a member of the convocation* (1689) spoke out in defence of proposed plans for shortening the Sunday service. His argument revolved around an image of parish clergy, exhausted and overworked, stretched between the performance of lengthy liturgies and the burden of pastoral ministry. This, the author continued,

*is quite another thing to what it is to walk from a warm house to a Cathedral, and for half an hour turn over a Service-Book, hear a Sermon, and return to a warm room, and good fare in the close of it. Let them that have Curates and Conveniencies do as they please, but for God's sake let not them that hardly know what it is to do all the Service of a Cure throughout the year, or perhaps their life, prescribe to those that weekly go through the Office of it.*³⁵

For this author, the men of Convocation were primarily cathedral men, and, as such, knew nothing of the realities and demands of parish life and pastoral ministry.³⁶ Cathedral ministry was portrayed as confined to the performance of the liturgy and the hearing (or giving) of sermons, devoid of a 'cure of souls'. This comment brought forth an angry response from the churchman and polemicist Thomas Long (d.1707).³⁷ Quoting the above passage, Long accused its anonymous author of misrepresenting the Convocation men, which, he remarked, 'consists of the select Clergy of the Land, who are ... *obliged to the service of God in Cathedrals, or in their own churches; and moreover, to all those services which the Country-Minister is bound to do*'.³⁸ Asserting the value of the cathedral calling, Long sought to diminish the distinction between the ministries of cathedral and parish clergy. However, his comment – in effect – reinforced that made by the author of the *Letter*: it revealed how far his understanding of ministry was primarily about 'the service of God', i.e. the performance of the liturgy and the administration of the sacraments. Both authors saw cathedral ministry as lacking the responsibilities of

³⁵ N.L., *A letter from a minister in the country, to a member of the convocation* (London, 1689), p. 20. Italics mine.

³⁶ Out of the thirty members of the ecclesiastical commission (ten bishops and twenty other divines) tasked with the alteration of the liturgy, only two appear not to have held cathedral posts: John Goodman, archdeacon of Middlesex; and Thomas Tenison, archdeacon of London and incumbent of St Martin-in-the-Fields (who would, however, be made bishop of Lincoln in 1691). For a list of the members of the commission, see Tenison, *A Discourse Concerning the Ecclesiastical Commission Open'd in the Jerusalem Chamber*, pp. 27-8. See also, Sirota, *The Christian Monitors*, pp. 79-80.

³⁷ See ODNB, 'Long, Thomas (bap. 1621, d. 1707)'.

³⁸ Thomas Long, *Vox cleri, or, The sense of the clergy concerning the making of alterations in the established liturgy* (London, 1690), p. 35.

a ‘cure of souls’ and as centred on worship. They simply disagreed over whether or not this was a bad thing. Such issues would be taken up and promulgated by some within the new Williamite clerical hierarchy: the example of Gilbert Burnet demonstrates the desire of certain latitudinarian bishops to address these assumptions in the early post-revolutionary Church.

GILBERT BURNET’S *DISCOURSE OF THE PASTORAL CARE* & THE QUESTION OF CATHEDRAL MINISTRY

Dedicated to Mary II, Gilbert Burnet’s *Discourse of the Pastoral Care* (1692) reflected both contemporary concerns over the moral and religious state of the nation, and the hope that the Glorious Revolution would bring about ‘the compleating of our Reformation, especially as to the Lives and Manners of men’.³⁹ While Burnet had expressed similar hopes in his *History of the Reformation* (1679),⁴⁰ the events of 1688-9 added urgency and significance to the pursuance of this goal.⁴¹ Burnet’s *Discourse* also sought to outline a vision for the Church of England in the aftermath of the Act of Toleration.⁴² Deeply aware of the challenges which now faced the Church, Burnet acknowledged that – while dissenters were to be urged to consider the unity of the Church – it was now the Church’s responsibility to win them back through persuasion, rather than persecution.⁴³ This would only be achieved, Burnet believed, by ‘obliging the Clergy to be more exemplary in their Lives, and *more diligent and faithful in the discharge of their Pastoral Duty*’,⁴⁴ and ‘if we were stricter in our Lives, *more serious and constant in our Labours*; and studied more effectually to Reform those of our Communion, than to rail at theirs’.⁴⁵

³⁹ Gilbert Burnet, *A discourse of the pastoral care* (London, 1692), sigs A3v-A4r. Italics mine. On the reformation of manners, see above, fn. 5, p. 105.

⁴⁰ Gilbert Burnet, *The history of the reformation of the Church of England in two parts*, 2 vols (London, 1681-3; first publ. 1679-81), vol. I, sig. A2r. On Burnet’s *History* and his portrayal of cathedrals’ Reformation pasts, see below, chapter 4, pp. 156-61.

⁴¹ On continuity between the Restoration and post-revolutionary periods with regard a concern for moral and religious reformation, see Spurr, ‘The Church, the societies and the moral revolution of 1688’; Sirota, *The Christian Monitors*, ch. 1. On earlier ‘movements’ or attempts at moral reformation, see Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: the Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford and New York, 1994), ch. 4; Martin Ingram, ‘Reformation of Manners in Early Modern England’, in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 47-88; Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550-1640* (Basingstoke, 2000), ch. 7. On later ones, see Tina Isaacs, ‘Moral Crime, Moral Reform and the State in Early Eighteenth-Century England: A Study of Piety and Politics’, unpubl. PhD dissertation (University of Rochester, 1980); Joanna Innes, *Inferior Politics: Social Problems and Social Policies in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2009), ch. 5.

⁴² On Burnet’s *Discourse of the Pastoral Care* as a handbook for the post-revolutionary Church, see Goldie, ‘John Locke, Jonas Proast and religious toleration 1688-1692’, p. 165.

⁴³ Burnet, *A discourse of the pastoral care*, p. 203.

⁴⁴ Burnet, *A discourse of the pastoral care*, sig. A4r. Italics mine. On earlier manuals/handbooks for the clergy, see Ellen A. Macek, ‘Advice Manuals and the Formation of English Protestant and Catholic Clerical Identities, 1560-1660’, *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis / Dutch Review of Church History*, 85 (2005), 315-31.

⁴⁵ Burnet, *A discourse of the pastoral care*, p. 204. Italics mine.

In his ‘Preface’, Burnet lamented how ‘Zeal in Devotion, and Diligence in the Pastoral Care, are fallen under too visible and too scandalous a decay’ in the reformed Churches.⁴⁶ This was particularly concerning in light of popery’s recent advances, which (Burnet argued) was the result, not of their doctrine, but of the renewed discipline of their clergy. This led Burnet to praise the Roman Catholic clergy for their diligence and energy in instructing the youth, hearing confessions and visiting the sick – alongside their duties in performing the sacraments. Furthermore, non-residence and pluralism, Burnet argued, had all but disappeared. A distinction had to be made, however, for while ‘the Parish-Priests have almost universally recovered the Esteem of the People’, yet ‘*[in] Cathedrals, and in Greater Cities, the vast number of Priests, gives still great and just occasion to censure*’.⁴⁷ Burnet’s distinction between ‘mass-priests’ and parish priests in the Church of Rome both highlighted and reinforced the importance accorded to pastoral ministry (as opposed to the celebration of services). Speaking of the Protestant clergy, Burnet lamented the fact that most of them ‘imagine that their whole work consists in Publick Functions’, so that ‘the Pastoral Care, the Instructing, the Exhorting, the Admonishing and Reproving, the directing and conducting, the visiting and comforting the People of the Parish, is generally neglected’.⁴⁸ However, Burnet’s critical mention of Roman Catholic cathedrals also reflected the problematic status of cathedrals within the post-revolutionary Church of England. For unlike the parishes, cathedrals’ very ministry seemed to consist almost entirely of these ‘Publick Functions’.⁴⁹

Such issues were (and indeed, always had been) intertwined with the issues of pluralism and non-residence,⁵⁰ which Burnet also sought to address. Within his historical account of the function and character of the clerical profession, Burnet dedicated a chapter to ‘some canons in different ages of the church relating to the duties and labours of the clergy’. This included decrees from the Council of Trent regarding residence, ‘that so it may appear what Provisions they made against Abuses, which are still supported by Laws among us’.⁵¹ Among the quoted decrees was one

Admonish[ing] *all that are set over any Cathedral churches*, ... that they taking heed to themselves, and to all the Flock, ... *do watch and labour and fulfill their Ministry* ... And they must know that they cannot do this, if as Hirelings they forsake *the Flock committed to them* ... that some at this time neglect the salvation of their own souls, and preferring Earthly things to Heavenly, are still about Courts, and forsaking the Fold, and the Care of the sheep trusted to them, do give themselves wholly to Earthly and Temporal cares.⁵²

⁴⁶ Burnet, *A discourse of the pastoral care*, p. xv.

⁴⁷ Burnet, *A discourse of the pastoral care*, p. xiii. Italics mine.

⁴⁸ Burnet, *A discourse of the pastoral care*, pp. xvi-xvii.

⁴⁹ Burnet, *A discourse of the pastoral care*, p. xii.

⁵⁰ See above, chapter 1, pp. 39-41.

⁵¹ Burnet, *A discourse of the pastoral care*, p. 97.

⁵² Burnet, *A discourse of the pastoral care*, pp. 97-8. Italics mine.

Burnet's inclusion of this decree was significant, for it highlighted his belief in the pastoral responsibility of cathedral clergy within their parochial cures. This drew on a long-standing critique of cathedral clergy's non-residence in the parishes, and the belief that their true ministry lay there, rather than in the cathedrals.⁵³ However, churchmen such as Burnet did not simply criticise cathedrals' (perceived) lack of ministry but sought to redefine its focus. This is apparent, firstly, in debates over pluralities, which demonstrate that there existed a broader movement seeking to harness cathedrals' pastoral potential to render them 'more serviceable to the Church' – as shall now be explored.⁵⁴

2. CATHEDRALS, PASTORAL REFORM AND THE PROBLEM OF PLURALISM

Whilst an object of criticism throughout the Restoration period,⁵⁵ the momentum for moral, clerical and pastoral reform which followed the Revolution, and the zeal of the new Whig bishops, meant that the issue of clerical pluralism and non-residence once again came to the fore.⁵⁶ Published in 1692, the high church juror, Henry Wharton's *Defence of Pluralities* sought to defend the practice in the face of this recent (and he believed mounting) opposition, which saw pluralism as 'the great Scandal of the Reformation' and 'the most pernicious Relique of Popery'.⁵⁷ Following the Church's history from the rise of Christianity to the present day, Wharton argued that the division of dioceses into parishes in the early Church was not done *iure divino*, but by human authority – therefore demonstrating that pluralities were not illegal. Within this account of the development of parochial cures was a side-note about cathedrals, which demonstrated how topical the question of cathedral ministry was in these early post-revolutionary years. Wharton noted that the purpose behind prebends' foundations was to attend to

⁵³ See above, chapter 1, pp. 39-41.

⁵⁴ Iraeneus Junior, *Deo ecclesiae & conscientiae ergo*, p. 82. On pluralism, see Rosalind Mitchison, 'Pluralities and the Poorer Benefices in Eighteenth-Century England', *HJ*, 5 (1962), 188-90; J.I. Daeley, 'Pluralism in the Diocese of Canterbury, During the Administration of Archbishop Parker, 1559-75', *JEH*, 18 (1967), 33-49; W.M. Jacob, "'A practice of very hurtful tendency'", in Derek Baker (ed.), *The Church in town and countryside* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 315-26; W.R. Maynard, 'Pluralism and Non-Residence in the Archdeaconry of Durham, 1774-1856: The Bishop and Chapter as Patrons', *Northern History*, 26 (1990), 103-30; Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828*, pp. 171-3. Works which challenge assumptions and definitions of 'non-residence' include Spaeth, *The Church in an Age of Danger*; W.M. Jacob, *The Clerical Profession in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1680-1840* (Oxford, 2007).

⁵⁵ See, for example, Thomas Bradley, *Appello [sic] Caesarem, or, An appeal to Caesar* (York, 1661), p. 31; *The Character of a true and false shepherd* ([London], 1670), p. 13.

⁵⁶ See, for example, Jeremy Gregory, 'Archbishops of Canterbury, their diocese, and the shaping of the National Church', in Gregory and Chamberlain (eds), *The National Church in Local Perspective*, pp. 29-52 (pp. 42-3). For similar plans in Ireland during the 1690s as a means of securing Protestantism, see John Brady, 'Remedies Proposed for the Church of Ireland (1697)', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 22 (1959), 163-73. The divisive issue of pluralities would re-emerge in the late 1820s-early 1830s. See, for example, Edward Hull, *A letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, on His Grace's 'Bill to restrain pluralities'* (Liverpool, 1831).

⁵⁷ [Henry Wharton], *A defence of pluralities, or, Holding two benefices with cure of souls* (London, 1692), p. 2. Gregory has claimed that the *Defence* was written by both Wharton and George Stanhope, later dean of Canterbury (from 1704). Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828*, p. 171.

cathedral worship, and that cathedral residence was esteemed much stricter than that in the parishes until the thirteenth century.⁵⁸ For Wharton,

*it conduceth more to the interest, honour and support of Religion in general, and the good of the whole Diocess in particular, that ... ten or more Prebendaries, persons of extraordinary merit and knowledge ... should constantly attend at the Cathedral church, seated in the chief City of the Diocess; to see the publick Worship of God performed with decent solemnity, to instruct the inhabitants of a populous City, and to advise the Bishop upon all occasions: than that ten little Country Villages should be supplied by the constant personal attendance of the Incumbents of their Churches.*⁵⁹

However, he feared that many of his contemporaries would not support the obligation of prebendaries to be constantly resident, as was ‘consonant to the first design of the Foundation and Endowments of Cathedral churches’.⁶⁰ For Wharton, residence in cathedrals was superior and more important to the ‘interest, honour and support of Religion’ than that in the parishes, cathedral ministry being perceived as centring on public worship, teaching city elites, and advising bishops. Yet while depicting cathedral ministry as particularly active, Wharton later spoke of such dignities as ‘rewards’ for the most deserving and extraordinary clergy – a view which both Whitgift and Hacket had propagated.⁶¹ This highlighted the tension between two widely-held views of cathedral positions as either rewards or active ministries.⁶²

An anonymous response, published in 1694, demonstrates how Wharton’s assumptions about cathedrals and cathedral ministry were being challenged after the Act of Toleration. Entitled *The Case of Pluralities and Non-Residence rightly stated*, and written by ‘an impartial Hand, and a Hearty Wellwisher to the Church of England’, it sought to challenge Wharton’s account which ‘endeavoured to palliate and justifie some things, which are really blameable, and sinful’.⁶³ Within his response was a direct engagement with Wharton’s claim that cathedral residence was ‘more to the interest, honour and support of Religion in general, and the good of the whole Diocess in particular’ than residence in the parishes:

This may all be very well allowed, except the supposition that these extraordinary persons must needs be Incumbents of Country Churches. For why should these excellent men, who are capable

⁵⁸ Wharton, *A defence of pluralities*, p. 134.

⁵⁹ Wharton, *A defence of pluralities*, p. 134. Italics mine.

⁶⁰ Wharton, *A defence of pluralities*, p. 151.

⁶¹ See above, chapter 1, pp. 42, 58-9.

⁶² Wharton, *A defence of pluralities*, p. 188.

⁶³ *The case of pluralities & non-residence rightly stated* (London, 1694), p. 2. The work is attributed to the churchman John Johnson. See John Gorton, *A General Biographical Dictionary*, 3 vols (London, 1833), vol II; Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828*, p. 171. His religious views were rather fluctuating. See *ODNB*, ‘Johnson, John (1662-1725)’.

of doing more good elsewhere encumber themselves with Rectories ... so far remote from the Cathedral, that they cannot attend them both? It is very requisite that City-Churches should be supplied by the most able, and Eminent of the Clergy: But then why do these great men usually decline City Cures? ... By supplying the City Churches they might indeed do great service to Religion: But this is not to be effected by only officiating, and that rarely in the Cathedral.⁶⁴

Although far from contradicting Wharton's depiction of cathedral clergy as the most learned and distinguished churchmen, the author challenged the ministries they were to be employed in. While Wharton considered the performance of public worship central to their calling, the author of *The Case* believed cathedrals and their clergy were to be incorporated into the Church's drive for pastoral reform. A similar scheme was in fact implemented by Burnet in Salisbury. Although Burnet did not control enough diocesan patronage to redress the problem of pluralism directly, he did make use of his episcopal patronage of cathedral stalls to alleviate it, appointing ministers in the poor urban parishes to cathedral prebends (thereby also addressing the issue of clerical poverty).⁶⁵ While Burnet and the author of *The Case* tackled the problematic issue of cathedral pluralism (and therefore also the question of cathedral clergy's lack of 'cure of souls'), they were arguably also responding to the challenges of a denominational marketplace.

The author's scheme proposed the 'annexing a Church of two of the Neighbouring City to every Prebend of the Cathedral, and indispensably obliging the Clergymen who enjoyed them to perform personal service in them'. This was to be a 'great service to Religion', an echo of Wharton's own phrasing.⁶⁶ However, this 'great service to Religion' was more ambitious than Wharton's,

For I cannot believe that faction could lead captive so great number of men in these populous Cities, if such deserving men, as many Dignitaries are, *did bestir themselves, and do their best in countermining the designs of our adversaries by their Zeal, and Industry in watching over the People*. And if we look into such places, we shall find very little sign of care and pains that hath been used by the Clergy in *retaining or reducing men to the sober principles of the Church of England*; for Dissenters are scarce more numerous than in these Cities.⁶⁷

Since the sixteenth century, cathedrals had been envisaged as central to the defence of orthodoxy through the preaching and writings of their clergy. This had been a key feature of the Protestant cathedral ideal promoted by Whitgift and Hacket, and one which continued to be important during the Restoration period.⁶⁸ However, this vision had centred on the cathedral itself as a preaching centre and

⁶⁴ *The case of pluralities & non-residence rightly stated*, pp. 76-7.

⁶⁵ Spaeth, 'The enemy within': the failure of reform in the diocese of Salisbury in the eighteenth century', pp. 127-8.

⁶⁶ *The case of pluralities & non-residence rightly stated*, p. 77.

⁶⁷ *The case of pluralities & non-residence rightly stated*, pp. 77-8. Italics mine.

⁶⁸ See above, chapters 1 and 2, pp. 42-3, 58-9, 77.

as a community of scholars. While exemplifying the continued importance of this understanding of cathedrals' role, this proposal demonstrates how the Protestant cathedral ideal was adapted to fit the post-revolutionary context, with cathedral clergy no longer undertaking that role *within* the cathedral (as a separate community), but within the city and its parishes, as ministers integrated into the local Church.

By harnessing cathedrals' pastoral potential through the better use of their clergy, the proposed scheme was designed not merely to teach and edify the city's inhabitants. It was also intended to counter the attempts of dissenters to draw people away from the established Church, something perceived as a particular problem in the cities. The learning and godliness of cathedral clergy was to be harnessed in the defence of the established Church through the 'retaining or reducing men to the sober principles of the Church of England'.⁶⁹ This would become especially important in the later seventeenth century, not only after the Act of Toleration, but in response to an increasingly confident atheist and deist challenge.⁷⁰ Having outlined his vision for the post-revolutionary cathedrals, the author concluded:

I shall not take further notice of those particular good designs, which our reformers had in continuing these Corporations ... and till they are [attached to city cures], I am sure that ... [cathedral clergy] had better be doing good in their Rural Benefices; if they have any; than spend their time in the Cathedral in doing nothing at all, or at most, in only seeing Divine Worship perform'd with decent Solemnity. ... I do not know where they can better be disposed of than amongst their Parishioners.⁷¹

Whilst advocating the cathedral clergy's residence in the parishes and the fulfilling of their parochial duties, the author of *The Case* nonetheless saw this only as an interim solution before the implementation of further reforms. His mention of the English reformers, and in particular of their 'good designs ... in continuing these Corporations', suggests that his scheme was presented as a fulfilment or completion of that earlier ideal of the Protestant cathedral.

⁶⁹ *The case of pluralities & non-residence rightly stated*, p. 78.

⁷⁰ On the atheist and deist challenge in the later seventeenth century, see R.L. Emerson, 'Latitudinarianism and the English Deists', in J.A.L. Lemay (ed.), *Deism, Masonry, and the Enlightenment* (Newark, NJ, London and Toronto, 1987), pp. 19-48; Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken*; Goldie, 'Priestcraft and the birth of Whiggism'; James A. Herrick, *The radical rhetoric of the English deists: The discourse of skepticism, 1680-1750* (Columbia, SC, 1997); J.A.I. Champion, "'Religion's Safe, with Priestcraft is the War": Augustan Anticlericalism and the Legacy of the English Revolution, 1660-1720', *The European Legacy*, 5 (2000), 547-61; Roger D. Lund, 'Guilt by association: the atheist Cabal and the rise of the public sphere in Augustan England', *Albion*, 34 (2002), 391-421; Sarah Ellenzweig, 'The Faith of Unbelief: Rochester's "Satyre", Deism, and Religious Freethinking in Seventeenth-Century England', *JBS*, 44 (2005), 27-45; Wayne Hudson, *The English deists: studies in early Enlightenment* (London, 2009); Wayne Hudson, Diego Lucci and Jeffrey R. Wigelsworth (eds), *Atheism and deism revalued: heterodox religious identities in Britain, 1650-1800* (Farnham, 2014); Diego Lucci, 'Deism, freethinking and toleration in Enlightenment England', *History of European Ideas*, 43 (2017), 345-58.

⁷¹ *The case of pluralities & non-residence rightly stated*, pp. 79-80.

3. TO 'BE MADE IN EVERY DIOCESE THE ONLY NURSERIES FOR GENTILE & LEARNED EDUCATION': CATHEDRALS AND EDUCATION IN THE REFORMATION OF MANNERS

Alongside pastoral reform and the improvement of clerical standards, the dissemination of knowledge and the raising of educational standards were a central feature of the 'moral revolution' of the 1690s and early eighteenth century. As Gregory has observed, this emphasis on understanding and knowledge was 'a distinctive feature of the Anglican Church, marking it off from the superstition of popery and the mindless enthusiasm of Nonconformists'.⁷² While scholars, such as Gregory and Spaeth, have focussed on parish ministry (notably catechising, preaching and parochial education) to chart the importance of educational endeavours in the post-revolutionary period, others, such as Sirota, have focussed on lay organisations such as the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K., founded in 1698) and their role in disseminating the publications of reforming societies, influencing the erection of parochial libraries, and supporting the 'charity school movement'.⁷³ Scholarship has thus focussed on parochial or lay attempts at furthering education in this period. However, some hoped to include cathedrals within this campaign.

Cathedrals' educational potential had been a key tenet of their defence by clerics and laymen since the sixteenth century. From Whitgift onwards, defences of cathedrals' place in the Church of England had rested on their status as nurseries of the Church and 'next to the universities, [the] chiefest mainteyners of godlinesse, religion, and learning'.⁷⁴ As bishop, Burnet sought to implement this vision by establishing a seminary for local clergy in Salisbury, under his supervision.⁷⁵ While repeatedly connected with clerical learning, cathedrals were also involved in broader education. As Lehmborg has noted, '[s]chools were provided for in virtually all the cathedrals of the new foundation', and deans and chapters played a role in appointing masters and paying their salaries, while the schools themselves were usually housed within the cathedral precincts.⁷⁶ However, this role rarely appeared in defences of

⁷² Gregory, 'The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of the Anglican clergy after 1689', p. 70.

⁷³ G.V. Portus, *Caritas Anglicana, or an Enquiry into those Religious and Philanthropical Societies that flourished in England between the Years 1678 and 1740* (London, 1912), pp. 159-60. See, for example, Nigel Yates, 'The parochial library of All Saints, Maidstone, and other Kentish parochial libraries', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 99 (1983), 159-73; Keith A. Manley, 'The S.P.C.K. and the English Book Clubs before 1720', *Bodleian Library Record*, 13 (1989), 231-43; Craig Rose, 'Evangelical philanthropy and Anglican revival: the charity schools of Augustan London, 1698-1740', *London Journal*, 16 (1991), 35-65; Tim Hitchcock, 'Paupers and preachers: the SPCK and the parochial work-house movement', in Davison, Hitchcock, Kiern and Shoemaker (eds), *Stilling the Grumbling Hive*, pp. 145-66; Rose, 'The origins and ideals of the SPCK 1699-1716'; W.M. Jacob, 'The eye of his master: children and charity schools', *SCH*, 31 (1994), 363-77; Peter Hoare, 'Motivation for library foundations in seventeenth-century Britain', in Peter Vodosek, Alistair Black and Peter Hoare (eds), *Mäzenatentum für Bibliotheken – Philantropy [sic] for libraries* (Wiesbaden, 2004), pp. 229-44; Sirota, *The Christian Monitors*, ch. 3; David Manning, 'Anglian Religious Societies, Organizations, and Missions', in Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II*, pp. 429-51.

⁷⁴ Whitgift, *An answer to... An admonition to the Parliament*, p. 225. See above, chapter 1, pp. 40-1, 43, 45, 58-9.

⁷⁵ It is not clear whether this was based in the cathedral or the cathedral close. Spaeth, 'The enemy within: the failure of reform in the diocese of Salisbury in the eighteenth century', p. 132.

⁷⁶ Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, pp. 297-301.

cathedrals' role in the Church and society. Only Hacket had promulgated their role as maintainers of grammar schools.⁷⁷ Faced with the legalising of dissent and the challenges of a denominational marketplace, however, some post-revolutionary churchmen hoped to reinforce and develop cathedrals' involvement with local education as a means of nurturing loyalty to the established Church. A 1699 scheme outlined by the churchman and schoolmaster, Maurice Wheeler, demonstrates the important – even unique – educational role which could be envisaged for cathedrals, both in the movement for the reformation of manners, and in efforts to win back dissenters.

A former tutor of William Wake – the future Archbishop of Canterbury with whom he maintained a regular correspondence – Wheeler was installed as master of the cathedral school in Gloucester in 1684, remaining in this post until 1711.⁷⁸ Writing to Thomas Tenison in February 1699, Wheeler lamented '[t]he debauching our morals & (it's necessary consequence) the corrupting our principles' which seemed to be plaguing the nation.⁷⁹ Wheeler believed that it was '[a] generall, but not commonly discern'd error in the Methods of Education, [which] seems to be the Originall of most of the disorders among us'. It was only through educational reform that such 'disorders' were to be tackled, for 'all other attempts of reformation, wch reach not the root of the evill, must for ever be defeated'. Wheeler went on to outline the proposed remedy:

1. That all Cathedrall or Collegiate Churches in the Nation having Schools annex'd to their Foundation, be made in every Diocese the onely Nurseries for gentile & learned Education. And to make them eminently so,
2. That to the two Masters already constituted, there be adduced two of the Prebendaries or Canons (or more if need be) to take upon a proportionable share in the Education of youth
3. That all other Prebendaries or Canons in their respective residences do daily attend the School for some remarkable time, & some way or other give their assistance to this work.
4. That the Dean be obliged to a frequent inspection into the conduct of all Masters, to observe the progress of the Scholars & promote the work all he can by his counsel & encouragement.
5. That the Bp himself be desir'd sometimes to honour the place with his presence, & there to excite the Youth to Learning & virtue by his condescending admonitions & by all proper endearments not only to beget in them an affection to his person, but a reverence to his Function.⁸⁰

Cathedral clergy were to become key players in this national reformation by enlisting them in the running of cathedral schools. Such a scheme had added significance, for these schools were to 'be made

⁷⁷ See above, chapter 1, p. 58.

⁷⁸ *ODNB*, 'Wheeler, Maurice (1647/8-1727)'.

⁷⁹ LPL, Gibson MS 929, n.f., §49: Maurice Wheeler to Thomas Tenison, Gloucester, Feb. 11, 1699. I am grateful to Dr Brent Sirota for drawing my attention to this source and for sharing his transcription with me.

⁸⁰ LPL, Gibson MS 929, n.f., §49.

in every Diocese the onely Nurseries for *gentile & learned Education. And to make them eminently so*.⁸¹ Indeed,

the Cathedrall Schools being by this means advanc'd to the highest reputation, *all persons of the best quality in each Diocese* will be induc'd with ye greatest satisfaction & assurance to place their children there; when they shall find a Dean & Chapter together with the Bp. himself so heartily engaged in the due Governmt thereof.⁸²

The cathedral schools were thus envisaged as having a central role in educating the elite. This had political implications, for, as Wheeler pointed out, '[a] well governed School is but an image of the greater politics in States & Kingdomes' – made all the more important when the school in question was charged with educating 'the Sons of Noblemen & Gentlemen'. 'The numerous pedling Grammar Schools throughout the Nation' would thus be returned to 'their proper business': 'teach[ing] the children of Husbandmen & Trademen how to read, write & cast account' and instructing them 'in piety & good manners, as may make 'em hereafter industrious, virtuous & honest men'.⁸³ However, alongside this, Wheeler saw another significant benefit:

the more gentile sort even of the Dissenters themselves, invited by the prudent discipline & other manifest advantages of the Cathedrall Schools thus improv'd in Authority & Credit, may be inclin'd to send their children thither ... Now the Church of England has already this advantage by Law, that the Inspection of Schools is a branch of the Episcopal power; & were the management of 'em taken every where throughout the Kingdome more immediately into their Churches care; a few years experiment would manifest the abundant advantage thereof both *in supporting the interest of the Church, as well as the reall promoting the Glory of God, by reforming a degenerate age*.⁸⁴

As institutions staffed by learned churchmen, cathedrals would prove the perfect resources in supplying the cathedral schools with educated, godly and loyal teachers from among the prebendaries, thereby complimenting the existing oversight of deans, chapters and bishops in the running, appointments and visitations of the schools. That they were to educate the sons of the gentry and nobility ('the most powerful means to secure the Church') demonstrates how cathedral clergy were widely perceived as the Church's elite, and the cathedrals themselves as symbolic of the established Church. That Wheeler believed that even elite dissenters might be drawn to the cathedral schools, despite their obvious connections to the established Church, also demonstrates how nonconformist attitudes to

⁸¹ LPL, Gibson MS 929, n.f., §49. Italics mine.

⁸² LPL, Gibson MS 929, n.f., §49. Italics mine.

⁸³ This stands in stark contrast to Cranmer's own position on cathedral schools, as recounted in John Strype, *Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas Cranmer sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1694), pp. 88-90.

⁸⁴ LPL, Gibson MS 929, n.f., §49. Italics mine.

cathedrals were at least perceived as having shifted after the Act of Toleration.⁸⁵ Nonetheless, Wheeler clearly believed that opposition to (or at least suspicion of) cathedrals was still a problem. His scheme was not only concerned with the cathedral schools, but with the cathedrals themselves. He expressed the hope

That the converting of these Ecclesiastical Societies into Nurseries eminently usefull for the Education of Youth, & particularly the Sons of the Nobility and greatest Gentry in the Kingdom; *will not onely extinguish the envy, that now lyes upon 'em*, but in all convulsions of state prove one of the most powerful means to secure the Church.⁸⁶

As with attempts to incorporate cathedrals into pastoral reform, Wheeler's scheme to convert cathedrals into 'Nurseries eminently usefull for the Education of Youth' demonstrates the continued desire of churchmen to silence opponents and harness cathedrals' varied potentials in the furthering of reformation. Sirota has seen Wheeler's scheme as emerging from 'a vague nostalgia for the lost socioreligious institutions of pre-Reformation England' (such as the monasteries) as a basis for 'moral and philanthropic employment' (compared to more 'modern commercial and financial forms' such as the S.P.C.K.). However, Wheeler's proposals rather demonstrate a desire to adapt an established institutional model to changing needs in the face of a denominational marketplace.⁸⁷ The cathedral model, in this case, was not conceived of as a static, pre-Reformation institution, but as one open to interpretation and change. Furthermore, Wheeler's scheme demonstrates how a Protestant cathedral ideal (celebrating cathedrals as centres of education and learning) had evolved after 1689. While Hacket had portrayed cathedrals as maintainers of grammar schools, encouragements for young clergy and as communities of learned divines, nowhere were clergy envisaged as engaging in the task of educating. That Wheeler's vision did, demonstrates the perceived need to exploit cathedral clergy's gifts as the post-revolutionary Church sought to respond to the "commercialization of religion".⁸⁸

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While notoriously without 'cure of souls', cathedrals were nonetheless implicated in attempts to render the Church more pastorally effective. Although the Restoration period had seen attempts to address the question of pluralism and non-residence, such attempts had been confined to individual bishops and deans. In the context of the post-revolutionary Church, however, the question of the value and definition of cathedral ministry – which was closely intertwined with these issues – was raised. Debates over pluralities demonstrate that there existed a movement seeking to harness cathedrals' pastoral and

⁸⁵ See below and epilogue, pp. 128, 207-10.

⁸⁶ LPL, Gibson MS 929, n.f., §49. Italics mine.

⁸⁷ Sirota, *The Christian Monitors*, pp. 97-8 (p. 97).

⁸⁸ Gregory, 'The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of the Anglican clergy after 1689', p. 70.

educational potential and render them ‘more serviceable to the Church’.⁸⁹ Not only would this incorporate cathedrals into the movement for the reformation of manners: it would also enlist them in the task of persuading dissenters back into the Church.

While Burnet implemented these reforms within his diocese, he was later forced to abandon his scheme of attaching cathedral prebends to city cures and to close his seminary. For Spaeth, this failure was due to Burnet’s divisive ‘political reputation’, ‘the lesser clergy of Salisbury diocese distrust[ing] his reform measures’ – though ‘the years of his episcopacy nonetheless witnessed the birth of a religious reawakening which had broad impact’ within his diocese.⁹⁰ However, Burnet’s failure should also be seen as reflecting broader attitudes to cathedrals. Burnet and others’ failure to redefine the focus of cathedral ministry and implement a Protestant cathedral ideal adapted to the post-revolutionary context is indeed significant. But this should not obscure the fact that it continued to inspire churchmen throughout the eighteenth century. The Canterbury six-preacher John Cooke’s speech to the lower house of Convocation in 1704 and the prebend Ralph Blomer’s 1716 sermon both demonstrate how preaching and pastoral duties could remain central to cathedral clergy’s sense of calling, including *beyond* the cathedral itself.⁹¹ Preaching in the cathedral, Blomer, for instance, spoke of the necessity of undertaking ‘this duty of Preaching Christ to the Gentiles, ... [within] the Bounds of our own Country’, having ‘among ourselves a certain Leaven of Paganism, that is working upon the very vitals of Christianity’.⁹² Similarly, a 1832 visitation charge by Archbishop Howley to Canterbury Cathedral praised the chapter’s efforts since the 1780s ‘to make the Church of England more pastorally effective’.⁹³ While the Protestant cathedral ideal continued to inspire some within the Church during the eighteenth century, post-revolutionary churchmen failed to implement this vision on a national scale.

⁸⁹ Iraeneus Junior, *Deo ecclesiae & conscientiae ergo*, p. 82.

⁹⁰ Spaeth, ‘‘The enemy within’’: the failure of reform in the diocese of Salisbury in the eighteenth century’, pp. 122, 134.

⁹¹ Gregory, ‘The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of the Anglican clergy after 1689’, p. 69; idem, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828*, p. 235.

⁹² Ralph Blomer, *A Sermon Preach’d in the Cathedral... Church of Canterbury... on Friday June 15th, 1716* (1716), quoted in Gregory, ‘The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of the Anglican clergy after 1689’, p. 69.

⁹³ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828*, p. 68.

PART II: CATHEDRALS, WORSHIP AND COMPREHENSION, c.1689-c.1714

The passing of the Act of Toleration in 1689 raised afresh the question of cathedral ministry. While some, such as Burnet, sought to redefine cathedrals' purpose and align it with the pastoral priorities of the post-revolutionary Church, others sought to reform that ceremonial role. Both reforming trends desired to incorporate cathedrals into attempts to persuade dissenters to re-join the established Church. However, this second response was less about reacting to the "commercialization of religion" (by seeking to render cathedral ministry more efficient),⁹⁴ than about continuing to promote the possibility of comprehension. As H.G. Horwitz has argued, 'it is somewhat precipitate to read the last rites over the corpse of comprehension in 1689'.⁹⁵ 'Disheartened as its advocates were by the setback they had suffered ..., they did not regard it as decisive'. Horwitz has uncovered evidence of continued attempts of comprehension after 1689 – including a draft bill by Burnet, composed between 1694 and 1702.⁹⁶ Indeed, rumours of attempts circulated among churchmen throughout the 1690s. Writing in the autumn of 1697, the nonjuring Bishop of Ely, Francis Turner, thus shared his anxiety at there being "a Close Treaty now on foot between some of the Regnant Church and the Presbyterians in order to the establishment of a Comprehension".⁹⁷

As chapter 2 explored, cathedrals had been involved in debates about the religious settlement in 1660-2 and continued to appear in comprehension discussions throughout the Restoration period. Such plans had centred on cathedrals' *ecclesiological* roles, as either enshrining a primitive or a diocesan reading of episcopacy. Reform of cathedral worship as a means of comprehending dissenters had rarely featured in proposals between 1660 and 1689. As has been demonstrated, Baxter and other nonconformists had in fact renounced such a project as an obstacle to achieving their aims. Only one nonconformist work, written in 1661, had raised the question of reforming cathedral ceremonies for this purpose. Highlighting Charles' exempting cathedrals from the liberty of wearing the surplice, the author claimed that 'the continuance of those Ceremonies in both those places, *makes the generality of sober and consciencious people never come at Cathedral Churches*'.⁹⁸ Instead, 'they [should be] abated' and 'the Deans and Prebends enjoined, in person, there to Expound Scripture, Preach, or Catechize, or read Divinity Lectures there daily'.⁹⁹

While based on the 1689 bill, Burnet's draft comprehension proposal of c.1694-1702 contained two notable differences (as Horwitz highlighted): it no longer enjoined the wearing of a black gown (for

⁹⁴ Gregory, 'The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of the Anglican clergy after 1689', p. 70.

⁹⁵ Horwitz, 'Comprehension in the Later Seventeenth Century: A Postscript', p. 347.

⁹⁶ Horwitz, 'Comprehension in the Later Seventeenth Century: A Postscript', pp. 343-4.

⁹⁷ Bodl., Rawlinson Letters 91, fo. 391, quoted in Horwitz, 'Comprehension in the Later Seventeenth Century: A Postscript', p. 345.

⁹⁸ Theophilus Timorcus, *The Covenanters plea against absolvers* (London, 1661), p. 84. Italics mine.

⁹⁹ Timorcus, *The Covenanters plea against absolvers*, p. 84.

those refusing the surplice) and demanded an imposition of hands only on those ordained presbyters *after* 1660.¹⁰⁰ This demonstrates the evolution of the cause of comprehension after 1689. However, since Horwitz's article, scholars have repeatedly emphasised the failure of comprehension in 1689.¹⁰¹ While aware that the 1689 religious settlement was by no means unchallenged between 1689-1714, such work has focussed on attempts to reverse or limit toleration, rather than on continued hopes for accommodation.¹⁰² This section will explore, firstly, how cathedrals continued to appear in proposals for comprehension after 1689, and secondly, how such proposals had evolved as a result of the Act of Toleration. Where once cathedrals had been included in relation to Church government, the debates in 1689-90 – by raising the question of cathedral ministry – led to cathedral worship becoming a more pressing issue when considering how best to persuade dissenters to re-join the Church. This will be explored by looking at two proposals (1693, 1715) framing the period under discussion and how these might speak to changing attitudes to cathedrals over the course of this period.

1. THE REFORMING OF CATHEDRAL WORSHIP FOR COMPREHENSION AFTER 1689

Published in 1693, the work of one 'Iraeneus Junior, a Conforming Member of the Church of England', demonstrates – like Burnet's *Discourse of the Pastoral Care* (1692) – how the question of cathedral ministry, particularly the usefulness of its clergy and ministry, was a feature of religious debates in the early post-revolutionary years. That this changed context was most apposite for such debates and proposals can be gleaned from the fact that 'These Papers having for sometime been laid aside', the author chose to publish them during the 1690s.¹⁰³ Unlike Burnet, however, this appeared within the broader context of continued hopes for comprehension. The author began by praising William III who, 'since the Late Revolution',

hath granted to so many Wise and Worthy Members of our Church, to revise its Liturgy, to inspect our Ecclesiastical Polity, and to report such Alterations and Amendments as they should judge necessary for the Healing of our Breaches, and uniting of Dissenting Protestants.¹⁰⁴

The failure of such attempts led the author to lament and to call on churchmen 'to find out an expedient ... to heal those Breaches, cement those Schisms, which several bandied and controverted Rites and Ceremonies of the Church have unhappily occasioned'.¹⁰⁵ Having addressed traditionally

¹⁰⁰ Horwitz, 'Comprehension in the Later Seventeenth Century: A Postscript', p. 344.

¹⁰¹ See, for example, Spurr, 'The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689'; Schochet, 'The Act of Toleration and the failure of Comprehension: persecution, nonconformity, and religious indifference'; Troost, 'Comprehension or toleration? The Williamite solution of 1689'.

¹⁰² On the societies for the reformation of manners as replacing the need for formal comprehension, see Sirota, *The Christian Monitors*, p. 94.

¹⁰³ Iraeneus Junior, *Deo ecclesiae & conscientiae ergo*, sig. A1v.

¹⁰⁴ Iraeneus Junior, *Deo ecclesiae & conscientiae ergo*, sig. A2r.

¹⁰⁵ Iraeneus Junior, *Deo ecclesiae & conscientiae ergo*, p. 1.

problematic issues such as the surplice, the cross in baptism, kneeling at communion and the liturgy, Iraeneus exclaimed: ‘But this is not the only Scene our Reformers have to act in, whilst the Manners of the Clergy call for a strict Inspection, being by far the greatest Nuisance in the Church’.¹⁰⁶ Like Burnet in the *Discourse*, and in a section entitled ‘Of the Reformation of Manners’, Iraeneus recognised the importance of reforming the lives of the clergy – including cathedral clergy.¹⁰⁷

Having called for the reforming of university churchmen, Iraeneus drew on earlier critiques of cathedrals to demonstrate the need for their reform. He quoted Sir Edward Dering (who introduced the Root and Branch Bill in the Long Parliament in May 1641),¹⁰⁸ who had claimed that cathedrals were ‘School[s] for Compliments in Religion’, ‘a Scourge upon the Life and Practice of it. They have been the Asylum of Superstition, but *Scalae gemoniae* for true Piety’. Iraeneus concluded: ‘This was a very smart Reflection upon those Societies’.¹⁰⁹ Nonetheless, he expressed his hope that the clerical hierarchy would ‘render these Orders of Men [i.e. cathedral clergy] ... more serviceable to the Church, less scandalous and offensive to those, who seek occasion to cast Reproach upon them’.¹¹⁰ Central to this, however, was a reformation of their worship, ‘that the Glory of our Church may not shine forth ... with outward Pomp and Ostentation, but in a modest, decent, but especially devout Celebration of Divine Worship’. While aware of ‘incur[ing] the Censure of being an Enemy to those regular Foundations’, the author nonetheless expressed his belief that ‘there can be no surer way to ascertain their Funds *than a Reformation of their pompous Service into a more Simple and Evangelical Form of Religion*’.¹¹¹ This would not only ‘smooth the ways of Conformity’, but also ‘make those Paths streight, that the Church’s Yoak may become more easie, and burthen-light’.¹¹²

Iraeneus’ proposals for achieving Protestant unity demonstrate, firstly, how earlier critiques (such as Dering’s) and conceptions of cathedrals (as inherently tied to the universities) continued to shape those of the post-revolutionary era. Just like the Restoration in 1660, 1689 was not a *tabula rasa* for cathedrals. They continued to be debated with reference to previously articulated hopes, ideals, fears and uncertainties which had defined engagement with cathedrals from the time of the Henrician Reformation. However, Iraeneus’ proposal also demonstrates how the post-revolutionary context did nevertheless subtly change that engagement. Cathedrals still appeared within comprehension proposals. However, while those of the Restoration period had focussed on cathedrals’ ecclesiological roles, those of the post-revolutionary period – a context marked by concerns over ministerial efficiency and the reformation of manners – centred on the question of cathedral ministry and worship. This also highlights

¹⁰⁶ Iraeneus Junior, *Deo ecclesiae & conscientiae ergo*, p. 80.

¹⁰⁷ Iraeneus Junior, *Deo ecclesiae & conscientiae ergo*, pp. 80-91.

¹⁰⁸ *ODNB*, ‘Dering, Sir Edward, first baronet (1598-1644)’.

¹⁰⁹ Iraeneus Junior, *Deo ecclesiae & conscientiae ergo*, pp. 81-2.

¹¹⁰ Iraeneus Junior, *Deo ecclesiae & conscientiae ergo*, p. 82.

¹¹¹ Iraeneus Junior, *Deo ecclesiae & conscientiae ergo*, p. 82. Italics mine.

¹¹² Iraeneus Junior, *Deo ecclesiae & conscientiae ergo*, p. 82.

how cathedral worship was perceived more generally in the early post-revolutionary years as intertwined with the challenge of persuading dissenters back into the Church.

2. DISSENTERS, CATHEDRAL WORSHIP AND THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CULTURE OF CIVILITY

While highlighting continued attempts at comprehension during the 1690s, Horwitz nonetheless emphasised how political instability in 1698-9 and the emergence of the Convocation controversy from 1697 ended hopes for Protestant unity. However, a work published by the churchman Daniel Disney in 1715 demonstrates how proposals for comprehension continued to be promulgated, even after the Hanoverian succession, and that the reform of cathedral worship was still seen as central to such attempts.¹¹³ Seeing in George I's succession a sign of divine providence, Disney's *History of the Rise and Progress of the Reformation of the Church... in England* (1715) – like Burnet's *History of the Reformation* before it – sought to present an account of the process of national reformation, to demonstrate 'that what was done was not designed to be the utmost Boundary of the Reformation', but was in need of completion.¹¹⁴ For Disney, such a reformation would include the achievement of Protestant unity, and 'an Account of Nonconformity, and the Grounds thereof' was appended, that the reader might see '[what] Methods ... have been proposed in order to the healing of those Wounds, which have been so long bleeding in the Nation'.¹¹⁵ Interestingly, Disney clearly believed that the reform of cathedral worship would be central, both to bringing about the completion of the Reformation, and in achieving comprehension.

Indeed, included at the end of the publication, and after his account of nonconformity, was a short work entitled: 'Of Cathedral Worship with a Short Account of the Rise and Antiquity of it'.¹¹⁶ Disney began this treatise by declaring how 'All Slightness and Formality in Religious Worship, being of so pernicious a Tendency, leading to Hypocrisy, Atheism, and Prophaneness, cannot be too much watch'd and guarded against'.¹¹⁷ Many thus '[mistook] the Natural working of ... [their] Passions thro' the Influence of Musick, for the fervent Workings of Devotion', and this, Disney asserted, '[was] to be fear'd is a common Mistake now among those that frequently attend the Cathedral Service'.¹¹⁸ He sought to show, firstly, that opposition to such worship was not a recent phenomenon, as the high churchman Thomas Comber had asserted,¹¹⁹ and secondly, that 'a great many that are none of the least Serious and Judicious Christians, who are in the Communion of the Church of England, ... yet are as

¹¹³ Daniel Disney, *A compendious history of the rise and progress of the reformation of the Church here in England, from Popish darkness and superstition* (London, 1715).

¹¹⁴ Disney, *A compendious history of the rise and progress of the reformation of the Church*, sig. A5v.

¹¹⁵ Disney, *A compendious history of the rise and progress of the reformation of the Church*, sig. A6r.

¹¹⁶ Disney, *A compendious history of the rise and progress of the reformation of the Church*, pp. 141-8.

¹¹⁷ Disney, *A compendious history of the rise and progress of the reformation of the Church*, p. 141.

¹¹⁸ Disney, *A compendious history of the rise and progress of the reformation of the Church*, p. 146.

¹¹⁹ On Comber, see below, p. 134.

much against the Cathedral Service as any of the Dissenters'.¹²⁰ Having outlined the English Reformers own opposition to it, Disney asked:

what Pretence can we of this Reformed Church have for so great a Veneration for the first Reformers of it, as some have profess'd; while yet we so zealously defend, and are so eager for retaining that in our Worship against which they have so expressly declared their Judgment, that it ought to be totally abolish'd and taken away; agreeing therein with the Judgment and Practice of so great a Part of the Reformed Churches, *and indeed with the Practice also of our own throughout this Nation: Except in the Cathedrals, which are very few, comparatively with other Churches; and in them the Inhabitants of all other Parishes and Parts of the Nation, when they are present at that Worship, have only the Privilege to perform the Part (in that respect) of Occasional Conformists.*¹²¹

Restoration nonconformists had used the difference between cathedrals and parish churches to argue for the impossibility of uniformity, thereby playing on Restoration 'high' churchmen's insecurities regarding cathedrals' failure to implement their practices on the wider Church.¹²² Disney deployed the same rhetorical strategy to argue for the need to reform cathedral worship, while similarly drawing on and subverting post-revolutionary high churchmen's fears of 'occasional conformity'. While such reforms were envisaged as a means of completing the Reformation and achieving Protestant unity, Disney's work nonetheless highlighted the complex motives underlying adherence to cathedral worship, and thus the difficulties in attempting to reform it. While mentioning its being '[so] great a Snare' to '[those] who are more Ignorant', Disney dwelt on those

*Men of Thought and Understanding, who either through the Tincture of Education, or for Fear of Singularity, may fall in with such a Pompous Way of Worship, which yet they do not themselves much admire.*¹²³

This passage is particularly significant in highlighting a new challenge facing those wishing to reform cathedral worship. Absent from Iraeneus' proposals, Disney's mention of those who attended cathedral worship 'through the Tincture of Education, or for Fear of Singularity' demonstrates how attitudes to cathedrals had gradually become associated with questions of civility and sociability by the early eighteenth century.

As Lehmberg highlighted, cathedral buildings had often been used for secular purposes, '[coming] to function as a village hall, employed for a variety of purposes'.¹²⁴ St Paul's Cathedral, in particular,

¹²⁰ Disney, *A compendious history of the rise and progress of the reformation of the Church*, pp. 145-6.

¹²¹ Disney, *A compendious history of the rise and progress of the reformation of the Church*, p. 148.

¹²² See above, chapter 2, pp. 94-5. See also above, chapter 1, pp. 52-3.

¹²³ Disney, *A compendious history of the rise and progress of the reformation of the Church*, pp. 141-2. Italics mine.

¹²⁴ Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, pp. 288-92 (p. 288).

had notoriously been a site of social interaction during the Elizabethan and early Stuart period. However, this had been associated with trading and legal business.¹²⁵ By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, cathedrals appear to have become sites of elite sociability, and integrated into an emerging culture of politeness and civility. That such perceptions regarding the cathedral space had shifted can be gleaned from paintings and prints of cathedral interiors. Earlier prints, such as Wenceslaus Hollar's prints for William Dugdale's *History of St Paul's* (1658) [Plate 2], had depicted cathedrals as emptied of furnishings and people, portrayed as sacred spaces, beyond time. A rare painting from the same period, Thomas Johnson's *Canterbury Cathedral Choir* (1657) [Plate 3], had shown parliamentary soldiers in the act of defacing the cathedral. In both cases, cathedrals appeared as religious spaces. From the 1690s, a number of paintings emerge of the interiors of Canterbury and St Paul's cathedrals. In stark contrast to Hollar and Johnson's examples, these focus on groups of men and women in conversation, admiring aspects of the church interior [Plate 4]. While such differences may reflect more confident engagement with cathedrals' materialities after 1689 (as chapter 5 will explore) and the development of domestic tourism, it may also reflect changing attitudes to the cathedral space, now perceived as a site of sociability within an emerging culture of civility.

However, as Disney's work demonstrated, cathedral *worship* was clearly perceived as a means of participating in this culture. Cathedral congregations had often been portrayed as more elevated than the vast body of believers, with one Restoration author differentiating between 'regular Christians' and those 'supposed of the Cathedral Body'.¹²⁶ They were associated with civic authorities and city elites, and while worshipping in cathedrals had sometimes been critiqued as a social performance, arising out of a desire to be seen, such critiques were rare during the Restoration period.¹²⁷ From the 1690s, however, there are growing references to cathedrals as social spaces in which the elites circulated and socialised, specifically in reference to their worship. One writer thus spoke of cathedral worship as that 'which the Rich and Chief of the People are most of all for' – thus firmly placing cathedrals and their practices as the preferences of the nation's elite.¹²⁸ Publishing an account of a trip to Bath in 1700, the satirist Edward Ward recounted how

[On] Sunday we went to Church to the Abby, a very Ancient Cathedral piece of Antiquity, and kept as badly in repair; 'tis Crowded during Divine Service, as much as St. Pauls, in which time there is more Billet Deaux convey'd to the Ladies, than Notes to desire the Prayers of the Congregation ... and as the Ingenious Doctor in his Discourse, told the Audience, *He was afraid most of them came more out of Custome and Formality, than in Devotion to the Sacred Deity, or*

¹²⁵ Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, pp. 289-90.

¹²⁶ Wattenhall, *The Protestant peace-maker*, pp. 118-9.

¹²⁷ See, for example, Charles Cotton, *Poems on several occasions* (London, 1689), p. 179 [publ. posthumously].

¹²⁸ Richard Stafford, *The cause and cure of divisions* (London, 1699), p. 12. Italics original.

a suitable Reverence to the Place of Worship. Which was very True I am Confident, and the Ladies were the only Saints several came there to Adore.¹²⁹

This might explain Disney's reference to those who 'through the Tincture of Education, or for Fear of Singularity' attended cathedral worship. While recent scholarship has highlighted how discourses of civility and politeness – rather than offering a secularised discourse through which to promote coexistence after the Act of Toleration – were used in divisive ways against dissenters,¹³⁰ this does not negate nonconformist desires to participate within this culture, and this may explain why some early eighteenth-century dissenters attended cathedral worship. Writing in 1737 to her father-in-law, Mary Crane, the wife of a Presbyterian minister, recounted how she 'went last night after our service was over, to the Cathedral and heard our Bishop he is an excelent preacher and had as Numerous an Audience as I ever saw'.¹³¹ While Mary's emphasis on the bishop, his reputation and the size of the 'Audience' (rather than 'congregation') might point to her attendance for social motives, it might also demonstrate how cathedral worship – even if unreformed – was becoming, among some dissenters, acceptable as a distinct form of devotion or ministry which complemented their own nonconformist meetings. That this might have been the case is exemplified by one Canterbury rector, writing in 1786, who observed that "[m]any persons in this town go to the Cathedral in the morning, to the Presbyterian meeting in the afternoon and to a Methodist meeting at night".¹³² These developments demonstrate the new challenges facing those desiring to reform cathedral worship as a means of achieving comprehension in the period following 1689.

PART III: CATHEDRALS, WORSHIP AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE DENOMINATIONAL MARKETPLACE, C.1689-1714

Scholars such as Spurr have highlighted the increasing importance of worship, and notably the sacrament, in the religious life of the Restoration and long eighteenth-century Church.¹³³ As Spaeth has observed, while communion 'gain[ed] new importance as a test of political conformity [during the Restoration], ... [it] also came to represent the deepest form of Anglican piety'.¹³⁴ Although Spaeth

¹²⁹ Edward Ward, *A step to the Bath with a character of the place* (London, 1700), p. 15. Italics mine.

¹³⁰ See, for example, Bejan, *Mere Civility: Disagreement and the Limits of Toleration*; Brown, 'Politeness, Hypocrisy and Protestant Dissent in England after the Toleration Act, c.1689-c.1750'.

¹³¹ Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 378/3/7: Mary Crane to Roger Crane, Norwich, Dec. 26, 1737.

¹³² LPL, VG 3/1/a, fo. 241, quoted in Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828*, p. 273.

¹³³ Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England*, chs 6, 7. On the importance of parochial worship and the sacrament for the Hanoverian churchmanship, see, for example, Gregory, 'The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of the Anglican clergy after 1689', p. 84.

¹³⁴ Spaeth, *The Church in an Age of Danger*, p. 181.

noted popular dislike of ritual gestures alongside the importance of liturgy, other scholars have made bigger claims regarding the religious practices of the Church in this period.¹³⁵ Fincham and Tyacke, for instance, have argued that by the early 1680s there was widespread support for the railed altar, and that ‘[b]y the close of the seventeenth century ... an elaborate and ornately decorated sanctuary was fast becoming a standard feature in many churches’.¹³⁶ This was the result of an emerging generation ‘schooled into political obedience and conformity to church rites and doctrine, hostile to dissent, and influenced by the ceremonial of college chapels’.¹³⁷ While their account emphasised how this ‘beauty of holiness’ model ‘usually preferred whitewashed walls and richly carved woodwork to the more experimental precedents of the 1620s-30s’, their conclusions have led some, most recently William Jacob, to claim that ‘[m]uch of the Laudian project of the 1630s had happened by 1700’.¹³⁸

Cathedrals are seen as evidence of the increased acceptance of worship, ritualism and sacrament within the Restoration and eighteenth-century Church. Writing on Canterbury diocese, Gregory has not only claimed that ‘moderate High Church views remained an essential part of eighteenth-century Anglicanism’, but that this was demonstrated by the cathedral and its latitudinarian canons. Its liturgical practices exemplified this ‘tradition of Whig High Anglicanism’, testifying to ‘an unbroken tradition of High-Church devotion and spirituality stretching from the Caroline divines of the early seventeenth century to the Oxford Movement’.¹³⁹ That sacramental religion had become inherent to latitudinarian churchmanship is also evident in Queen Mary’s visit to Canterbury Cathedral in 1694, for which a new altarpiece was erected and during which she presented silver and purple hangings for the altar, throne and pulpit to the cathedral.¹⁴⁰ For Gregory, this ‘demonstrat[ed] her loyalty and commitment to Anglican worship’.¹⁴¹

¹³⁵ Spaeth, *The Church in an Age of Danger*, pp. 188-94. On the importance of liturgy and worship during the long eighteenth century, see 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), 29-54; Bryan D. Spinks, *Liturgy in the Age of Reason: Worship and Sacraments in England and Scotland, 1662-c.1800* (Aldershot, 2008); idem, ‘The Book of Common Prayer, Liturgy, and Worship’, in Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II*, pp. 254-69. On the place of sermons, see Keith A. Francis and William Gibson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689-1901* (Oxford, 2012); William Gibson, ‘Sermons’, in Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II*, pp. 270-88.

¹³⁶ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 331, 350.

¹³⁷ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 331-2.

¹³⁸ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 350; W.M. Jacob, ‘Common Prayer in the Eighteenth Century’, in Stephen Platten and Christopher Woods (eds), *Comfortable Words: Polity and Piety and the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 2012), pp. 83-97 (p. 83).

¹³⁹ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828*, p. 272.

¹⁴⁰ Sparks, ‘The Refitting of the Quire of Canterbury Cathedral 1660-1716’, p. 178; Gregory, ‘Canterbury and the Ancien Régime: The Dean and Chapter, 1660-1828’, p. 217; idem, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828*, p. 50. On Mary II’s latitudinarian views, see Melinda Zook, ‘A Latitudinarian Queen: Mary II and her Churchmen’, in Sarah Apetrei and Hannah Smith (eds), *Religion and Women in Britain, c.1660-1760* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 99-115.

¹⁴¹ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828*, p. 50.

While the failure of attempts both to redefine the focus of cathedral ministry and reform cathedral worship seemingly attests to the increasing importance of sacramental worship (both in cathedrals and more generally), its significance among latitudinarian churchmen and within the post-revolutionary Church is interesting. As chapters 1 and 2 have explored, the ‘Laudian’ cathedral vision was more complex than one solely centred on ceremonial worship (being inherently tied to issues of conformity and coercion) and was highly controversial. This section will explore how and why this understanding of cathedrals prevailed after 1689, while attempts to reform or implement a Protestant conception of the cathedral failed. It will consider the evolution of the ceremonial cathedral ideal and its influence both among latitudinarian and high churchmen after the Act of Toleration, when, ironically, the Church of England lost the ability to enforce conformity. Looking at the question of worship through the lens of cathedrals helps to illuminate how religious identity changed with the creation of a denominational marketplace.

1. IN THE DENOMINATIONAL MARKETPLACE: CATHEDRAL WORSHIP AND THE LATITUDINARIAN VISION AFTER 1689

First published in 1682, Thomas Seymour’s *Advice to Readers of the Common Prayer* was written with the aim of ‘promoting the greater Decency and Solemnity in performing the Offices of God’s Publick Worship’.¹⁴² However, its re-publication in 1691, and again in 1700 and 1707, demonstrates how far it found an audience within the post-revolutionary context. Whilst emphasising the importance of conformity in the pursuance of true devotion (like some Restoration ‘high’ churchmen), Seymour also called for the redress of certain practices – including in cathedrals – believing this ‘*would be a great means to reform the Manners of those that officiate in Choirs, and the Officers belonging thereunto, and of the Servants of the Bishops and the Chief of the Clergy*’ and ‘*a means to restore much of the Primitive Devotions*’.¹⁴³ While demonstrating how the correct performance of cathedral worship could be perceived in terms of the emerging movement for the reformation of manners, its proposals had wider significance. Seymour hoped that

the Zeal and Devotion of the Bishops and chief Ministers of this [cathedral] Church, in thus promoting Piety and Devotion, and indeavouring such a Reformation in the Place of their Residence and among the Officers that depend most on them, *would mightily convince the Dissentors of their Sincerity in Religion, and silence their scandalous Reports of them, and induce a greater Reverence and Respect towards them among all the People.*¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² [Thomas Seymour], *Advice to readers of the common prayer, and the people attending the same* (London, 1683; first publ. 1682), title and sig. B1r. It was also republished in 1691 and 1707, as well as reprinted in 1700.

¹⁴³ Seymour, *Advice to readers of the common prayer*, p. 127.

¹⁴⁴ Seymour, *Advice to readers of the common prayer*, pp. 127-8.

Himself raised a nonconformist, it was the experience of worshipping according to the Prayer Book which cemented his devotion to the established Church and led him to write the *Advice*, ‘that they which Conform might do it so devoutly, as might be to the comfort of themselves, and attracting others to our Communion’.¹⁴⁵ Seymour’s work demonstrates how perceptions of cathedral worship were shifting in response to conformist-nonconformist relations during the early 1680s. Where once it had been a tool for ‘oppression’ or ‘persecution’, symbolic of the rigidity of the Restoration settlement,¹⁴⁶ cathedral worship was beginning to be envisaged as a means of reconciling dissenters to the established Church. While some sought to reform cathedral worship in the post-revolutionary Church, the re-publication of Seymour’s work may be seen to endorse another view which, though recognising the need for reform, promulgated greater devotional conformity to the Church’s rules as a means of attracting dissenters to the beauty of its worship.

The failure to reform cathedral worship, or to redefine the focus of cathedral ministry *away* from it, demonstrates how an understanding of cathedrals as centred on ceremonial worship had taken hold, albeit one which had evolved (as Seymour’s work has highlighted).¹⁴⁷ Indeed, this view of cathedral worship as a means through which to persuade, rather than coerce, appears to have emerged more broadly during the early 1680s. In particular, responses to Sancroft’s 1684 circular enjoining weekly cathedral communion demonstrate how the performance of cathedral worship was not necessarily understood as centring on strict conformity, but could be envisaged as negotiable and as a means of drawing people into communion with the Church.¹⁴⁸ This reinforces Grant Tapsell’s conclusions, which have highlighted how ‘sympathy for dissenters amongst conformists was far from being a dead letter’ during these years of the Tory reaction.¹⁴⁹ The experience of James’ reign reinforced and propagated further a belief that cathedrals and their style of worship could act as foci for Protestant unity, thereby helping to erode a view of cathedral worship as controversial.¹⁵⁰ However, it was the legalising of dissent and the creation of a denominational marketplace which enabled this view to take root. Where once cathedral worship had been advocated by Laudian and Restoration ‘high’ churchmen as normative

¹⁴⁵ Seymour, *Advice to readers of the common prayer*, sig. B2v.

¹⁴⁶ See above, chapter 2, pp. 79-80. See also, for example, Bodl., Tanner MS 34, fo. 146: Dr Denis Granville to Archbishop Sancroft, Durham, Sept. 25, 1683.

¹⁴⁷ See above, pp. 130-1.

¹⁴⁸ This deserves a study in its own right, which this thesis is unable to provide due to lack of space. For examples of responses which reflect this position, see, for example, Bodl., Tanner MS 32, fo. 20; Tanner MS 34, fos 176, 242, 246, 251. On complaints by Restoration ‘high’ churchmen on this point, see, for example, Bodl., Ballard MS 9, fo. 23: Simon Lowth, to Arthur Charlett, (n.d.).

¹⁴⁹ Tapsell, *The Personal Rule of Charles II, 1681-85*, pp. 74, 75.

¹⁵⁰ This also deserves its own study, which I hope to publish in an article. For examples of the use of cathedral worship in promoting Protestant unity, see, for example, Bodl., Tanner MS 28, fo. 117; Tanner MS 29, fo. 135; Tanner MS 31, fos 273, 276. For an evolution of attitudes in this regard, compare Bodl., Tanner MS 32, fo. 173 (n.d., 1684?) and Bodl., Tanner MS 29, fo. 9 (1687). On shifts in attitudes to coercion during James’ reign, see Mark Knights, ‘“Meer religion” and the “church-state” of Restoration England: the impact and ideology of James II’s declarations of indulgence’, in Alan Houston and Steve Pincus (eds), *A Nation Transformed: England after the Restoration* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 41-70.

within a national Church, it was now celebrated as a unique form of devotion, both within the Church and within the context of a denominational marketplace.

Far from rejecting cathedrals' ceremonial status, some latitudinarian churchmen (besides Burnet) thus moulded it to their own values and priorities, promoting it within their new episcopal roles. At his visitation of Worcester Cathedral in 1692, the latitudinarian bishop, Edward Stillingfleet, gave a rousing speech, outlining an ideal of the cathedral, both as community and institution, which reflected the post-revolutionary Church's emphasis on clerical reform as part of the wider reformation of manners:

it is matter of common concernment to the Church of England (whereof it is our honour to be members, as well as of this Cathedral) *for such societies not only to be purged from all great enormities and immoralities but to be made example of piety & devotion & a good life*; which will tend more to reconcile our enemies, than all other arguments we can use to convince them. For the scandalous lives of some who belong to Cathedrals have done more mischief to them, than all the objections they have been able to make against the public service, which is daily performed in them.¹⁵¹

To this, Stillingfleet added that '*There is nothing they can say against the nature or circumstances of our public worship* [i.e. in the cathedral], *which can bear any weight with a considering man*, who will allow for the natural decency & reverence which is due to the public worship of God'.¹⁵² This suggests that cathedral worship was at least perceived as having lost some of its polemical edge in relation to dissenters. Furthermore, Stillingfleet advocated the beauty and importance of worship as central to cathedral ministry:

Altho' the Parochial Churches have all that is necessary for the salvation of Christians in them; yet there is not, & cannot be such a regard to that part of natural worship which consists in the decorum & suitableness of it to the greatness of the Divine Majesty. *But in the Cathedral services, the magnificence of the place, the order & solemnity of the service, the praising God both with vocal and instrumental music, are great instances of that reverence which we owe to God: & are by no means inconsistent with the nature & design of the Xtien Religion.*¹⁵³

Although 'this was not the onely ground, why such societies as are in our Cathedral Churches, were appointed', being 'seminaries & nurseries to the Church', Stillingfleet's lengthy defence of worship in his vision of cathedrals was significant.¹⁵⁴ Not only did it demonstrate the centrality of worship in his latitudinarian conception of cathedrals' role, it also highlights how this form of ceremonial worship was now celebrated as something distinct and unique to the cathedral (rather than conceived of as a

¹⁵¹ DWL, MS 201.39, p. 16. Italics mine.

¹⁵² DWL, MS 201.39, p. 16. Italics mine.

¹⁵³ DWL, MS 201.39, pp. 16-17. Italics mine.

¹⁵⁴ DWL, MS 201.39, p. 17.

normative standard of worship to be implemented through their status as ‘mother churches’ on the parishes). This view could be glimpsed in Stillingfleet’s response to nonconformist attacks on his controversial sermon, *The Mischief of Separation* (1680), in which he had emphasised the differences between cathedral and parish practices – in stark contrast to Restoration ‘high’ churchmen’s claims which sought to minimise, if not deny, such differences.¹⁵⁵

While celebrated in ceremonial terms, cathedrals were also promoted as houses of prayer. Republished in 1693, Simon Patrick’s *Discourse concerning Prayer* sought to present an account of that ‘considerable ... part of a Godly Life’, which is ‘so great a means both to work, and to preserve, and increase all manner of Godliness and Vertue in us’.¹⁵⁶ His account, written in the hope of increasing piety, distinguished between ‘secret’ prayer, conducted alone; private prayer, in one’s family context; and public prayer, as part of a congregation. For Patrick, the latter was the most important, ‘because Common Prayer, which we make all together in one Body, unto God, is the most necessary’, ‘spread[ing] the fame of God’s inexhausted goodness’.¹⁵⁷

For which reason, there is no serious Christian, who layes things to heart, but must needs be grieved and sigh, to see such stately structures, as *our Cathedral churches (which were built to contain a multitude of worshippers, and to represent the inconceivable greatness of him who is there worshipped)* so very empty and void of people, in our daily Assemblies: as if we had forsaken God, or had lost all sense of the honour that is due unto him. This is a thing very much to be lamented, and speedily amended; lest God forsake us.¹⁵⁸

For Patrick, the cathedrals were *the* nation’s houses of prayer, their existence revolving around worship and the gathering of worshippers. In this sense, Patrick’s portrayal and understanding of cathedrals echoed Hacket’s 1641 speech, in which he had defended cathedrals’ continued existence in the Church of England (among other things) because of their status as powerhouses of prayer, offering up thanksgiving and praise on behalf of the nation.¹⁵⁹ Hacket’s argument, wholly absent from Whitgift’s first defence of cathedrals, had shown how the Laudian experience had reconfigured the Protestant ideal of the cathedral, giving greater importance to worship in all its manifestations. Patrick’s later account further demonstrates the extent to which these developments had been enhanced by the upheavals of the Restoration period, becoming more normative of perceptions of cathedrals.

¹⁵⁵ See above, chapter 2, pp. 95-6.

¹⁵⁶ Simon Patrick, *A discourse concerning prayer especially of frequenting the dayly publick prayers* (London, 1693; first publ. 1686), sig. B1r. Patrick had already written a work on prayer: *The devout Christian instructed how to pray and give thanks to God* (London, 1673).

¹⁵⁷ Simon Patrick, *A discourse concerning prayer*, sigs B1v-B2r, p. 114.

¹⁵⁸ Simon Patrick, *A discourse concerning prayer*, pp. 114-5. Italics mine.

¹⁵⁹ Hacket, *A century of sermons*, p. xviii. See above, chapter 1, pp. 59-60.

2. HIGH CHURCHMEN AND CATHEDRAL WORSHIP AFTER THE ACT OF TOLERATION

The examples of Stillingfleet and Patrick demonstrate how post-revolutionary latitudinarian churchmen promoted cathedrals' role as centred on worship, moulding the 'Laudian' cathedral ideal to their values, priorities and vision for the Church. This did not mean that it ceased to be of importance to post-revolutionary high churchmen. However, they too seem to have ceased to espouse a clear 'Laudian' understanding of cathedrals after 1689. While (as explored in chapter 2) they had been central to Restoration 'high' churchmen's vision of the Church and the implementation of conformity, cathedrals' ecclesiological significance seems to have changed as a result of the Act of Toleration. Although still viewed as ceremonial 'mother churches', there appears to be a silence in the post-revolutionary sources, suggesting cathedrals were no longer implicated in ecclesiological debates after 1689. High churchmen instead placed their hopes in Convocation (rather than in cathedrals' status as 'mother churches') in seeking to reassert the Church's coercive power. Cathedrals' apparent loss of ecclesiological importance after 1689 was also apparent among nonjuring churchmen, as chapter 4 will explore.¹⁶⁰ This did not mean that cathedrals were not involved in church party politics, as the controversy surrounding Bishop William Nicholson's Cathedrals Bill of 1708 demonstrates.¹⁶¹ However, cathedrals were no longer promoted as institutions central to reasserting the Church's coercive powers.

An early post-revolutionary work by the high churchman and later Dean of Durham, Thomas Comber, demonstrates this growing tension in high churchmen's understanding of cathedrals as 'mother churches'. Published in 1690, Comber's *History of the Primitive ... Use of Liturgies* presented a historical account of the Church's usage of liturgical forms of devotion.¹⁶² Throughout, Comber described particular churches' use of liturgy as being 'to unite them all, by conforming to their Mother Church', how 'all Churches ... ought to be uniform even in their Ceremonies by conforming to their Mother Church' and how 'the Forms used in the Metropolitan Church, were to be an invariable Rule to all the Churches in that Province'.¹⁶³ Such language echoed that of the late Restoration Dean of Durham (and Comber's friend) Granville, for whom cathedrals were 'mother churches', liturgical exemplars to the parishes and perfect symbols of conformity.¹⁶⁴ However, nowhere did Comber explicitly define these 'mother churches' as cathedrals. The clearest indication was to 'the Metropolitan Church' of a province, rather than to the cathedral of a diocese. Furthermore, Comber repeatedly celebrated certain practices as being 'like our Cathedral-way' or 'as we do in our Cathedrals'.¹⁶⁵ Cathedrals were thus presented not as exemplars, but as having their own, distinct form of devotion.

¹⁶⁰ See below, chapter 4, pp. 161-6.

¹⁶¹ Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730*, pp. 89-97.

¹⁶² Thomas Comber, *A scholastical history of the primitive and general use of liturgies in the Christian church* (London, 1690).

¹⁶³ Comber, *A scholastical history of the primitive and general use of liturgies*, pp. 11, 14, 110.

¹⁶⁴ See above, chapter 2, p. 80.

¹⁶⁵ Comber, *A scholastical history of the primitive and general use of liturgies*, pp. 32, 88, 307.

This shift among high churchmen's understanding of cathedrals (as still centred on worship, but without the language of conformity and coercion) is also apparent in Wharton's previously discussed work on pluralities, in which he had claimed that

*it conduceth more to the interest, honour and support of Religion in general, and the good of the whole Diocess in particular, that ... ten or more Prebendaries ... should constantly attend at the Cathedral church.*¹⁶⁶

While Wharton's vision of cathedrals was one connected to 'the good of the whole Diocess', the notion of the cathedral as a 'mother church' did not appear in his understanding of cathedrals' contemporary role (although a part of his description of their historical one). While high churchmen such as Wharton continued to view cathedrals in liturgical terms, they had lost their broader significance as exemplars to be followed by the wider Church. Instead, their liturgical role was understood as self-contained – in effect, fulfilling earlier comprehensionist desires to see cathedral practices clearly contained and demarcated.¹⁶⁷

That cathedral worship had become a unique form of piety, celebrated as distinct from that of the wider Church, can also be gleaned from broader lay perceptions, as evidenced by Mary Astell's work. A zealous high church Tory, Astell wrote in defence of the established Church, particularly against occasional conformity, as well as a series of works promoting female education. Written in 1694, her *Serious Proposal to the Ladies* advocated the establishment of a religious community for 'Ladies of Quality', bringing together 'the good Works of an Active' and 'the pleasure and serenity of a contemplative Life', to 'be a Seminary to stock the Kingdom with pious and prudent Ladies'.¹⁶⁸ Alongside this, they were 'throughly to understand Christianity as profess'd by the Church of England' and shape their devotional life around it.¹⁶⁹ For,

as it will be the business of their lives ... to know and do the Will of their heavenly Father, so will they pay a strict conformity to all the Precepts of their holy Mother the Church, whose sacred Injunctions are too much neglected, even by those who pretend the greatest zeal for her. For, besides *the daily performance of the Publick Offices after the Cathedral manner, in the most affecting and elevating way, the celebration of the Holy Eucharist every Lords Day and Holyday, and a course of solid instructive Preaching and Catechizing.*¹⁷⁰

While concerned with 'a strict conformity to all the Precepts of their holy Mother the Church', Astell's concern was confined to the devotional lives of the women in her imagined community.

¹⁶⁶ Wharton, *A defence of pluralities*, p. 134. Italics mine.

¹⁶⁷ See above, pp. 100-2.

¹⁶⁸ Mary Astell, *A serious proposal to the ladies, for the advancement of their true and greatest interest* (London, 1694), p. 73.

¹⁶⁹ Astell, *A serious proposal to the ladies*, pp. 77-8.

¹⁷⁰ Astell, *A serious proposal to the ladies*, p. 90. Italics mine.

Worship ‘after the Cathedral manner’ was presented as central to this vision of devotion and loyalty, but its place within Astell’s understanding of conformity was one of choice, rather than compulsion. Cathedral piety was no longer presented as something to be imposed on the broader Church or according to which all were to worship. Instead, it was presented as the high point of the established Church’s practice, but one followed out of devotional choice. It was no longer the standard or exemplar for the wider Church, but had become symbolic of a particular type of religious identity. While high churchmen, and indeed laymen and -women, such as Astell, continued to be preoccupied with conformity, this concern had evolved. Cathedrals continued to be regarded in liturgical terms and as symbols of conformity to the established Church. However, the impetus for coercion and the *implementation* of conformity no longer emerged out of cathedrals’ role as ‘mother churches’, but from other institutions – notably Convocation and the ecclesiastical courts. Instead, cathedral worship came to represent – in high churchmen’s eyes – the perfect embodiment of the established Church’s beliefs, practices and devotion. In the wake of the Act of Toleration, this had been transmuted into one of the religious choices available in a denominational marketplace.

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Acknowledging the significance of the Act of Toleration for cathedrals, Atherton and Morgan have asked ‘*what [were] cathedral[s] to do*’ ‘now that the other Protestant churches and sects had been granted legal toleration ...?’¹⁷¹ This chapter has sought to investigate this question further, by considering how cathedrals fitted into the established Church’s response to the Act of Toleration and its challenges. As chapter 2 explored, Restoration cathedrals were deeply involved in debates about the nature of the Church, its religious settlement and relations with dissenters. While these discussions shifted as a result of the Act of Toleration, cathedrals were still the subject of debates. Far from becoming isolated from broader debates and society, the post-revolutionary context, with its emphasis on ministerial efficiency in the face of legalised dissent, raised questions about the value and definition of cathedral ministry – notably during the deliberations in 1689-90.

Several visions for cathedrals were promulgated in response to these questions. The first (advocated by Burnet among others) sought to redefine the focus of cathedral ministry, thereby harnessing cathedrals’ pastoral and educational potential to render them ‘more serviceable to the Church’ within a denominational marketplace.¹⁷² A second response sought to reform cathedral worship. Both these trends desired to incorporate cathedrals into attempts to persuade dissenters to re-join the established Church. However, this second response was concerned not so much with the ‘‘commercialization of religion’’, as with continuing to promote the possibility of comprehension.¹⁷³ The failure of both these

¹⁷¹ Atherton and Morgan, ‘Revolution and Retrenchment: The Cathedral, 1630-1720’, p. 567. Italics mine.

¹⁷² Iraeneus Junior, *Deo ecclesiae & conscientiae ergo*, p. 82.

¹⁷³ Gregory, ‘The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of the Anglican clergy after 1689’, p. 70.

visions, however, suggests that a view of cathedrals as centred on ceremonial worship had become established. Indeed, a third response to the question of cathedral ministry sought neither to redefine nor reform it, but to celebrate it as a unique ministry and form of devotion within the Church and the denominational marketplace. Interestingly, this was promoted by both latitudinarian and high churchmen.

Cathedrals thus continued to be debated and different visions for them promulgated after the Act of Toleration, thereby demonstrating that 1689 did not ‘solve’ the question of cathedrals. This further complicates the idea that ‘Anglicanism’ existed as a monolithic entity in the long eighteenth century. Nonetheless, 1689 did see a shift in how cathedrals were engaged with and understood. Firstly, the earlier Protestant cathedral ideal as centred on education and evangelism evolved to reflect post-revolutionary emphases on pastoral and educational reform. Secondly, cathedrals’ place in plans for comprehension changed after 1689. While Restoration proposals had focussed on cathedrals’ *ecclesiological* role, post-revolutionary schemes concentrated on cathedral practices – notably their worship. Thirdly, an understanding of cathedrals as centred on worship lost the ‘Laudian’ ideal’s emphasis on conformity and coercion after the Act of Toleration. Cathedral worship was now celebrated as a distinct form of worship, rather than as a model to implement in the parishes. Finally, while cathedrals were implicated in ecclesiological debates during the Restoration period, this appears no longer to have been the case after 1689, which suggests that the period after the Act of Toleration had an impact on how cathedrals’ place in the Church and English society was understood. Alongside these debates, cathedrals came to be included within an emerging culture of civility. This is reflected in contemporary prints and paintings, which celebrated the cathedral as a site of sociability and polite society. As Daniel Disney lamented, attendance at cathedral worship became a means of participating in that culture, including for some dissenters – as the Presbyterian Mary Crane’s example demonstrates.

*

While chapters 1-3 have provided a chronological study of cathedrals’ place in debates between 1660 and 1714, the following two chapters concentrate on different literary genres: histories and antiquarian works. These provide different lenses through which to consider how cathedrals were understood and engaged with outside formal ecclesiastical debates in this period, complementing the picture outlined in chapters 1-3.

CHAPTER 4: REMEMBERING CATHEDRALS' REFORMATION SURVIVAL
IN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIES, C.1640-C.1730

Begun in the late 1630s, and published at the Restoration, Peter Heylyn's *Ecclesia Restaurata* (1661) opened with a dedication to Charles II, in which he outlined the purpose of his work:

It is ... an History of the Reformation of the Church of England, with all the Various Fortunes, and Successes of it, from the first Agitations in Religion under Henry the Eight ... until the Legal Settling, and Establishment of it by the great Queen Elizabeth, of Happy Memory. A Piece ... [where] You shall finde upon what Rules of Piety, and Christian Prudence, the Work was carried on by the first Reformers. Which being once found, it will be no hard matter *to determine of such Means, and Counsels, whereby the Church may be restored to her Peace, and Purity; from which She is most miserably fallen by our late Distractions.*¹

Writing in the 1690s, John Strype similarly began his life of Thomas Cranmer (1694) by reflecting on history's usefulness and the value of his present work, for

besides the General Benefit of History, especially Ecclesiastical, this Particular History now recommended unto the English Nation, may produce this good effect, *To make us value and esteem, as we ought, our Reformed Religion.*²

While Heylyn would die soon after the Restoration, in 1662, Strype would go on to publish numerous other works of ecclesiastical history between 1710 and 1731. Framing the period under discussion, and on either end of the religious spectrum within the Church of England, both writers nonetheless shared a belief in the past's usefulness for the present. For the Laudian Heylyn, his narrative of the Reformation was undertaken to uncover the 'Rules of Piety' on which the reformed Church of England had been settled, in order 'to determine [the] Means, and Counsels, whereby the Church may be restored to her Peace, and Purity' at the Restoration. The low churchman Strype, by contrast, had composed his life of Cranmer so as to 'make us value and esteem, as we ought, our Reformed Religion' as embodied in the Church of England and after the Act of Toleration. For Heylyn and Strype, as for many of their contemporaries, history held a didactic purpose.

Early modern belief in the contemporary usefulness of history has, however, only been relatively recently acknowledged. Concerned with charting history's development as a scholarly discipline, previous scholars, such as F. Smith Fussner and Arthur B. Ferguson, saw the Renaissance as bringing

¹ Peter Heylyn, *Ecclesia restaurata, or, The history of the reformation of the Church of England* (London, 1661), sigs A2r-v. Italics mine.

² John Strype, *Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas Cranmer sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1694), pp. iii-iv. Italics mine. Hereafter, *Cranmer*.

about a ‘historical revolution’, from which emerged a more impartial, objective and secular conception and methodology of history.³ Recent work has questioned such conclusions, particularly concerning the impartiality of early modern historiography. While recognising the development of historical method in this period, some scholars have highlighted how – far from being the result of secularisation – such changes emerged out of the confessional conflicts caused by the Reformation.⁴ As Alexandra Walsham has commented, ‘[i]t was the urgent need for the sanction of history that sent both Protestants and Catholics scurrying into the archives’ and ‘engendered some of the most distinctive protocols of modern scholarship’.⁵ Daniel Woolf has similarly redefined the nature of this ‘historical revolution’ by moving away from historical writing and methods, and investigating shifts in popular ‘historical culture’.⁶

While reassessing the ‘historical revolution’, such scholarship has taken seriously the idea that the early modern period saw a shift in approaches to the past. Others have focussed more specifically on the supposed objectivity of history writing in this period. Edited volumes by Paulina Kewes (2006) and Matthew Neufeld (2013) have sought to uncover the ‘myriad motives ... behind historical writings’ by exploring the polemical and didactic uses to which the past was put.⁷ From this, the relationship between history and religion has tended to be approached in two ways. The first has looked at the use of historical exemplars in religious polemic. John Spurr, for instance, has investigated the centrality of historical reflection in English Protestantism, notably by considering how Church history was deployed in seventeenth-century controversies over the canon of Scripture, the Church Fathers and the development

³ F.J. Levy, ‘The Elizabethan Historiographical Revolution’, *History*, 4 (1961), 25-52; F. Smith Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought, 1580-1640* (London, 1962); Arthur B. Ferguson, *Clio Unbound: Perception of the social and cultural past in Renaissance England* (Durham, NC, 1979). For an overview, see Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken*, ch. 2, esp. pp. 32-4.

⁴ Patrick Collinson, ‘Truth, lies, and fiction in sixteenth-century Protestant historiography’, in Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks (eds), *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 37-68; idem, ‘One of us? William Camden and the making of history’, The Camden Society Centenary Lecture, *TRHS*, 8 (1998), 139-63; Benedict Scott Robinson, ‘“Darke speech”: Matthew Parker and the Reforming of History’, *SCJ*, 29 (1998), 1061-82; Irena Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation (1378-1615)* (Leiden, 2003); Jennifer Summit, *Memory’s Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago and London, 2008); Dmitri Levitin, ‘From sacred history to the history of religion: paganism, Judaism, and Christianity in European historiography from Reformation to “enlightenment”’, *HJ*, 55 (2012), 1117-60; Katherine van Liere, Simon Ditchfield and Howard Louthan (eds), *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* (Oxford, 2012).

⁵ Alexandra Walsham, ‘History, Memory, and the English Reformation’, *HJ*, 55 (2012), 899-938 (p. 907). For an example of which, see Anthony Grafton, *The footnote: a curious history* (Cambridge, MA, 1997).

⁶ Daniel Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2000). On shifts in the perception of the past in the early modern period, see especially Peter Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (London, 1969); Margaret Aston, ‘English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36 (1973), 231-55; Keith Thomas, *The Perception of the Past in Early Modern England*, The Creighton Trust Lecture (London, 1983); Daniel Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England: Erudition, Ideology and the “Light of Truth” from the Accession of James I to the Civil War* (Toronto, 1990); idem, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500-1730* (Oxford, 2003); idem, ‘From Hystories to the Historical: Five Transitions in Thinking about the Past, 1500-1700’, *HLQ*, 68 (2005), 33-70.

⁷ Paulina Kewes, ‘History and Its Uses’, in Paulina Kewes (ed.), *The Uses of History in Early Modern England* (San Marino, CA, 2006), pp. 1-31 (p. 2), originally published as a special *HLQ* volume entitled ‘The Uses of History in Early Modern England’ (2005). Matthew Neufeld (ed.), *Uses of the Past in Early Modern England*, *HLQ*, special issue, 76 (2013).

of Christianity in the British Isles.⁸ The second approach has looked at ecclesiastical histories, thereby drawing on a growing interest among early modern scholars in ‘how religious conflicts were assessed, argued about, and narrated’ and the role of memory in constructing religious identity.⁹ Such work, however, has tended to confine itself either to the Elizabethan and early Stuart period, or to the later eighteenth century. As Kewes has highlighted, little has been done on the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, particularly regarding religious historiography.¹⁰

One reason for this lack of interest might be traced to the belief (among early modern scholars) that the significant shift in early modern historiography took place in the first half of the seventeenth century. Indeed, Woolf argued that the 1640s saw a ‘collapse of consensus’ in the early modern idea of history. While the Tudor and Jacobean view of history as a fount of virtue and wisdom was uncontroversial, the outbreak of Civil War changed historical discourse, as the past became an arena of argument, debate and controversy, and as people used the past to explain contemporary disasters.¹¹ This ‘atmosphere of open ideological conflict’ surrounding the past continued after the Restoration.¹² The predominance of polemic in history writing after 1640 was reminiscent of that of the sixteenth century – as best exemplified by Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments*. However, as Woolf highlighted, whereas historical writing in the 1560s had been deeply polemical, this had been directed to an external, Catholic threat. The experience of the 1640s, however, led to ‘competing points of view *within the same national community*’.¹³ The polemical dynamic of history writing had turned inwards.

Shaped by current interests in polemical uses of the past, and drawing on Woolf’s conclusions, engagement with religious historiography from the Restoration to the early eighteenth century has therefore focussed on internal divisions, highlighting church parties and political allegiances. Although acknowledging the anti-Catholic motives behind the latitudinarian Burnet’s *History of the Reformation*, scholars have primarily seen it as responding to Heylyn’s Laudian account of the Reformation.¹⁴ Starkie

⁸ John Spurr, ‘“A special kindness for dead bishops”: The Church, History, and Testimony in Seventeenth-Century Protestantism’, in Kewes (ed.), *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, pp. 307-28.

⁹ Kewes, ‘History and Its Uses’, p. 10. The literature on memory is vast. See, for example, Daniel Woolf, ‘Memory and historical culture in early modern England’, *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, 2 (1991), 283-308; Adam Fox, ‘Remembering the Past in Early Modern England: Oral and Written Tradition’, *TRHS*, 9 (1999), 233-56; Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, nationalism, and memory in early modern England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2004); Helen L. Parish, *Monks, Miracles and Magic: Reformation Representations of the Medieval Church* (London and New York, 2005); Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (eds), *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post-Reformation* (Farnham, 2013).

¹⁰ Recent work which has sought to redress this includes Spurr, ‘“A special kindness for dead bishops”’; Andrew Starkie, ‘Contested Histories of the English Church: Gilbert Burnet and Jeremy Collier’; Mark Knights, ‘The Tory Interpretation of History in the Rage of Parties’, in Kewes (ed.), *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, pp. 307-28, 329-46, and 347-67 respectively.

¹¹ Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England*, ch. 8.

¹² Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England*, p. 265.

¹³ Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England*, p. 259.

¹⁴ On Burnet’s *History of the Reformation* as a response to Heylyn, see Rosemary O’Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation* (London and New York, 1986), p. 40; Spurr, ‘“A special kindness for dead bishops”’, p. 326; Andrew Starkie, ‘Gilbert Burnet’s *Reformation* and the Semantics of Popery’, in Jason McElligott (ed.),

has similarly focussed on how Burnet and Collier's later volumes (1714-15) reflected political conflict between low and high churchmen, as have discussions of Strype's Reformation works.¹⁵ However, by considering these works through this same lens of internal divisions, scholars have treated the period before and after 1689 as continuous.¹⁶ Little attention has been paid to the impact of the Act of Toleration. Only Starkie appears to acknowledge the impact of James II's religious policies and the 1688-9 Revolution on how history writing was undertaken by high churchmen and non-jurors.¹⁷

This approach to religious historiography post-1660 is implicitly connected to scholars' understanding of religious identity in the period, particularly to the question of 'Anglicanism'. Woolf's view of history writing as turning polemically inwards from the 1640s maps onto studies which see the mid-seventeenth century as prompting the formation of an 'Anglican' identity.¹⁸ This view, however, sits uneasily with broader studies of the Restoration period, which emphasise continued debates over the nature of the English Church, and thus its continued status as the *national* Church.¹⁹ Current work on religious historiography instead treats Restoration ecclesiastical histories as reflective of a denominational world, with its emphasis on internal Church politics between 'high' and low churchmen, and with little engagement with nonconformist challenges.²⁰

Some scholars have shown an awareness of the instability of religious identity during the Restoration period, and therefore nonconformity's importance in shaping these ecclesiastical histories. Tony Claydon has seen Burnet's *History of the Reformation* as responding both to 'high' church rivals and to nonconformists, by 'defend[ing] the church while keeping it open to a wider reformation'.²¹ Spurr has similarly recognised that nonconformist challenges shaped these histories, claiming that 'Protestant histories of the Reformation looked in two directions'. However, this is not explored in his study of Burnet.²² This chapter will seek to offer a study of religious historiography from c.1640 to c.1730 which

Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 138-53; Walsham, 'History, Memory, and the English Reformation', p. 934.

¹⁵ Starkie, 'Contested Histories of the English Church'; O'Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation*, pp. 42-3, 46.

¹⁶ Indeed, in Starkie's case, the differences between Heylyn and Burnet's histories is used as evidence that '[t]he Revolution did not cause a fundamentally new division in the Church of England'. Starkie, 'Gilbert Burnet's *Reformation* and the Semantics of Popery', p. 153.

¹⁷ Starkie, 'Contested Histories of the English Church', p. 339.

¹⁸ See above, introduction, pp. 21-2.

¹⁹ See above, introduction and chapter 2, pp. 16-7, 65-6.

²⁰ Vol. I of *The Oxford History of Anglicanism* (covering the period c.1520-1662) contains a chapter dedicated to ecclesiastical histories, whereas vol. II (covering 1662-1829) does not. The difference in approach between the two volumes reveals the extent to which the Restoration is perceived as a turning point, both in terms of religious identity, and in historical writing. See W.J. Sheils, 'Protestants and the Meanings of Church History 1540-1660', in Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I*, pp. 298-315; Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II*.

²¹ Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660-1760* (Cambridge, 2007), ch. 2 (p. 82).

²² Spurr, "'A special kindness for dead bishops'", p. 326.

is sensitive to the distinctions between the experience of the Interregnum, the realities of the Restoration period, and the impact of the Act of Toleration.

This chapter will consider five ecclesiastical historians, from the mid-seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries: Thomas Fuller, Peter Heylyn, Gilbert Burnet, Jeremy Collier and John Strype. It will explore how these five writers portrayed cathedrals within their narratives of the English Reformation and the establishment of a reformed Church of England. This will provide another lens through which to consider how cathedrals were understood and engaged with outside formal ecclesiastical debates in this period, complementing the picture outlined in chapters 1-3. The aim of this chapter is threefold. First, it will demonstrate how these accounts reveal very different understandings of cathedrals' place within the Church of England. This will question the idea that cathedrals' place was settled at the Restoration, and investigate the impact of the Act of Toleration on how cathedrals were understood. Second, it aims to contribute to the study of the polemical uses of the past in the early modern period. It will show how historical writing was a mode of discourse through which the recurring question of cathedrals' survival in a Protestant world was tackled, in very different polemical contexts – including in response to nonconformist critiques (a point which has so far been underappreciated). Third, it endeavours to contribute to our knowledge of the development of historical writing in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In particular, I will argue that looking at cathedrals' portrayal in ecclesiastical histories demonstrates how far the uses and approaches to historical writing reflected shifts in response to the Glorious Revolution and the passing of the Act of Toleration.

PART I: REFLECTING ON THE CHURCH'S FATE: THOMAS FULLER,
PETER HEYLYN AND THE INTERREGNUM

Born at the turn of the seventeenth century, and coming to maturity under the Laudian regime, the churchmen Thomas Fuller (1607/8-1661) and Peter Heylyn (1599-1662) both experienced the growing religious tensions of the 1630s, the dismantling of the episcopal Church of England in the 1640s, and finally its restoration in 1660. Both composed ecclesiastical histories during those Interregnum years which reflected on the Church of England's identity and past, when much of its Reformation legacy lay in ruins. While Fuller's treatment of the sixteenth-century events appeared within his broader *Church History of Britain* (1655),²³ Heylyn's account of the Reformation unfolded over three works, all published after the Restoration. The most comprehensive of these was his *Ecclesia Restaurata* (1661)

²³ Thomas Fuller, *The church-history of Britain from the birth of Jesus Christ until the year M.DC.XLVIII* (London, 1655).

– the first English history dedicated to the Reformation period – complemented by his posthumous life of Laud, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (1668), and history of the puritans, *Aerius Redivivus* (1670).²⁴

While both committed members of the Church of England, Fuller’s moderate Calvinism and Heylyn’s ardent Laudianism shaped two, very different portrayals of the English Reformation. These differences have often been noted by historians. Rosemary O’Day has seen in Fuller evidence of ‘the continued strength of the Foxian apocalyptic vision’ against which Heylyn constructed an alternative historiographical tradition, which celebrated continuity with the medieval past.²⁵ Previous scholars, such as Royce MacGillivray and John Drabble, tended to treat both historians in parallel as reflecting an essentially pre-Restoration worldview.²⁶ That Heylyn begun work on his *Ecclesia Restaurata* in the late 1630s, during the heyday of the Laudian Church, reinforced this. Drabble even claimed that ‘with the deaths of Fuller and Heylyn, both an age and its way of writing history had ended’.²⁷

Recent work, however, has tended to treat them separately.²⁸ This has partly followed greater interest in the Restoration context and significance of Heylyn’s histories. O’Day had already drawn attention to the timing of Heylyn’s *Ecclesia Restaurata*’s publication as being ‘most apposite, given that the Restoration involved a definition of the nature of the reformed Church of England’ – something recent scholars have emphasised. Spurr, for instance, noted how the *Ecclesia Restaurata* was ‘[d]esigned to influence the Restoration religious settlement’.²⁹ Nonetheless, Heylyn’s account is understood as shaped by his experience of the 1640s and 1650s, notably the dismantling and exile of the episcopal Church of England.³⁰ Early modern scholars have seen these events as crucial to the formation of an ‘Anglican’ identity and thus to the Restoration religious settlement.³¹ Heylyn’s historical works are thus

²⁴ Heylyn, *Ecclesia restaurata*; idem, *Cyprianus anglicus, or, The history of the life and death of the Most Reverend and renowned prelate William, by divine providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1668); idem, *Aerius redivivus, or, The history of the Presbyterians* (Oxford, 1670). Heylyn’s *Cyprianus Anglicus* and *Aerius Redivivus* were published posthumously by his son, Henry Heylyn.

²⁵ O’Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation*, ch. 2, esp. pp. 32-8 (p. 38).

²⁶ Royce MacGillivray, *Restoration Historians and the English Civil War* (The Hague, 1974), ch. 2; John E. Drabble, ‘Thomas Fuller, Peter Heylyn and the English Reformation’, *Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 (1979), 168-88.

²⁷ Drabble, ‘Thomas Fuller, Peter Heylyn and the English Reformation’, p. 183. Tony Claydon’s recent work on the providential and apocalyptic dimension of Burnet’s *History of the Reformation* challenges the idea of such a shift. Tony Claydon, ‘Latitudinarianism and Apocalyptic History in the Worldview of Gilbert Burnet, 1643-1715’, *HJ*, 51 (2008), 577-97.

²⁸ There has been very little recent work on Fuller and his *Church History*, and this has tended to treat him without reference to Heylyn. See, for example, Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1995), ch. 9, esp. pp. 267-74. Most recently, W.B. Patterson explores Fuller and Heylyn’s relationship through their polemical exchanges over the *Church History* (through Heylyn’s *Examen Historicum* and Fuller’s *Appeal of Injured Innocence*). However, there is no direct comparison of their historical works. W.B. Patterson, *Thomas Fuller: Discovering England’s Religious Past* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 258-64.

²⁹ O’Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation*, p. 33. On recent, Restoration-focussed approaches to Heylyn, see, for example, Spurr, “‘A special kindness for dead bishops’”, pp. 325-6 (p. 325); Andrew Starkie, ‘Contested Histories of the English Church: Gilbert Burnet and Jeremy Collier’, p. 338; Walsham, ‘History, Memory, and the English Reformation’, p. 934.

³⁰ See, for example, Anthony Milton, *Laudian and royalist polemic in seventeenth-century England: The career and writings of Peter Heylyn* (Manchester, 2007), p. 198.

³¹ See above, introduction, pp. 21-2.

perceived as embodying, and contributing to, this nascent ‘Anglicanism’, one which would flourish during the Restoration period. However, Heylyn’s understanding of the Church of England must be (re)placed in parallel with that of Fuller if we are to properly understand the religious context of the Restoration. Their contrasting portrayals of cathedrals in the Church’s Reformation narrative demonstrate different understandings of the Church’s *esse*, views shaped at a time of uncertainty.³² It also highlights very different understandings – among committed members of the Church of England – of cathedrals’ place and role within the Church. These differences would continue into the Restoration period, thereby questioning the idea of the 1650s as seeing the formation of a single ‘Anglican’ identity and of cathedrals being ‘rapidly re-established ... as a considered act of Anglican identity’ at the Restoration.³³

1. CATHEDRALS AND THE *ESSE* OF THE CHURCH IN THOMAS FULLER’S *CHURCH HISTORY*

Influenced by the Calvinist churchmanship of his uncles, the successive bishops of Salisbury, Robert Townson (1620-1) and John Davenant (1621-41), and that of Samuel Ward, master of Sidney Sussex College, Thomas Fuller was ordained into the Church of England in 1631, and soon after, made prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral.³⁴ Opposed to the Laudian regime’s coercive measures, Fuller’s moderation led him to preach on behalf of peace at the outbreak of hostilities in the early 1640s, both within London (as minister of the Savoy Chapel) and in royalist Oxford, to which he withdrew in 1643. In calling for accommodation, Fuller promoted the reformation of the Church – though one consistent with its sixteenth-century reformation and based on the Church’s Thirty-Nine Articles – earning him the suspicion of both sides. Despite associations with the royalist cause, as chaplain to Sir Ralph Hopton’s army and later to the infant Princess Henrietta, Fuller was able to continue his ministry during the Interregnum, having become incumbent of Waltham Abbey, Essex, in 1647.³⁵

During these years Fuller began work on his *Church History of Britain* (1655), the ‘first comprehensive English protestant account of Christianity in the island’ from the first century onwards.³⁶ It not only provided a Protestant rebuttal to Catholic interpretations of the sixteenth-century, but ‘provided an explanation for the tumultuous religious and political events of his own time’ – notably

³² On the difference between *esse*, *plene esse* and *bene esse*, see Peter Toon, L. Roy Taylor, Paige Patterson and Samuel E. Waldron, *Who Runs the Church?: 4 Views on Church Government* (Grand Rapids, 2004), pp. 36-8; ‘Esse, Bene Esse, Plene Esse’, *An Episcopal Dictionary of the Church, The Episcopal Church* online: <https://www.episcopalchurch.org/library/glossary/esse-bene-esse-plene-esse> [accessed 10/10/17]. These terms are usually applied to the question of episcopacy.

³³ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, p. 114.

³⁴ Drabble, ‘Fuller, Heylyn and the Reformation’, p. 168-9; *ODNB*, ‘Fuller, Thomas (1607/8-1661)’.

³⁵ *ODNB*, ‘Fuller, Thomas (1607/8–1661)’.

³⁶ Fuller first mentioned his intention to write an ecclesiastical history of Britain in the preface to his *Holy State*, published in 1642. Thomas Fuller, *The holy state* (Cambridge, 1642), sig. A2v; Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, p. 268.

locating the seeds of discontent in Laud's ecclesiastical policies.³⁷ However, his *Church History* also challenged more radical English Protestants.³⁸ As Drabble has highlighted, an important polemical motive behind Fuller's Reformation account was the defence of the Church's sixteenth-century bishops, particularly Cranmer, against puritan attacks in the early 1640s.³⁹ As Fuller lamented, 'Some Zelots of our Age' 'see the faults of Reformers, but not the difficulties of Reformation',⁴⁰ and his *Church History* sought to vindicate episcopacy more generally.⁴¹ Fuller's response to cathedrals' Interregnum fate, by contrast, differed from his defence of episcopacy's significance in a reformed Church of England. For while Fuller deplored puritans' merging of Laudian prelacy with Protestant episcopacy, puritan attacks on cathedrals did not elicit a particular defence on Fuller's part.

Fuller's account of the 1641 Long Parliament debates regarding deans and chapters presented the defence of cathedrals as the preserve of a particular party within the Church. He noted how, initially, 'The Prelaticall Court Clergy, were not so active and diligent in defending these foundations, as it was expected from their interest and relations'.⁴² As previously mentioned, Laudians gave cathedrals a central role as its 'mother churches',⁴³ and Fuller's 1641 account demonstrated popular awareness – and indeed expectation – of cathedrals' significance for this party. Yet by highlighting this, Fuller drew attention to how cathedrals could be considered – even among royalist clergy – as inessential to the Church's existence. Indeed, Fuller went further by highlighting the existence of such differences even among *cathedral* clergy:

Yet some of the same side causelesly complained of the backwardnesse of other moderate Cathedrall men, that they improved not their power with their Parliament friends so zealously as they might in this cause, as beginning too late, and proceeding too lazily therein, who should sooner have set their shoulders and backs to those tottering Quires, so either to support them, or to be buried under the ruines thereof.⁴⁴

Fuller differentiated between prelatial and moderate cathedral men. This is significant given that Fuller himself had been a cathedral prebendary since 1631 – a position he would regain in 1661.⁴⁵ His inclusion, in the margin, of the comment 'An unjust charge' in relation to this criticism suggests his own experience of such an attack and his own unwillingness to defend cathedrals. It also highlights how

³⁷ ODNB, 'Fuller, Thomas (1607/8–1661)'.

³⁸ For Fuller's broader engagement with radical Protestants – notably on their attitudes to history - see Travis DeCook, 'Unearthing Radical Reform: Antiquarianism against Discovery', in James Dougal Fleming (ed.), *The Invention of Discovery, 1500-1700* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 139-52.

³⁹ Drabble, 'Fuller, Heylyn and the Reformation', p. 169.

⁴⁰ Fuller, *Church History*, Book V, p. 213.

⁴¹ He did not, however, regard episcopacy as a *necessary* mark of a reformed Church. O'Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation*, p. 38.

⁴² Fuller, *Church History*, Book XI, p. 176.

⁴³ See above, chapter 1, pp. 49-55.

⁴⁴ Fuller, *Church History*, Book XI, p. 176.

⁴⁵ ODNB, 'Fuller, Thomas (1607/8-1661)'.

cathedrals were far from staffed entirely with Laudian churchmen, even in the late 1630s and early 1640s, despite the Laudian takeover of cathedral chapters over this period which Atherton has uncovered.⁴⁶ Cathedral clergy were thus still relatively diverse, and belonging to the capitular body did not necessarily entail a clear ecclesiological sense of cathedrals' significance. While Fuller's account of the 1641 debates included a summary of John Hacket's defence of cathedrals, it was framed not so much as a Protestant apology of cathedrals as a prelatial one.⁴⁷ Hacket was described by Fuller as having been chosen 'to be the mouth ... [on] behalf of the rest' of '[t]he Prelaticall Court Clergy', who were repeatedly referred to by Fuller as 'his Brethren'.⁴⁸ This is particularly interesting considering Hacket's reputation as a moderate.⁴⁹ Furthermore, Fuller did not seem to wholly dismiss the counter-argument made by Cornelius Burges, Hacket's opponent in this Parliamentary session. His only criticism related to Burges himself, noting that, although opposed to the public use of cathedral lands in his speech, Burges would later purchase such lands.⁵⁰

Fuller's account of the 1641 debates highlights his understanding of cathedrals' (lack of) ecclesiological significance at a time of intense challenge and reflection on the nature of the Church. This helps to explain their portrayal in his Reformation narrative. For Fuller neither gave them a central role in the Reformation process, nor portrayed them as particularly problematic remnants of the Catholic past. In his account of the Middle Ages, cathedrals were never given prominence *as cathedrals*. Rather they illustrated particular aspects of broader medieval religious life. They were thus portrayed as centres of (arch)episcopal power, as objects of royal and noble benefaction, or as a lens through which to understand royal-papal relations.⁵¹ For instance, describing clerical opposition to King Stephen in the twelfth century, Fuller described the bishops (Stephen's opponents) as those who 'were most powerfull in the land (*every prime one having, as a Cathedral for his devotion; so many manors for his profit, parks for his pleasure, and castles for his protection*)'.⁵² Cathedrals were portrayed as just another episcopal possession, included solely to draw attention to medieval bishops' power and prestige.

Cathedrals were also portrayed in Fuller's account of the Middle Ages as sites of monastic corruption, popular superstition and papist practice.⁵³ Canterbury Cathedral was especially prominent,

⁴⁶ Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', p. 905.

⁴⁷ On Hacket's speech, see above, chapter 1, pp. 58-61.

⁴⁸ Fuller, *Church History*, Book XI, pp. 177, 178.

⁴⁹ See above, chapter 2, p. 77.

⁵⁰ Fuller, *Church History*, Book XI, p. 179. This criticism clearly engendered a polemical exchange with Burges, as is evident from the letter addressed 'to Dr Cornelius Burges', which Fuller inserted at the end of his *Appeal*. Thomas Fuller, *The appeal of iniured innocence, unto the religious learned and ingenuous reader* (London, 1659), sig. Y1r-v. Burges would also write in opposition to the restitution of cathedral lands at the Restoration. See above, chapter 2, fn. 155, p. 87. On Burges' role as at St Paul's Cathedral during the Civil War and Interregnum, see *ODNB*, 'Burges, Cornelius (d. 1665)'. On puritan preachers' use of cathedral buildings during the Interregnum more generally, see Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, ch. 6, esp. p. 197.

⁵¹ See, for example, Fuller, *Church History*, Book III, pp. 8, 27, 39, 71, 91-2; Book IV, pp. 143, 174-5.

⁵² Fuller, *Church History*, Book III, p. 27. Italics mine.

⁵³ See, for example, Fuller, *Church History*, Book II, p. 135; Book III, p. 36; Book V, p. 198.

with Thomas Becket's cult exemplifying the monastic orders' greed and deceitfulness. Yet while Fuller often deployed cathedrals to exemplify these medieval trends,⁵⁴ they were never portrayed as *specifically* problematic. In recounting the Reformation upheavals, Fuller did not give greater weight to cathedral corruption or superstition over other instances. Furthermore, his *Church History* was peppered with references to cathedrals' subsequent reform, demonstrating Fuller's belief that cathedrals were not intrinsically popish – as some of his contemporaries maintained.⁵⁵ Fuller emphasised this in response to Heylyn's *Examen Historicum* (1659), where Heylyn had attacked Fuller's lament at the conversion of pagan temples into Christian churches. Seeing in it a justification for pulling down churches, Heylyn had exclaimed, 'What pity is it that our Author had not liv'd and preacht this Doctrine in King Edwards time, that the Parochiall Churches and Cathedrals ... [might be] sent after the Abbies'.⁵⁶ Answering this in his *Appeal of Injured Innocence* (1659), Fuller clarified that 'though the same were abused by superstition, yet the substantiall use of them might remain, when their accidental abuse was removed, and might be continued for God's service without any Sin'.⁵⁷

Fuller's portrayal of cathedrals' medieval and Reformation pasts dismissed the idea of their intrinsic popery. However, neither did he assert their Protestant potential and place in a reformed Church.⁵⁸ Fuller's account of Henry VIII's Act for new bishoprics, and the conversion of priors and abbeys into deans and chapters, was framed so as not to highlight cathedrals *per se*. Attention was instead drawn to these events' episcopal, monastic and collegiate dimensions. Absent from Book V, which contained Henry VIII's reign, Fuller's account of the Henrician Act came instead in Book VI, a book dedicated to monastic history.⁵⁹ Listed as one of 'the actions of policie, pietie, charitie, and justice, done by King Henry the eighth, out of the revenues of dissolved Abbeyes', Fuller distinguished between the foundation of bishoprics and the conversion of monastic houses, portraying them as separate events, describing how, firstly, 'He piously founded five Bishopricks *de novo*', and, secondly, 'where He found a Prior and Monks belonging to any antient Cathedral-Church, there He converted the same into a Dean and Prebendaries'.⁶⁰

Cathedrals barely appeared in Fuller's account. Speaking of the new bishoprics, Fuller spoke solely of the 'Bishops Seat', 'Bishops See', 'Bishoprick' and diocese. In recounting the monastic conversions, cathedrals only appear as the church buildings to which the monastic clergy were attached. The conversion taking place was portrayed as an institutional transition from monasticism ('a Prior and

⁵⁴ See, for example, Fuller, *Church History*, Book II, p. 137; Book III, pp. 36, 91-2.

⁵⁵ See, for example, Fuller, *Church History*, Book III, p. 36; Fuller, *The appeal of iniured innocence*, Book I, p. 69. On critiques of cathedrals as inherently popish, see above, chapter 1, pp. 37-9.

⁵⁶ Peter Heylyn, *Examen historicum, or, A discovery and examination of the mistakes, falsities and defects in some modern histories* (London, 1659), Book I, pp. 18-19 (p. 19).

⁵⁷ Fuller, *The appeal of iniured innocence*, Book I, p. 69.

⁵⁸ This stands in stark contrast to Burnet and Strype's accounts. See below, pp. 156-61, 167-72.

⁵⁹ Book VI '[b]eing the History of Abbeyes in England: Of their Originall, Increase, Greatnesse, Decay, and Dissolution'.

⁶⁰ Fuller, *Church History*, Book VI, p. 338.

Monks’) to the capitular model (‘a Dean and Prebendaries’) – a transition portrayed as subtly distinct from the cathedral church to which these bodies were attached (‘belonging to any antient Cathedral-Church’). The only reference, in this account, to cathedrals as institutions was when quoting from ‘a late Bishop of Norwich’, who had claimed that ‘King Henry took away the sheep from that Cathedral, and did not restore so much as the trotters unto it’.⁶¹ Perhaps a reason for Fuller’s understanding of cathedrals solely as buildings – shells onto which different institutional models were grafted – came from his experience of seeing cathedrals reduced to mere emptied buildings without institutional communities in the 1650s.⁶²

While cathedrals held no ecclesiological significance for Fuller, his understanding of them primarily as buildings was not necessarily a negative one. Elsewhere in his *Church History*, he praised cathedrals’ ‘stately Fabrick, adorned with exquisite imagerie’ and lamented Civil War destruction.⁶³ He also spoke to Cosin about his ‘intended Book, of the Cathedrall of Durham’, and a print of Lichfield Cathedral by Hollar was inserted opposite the *Church History*’s title-page.⁶⁴ While scholars have noted the polemical significance of Hollar’s ecclesiastical prints,⁶⁵ there is a risk, however, of reading too much into its presence in Fuller’s work.⁶⁶ As Graham Parry has highlighted, the plate was contributed by the antiquarian Elias Ashmole (who would later become Dugdale’s son-in-law), a native of Lichfield. Whilst, as Parry notes, this print held particular ‘emotive force’ as the most damaged of England’s cathedrals, yet Fuller ‘was indifferent to the visual attractions of ecclesiastical buildings, for he was suspicious of ‘ornament’ and believed that usefulness was more important than beauty’.⁶⁷ While Fuller’s praise of the cathedral fabric contradicts this assertion, Parry correctly questions how far Fuller endorsed the symbolic significance attributed to cathedrals by Dugdale, Hollar and others. His broader portrayal of cathedrals in his *Church History* confirms this, whilst also revealing the existence of different modes of engagement with cathedrals, which could be held in conjunction or opposition, thus demonstrating the complexity of early modern attitudes to cathedrals.⁶⁸

Fuller’s ambivalence about cathedrals’ place in the Reformation settlement can partly be explained by his experience of the Church’s Interregnum fate, and his subsequent reflection on the Church’s

⁶¹ Fuller, *Church History*, Book VI, p. 338.

⁶² Although lecturers and preachers were attached to cathedrals during the Interregnum, these were nominated by the city corporations and did not constitute an institutional community like that of the capitular system. See Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, ch. 6, esp. pp. 186, 191, 197.

⁶³ Fuller, *Church History*, Book IV, pp. 174-5.

⁶⁴ Fuller inserted four of his own letters or addresses at the end of his *Appeal*, including one, already mentioned, to Cornelius Burges (see above, fn. 50, p. 149) and one to ‘To the Reverend ... Dr. John Cosin, Dean of Peterburgh’. Fuller, *The appeal of iniured innocence*, sig. X1v.

⁶⁵ See below, chapter 5, fn. 13, pp. 175-6.

⁶⁶ See, for example, Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, p. 112.

⁶⁷ Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, pp. 273-4.

⁶⁸ On the Interregnum experience as leading to a greater appreciation of cathedrals as buildings, see below, chapter 5.

Reformation legacy. For Fuller, cathedrals' dissolution did not constitute the end of the Church of England as he understood it. In his 'To the Reader', Fuller exclaimed:

blessed be God, the Church of England *is still*, (and long may it be) *in being*, though disturb'd, distempered, distracted, God help and heal her most sad condition.⁶⁹

For Fuller, the Interregnum Church was still the Church of England, though 'disturb'd, distempered, distracted' and in need of healing. It was episcopacy, rather than cathedrals, which Fuller saw as the most important legacy of the sixteenth-century settlement in need of vindication. Cathedrals' survival was therefore not presented as intrinsic to the Church's identity or as imbued with any significance. By omitting the preamble to Henry's Act for the new bishoprics – which outlined a Protestant vision for cathedrals, and which later historians would include⁷⁰ – Fuller presented cathedrals' survival in a reformed Church of England as lacking any clear purpose. Neither did he present them as popish remnants. His uninterest in cathedrals contrasts with his greater interest in monasticism and episcopacy in recounting the Reformation, for it was in these two institutions – rather than in cathedrals – that Fuller located his understanding of corruption and reform.⁷¹

2. CATHEDRALS AND THE *ESSE* OF THE CHURCH IN PETER HEYLYN'S HISTORICAL WORKS

While Peter Heylyn's early years were influenced by puritan principles, a heated theological disputation with the Calvinist Regius Professor of Divinity, John Prideaux, in 1627 drew him to William Laud's attention and to his seeking preferment from Laudian circles. An able polemicist, his rhetorical skills were soon deployed, defending the regime against opponents, notably William Prynne and the dean of Westminster John Williams. The summoning of the Long Parliament in 1640 led to Heylyn's interrogation over Prynne's prosecution and to orders for his arrest, although he escaped to Oxford, where he became the first editor of the royalist newsbook *Mercurius Aulicus*. Declared a delinquent, sequestered, and his estates and goods seized, Heylyn was nonetheless able to retire to Oxfordshire in 1648, later compounding his estate and purchasing Lacy's Court, near Abingdon, Berkshire in 1653, where he built a small private chapel and resumed his polemical writing.⁷²

⁶⁹ Fuller, *Church History*, sig. A4r. Italics mine.

⁷⁰ See, notably, Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, pp. 262-3; John Strype, *Ecclesiastical memorials; relating chiefly to religion, and the reformation of it, and the emergencies of the Church of England*, 3 vols (London, 1721), vol. I, pp. 349-51.

⁷¹ Fuller's interest in monasticism, as evidenced in Book VI of his *Church History*, reflects broader antiquarian interest in monastic buildings and institutions in the early Stuart period. See below, chapter 5, pp. 177-86.

⁷² *ODNB*, 'Heylyn, Peter (1599-1662)'. On Heylyn's polemical career, see Milton, *Laudian and royalist polemic*.

During these years, Heylyn continued to defend both Church practices and, more specifically, the Laudian regime, in works such as his *Ecclesia Vindicata* (1657).⁷³ His continued defence of a Laudian view of the Church, and indeed of the English Reformation, led him to attack Fuller's *Church History* (1655) for its supposed pro-puritan bias in his *Examen Historicum* (1659). However, his attack also revealed just how important cathedrals were within Heylyn's understanding of the English Reformation. Their absence from Fuller's account was the first thing to draw Heylyn's criticism. Outlining the mistakes and gaps of other contemporary ecclesiastical histories, Heylyn turned to Fuller's *Church History*, within which, Heylyn informed the reader,

we shall finde too little of the Church, and too much of the State ... It might be reasonably expected, that in a History of the Church of England, *we should have heard somewhat of the foundation and enlargement of Cathedral Churches*, if not of the more eminent Monasteries and Religious Houses; and that we should have heard somewhat more of the succession of Bishops in their several and respective Sees, their personal Endowments, learned Writings, and other Acts of Piety, Magnificence, and publick Interest.⁷⁴

For Heylyn, a true history of the English Church should include 'the foundation and enlargement' of cathedrals, thereby demonstrating their centrality – in Heylyn's eyes – to understanding English ecclesiastical history. This became particularly apparent in Heylyn's own historical works on the English Reformation.

While Drabble highlighted how Heylyn's historical works reflected key Laudian concerns of the 1630s, these were heightened by his experience of the Civil War and Interregnum. While the 1641 attacks on cathedrals elicited little emotional response from Fuller, Heylyn saw cathedrals' Interregnum fate as inherently intertwined – both in practice and in symbolic significance – with the fate of episcopacy. Heylyn's account of the 1641 debates defined the Root and Branch petition as being 'for [the] putting down all Bishops *and Cathedral Churches*'⁷⁵ and presented their defence as going hand in hand, with the presentation of

some Petitions from the Universities, in favour of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, without which, Learning must be destitute of its chief encouragements; and some Petitions from whole Counties, in behalf of Episcopacy, without which there was like to be no preservative against Sects and Heresies.⁷⁶

⁷³ ODNB, 'Heylyn, Peter (1599-1662)'. Peter Heylyn, *Ecclesia vindicata: or, The Church of England justified* (London, 1657).

⁷⁴ Heylyn, *Examen historicum*, sig. B3r. Italics mine.

⁷⁵ Heylyn, *Aerius redivivus*, p. 439. Italics mine.

⁷⁶ Heylyn, *Aerius redivivus*, p. 439.

For Heylyn, cathedrals and episcopacy played complementary roles in protecting orthodoxy, by respectively encouraging true learning and defending the Church against heresy.⁷⁷ Cathedrals were thus as significant to the Church as episcopacy, and opposition to them was repeatedly portrayed as an attack on the Church itself. Opposition to cathedrals was portrayed throughout Heylyn's histories – but especially in his history of the presbyterians, *Aerius Redivivus* – as a defining feature of the puritan character, from the early Reformation to the present day.⁷⁸ Attacks on cathedrals were also portrayed as leading, inevitably, to the destruction of parish churches. To target cathedrals was inevitably to strike at the foundations of Church order – a view which persisted into the Restoration period.⁷⁹ Even assaults against episcopal power under Edward VI were interpreted by Heylyn as an underhand attack on cathedrals. Recounting the Edwardian 'Act for Election of Bishops' of 1547, by which 'Bishops should be made by the King's Letters Patents, and not by the Election of the Deans and Chapters', Heylyn exposed not only how 'the Intent of the Contrivers was, by degrees to weaken the Authority of the Episcopal Order', but how,

though it seemed to aim at nothing; but that the Bishops should depend wholly on the King, for their preferment to those great and eminent Places: *yet the true Drift of the Design was to make Deans and Chapters useless, for the time to come, and thereby to prepare them for a Dissolution.*⁸⁰

By repeatedly charting and presenting opposition to cathedrals as attacks on the Church itself, Heylyn asserted cathedrals' ecclesiological place as fundamental to the reformed Church of England. His Reformation narrative further portrayed cathedrals as the showcases *par excellence* of the Elizabethan settlement, both ecclesologically and liturgically – a view he had helped propagate during the 1630s.⁸¹ This held contemporary polemical significance, for the Elizabethan Church represented the golden age to which the Laudians had sought to return.⁸² Delineating the outlines of this golden age, when Church government had been settled 'according to the practice of the best and happiest times of Christianity' and its doctrine 'reduced unto its ancient purity'⁸³, Heylyn wistfully noted:

⁷⁷ See above, chapters 1, 2 and 3, pp. 42-3, 58-9, 77, 115-6.

⁷⁸ See, for example, Heylyn, *Ecclesia restaurata*, p. 312; *Cyprianus anglicus*, p. 222; *Aerius redivivus*, pp. 162, 165, 258, 392, 439, 442, 449, 450, 452.

⁷⁹ See above, chapter 2, p. 88.

⁸⁰ Heylyn, *Ecclesia restaurata*, pp. 51-2. Italics mine.

⁸¹ See above, chapter 1, p. 49.

⁸² See especially Calvin Lane, *The Laudians and the Elizabethan Church: history, conformity and religious identity in post-Reformation England* (Brookfield, VT, 2013). This was particularly the case with regards the position of the altar and the Elizabethan Injunctions. See index entries for 'cathedrals, Elizabethan changes in' and 'Elizabethan Injunctions (1559)' in Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*.

⁸³ Heylyn, *Ecclesia restaurata*, p. 295.

Nor is it much to be admired, that such a general conformity to those antient usages *was constantly observed in all Cathedrals*, and the most part of the Parish Churches ... [and] presided by the Court it self.⁸⁴

Under Elizabeth, cathedrals had been the showcases and exemplars of conformity, presiding over parish churches and following the pattern of the Chapel Royal.⁸⁵ This Reformation narrative of cathedrals was most developed in *Cyprianus Anglicus*, his life of Laud. This is not surprising, as the Laudian programme relied so heavily on a particular reading of the Reformation. Cathedrals were not simply the ‘mother churches’ – a revival of medieval conceptions of Church order. Their practices, notably the erection of the east altar, were conceived of as remnants of England’s first reformation, from which the broader, puritan-tainted Church had departed.⁸⁶ Heylyn thus continuously presented cathedrals and their practices as having been instituted under Elizabeth, and Laud’s reforms as returning to this Elizabethan model.⁸⁷

The Long Parliament debates of 1641 reinforced Heylyn’s view of cathedrals as central to his understanding of ecclesiastical government.⁸⁸ Attacks on their liturgical practices similarly strengthened his appreciation of their devotional status as embodying the purity of England’s first reformation. However, the 1641 debates had also attacked cathedrals’ financial foundations (which would finally be dismantled in 1649).⁸⁹ Indeed, Heylyn’s account of these debates concluded by emphasising how

the issue ... was this, That though Cathedrals were unnecessary, and the Quire-men scandalous; *yet, that their Lands could not be alienated unto private persons, without guilt of Sacriledg.*⁹⁰

This reflected another key Laudian concern: the defence of the Church’s patrimony, particularly its financial privileges. Such a defence – and lament for its loss – was woven through Heylyn’s Laudian narrative of the English Reformation, and repeatedly established a parallel between it and the Interregnum. Yet within Heylyn’s narrative of the spoliation of the *Ecclesia*, cathedrals remained important. While opposition to cathedrals (as a defining feature of the puritan character) was presented as theological, it was more especially portrayed as financial or as financially-motivated. For Heylyn, as

⁸⁴ Heylyn, *Ecclesia restaurata*, p. 296. Italics mine.

⁸⁵ On the Chapel Royal, see Anthony Milton, “‘That sacred oratory’: religion and the Chapel Royal during the personal rule of Charles I”, in Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *William Lawes (1602-1645): essays on his life, times and work* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 69-96; Simon Thurley, ‘The Stuart kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal 1618-1685’, *Architectural History*, 45 (2002), 238-74; Parry, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation*, pp. 19, 108, 158-63.

⁸⁶ See, for example, Heylyn, *Cyprianus anglicus*, pp. 338, 473-4; *Aerius redivivus*, pp. 254, 464-5. See above, chapter 1, p. 49.

⁸⁷ See, for example, Heylyn, *Ecclesia restaurata*, pp. 295-6; *Cyprianus anglicus*, pp. 14-15, 435. Heylyn particularly asserted this connection between the Elizabethan model and early Stuart policy in response to Fuller’s account of the altar controversy. See Heylyn, *Examen historicum*, pp. 215-6.

⁸⁸ On an increased emphasis on cathedrals’ episcopal status under the Laudians, see above, chapter 1, pp. 53-5.

⁸⁹ On the process of dissolution, see Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, pp. 98-104.

⁹⁰ Heylyn, *Aerius redivivus*, p. 439. Italics mine.

for many Laudian polemicists, greed explained puritan opposition to cathedrals and the nobility's support for further reformation.⁹¹ Recounting Edward VI's reign, Heylyn spoke of how 'such was the Rapacity of the Times' that 'his Minority was abused to many Acts of Spoil, and Rapine (even to an high degree of Sacrilege) to the raising of some, and the enriching of others', including through 'the Dilapidating of the Patrimony of so many Bishopricks, and Cathedral Churches'.⁹² Similarly, Heylyn spoke of the Elizabethan courtiers' support for the puritans,

who knew how mightily some numbers of the Scots, both Lords and Gentlemen, had in short time improved their fortune, by humoring the Knoxian Brethren in their Reformation; and could not but expect the like in their own particulars, by a compliance with those men, who aimed apparently at the ruine of the Bishops and Cathedral Churches.⁹³

The Interregnum fate of cathedrals (particularly their financial fate) was read through the lens of the Reformation, both by stressing continued puritan greed, and by contrasting contemporary events negatively to the dissolution of the monasteries. Heylyn repeated Fuller's claim that 'It was in those days conceived highly injurious, to thrust Monks and Nuns out of House and Home, without assigning them any allowance for their subsistence'. Heylyn added that:

this may serve for the instruction (I will not say the reproach) of the present times, in which so many Bishops, Deans, and Prebendaries [in] no was obnoxious to any such scandalous accusations, have been thrust out of their Cathedrals without the allowance of one penny towards their subsistence.⁹⁴

Heylyn further lamented the acts of the Long Parliament, which had 'left the Cathedrals of this Land (not presently ruined I confess, but) without means to keep them up for the time to come'.⁹⁵ While Heylyn's account of the Reformation challenged the Interregnum's attack on cathedrals, it also demonstrated the work's early Restoration context.⁹⁶ Indeed, Heylyn's reference to 'the time to come' might have reflected his continued concern for cathedrals' financial settlement in the early 1660s. At the Restoration, Heylyn was actively involved, lobbying and petitioning to ensure that the Church's power and privileges would be restored and secured.⁹⁷ As Milton has argued, Heylyn's histories should be seen as 'further attempts to convey the urgent agenda for the Restoration church'.⁹⁸ Heylyn's interest in cathedrals' financial privileges throughout his account of the Reformation both critiqued the

⁹¹ Whitgift had similarly articulated this view, and it would continue to be widely held after the Restoration. See above, chapter 2, fn. 159, p. 88.

⁹² Heylyn, *Ecclesia restaurata*, p. 131.

⁹³ Heylyn, *Aerius redivivus*, p. 258.

⁹⁴ Heylyn, *Examen historicum*, p. 110.

⁹⁵ Heylyn, *Cyprianus anglicus*, p. 458.

⁹⁶ On recent scholarship's emphasis on the Restoration context of Heylyn's works, see above, pp. 143-4.

⁹⁷ See Milton, *Laudian and royalist polemic*, ch. 6.

⁹⁸ Milton, *Laudian and royalist polemic*, p. 197.

Interregnum regime and responded to early Restoration debates about the recovery of their assets. Indeed, the prospect of the restitution of these lands to their former capitular owners brought forth a flood of attacks on cathedrals, revealing the tenacity of earlier puritan views of cathedrals as corrupt institutions, built on impropriations and greed.⁹⁹

Although presented as a continuation of long-standing puritan enmity, Heylyn did not dismiss contemporary opposition as simply the expression of a long-standing prejudice. Instead he responded to financial critiques by defending cathedrals' financial settlement in his portrayal of the Henrician reforms. Unlike Spelman or Dodsworth, Heylyn showed little concern for the dissolution of the monasteries – despite it becoming, for many, the pinnacle of the Church's plundering at the Reformation.¹⁰⁰ As Drabble has highlighted, this was because Heylyn – the “bishop's darling” – saw in the monasteries ‘dependants of the Pope ... beyond episcopal control and therefore mere “excrescences upon the body of the Church”’.¹⁰¹ Instead, Heylyn focused on the Henrician project regarding bishoprics and cathedrals. What followed was a summary of the different cathedral foundations, and in particular the financial maintenance laid aside for them, with Henry ‘assigning ... unto every such Cathedrall, a competent number of Quiremen, and other Officers, *all of them liberally endowed and provided for*’.¹⁰² He further asserted the Protestant motives for such endowments, being designed partly to sustain cathedral schools ‘that the Church might be continually furnished with sufficient Seminaries’.¹⁰³ As Heylyn confidently asserted,

King Henry left the Church in many Respects, in a better condition then he found it; not only in order to the Reformation of Religion ... but also in the Polity and endowments of it.¹⁰⁴

While the spoliation of the Church was woven through Heylyn's narrative, his portrayal of Henry's endowment of cathedrals presented their financial provision as a deliberate policy, intrinsic to the Protestant Reformation, rather than as an unreformed leftover of the Catholic past. Although such a portrayal did not constitute an elaborate apology of cathedrals' place in the Church, it nonetheless asserted cathedrals' status and dignity, whose financial foundations were embedded in a Protestant vision of society.

⁹⁹ See above, chapter 2, pp. 87-8.

¹⁰⁰ Drabble, ‘Fuller, Heylyn and the Reformation’, pp. 176-7. On shifting attitudes to the dissolution of the monasteries in the early Stuart period, see Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, ch. 6, esp. pp. 310-21; Alexandra Walsham, “‘Like fragments of a shipwreck’: printed images and religious antiquarianism in early modern England”, in Michael Hunter (ed.), *Printed images in early modern Britain: essays in interpretation* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 87-109 (pp. 89-92); and Harriet Lyon, ‘The Memory of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, 1536-1700’, unpubl. PhD dissertation (University of Cambridge, 2018).

¹⁰¹ Drabble, ‘Thomas Fuller, Peter Heylyn and the English Reformation’, p. 177.

¹⁰² Heylyn, *Ecclesia restaurata*, p. 18.

¹⁰³ Heylyn, *Ecclesia restaurata*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁴ Heylyn, *Ecclesia restaurata*, p. 18.

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Fuller and Heylyn's opposing religious stances, and their different experiences of the Church's Interregnum fate, prompted very different conclusions about what aspects of the Church of England's Reformation legacy were worth defending as fundamental to its identity. Such conclusions were reflected in their portrayal of the Reformation past in their ecclesiastical histories. Fuller's relatively uninterested response to cathedrals' dissolution in the 1640s – and belief in their adiaphoric status¹⁰⁵ – meant that cathedrals were given no significant role in his account of the Reformation, either negatively as objects of particular corruption, or positively as centres of reform. Heylyn, by contrast, saw cathedrals on the same level as episcopacy as fundamental to the *esse* of the Church. As such, Heylyn's Reformation narrative elevated cathedrals as particular showcases of the Elizabethan settlement, the golden age of the Church on which the Laudians had modelled their programme of reform.

These two different understandings of cathedrals' place in the Church and its Reformation past reveal a spectrum of opinion among committed members of the Church of England – indeed among cathedral clergy!¹⁰⁶ – regarding cathedrals' significance and role. Atherton has argued that cathedrals' place within the Church was cemented by their very dissolution, thus not only assuring their return at the Restoration, but their emergence 'from the Revolution strengthened and with a renewed purpose at the heart of the church'.¹⁰⁷ Fuller's interest in cathedrals' materiality demonstrates how the experience of the 1640s and 1650s did lead to an increased awareness and interest in cathedrals as buildings (which chapter 5 will explore). However, Fuller and Heylyn's very different conclusions regarding cathedrals' *ecclesiological* significance – conclusions arising from that very experience of dissolution – shows that cathedrals' Interregnum fate did not generate the agreement – or concerted glorification – among royalists that Atherton implies.¹⁰⁸ On the contrary, the spectre of their dissolution caused different reflections and conclusions among royalists and members of the Church of England, which demonstrate just how controversial cathedrals remained. Such differences would, furthermore, continue into the Restoration period. Far from cementing cathedrals' place in the Church, their Interregnum fate only complicated it.

¹⁰⁵ On cathedrals and *adiaphora*, see above, chapter 1, p. 41.

¹⁰⁶ Heylyn was appointed to a prebendal stall in Westminster Abbey in 1631. On Westminster Abbey as a 'cathedral', with a key role in Laudian developments, see above, introduction, fn. 38, p. 7.

¹⁰⁷ Atherton, 'Cathedrals and the British Revolution', p. 115.

¹⁰⁸ On the evolution of royalist attitudes to cathedrals, from silence to glorification, see Atherton, 'Cathedrals and the British Revolution', pp. 109-10.

PART II: IN THE FACE OF ANTI-POPERY: GILBERT BURNET
AND THE DEFENCE OF CATHEDRALS DURING THE RESTORATION

Such differences would last throughout the Restoration period, and cathedrals would continue to be contested and attacked – albeit in print.¹⁰⁹ In particular, the virulent anti-poperY of the late 1670s and early 1680s prompted renewed awareness of the need to defend cathedrals’ Protestant potential and place within a reformed Church of England – a question with which the latitudinarian churchman Gilbert Burnet grappled in the first two volumes of his *History of the Reformation* (1679, 1681).

Born in Scotland in 1643, the son of a moderate episcopalian father and Presbyterian mother, Gilbert Burnet first began his career in Scotland, where he was ordained into the episcopal Church in 1661. He soon came under the patronage of John Maitland, second earl of Lauderdale, and Charles II’s powerful secretary of state in Scotland, who was promoting a policy of religious accommodation. By 1674, however, Burnet’s relationship with Lauderdale had so deteriorated that, fearing for his life, he permanently settled in London. Faced with powerful enemies at court as a result, Burnet nonetheless obtained two prominent positions in 1675: as chaplain to the Rolls Chapel and as lecturer at St Clement Danes. It was through the latter that Burnet developed close friendships with some of the leading latitudinarian churchmen of the day, who also held London benefices: William Lloyd, rector of St Martin-in-the-Fields, John Tillotson, dean of Canterbury and canon of St Paul’s, and Edward Stillingfleet, archdeacon of London from 1677.¹¹⁰ Without cure of souls, Burnet devoted his energy to preaching and writing, and in this context began work on the first two volumes of his *History of the Reformation* in late 1677.¹¹¹

The immediate prompt for this work was the publication of a new French translation of the Catholic Nicholas Sanders’ account of the English Reformation. Drabble, however, highlighted its broader context and ‘how it was aroused by the political and religious passions of the 1670s’.¹¹² Stirred up by Charles II’s Declaration of Indulgence of 1672, popular anti-poperY arose again when it became apparent in 1673 that the heir presumptive, James, Duke of York, had converted to Catholicism. Combined with growing fears of Catholic France’s expansionist ambitions under Louis XIV, anti-poperY would dominate – and define – national life for the next decade, provoking the feverish atmosphere of the Popish Plot and shaping the politics of the Exclusion Crisis into the early 1680s.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ On opposition to cathedrals during the Restoration period, see above, chapter 2, pp. 87-102.

¹¹⁰ *ODNB*, ‘Burnet, Gilbert (1643-1715)’. On the term ‘latitudinarian’, see above, introduction, pp. 28-9.

¹¹¹ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I (1679) and vol. II (1681).

¹¹² John Drabble, ‘Gilbert Burnet and the History of the English Reformation: The Historian and his Milieu’, *Journal of Religious History*, 12 (1983), 351-63 (p. 351). On Sanders’ account, see Christopher Highley, ‘“A Pestilent and Seditious Book”: Nicholas Sander’s *Schismatis Anglicani* and Catholic Histories of the Reformation’, in Kewes (ed.), *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, pp. 147-68.

¹¹³ See Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660–1688*, esp. ch. 8; Scott, ‘England’s Troubles: Exhuming the Popish Plot’; idem, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1683*; idem, *England’s Troubles*. For an

As Drabble has argued, Burnet's *History* (1679, 1681) – and indeed the republication of earlier Tudor and Stuart historical works – should be situated among the polemical activities of leading latitudinarian churchmen, who produced numerous anti-Catholic sermons and tracts during the 1670s in defence of the Church of England.

Recent work has portrayed Burnet's *History* as a rebuttal, not just to the Catholic Sanders, but to the Laudian Heylyn.¹¹⁴ Burnet's historical work can be seen as one way in which 'high' churchmen's vision of the Church was challenged during the Restoration (as chapter 2 has explored).¹¹⁵ However, such scholarship has emphasised internal divisions within the Church of England and, for Starkie, Burnet's work is evidence that Church party divisions pre-dated the Glorious Revolution – thereby emphasising continuity between the Restoration and post-revolutionary contexts.¹¹⁶ This view, however, downplays the broader religious context of the Restoration period – most importantly, the Church of England's relationship with dissent. Few have acknowledged how far ecclesiastical histories, such as Burnet's, were shaped by this nonconformist challenge, despite its importance to our understanding of the Restoration period.¹¹⁷ As this section seeks to show, Burnet's *History* not only responded to Catholic attacks on the Church of England, or rebutted 'Laudian' accounts of the English Reformation. It can also be seen as engaging with nonconformist critiques of the Church of England – particularly of cathedrals – heightened by the atmosphere of anti-popery of the 1670s, and during what De Krey called a 'crisis about reformation' in 1679-82.¹¹⁸

That concerns were – once again – raised during this outbreak of anti-popery regarding cathedrals' Protestant credentials is clear from broader publishing endeavours in this period.¹¹⁹ One example is a work by the churchman and Master of Balliol College, Thomas Good.¹²⁰ Written in 1674 as a series of dialogues between 'the sound Believer' and 'the doubting Sceptick Christian', it addressed in turn the issues of atheism, popery, and nonconformity – with Firmianus (the sound believer) slowly convincing

overview of the historiography on the 1670s, and for a different approach, see John Spurr, *England in the 1670s: 'This Masquerading Age'* (Oxford, 2000), p. x.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, O'Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation*, pp. 39-40; Starkie, 'Gilbert Burnet's *Reformation* and the Semantics of Popery', pp. 142-3; Spurr, "'A special kindness for dead bishops'", p. 326; Walsham, 'History, Memory, and the English Reformation', p. 934. On the use of the term 'high', see above, introduction, p. 28.

¹¹⁵ See above, chapter 2, pp. 84-7. For later critiques of Burnet's *History* by high or nonjuring churchmen, see Bodl., Ballard MS 12, fos 164-5: Dr George Hickes to Dr Arthur Charlett, April 13, 1708; fos 220-1: Dr George Hickes to Dr Arthur Charlett, March 1, 1715; Ballard MS 18, fos 79-80: Browne Willis to Dr Arthur Charlett, Nov. 26, 1713; fos 120-1: Browne Willis to Dr Arthur Charlett, Feb. 18, 1715.

¹¹⁶ Starkie, 'Gilbert Burnet's *Reformation* and the Semantics of Popery', p. 153. See also Starkie, 'Contested Histories of the English Church'.

¹¹⁷ Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*, p. 82.

¹¹⁸ De Krey, 'Reformation in the Restoration crisis, 1679-1682', p. 231. This is explored in greater detail above, chapter 2, pp. 93-6.

¹¹⁹ For conformist responses to nonconformist attacks on cathedrals in this period, see above, chapter 1, fn. 6, pp. 32-3.

¹²⁰ *ODNB*, 'Good, Thomas (1609/10–1678)'.

Dubitantius to turn from such heresies and return to the Church of England.¹²¹ In the dialogue ‘against Presbytery’, the ‘problem’ of cathedrals was raised, with key nonconformist arguments used by Dubitantius and – in turn – disproved by Firmianus. Yet, amidst Firmianus’ defence was a lamentation:

I could wish that some learned Person who has the advantage of Books, and well Studyed men to consult with, and leisure ... would write in the Vindication of Cathedrals, and manifest to this invidious age, that the institution of Deans and Chapters is very usefull to the Church, and very Antient ... and I do somewhat wonder that neither Bishop, Dean, or [C]anon (so far as I know) has hitherto vindicated these Churches, from those reproaches which have been cast upon them, by ignorant, spitefull, sacrilegious persons.¹²²

The inclusion of such a lengthy defence of cathedrals in a work against popery and nonconformity is striking. It reveals how far conformist writers acknowledged the necessity of defending both cathedrals’ Protestant credentials and their place within the Church of England, at a time of intense anti-popery, and when renewed anxiety over dissent called for the defence of the English Church and its reformation. That Hacket’s 1641 speech in defence of cathedrals was published in its entirety for the first time the following year (1675) further demonstrates the perceived need for a clear Protestant apology of cathedrals in this period.¹²³

Burnet’s *History* can be placed alongside such works, both for its defence of cathedrals’ Protestant credentials and for its rebuttal of their intrinsic popery. Indeed, Burnet repeatedly emphasised how English cathedrals had originally been staffed by secular, married clergy – only to be later expelled by Archbishop Dunstan in the tenth century and replaced with monks, who ‘gave themselves up to Idleness and Pleasure’.¹²⁴ All this changed, Burnet asserted, when learned men (such as Erasmus) exposed them ‘as having in their hands the chief encouragements of Learning, and yet doing nothing towards it’.¹²⁵ Burnet subsequently portrayed the Henrician reforms as returning to the primitive, pre-monastic purpose of cathedrals. Burnet proved that this was the purpose behind their retention by including the preambles to the 1539 and 1540 statutes concerning new bishoprics.¹²⁶ For while Whitgift’s answers to the *Admonition* in the 1570s were the earliest public defences of cathedrals,¹²⁷ these Henrician texts, buried within parliamentary papers, provided cathedrals with a clear – but often overlooked – statement of the Protestant purpose behind their survival.¹²⁸ This preamble to the Henrician act made clear

¹²¹ On the polemical genre of the dialogue, see Antoinina Bevan Zlatar, *Reformation Fictions: Polemical Protestant Dialogues in Elizabethan England* (Oxford, 2011).

¹²² Good, *Firmianus and Dubitantius*, pp. 123-4.

¹²³ Hacket, *A century of sermons*. On Hacket’s speech, see above, chapter 1, pp. 58-61.

¹²⁴ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, p. 22. For a response to Burnet on the point of clerical celibacy see Henry Wharton, *A treatise of the celibacy of the clergy* (London, 1688).

¹²⁵ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, p. 22.

¹²⁶ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, pp. 262, 300.

¹²⁷ On Whitgift’s defence of cathedrals, see above, chapter 1, pp. 41-4.

¹²⁸ See above, introduction and chapter 1, pp. 6, 35-6.

cathedrals' purpose in a Protestant Church: the preaching of God's word, the administration of the sacraments, the education of children, the giving of alms, and the training up of divines.¹²⁹ Furthermore, Burnet highlighted not only its being 'drawn by the King himself' but praised it as 'show[ing] his extraordinary application and understanding of business'.¹³⁰

Nonetheless, Burnet's account acknowledged contemporary concerns about cathedrals as unreformed institutions. Claydon has noted a similar dynamic in Burnet's depiction of foreign participation in the English Reformation, as both opposing the nonconformist view (which saw England as having strayed from the continental path) whilst 'also admit[ing] enough of the nonconformist's case'.¹³¹ In the case of cathedrals, Burnet's portrayal of their fate through the early Reformation both depicted the Henrician act as a return to a pre-Romish – and proto-Protestant – purpose, whilst also acknowledging the political reality. Indeed, Burnet underlined the repeated failures to implement this Reformation vision for cathedrals – failures brought on by human sin, greed and ambition.¹³² Underpinning Wolsey's 1519 bull for reforming the clergy, for instance, was Wolsey's intention 'to visit all the Monasteries of England, that so discovering their corruptions, he might the better justify the design he had to suppress most of them, and convert them into Bishopricks, Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches and Colledges'. However, this good design was thwarted by his fear of 'rais[ing] great hatred against himself'.¹³³

Worse in Burnet's eyes, however, was the failure to implement Cranmer's scheme in its entirety – which would have seen many more bishoprics and cathedrals created. Lamenting this failure, Burnet concluded that he 'kn[ew] nothing to which it can be so reasonably imputed, as the declining of Cranmers Interest at Court' due to the machinations of 'the Popish party'.¹³⁴ Yet it was on Henry VIII himself that Burnet lay the greatest blame, for

Now were all the Monasteries of England suppressed, and *the King had then in his hand the greatest opportunity of making Royal and Noble Foundations, that ever King of England had.* But whether out of policy to give a general Content to the Gentry ... or out of easiness to his Courtiers, or out of an unmeasured lavishness ... it came far short of what he had given out he would do, and what himself seemed once to have designed. ... *[of] eighteen Bishopricks and Cathedrals ... he only erected six.*¹³⁵

¹²⁹ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, p. 262. This is quoted in full above, chapter 1, p. 35.

¹³⁰ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, p. 262. The idea of the money gained from the dissolution of the monasteries being put to good use in cathedrals also appeared in Gilbert Burnet, *The unreasonableness and impiety of popery* (London, 1678), p. 35.

¹³¹ Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*, p. 81.

¹³² Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, pp. 20 (Wolsey), 190, 262, 301 (Cranmer), 269, 301 (Henry VIII).

¹³³ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, p. 20.

¹³⁴ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, pp. 262, 301.

¹³⁵ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, pp. 268-9. Italics mine.

However, this was only a failed Protestant potential and – far from dwelling on this – Burnet’s *History* asserted that cathedrals were a key means of reforming the Church – something he would continue to assert as bishop in the post-revolutionary Church.¹³⁶ Indeed, so strong was his belief in cathedrals’ reforming potential that his descriptions of Cranmer’s motives (with their emotionally charged language) seem to reflect Burnet’s own views. Cranmer was thus portrayed as ‘hop[ing] [that], upon new Endowments and Foundations, new Houses should have been erected at every Cathedral, to be Nurseries for that whole Diocess; which he thought would be more suitable, to the primitive use of Monasteries, and more profitable to the Church’.¹³⁷ While Burnet repeatedly emphasised how Cranmer’s scheme had been designed ‘as a great mean for Reforming the Church’,¹³⁸ he also detailed what he regarded as Cranmer’s vision:

he had projected that in every Cathedral there should be provision made for Readers, of Divinity, and of Greek, and Hebrew, and a great number of Students to be both exercised in the daily worship of God, and trained up in Study and Devotion; whom the Bishop might transplant out of this Nursery, into all the parts of his Diocess. And thus every Bishop should have had a Colledge of Clergy-men under his eye, to be preferred according to their merit: ... [Those] who observed things narrowly, judged that ... [*this would*] *had been one of the greatest Blessings that could have befallen the Church*: Which not being sufficiently provided of Houses for the Forming of the minds and manners of those who are to be received into Orders, has since felt the ill effects of it very sensibly. Against this, Cranmer had projected a Noble Remedy, had not the Popish party then at Court, who very well apprehended the advantages such Nurseries would have given to the Reformation, born down this Proposition, and turned all the Kings Bounty and Foundations another way.¹³⁹

This connection between cathedrals and reform also shaped Burnet’s portrayal of Catholics. Indeed, his explanation for the failure of Cranmer’s scheme was that the Popish party at court ‘very well apprehended the advantages such Nurseries would have given to the Reformation’ – and Burnet repeatedly merged opposition to the scheme with opposition to the Reformation.¹⁴⁰ However, it also led to his praising Cardinal Pole. The only positive character in Burnet’s account of the Marian period, it was:

¹³⁶ See above, chapter 3, pp. 111-3, 115, 117.

¹³⁷ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, p. 190. Italics mine.

¹³⁸ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, p. 262.

¹³⁹ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, p. 301. Italics mine.

¹⁴⁰ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, pp. 190, 301.

above all, that Design of his to have Seminaries in every Cathedral for the planting of the Diocess, [that] shews what a wise prospect he had of the right methods of recovering a Church, which was over-run, as he judged, with Heresie.¹⁴¹

Starkie has noted the non-juror Collier's praise for Pole's "essay towards a reformation" as an ecumenical moment which could have brought about reconciliation and reunion, had not Protestants rejected it.¹⁴² That the latitudinarian Burnet could praise this Catholic "essay" demonstrates how far cathedrals held particular ecclesiological significance in Burnet's understanding of the Church of England and her Reformation.¹⁴³ While the *History* is seen as responding to 'high' churchmen such as Heylyn, it should also be seen as engaging with nonconformist assumptions about cathedrals. Indeed, formulated at a time of virulent anti-popery (which had seen churchmen lament the lack of a clear apology of cathedrals) and when nonconformists were calling for further reformation,¹⁴⁴ Burnet's portrayal of cathedrals as an inherently Protestant means of reform should be seen as defending their continued significance in the Restoration Church of England.

PART III: AFTER SCHISM: JEREMY COLLIER AND CATHEDRALS

IN THE NONJURING VISION OF THE CHURCH

Heylyn and Burnet's histories of the Reformation both reflected, in different ways, their belief in the ecclesiological significance of cathedrals within the Church of England. They demonstrate how cathedrals' potential could be harnessed by two opposite groups within the Restoration Church, for very different theological purposes.¹⁴⁵ Both of these, however, were written before the passing of the 1689 Act of Toleration. Jeremy Collier's *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, published in two volumes in 1708 and 1714,¹⁴⁶ was not only written after this historic landmark, but presented a nonjuring view of the Reformation and of cathedrals' place within it.

Deprived for failing to swear the oaths to William and Mary at the Revolution, the churchman and polemicist Jeremy Collier (1650-1726) played an active role in writing against the revolution settlement

¹⁴¹ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. II, p. 326. On Pole's plan for setting up seminaries in cathedral closes to serve each diocese, see MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation*, p. 21. On Pole's policies in England more generally, see MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided*, pp. 282-4.

¹⁴² Collier, quoted in Starkie, 'Contested Histories of the English Church', p. 342.

¹⁴³ On Pole's reforms, notably his plan for cathedrals, see above, chapter 1, fn. 20, p. 35.

¹⁴⁴ De Krey, 'Reformation in the Restoration crisis, 1679-1682'.

¹⁴⁵ See also above, chapter 2.

¹⁴⁶ Jeremy Collier, *An ecclesiastical history of Great Britain, chiefly of England: ... to the end of the reign of King Charles the Second*, 2 vols (London, 1708-1714).

and defending the nonjuring cause. This concerned both political and ecclesiastical issues, particularly the Church's independence from the state – an issue provoked by the Williamite episcopal deprivations and appointments to the vacant sees. Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* presented a nonjuring vision of the English Church as free from both papal and royal interference, and portrayed the non-jurors as 'the representatives of an unchanging ecclesiastical tradition handed down from the early church'.¹⁴⁷

Scholarship on Collier has focussed almost entirely on his famous anti-theatrical work, *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (1698), and its contribution to debates on moral reform in the 1690s.¹⁴⁸ Little has been written on his *Ecclesiastical History*, including in accounts of early modern historical scholarship.¹⁴⁹ This partly flows from assumptions about the non-jurors' place within early modern society and culture. As C.D.A. Leighton has highlighted, non-jurors have often been understood – and indeed re-moulded – as precursors to the high church Anglicans of the nineteenth century, thereby isolating them from their late Stuart and early Hanoverian context.¹⁵⁰ Recent work, however, has reintegrated the non-jurors into their contemporary context. Leighton has explored the non-jurors' distinct intellectual place within the Counter-Enlightenment.¹⁵¹ Mark Goldie and Brent Sirota have demonstrated the influence of nonjuring works in shaping high church thought, notably in the Convocation and Occasional Conformity controversies.¹⁵² Such work has also demonstrated the centrality of historical thought in the writings of the non-jurors.¹⁵³ While Leighton has noted how this preoccupation was consistent with that of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century churchmen, he has nonetheless argued that the consistency of 'their commitment to historical argumentation' distinguished them from their contemporaries.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁷ ODNB, 'Collier, Jeremy (1650-1726)'.

¹⁴⁸ On moral reform and the reformation of manners, see above, chapter 3, fn. 5, p. 105. The literature on Collier's *A Short View* is vast, but recent work includes Matthew J. Kinservik, *Disciplining Satire: The Censorship of Satiric Comedy on the Eighteenth-Century London Stage* (Lewisburg and London, 2002), ch. 1; P.A. Skantze, *Stillness in Motion in the Seventeenth-Century Theatre* (London and New York, 2003), ch. 5; Mark S. Dawson, *Gentility and the Comic Theatre of Late Stuart London* (Cambridge, 2005), ch. 10; Gilli Bush-Bailey, *Treading the Bawds: Actresses and playwrights on the Late-Stuart stage* (Manchester and New York, 2006), ch. 6; Gómez-Lara, 'The Politics of Modesty: the Collier Controversy and the Societies for the Reformation of Manners'; Lisa A. Freeman, 'Jeremy Collier and the politics of theatrical representation', in Michael Corder and Peter Holland (eds), *Players, Playwrights, Playhouses: Investigating Performance, 1660-1800* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 135-51; Timothy Neufeldt, 'Music, Magic, and Morality: Stage Reform and the Pastoral Mode', in Kathryn Lowerre (ed.), *The Lively Arts of the London Stage, 1675-1725* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 129-48; Lisa A. Freeman, *Antitheatricality and the Body Public* (Philadelphia, PA, 2017), ch. 2.

¹⁴⁹ For instance, O'Day's chapter on 'Interpretations of the Reformation from Fuller to Strype' does not contain an account of Collier. O'Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation*, ch. 2.

¹⁵⁰ C.D.A. Leighton, 'The Non-Jurors and their History', *Journal of Religious History*, 29 (2005), 241-57.

¹⁵¹ Leighton, 'The Non-Jurors and their History', p. 244.

¹⁵² Mark Goldie, 'The nonjurors, episcopacy, and the origins of the Convocation controversy', in Eveline Cruickshanks (ed.), *Ideology and conspiracy: aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 15-35; Brent S. Sirota, 'The occasional conformity controversy, moderation, and the Anglican critique of modernity, 1700-1714', *HJ*, 57 (2014), 81-105. On the influence of nonjuring thought on the broader high church movement, see Sirota, *The Christian Monitors*, ch. 4.

¹⁵³ Robert D. Cornwall, 'Divine Right Monarchy, Henry Dodwell's Critique of the Reformation and Defense of the Deprived Nonjurors Bishops', *A&EH*, 68 (1999), 37-66.

¹⁵⁴ Leighton, 'The Non-Jurors and their History', pp. 252, 253.

The importance of historical thought to non-jurors, along with a greater appreciation of their relation to high churchmen has meant that existing work on Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* has sought to compare it with the ecclesiastical histories of conforming historians. This has been done, firstly, by comparing Collier's account with that of his low church contemporaries Burnet and Strype,¹⁵⁵ and secondly, by treating Heylyn and Collier as part of the same 'clericalist and Catholic tradition' of historical writing.¹⁵⁶ While some scholars have noted how the post-revolutionary context shifted Laudian theological positions, both Heylyn and Collier's concern for the spiritual independence of the clergy and the power of the episcopate has led to the assumption that they shared the same ecclesiology.¹⁵⁷ The importance of ecclesiological questions to nonjuring historical scholarship has been explored by Robert Cornwall, who demonstrated how their accounts of the early Church's diocesan system cemented their view of episcopal power as inherently tied to dioceses, thereby contributing to the defence of the deprived bishops.¹⁵⁸ While Laudian and later Restoration 'high' churchmen had defended a diocesan understanding of episcopacy, both had also seen in cathedrals the 'mother churches' of the diocese and the seats of episcopal power. However, by looking at Collier's depiction of cathedrals in his *Ecclesiastical History* (and in contrast to Heylyn's) it becomes apparent that the events of 1688-9 did, in fact, see a shift in ecclesiology among those Restoration 'high' churchmen who found themselves unable to swear the oaths of allegiance.

Whilst one might expect Collier and other non-jurors to share Heylyn's high view of cathedrals, Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* denied cathedrals any ecclesiological significance within the Church. Throughout his narrative, cathedrals appeared either as burial places, repositories of history or as sites of public penance.¹⁵⁹ They especially appeared as objects of episcopal benefaction in those entries recording bishops' deaths, whether in relation to their foundations, repairs or ornamentation. Indeed, these episcopal entries repeatedly include the designation: 'a considerable Benefactor to his Cathedral'.¹⁶⁰ By portraying cathedrals in this manner, Collier emphasised their status as physical spaces, either to be ornamented and furnished, or in which ceremonies unfolded.¹⁶¹ Not only are cathedrals less often portrayed as living communities, but they are often distinguished from the episcopal sees themselves.¹⁶² For instance, recounting the baptism of King Edwin and his nobles in the

¹⁵⁵ MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', p. 4; Starkie, 'Contested Histories of the English Church'.

¹⁵⁶ MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', p. 4; Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*, pp. 99-100, 106.

¹⁵⁷ See, for example, Leighton, 'The Non-Jurors and their History', p. 245.

¹⁵⁸ Cornwall, 'Divine Right Monarchy, Henry Dodwell's Critique of the Reformation and Defense of the Deprived Nonjurors Bishops'.

¹⁵⁹ See, for example, Collier, *An ecclesiastical history*, vol. I, pp. 111, 203, 210, 218, 622.

¹⁶⁰ See, for example, Collier, *An ecclesiastical history*, vol. I, pp. 94, 111, 121, 213, 238, 244, 265, 271, 281, 293, 294, 304, 313, 316, 317, 321, 327, 339, 340, 440, 465, 490, 562, 622, 667, 683; vol. II, p. 32.

¹⁶¹ For nonjuring churchmen's continued interest in cathedral worship after 1689, see, for example, Bodl., Ballard MS 12, fos 160-1: Dr George Hicckes to Dr Arthur Charlett, Oct. 11, 1707; fos 213-4: Dr George Hicckes to Dr Arthur Charlett, May 30, 1714.

¹⁶² See, for example, Collier, *An ecclesiastical history*, vol. I, pp. 48, 85, 265.

seventh century in St Peter's church in York, Collier noted how 'the King gave Paulinus a Seat for the Bishop's See; and soon after his Baptism, he began a much larger Building of Free-stone, for the Cathedral'.¹⁶³ Collier's narrative heightened the distinctness between 'the Bishop's See' and its seat, which in itself appeared almost as separate from the 'much larger Building of Free-stone'.

Collier's medieval narrative gave cathedrals no ecclesiological significance in and of themselves. This was particularly evident in his account of the division of parishes in the eleventh century. As with Dodwell's account of the third-century establishment of dioceses,¹⁶⁴ Collier used the eleventh-century creation of parishes to assert the bishop's independent power over parish churches, their titles and revenues.¹⁶⁵ However, while Laudian and Restoration churchmen had used such episodes to assert cathedrals' historic status as 'mother churches',¹⁶⁶ Collier's account did not, focussing instead on the bishop's position at the centre of the diocese. A second episode, the tenth-century ejection of the secular cathedral clergy, offered another example of Collier's uninterest in cathedrals. Burnet had used this episode to exemplify the growth of 'Monkery' in the medieval English Church.¹⁶⁷ Yet Burnet had also inserted this episode to highlight the aim of the Reformation itself as a harkening back to a pre-monastic, almost proto-Protestant, vision of cathedrals. Collier, by contrast, argued that 'if the Monks had any Legal Title to these places, we must not complain of their ejecting the secular Clergy'.¹⁶⁸ Although he did recognise that 'a fair Claim is more than they could make out in several places' (notably at Ely, Worcester and Winchester) Collier's account did not focus on the theological dimension of this ejection, as Burnet had, but on its legality.¹⁶⁹

Furthermore, unlike Heylyn or Burnet, Collier did not portray cathedrals as endowed with a clear role at the Reformation. On the 1539 Act for new bishoprics, Collier simply provided a transcript of the Henrician preamble to the act, reporting how, 'For these publick Reasons the King thought it necessary that more Bishopricks, Collegiate and Cathedral Churches, should be erected in the room of the Monasteries dissolv'd'.¹⁷⁰ No explanatory framework was provided, in which cathedrals' Protestant potential was asserted or drawn attention to. Furthermore, the conversions of priors and convents into deans and chapters were recorded as individual acts, rather than recounted as a single event – a portrayal which would have endowed it with an overarching purpose.¹⁷¹ Finally, Collier's account of ecclesiastical laws drawn up under Edward VI drew attention to cathedrals' status as anomalies in the ecclesiastical order, falling between the jurisdiction of rural deans and archdeacons, and that of

¹⁶³ Collier, *An ecclesiastical history*, vol. I, p. 85.

¹⁶⁴ Cornwall, 'Divine Right Monarchy, Henry Dodwell's Critique of the Reformation and Defense of the Deprived Nonjurors Bishops'.

¹⁶⁵ Collier, *An ecclesiastical history*, vol. I, pp. 229-30.

¹⁶⁶ See above, chapter 2, p. 81.

¹⁶⁷ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, pp. 21-2.

¹⁶⁸ Collier, *An ecclesiastical history*, vol. I, p. 190.

¹⁶⁹ Collier, *An ecclesiastical history*, vol. I, p. 190.

¹⁷⁰ Collier, *An ecclesiastical history*, vol. II, p. 172.

¹⁷¹ See, for example, Collier, *An ecclesiastical history*, vol. II, pp. 92, 184.

bishops.¹⁷² Collier's Reformation narrative gave no ecclesiastical significance to cathedrals as central to the Church and its reform.

While Collier himself never asserted cathedrals' ecclesiological significance, he was aware of their importance for others. Recounting the offering of spiritual preferments to secular men under Edward VI, Collier stated that the gift of cathedral preferments was 'less capable of excuse', as 'these Dignitaries were design'd for a standing Council to the Bishop; and oblig'd to several Duties in the Cathedral peculiar to the Priestly Function', and that these 'were always reckoned the Revenues of the Church, design'd as Incouragements for Industry and Learning, and Rewards for those who had distinguish'd themselves in publick Service'.¹⁷³ While such statements gave cathedrals a significant role within the Church, Collier's account however derived from Burnet's, whom he referred to in the margin.¹⁷⁴ Collier also included Matthew Parker's response to Elizabeth's opposition to married cathedral clergy and 'A Defence of Pluralities' – two documents which acted as apologies of cathedrals' Protestant potential as centres of preaching, learning and as exemplars to the wider Church.¹⁷⁵ Yet in both cases, these clear statements of cathedrals' purpose in a reformed Church took the form of original documents, quoted by Collier without annotation or commentary. That Collier was aware of the ecclesiological significance of cathedrals, yet did not endorse it himself, is particularly evident from his account of the 1635 scheme for new cathedrals statutes and of Laud's reforms at Canterbury. He clearly recognised the deep ecclesiological significance of cathedrals in the Laudian vision of the Church, speaking of how 'The Archbishop went on to the Regulation of Cathedrals, *for a Precedent to the rest*'. Yet, he simultaneously undermined it, concluding that 'By these Appointments we may collect how far this Cathedral had warp'd towards Puritanism, and gone off from the Rules of the Church' – thereby subverting the Laudian insistence that cathedrals had remained pure from later religious developments.¹⁷⁶

Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* had been composed 'to justify the Reformation of ... [the Church of England]'.¹⁷⁷ Yet, unlike Heylyn's account, this defence gave cathedrals no place in the Church and its reformation. Such differences over cathedrals between Restoration 'high' churchmen and post-revolutionary non-jurors have been obscured, firstly, because of their shared concern for the Church's independence and the diocesan power of its bishops (which has led to a belief in a shared ecclesiology); and secondly, by scholars collapsing the distinction between dioceses and cathedrals. Cornwall, for instance, has spoken of how Dodwell 'claimed the laity [in the Cyprianic Church] ... had no authority over the church and its leadership, including the right of excluding bishops from their dioceses *or*

¹⁷² Collier, *An ecclesiastical history*, vol. II, p. 330.

¹⁷³ Collier, *An ecclesiastical history*, vol. II, p. 219.

¹⁷⁴ See Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. II, pp. 8-9.

¹⁷⁵ Collier, *An ecclesiastical history*, vol. II, pp. 472-3.

¹⁷⁶ Collier, *An ecclesiastical history*, vol. II, pp. 761-2. Italics mine.

¹⁷⁷ Collier, *An ecclesiastical history*, vol. II, p. iv.

cathedrals'.¹⁷⁸ However, Dodwell's argument in *A vindication of the deprived Bishops* (1692) only referred to dioceses. His subsequent *Defence of the vindication of the deprived bishops* (1695) did mention cathedrals, however.¹⁷⁹ Arguing that 'The Laity cannot now pretend to any Indirect Right of depriving Bishops', Dodwell made clear that

[Bishops'] Consecrations and Eucharists *are not now confined to Cathedrals*, as the Sacerdotal Acts of the Jewish Priesthood were to the Temple, *but are equally valid, where ever they are exercised within their ow[n] Jurisdictions. This hinders them from being perfectly useless when they are excluded from Cathedrals.* Nor has God fixed upon any particular Places, to which he has confined his own acceptance of them under the Gospel. But as we have seen from Ignatius ... the one acceptable Altar now follows the one Bishop, not the Bishop the Altar.¹⁸⁰

While Dodwell, as Cornwall explored, clearly connected bishop and diocese, this did not mean an assertion of the bishop's connection to the cathedral. However, this had not always been Dodwell's position. Writing in 1683 in response to Baxter on the question of bishops in the early English Church, Dodwell had denied that these had been presbyters, asserting that Bede had 'call[ed] them both Bishops, and acknowledge[d] that *they had a Cathedral, and a Diocese*'.¹⁸¹ Dodwell, like other Restoration 'high' churchmen, had asserted cathedrals' importance in defining episcopal power.¹⁸² However, after the nonjuring schism, and in light of episcopal deprivations, non-jurors such as Collier and Dodwell began to disconnect episcopal power from the cathedral proper – however much their Laudian instincts might have ecclesiologicaly elevated the cathedral. As with Fuller, whose experience of the Interregnum had led to his discounting cathedrals' ecclesiological importance in favour of episcopacy, Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* demonstrates the extent to which the events of 1688-9 similarly led to a redefinition of nonjuring high churchmen's ecclesiological understanding of the Church.¹⁸³ While contemporaries repeatedly connected cathedrals and their clergy with the nonjuring and Jacobite causes, nonjuring churchmen discounted the ecclesiological significance of cathedrals in their view of episcopal power, choosing instead to place their hopes in the diocesan system.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁸ Cornwall, 'Divine Right Monarchy, Henry Dodwell's Critique of the Reformation and Defense of the Deprived Nonjurors Bishops', p. 54.

¹⁷⁹ Henry Dodwell, *A vindication of the deprived Bishops, asserting their spiritual rights against a lay-deprivation, against the charge of schism* (London, 1692); idem, *A defence of the vindication of the deprived bishops* (London, 1695).

¹⁸⁰ Dodwell, *A defence of the vindication of the deprived bishops*, p. 75. Italics mine.

¹⁸¹ Henry Dodwell, *A discourse concerning the one altar and the one priesthood insisted on by the ancients in their disputes against schism* (London, 1683), sig. D2r. Italics mine.

¹⁸² See above, chapter 2, p. 81.

¹⁸³ This did not necessarily entail that deprived nonjuring churchmen ceased to be emotionally attached to their cathedral. See, for example, LPL, MS 3171, p. 148: Dr George Hickes to Dr Thomas Ken, Oct. 24, 1699; Bodl., Ballard MS 12, fos 177-8: Dr George Hickes to Dr Arthur Charlett, March 9, 1710.

¹⁸⁴ See above, chapter 3, fn. 23, p. 108.

PART IV: IN THE DENOMINATIONAL MARKETPLACE: JOHN STRYPE AND
CATHEDRALS IN THE POST-1689 CHURCH OF ENGLAND

The shift evident in Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* reveals the fluidity of ecclesiological conceptions of cathedrals in the face of specific ecclesiastical and polemical challenges. However, the fate of Collier and other non-jurors was just one dimension of what Tyacke has called the later seventeenth century's 'shifting balance of theological forces', which also led to latitudinarian dominance in the Church after the Glorious Revolution.¹⁸⁵ While Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* demonstrates the impact this 'Laudian' defeat had on historical, ecclesiological thought, the scholarly publications of the low church historian John Strype (1643-1737) offer a conformist perspective and similarly reveal – in his treatment of cathedrals – the impact of this latitudinarian victory.

Born in London in 1643, the historian John Strype's ancestors had fled persecution in Brabant and settled in England as drapers and silk weavers, where his father (van Strijp) was naturalised. Growing up in a family with strong nonconformist connections, he was deeply influenced by his Master, John Lightfoot, during his time at Cambridge – a presbyterian minister during the Interregnum, who later conformed in 1662. Strype would follow, being ordained into the Church of England in 1666, and – whilst a moderate low churchman – would come to view nonconformists as schismatics.¹⁸⁶ This deep love for the reformed Church of England, which he regarded as 'established by divine providence working through the Reformation', would shape his historical and biographical works.¹⁸⁷ His 'chance encounter' with the archives of the Cecil family would provide the impetus behind his biographies of Cranmer (1694), Aylmer (1701), Grindal (1710), Parker (1711) and Whitgift (1718), as well as his four volume *Annals of the Reformation* (1709-31) and three volume *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (1721).¹⁸⁸ Through them, Strype sought '[t]o make us value and esteem, as we ought, our Reformed Religion', providing a 'zealous Defence of the Church of England, as Reformed and legally Established' in the period after the Glorious Revolution and the Act of Toleration.¹⁸⁹

While Collier has been seen as part of the same 'clericalist and Catholic tradition' as Heylyn, scholars have paralleled Strype with Burnet as representing the rival 'moderate' 'historiographical

¹⁸⁵ Tyacke, 'From Laudians to Latitudinarians'. On the use of these terms, see above, introduction, pp. 28-9.

¹⁸⁶ ODNB, 'Strype, John (1643–1737)'; O'Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation*, pp. 43-4.

¹⁸⁷ O'Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation*, p. 44.

¹⁸⁸ John Strype, *Cranmer*; idem, *The history of the life and acts of the most reverend father in God, Edmund Grindal* (London, 1710) [hereafter, *Grindal*]; idem, *The life and acts of Matthew Parker, the first Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1711) [hereafter, *Parker*]; idem, *The life and acts of the Most Reverend Father in God, John Whitgift* (London, 1718) [hereafter, *Whitgift*]; idem, *Ecclesiastical memorials*; idem, *Annals of the Reformation and establishment of religion, and other various occurrences in the Church of England*, 4 vols (London, 1709-1731).

¹⁸⁹ Strype, *Cranmer*, p. iii; *Parker*, p. i.

stream'.¹⁹⁰ Indeed, Strype's depiction of cathedrals' Henrician past was indebted to Burnet's reading. On Henry VIII's Act for new bishoprics, Strype continued Burnet's positive portrayal of the dissolution, by which 'the King did some real good for Religion and Learning with all this Treasure' by erecting six new bishoprics.¹⁹¹

The Benefit that accrued to the Church hereby, was very great. For the Church having more Bishops, the Flock of Christ might be better regarded. And the Canons in each Cathedral, being a Society of learned Men, well seen and grounded in Religion, were to assist the respective Bishops, the Heads of the Diocese, in all good and wholesome Consultations, and to preach the Gospel, and convince Errors and Heresies, and to keep Hospitality.¹⁹²

Although more explicit than Burnet in endorsing cathedrals' role in upholding orthodoxy, Strype similarly emphasised their significance as centres of education and preaching and as 'Nurseries of Learning for the use of the whole Diocese'.¹⁹³ Like Burnet, Strype lamented the failure to implement the scheme more widely,¹⁹⁴ and saw this act as bringing Henry 'great Renown'. Quoting from Edmund Scambler, Bishop of Peterborough's letter to Elizabeth, Strype asserted that "this his Majesty's most famous Work, of erecting Cathedral Churches ... was and is the Beauty of his Reformation and Religion, and the greatest Benefit next to the Doctrine of the Gospel it self, that the Church of God in his Realm, received at his most Royal Hands; far exceeding all other Acts, that were done by any of his Progenitors before him, and surmounting all that is like to be done in any time to come".¹⁹⁵ Strype followed Burnet both in asserting cathedrals' Protestant potential, and their important part in implementing the Reformation.

However, although Burnet and Strype were contemporaries, to consider their work solely in parallel collapses the distinction between the pre-revolutionary volumes of Burnet's *History* (1679, 1681) and the post-revolutionary publications of Strype. His engagement with cathedrals reveals a subtle but distinct shift as a result of the events of 1688-9 on historical conceptions of the Reformation and cathedrals' place within it. Firstly, the latitudinarian 'victory' affected how the relationship between bishops and cathedrals was conceived. Although Burnet had described the cathedrals as places which 'every Bishop should have ... under his eye' that 'the Bishop might transplant out of this Nursery, into all the parts of his Diocese', this relationship was not central to his account of the Reformation (being

¹⁹⁰ MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', p. 4; Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*, pp. 83-5, 99-100, 106; Walsham, 'History, Memory, and the English Reformation', p. 934.

¹⁹¹ Strype, *Ecclesiastical memorials*, vol. I, pp. 349-51 (p. 349).

¹⁹² Strype, *Ecclesiastical memorials*, vol. I, p. 350.

¹⁹³ Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 35-6, 75.

¹⁹⁴ Strype exclaimed, 'But alas!'. Strype, *Ecclesiastical memorials*, vol. I, p. 350.

¹⁹⁵ Edmund Scambler, Elizabethan Bishop of Peterborough, quoted in Strype, *Ecclesiastical memorials*, vol. I, p. 350.

predominantly magisterial).¹⁹⁶ Strype's works, by contrast, emphasised the centrality of this relationship to the religious upheavals of the sixteenth century.

Throughout his works, Strype portrayed Cranmer, Parker, Grindal and Whitgift, and the sixteenth-century bishops more generally, as the 'pastors' of their cathedral.¹⁹⁷ In particular, when noting confirmations of episcopal elections, Strype repeatedly recorded them as elected, confirmed or translated as 'Bishop *and Pastor* of the Cathedral Church of...'.¹⁹⁸ Strype further depicted this close relationship by portraying visitations and episcopal preaching as signs of a bishop's particular care for his cathedral. Speaking of Bishop Freke of Norwich, for instance, Strype spoke of his actions as 'another Instance of the Paternal Care of this Bishop, in respect of his Church of Norwich'.¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, Strype's particular interest in cathedrals' financial privileges, the disputes surrounding them, and bishops' role in defending them, further depicted the close relationship between bishop and cathedral in financial terms, with bishops upholding the financial settlement of their cathedrals.²⁰⁰

While this emphasis on the episcopal relationship with the cathedral derived partly from Strype's use of the biographical genre, it could also be seen as reflecting the impact of the events of 1688-9 – notably the latitudinarian 'victory' – in shaping ecclesiological perceptions. The deprivation of nonjuring clergy and the appointment by William of latitudinarian churchmen to the episcopal bench (for whom pastoral ministry was central to their sense of calling) might explain this depiction of bishops as 'pastors' of their cathedral. However, it also demonstrates how cathedrals had become intertwined with episcopacy in portrayals of the Church's identity – albeit in a very different way to Restoration 'high' churchmen's episcopal view of cathedrals.²⁰¹ This is particularly apparent when comparing Fuller and Strype.

Fuller's *Church History* had emphasised episcopacy, especially the Church's sixteenth-century bishops, in response to puritan attacks in the Long Parliament. The context for Strype's biographies was similar to that of Fuller in responding to attacks on the Church's Reformation bishops. As O'Day has observed, '[t]he Reformation once again became the focus for heated debate in the early years of the eighteenth century', when the high church preacher Henry Sacheverell published his sermon, *The Perils of False Brethren, both in Church, and State* (1710). In it, Sacheverell had denounced contemporary low church bishops who upheld the Act of Toleration (notably Archbishop Tenison) under the guise of

¹⁹⁶ Burnet, *The history of the reformation*, vol. I, p. 301.

¹⁹⁷ On bishops as 'pastors', see Strype, *Parker*, pp. 53, 54, 302; *Whitgift*, pp. 106-8.

¹⁹⁸ Italics mine. See, for example, Strype, *Whitgift*, pp. 215, 216, 245, 287, 399, 430, 487, 496, 497, 515, 518, 525, 553, 557, 584.

¹⁹⁹ Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, p. 584. Italics mine. For other examples, see Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, p. 22.

²⁰⁰ For Strype's interest in the revenues of cathedrals, see *Ecclesiastical memorials*, vol. II, pp. 87-8; *Annals*, vol. II, pp. 210-1, 601; *Annals*, vol. III, pp. 546-50. On bishops' particular concerns for their cathedrals' financial privileges, see, for example, Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 136-7.

²⁰¹ See above, chapter 2, p. 81.

an attack on the Elizabethan archbishop, Edmund Grindal.²⁰² Having already published his life of Cranmer, Strype published his biography of Grindal (1710) ahead of his *Life of Parker* (1711) as a rebuttal to Sacheverell's account. Strype was clear that these works should 'reconcile a high Respect and Esteem both to the Church of England and its Hierarchy of Archbishops and Bishops'.²⁰³ Unlike Fuller, however, Strype's depiction of the close relationship between bishop and cathedral may demonstrate how cathedrals had become more important to the Church's understanding of her Reformation legacy.

Although displaying the hallmarks of Burnet's ecclesiological understanding of cathedrals – one reinforced by the events of 1688-9 – Strype's account nonetheless drew attention to cathedrals' less idealistic Reformation pasts, thereby highlighting the limitations of this latitudinarian 'victory'. Although Burnet had similarly acknowledged nonconformist concerns and demonstrated the greed, corruption and idleness behind the failure to implement Cranmer's entire cathedral scheme, Burnet had located this failure outside of cathedrals themselves, while repeatedly proclaiming cathedrals' Protestant potential as centres of reform. Strype, by contrast, located failure and division *within* the cathedrals. They were consistently portrayed as sites of dispute, contention and opposition to the Reformation.²⁰⁴ Such a view was reinforced by Strype's consistent inclusion of detailed accounts of cathedral visitations.²⁰⁵ While these illustrated the depth of episcopal care for the cathedral, they also highlighted the reality of the Reformation and the need 'to correct the Superstitions of this Church, and to inspect *even Bishops and Cathedrals themselves*'.²⁰⁶ Strype detailed citations and proceedings made against cathedral clergy and included episcopal injunctions, thereby drawing attention to continued corruption and superstition, and to delays in implementing reforms within the cathedrals.

While these examples focussed on cathedrals as imperfect communities, Strype also depicted cathedrals as ecclesiastical institutions whose very foundations continued to be but half-reformed. He repeatedly noted various (arch)bishops' attempts to draw up new cathedral statutes, the existing ones being 'either none at all, or imperfect, being made at such time as the Crown and Regiment of the Realm was Subject to the foreign usurped Authority of the See of Rome'.²⁰⁷ Yet while depicting cathedrals as imperfect communities and unreformed institutions, Strype did not portray cathedrals as isolated islands in the turmoil of religious change. Strype repeatedly noted the lament of Reformers that "there were

²⁰² ODNB, 'Strype, John (1643–1737)'; O'Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation*, p. 42.

²⁰³ Strype, *Parker*, p. v. Italics mine.

²⁰⁴ See, for example, Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 22, 111; *Parker*, p. 103; *Whitgift*, p. 356; *Ecclesiastical memorials*, vol. II, p. 69; *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 401-2, 556-7; *Annals*, vol. II, pp. 326-8. Strype also used cathedral examples to illustrate more broadly the difficulties surrounding the implementation of the Reformation in England. See, for example, Strype, *Ecclesiastical memorials*, vol. I, p. 167.

²⁰⁵ See, for example, Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 147; *Grindal*, pp. 59-60, 61-2, 211-5; *Parker*, pp. 71-4, 246-50, 303-5; *Whitgift*, pp. 101-6, 504; *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 168-70.

²⁰⁶ Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 32-3.

²⁰⁷ Strype, *Grindal*, p. 209. See also Strype, *Parker*, pp. 342-3; *Whitgift*, pp. 106-8, 242; *Annals*, vol. I, p. 80; *Annals*, vol. III, pp. 110-2.

[no] good Men in the Cathedral Churches” and that “the Realm wanteth Light in such Churches, whereas of right it ought most to be” – thereby highlighting churchmen’s belief in cathedrals’ significance for the wider Church.²⁰⁸ For Strype, cathedrals were not simply centres driving reform, but were themselves caught up in the struggles of reformation.

The events of 1688-9 and the latitudinarian ‘victory’ (re)asserted a conception of bishops as ‘pastors’ of the cathedrals. However, the failure of Williamite bishops such as Burnet to implement changes which would have concretised a vision of cathedrals as centres of reform similarly re-shaped the depiction of cathedrals’ Reformation pasts.²⁰⁹ While Burnet’s *History* had celebrated cathedrals’ potential as Protestant pillars in a national reformation, the experience of challenges and divisions within the post-revolutionary Church meant that Strype’s account was more attuned to the difficulties and opposition surrounding cathedral reform, thereby reflecting a nuancing (if not a loss of confidence) in Burnet’s straightforward reading of cathedrals. Nonetheless, the conclusion to Strype’s first volume of the *Annals* demonstrates how far cathedrals’ place had become established in understanding the Church and its history after 1689. Closing his account of the first twelve years of Elizabeth’s reign, Strype concluded that the Church and its Reformation had,

By [this] Time ... arrived to a good Consistency and Establishment; and had in some good Measure got the better of those that laboured to shake it and make it totter, nay to overturn it: and became also furnished (especially the Mother Churches) with learned and able Pastors and Ministers. For which I shall produce the Testimony of a very knowing man in those Times.²¹⁰

What followed, was Whitgift’s defence of cathedrals, taken from his response to the *Admonition*, where he had asserted that under Elizabeth, “there was never time wherein these Churches were better furnished with wise, learned and godly men, than they were at that Day”.²¹¹ Strype’s narrative of the Reformation, and his portrayal of cathedrals within it, demonstrated how far cathedrals’ place within ecclesiastical histories – already promoted by Heylyn and Burnet during the Restoration – had become a feature of the genre after 1689. Furthermore, although Strype’s ‘Burnetine reading of the sixteenth century’ represented a partisan view of the Church’s Reformation history,²¹² his interest in cathedrals’ revenues (and bishops’ defence of them) seems to attest to the lasting influence of Heylyn’s concern

²⁰⁸ Bishop Hooper, quoted in Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 218. Also included in the appendix, *Cranmer*, p. 136.

²⁰⁹ On the failure of Williamite bishops to implement this vision, see above, chapter 3, p. 121.

²¹⁰ Strype, *Annals*, vol. I, p. 591.

²¹¹ Whitgift, *An ansvere to... An admonition to the Parliament*, quoted in Strype, *Annals*, vol. I, p. 591. On Whitgift’s defence of cathedrals, see above, chapter 1, pp. 41-4.

²¹² Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*, p. 83.

for the Church's patrimony.²¹³ This suggests that certain interpretations of cathedrals' pasts (once highly polemical) had become enshrined in historical writing and across church parties.²¹⁴

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The historical writings of Thomas Fuller, Peter Heylyn, Gilbert Burnet, Jeremy Collier and John Strype embodied different readings of the English Reformation and of cathedrals' place within it. However, they also demonstrate that historical writing was a discourse through which the recurring question of cathedrals' survival in a Protestant world was grappled with, in very different polemical contexts. Composed during the 1640s and 1650s, Fuller and Heylyn's histories show how the experience of the Church's Interregnum fate did not lead to a coherent or shared conception of cathedrals' ecclesiological significance within the Church.²¹⁵ While Heylyn saw cathedrals as intertwined with episcopacy – notably in upholding orthodoxy – Fuller did not, as evidenced in his ambivalence to their dissolution. These differences would persist into the Restoration period, as is apparent in Heylyn and Burnet's accounts – thereby questioning the idea that cathedrals' place was assured or settled in 1660-2. However, Burnet's *History* also demonstrates that historical writing provided a discourse through which to defend cathedrals' Protestant credentials against nonconformist attack – presenting cathedrals as centres of reform, a vision he would seek to implement as bishop in the post-revolutionary Church (as chapter 3 explored).

The passage of the Act of Toleration affected how cathedrals were understood, both within the contemporary Church and historically. Collier's depiction of cathedrals in his *Ecclesiastical History* highlights the impact of the 'Laudian' defeat in reshaping nonjuring ecclesiology. The experience of episcopal deprivations led non-jurors to discount the ecclesiological significance of cathedrals in their view of episcopal power. Strype's work, by contrast, reflected the effect of the latitudinarian 'take-over' of the ecclesiastical hierarchy after 1689. While offering a 'Burnetine reading of the sixteenth century',²¹⁶ Strype's depiction of cathedrals as not simply centres of reform, but as caught up in the struggles of reformation reflected the experience of challenges and division within the post-revolutionary Church – possibly the failure of attempts by latitudinarian churchmen such as Burnet to implement cathedral reform.²¹⁷ While Collier and Strype's histories illustrate how different conceptions of cathedrals continued to be propagated after the Act of Toleration, Strype's works demonstrate that

²¹³ See also Strype's concern for sacrilege. Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 176.

²¹⁴ On cathedrals' ceremonial worship becoming (similarly) more widely accepted after 1689, see above, chapter 3, pp. 125-33.

²¹⁵ This should be distinguished from developments which did see cathedrals' *antiquarian* significance develop during (and in response to) the Interregnum years. This is discussed below, chapter 5.

²¹⁶ Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*, p. 83.

²¹⁷ See above, chapter 3, p. 121.

there was a shift regarding attitudes to cathedrals following 1689, where certain interpretations of cathedrals' pasts – once highly polemical – had become accepted readings in a denominational world.

CHAPTER 5: THE DEVELOPMENT OF CATHEDRAL ANTIQUARIANISM
AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY, c.1660-c.1730

Writing in 1590, the separatist Henry Barrow saw in the nation's medieval cathedrals 'idols' which 'cannot be clensed', nor 'used to the worship of God, nor [for] any civil use', for 'the idolatrous shape so cleaveth to everie stone'.¹ Publishing in the royalist newsbook *Mercurius Rusticus* during the Civil War, the minister Bruno Ryves took the opportunity of recording acts of sacrilege perpetrated against cathedrals to narrate their histories, recounting – in the case of Canterbury Cathedral – how

This Church built in old time ... by the faithfull and beleeving Romans, and by King Ethelbert given to Augustine, in processe of time needed the like pietie to susport it, as at first built it, & works of that nature in those dayes did not long lye neglected for want of Benefactors ... and the pietie of succeeding Bishops ... brought it to this magnificence and splendor in which wee now see it. But what our forefathers thought Religion to build up, we, their degenerous posterity, think Pietie to pull downe.²

While diametrically opposed in their religious beliefs, Barrow and Ryves both believed that history's physical remnants somehow embodied the values of the past. For Barrow, England's cathedrals embodied the superstition and idolatry of the Middle Ages. For Ryves, the cathedral fabric stood for the piety, charity and devotion of past ages, in stark contrast to his own day.³ For Barrow and Ryves, as for many of their contemporaries, the past's materiality was central to how it was understood and engaged with. However, they also demonstrate how far attitudes towards the medieval past and its remnants (such as cathedrals) shifted during this period.

As has already been discussed, scholars have pointed to the impact of the Reformation in shaping early modern historical scholarship.⁴ Scholars have also highlighted the importance of physical remains in prompting and inspiring antiquarian endeavours, with Angus Vine speaking of the 'recuperative impulse' of early modern antiquarianism.⁵ As Margaret Aston has noted, monastic ruins were important in 'stimulating consciousness of the past and in promoting historical activity' during the sixteenth

¹ Barrow, *A Brief Discoverie*, p. 83.

² Bruno Ryves, *Mercurius rusticus, or, The countries complaint of the murthers, robberies, plunderings, and other outrages committed by the rebells on His Majesties faithfull subjects* ([Oxford], 1643-44; repr. 1646, 1647, 1685, 1723). It was also reissued under a different title in 1648, which will be the version referred to in this chapter: Bruno Ryves, *Angliae ruina: or, Englands ruine* ([London], 1648), p. 204. On Ryves' account of cathedral iconoclasm, see Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, pp. 204-6; Atherton, 'Cathedrals and the British Revolution', pp. 110-1.

³ Ryves, *Angliae ruina*, p. 204.

⁴ See above, chapter 4, pp. 139-40.

⁵ See Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past*, part III; Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2010), p. 5; Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011), esp. ch. 7.

century.⁶ Despite this, attitudes to these ruins remained conflicted, even within antiquarian studies. As Alexandra Walsham has demonstrated, such remains ‘could serve a valuable admonitory function’, standing as visible reminders of the medieval Church’s corruption and of ‘a legitimate and divinely sanctioned revolution’.⁷ Such attitudes, however, changed as a result of several developments. The first was James I’s accession in 1603, which provided the necessary distance to reassess the Tudor legacy and with it, the sixteenth-century Reformation. The second was the Laudian ascendancy within the Church of England. Laudian emphasis on the material context of worship, along with their appreciation for the Church’s Catholic identity further enabled early Stuart antiquarians to re-evaluate the medieval past as displaying signs of vitality, piety and charity – as embodied in its architectural remains, including cathedrals.⁸

The threat of renewed iconoclasm in the 1640s ‘galvanise[d] [further] the antiquarian endeavours of ... [this] generation of antiquaries’, more sensitive to the remains of the medieval past.⁹ It was within this context that ‘the first monograph on an English cathedral’ was published: the Warwickshire antiquarian William Dugdale’s *History of St Paul’s Cathedral* (1658).¹⁰ While scholars such as Marion Roberts have portrayed it as a significant landmark in antiquarian studies, becoming ‘a model for later antiquaries in the study of medieval buildings’,¹¹ others have emphasised its religious significance. Its focus on the capital’s cathedral at a time when the episcopal Church of England was abolished has been seen as the ‘celebration of ... a building that had become a charged political and religious symbol’, becoming a ‘rallying ground[...] for Anglicans in the time of their persecution’.¹² Furthermore, Atherton has placed Dugdale’s *History* (and its engravings by Wenceslaus Hollar) alongside Bruno Ryves’ *Mercurius Rusticus* and Daniel King’s cathedral prints as evidence that ‘The Interregnum witnessed not only a focus on the meaning of ruined cathedrals, but a renewed interest in their pre-war state’.¹³ The 1640s and 1650s are thus seen as leading to an increased interest in cathedrals’ materiality,

⁶ Aston, ‘English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past’, p. 231.

⁷ Walsham, “‘Like fragments of a shipwreck’”, pp. 89-90.

⁸ Aston, ‘English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past’, p. 231; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, ch. 6 (esp. pp. 310-21); Walsham, “‘Like fragments of a shipwreck’”, p. 91.

⁹ Walsham, “‘Like fragments of a shipwreck’”, p. 92. See also Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, p. 236; Marion Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar: History Illustrated* (Newark, NJ and London, 2002), p. 73.

¹⁰ Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, pp. 73, 103. William Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral in London, From its Foundation untill these Times: Extracted out of Original Charters, Records, Leiger Books, and other Manuscripts. Beautified with sundry Prospects of the Church, Figures of Tombes, and Monuments* (London, 1658), sig. A3v. Hereafter, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral*, first ed.

¹¹ Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, pp. 73, 103. For an overview of architectural historians’ view of the *History*, see idem, p. 73.

¹² Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, pp. 18, 234-5, 239; Jan Broadway, “‘The honour of this Nation’: William Dugdale and the *History of St Paul’s* (1658)”, in McElligott and Smith (eds), *Royalists and Royalism during the Interregnum*, pp. 194-213 (p. 194); Walsham, “‘Like fragments of a shipwreck’”, p. 95.

¹³ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, pp. 112-3. See also Daniel King, *The cathedrall and conventuall churches of England and Wales orthographically delineated by D.K.* ([London], 1656); Edward Benlowes, *On St. Paul’s Cathedral represented by Mr. Dan. King* ([London], 1658). On Hollar’s prints, see Graham Parry, ‘Wenceslaus Hollar, the antiquarians’ illustrator’, *Ariel*, 3 (1972), 42-52; Margery Corbett, ‘The Title-Page and Illustrations to the *Monasticon Anglicanum* 1655-1673’, *The Antiquaries’ Journal*, 67 (1987), 102-

which is itself perceived as evidence for cathedrals' status as markers of an emerging 'Anglican' identity.

Despite these important claims – both in terms of cathedrals, religious identity, and antiquarian scholarship – no one has investigated fully the impact of the *History of St Paul's* or works of cathedral history in the period following the Restoration. Although recent work by Jan Broadway has sought to trace the Restoration afterlife of Dugdale's *History* (notably his preparation of a second edition),¹⁴ little interest has been shown in works of cathedral history between the *History* and the publications of Browne Willis in the 1720s and 1730s.¹⁵ Even works on the eighteenth century, such as Rosemary Sweet's, say little about cathedral antiquarianism *per se*: Browne Willis' works are discussed as works on 'ecclesiastical antiquities', and cathedrals themselves only appear as objects of preservation, rather than study.¹⁶

This chapter will seek to provide a survey of works of cathedral history from the publication of Dugdale's *History of St Paul's* (1658) until c.1730. The aim of this chapter is twofold. First, it seeks to investigate claims that the 1640s and 1650s led to an increased awareness and interest in cathedrals as buildings (as distinct from the question of whether the Interregnum established cathedrals' ecclesiological significance).¹⁷ Part I will consider this question through the lens of three printed works (from the 1590s, mid-1620s and Restoration) on formerly monastic cathedrals. Part II will address it through the lens of four manuscript collections (from the 1650s, Restoration and post-revolutionary period), exploring engagement with cathedrals as antiquarian objects. Second, this chapter will consider how the development and evolution of cathedral antiquarianism illuminates the findings of chapters 1-3. This will be addressed in part III, which will use the first (1658) and second (1716) editions of Dugdale's *History of St Paul's* as a lens through which to consider evolving traits within cathedral antiquarianism between c.1660 and c.1730 and what these reveal about attitudes to cathedrals, religious identity, and the impact of the Act of Toleration.

10; Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, ch. 4; Ralph Hyde, 'Images of St Paul's', in Keene, Burns and Saint (eds), *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London, 604-2004*, pp. 317-34; Walsham, "'Like fragments of a shipwreck'"; Judith Collard, 'Esmond de Beer, Wenceslaus Hollar, and William Dugdale: The Antiquarian Recording of Old St Paul's', *Parergon*, 32 (2015), 65-91. On King, see John Ingamells, 'King's cathedrals', *Leeds Art Calendar*, 71 (1972), 4-10.

¹⁴ Broadway, "'The honour of this Nation': William Dugdale and the *History of St Paul's* (1658)".

¹⁵ See notably Fernie, 'The Cathedral Monograph: a History and Assessment'.

¹⁶ Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London and New York, 2004), pp. 104-5, 243-5, 287-9. Neither do 'cathedrals' appear in the index as a category.

¹⁷ See above, chapters 2 and 4, pp. 142-55.

PART I: FROM MONASTIC TO CATHEDRAL: THE LEGACY OF THE CIVIL WAR
AND THE RISE OF THE PRINTED CATHEDRAL HISTORY

While cathedrals had engaged antiquarian interest since the sixteenth century, such interest only appeared in broader antiquarian works. William Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury* (1640), which Parry considers 'the first book devoted to the intensive study of an English cathedral', was framed as an urban history.¹⁸ Similarly, while Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655, 1661, 1673) recorded entries for Canterbury, Rochester, Winchester, Durham, Peterborough, Ely, Gloucester, Worcester, Wells, Exeter and Norwich, interest in these churches derived from their histories as religious houses, not from their status as cathedral churches.¹⁹ In both cases, cathedrals were investigated and understood either as places within a city or county, or because of their monastic pasts. It was not until Dugdale's *History of St Paul's* (1658) that cathedrals became objects of antiquarian study in their own right.

This section will consider the only three printed works of cathedral history published during the Restoration period (all of them posthumously): John Davies' translation of *The Ancient Rites, and Monuments of the Monastical & Cathedral church of Durham* (1672), written in the 1590s;²⁰ Robert Hegge's *The Legend of St Cuthbert, with the Antiquities of the Church of Durham* (1663), written in c.1625;²¹ and Simon Gunton's *The History of the Church of Peterburgh* (1686), written in the mid-1660s to mid-1670s.²² Interestingly, all three are simultaneously works of monastic *and* cathedral history. Durham had been one of England's eight monastic cathedrals, while Peterborough, an abbey, was one of the six monastic churches elevated to cathedral status under Henry VIII.²³ Both were

¹⁸ Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, p. 182. On Somner, see *idem*, pp. 181-9. For an account of a cathedral within a county history, see, for example, William Lambarde, *A perambulation of Kent* (London, 1576).

¹⁹ William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 3 vols (London, 1655-73), vol. I.

²⁰ On the dating of *The Rites*, see below, fn. 25, p. 178.

²¹ On the dating of Hegge's *Legend*, see *ODNB*, 'Hegge, Robert (1597?-1629)'; Sarah Scutts, "'Truth never needed the protection of forgery': Sainthood and Miracles in Robert Hegge's 'History of St. Cuthbert's Churches at Lindisfarne, Cuncacestre, and Dunholme' (1625)", *SCH*, 47 (2011), 270-83 (n. 1, p. 270).

²² On the dating for Gunton's *History*: the last bishop entered in Gunton's account was Joseph Henshaw, who was installed on 28 May 1663 (and remained in office until his death in 1679). The last dean listed was James Duport, who was installed on 27 July 1664 (also in office until 1679). As Gunton died in 1676, *The History* must have been written sometime between 1664 and 1676. See Simon Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh... And set forth By Symon Patrick, D.D. now Dean of the same* (London, 1686), pp. 85, 90.

²³ On the different categories of cathedrals at the Reformation, see above, introduction, pp. 5-6.

On Durham Cathedral in the late Middle Ages and early Reformation, see, for example, William Page (ed.), *Victoria County History: Durham*, 3 vols (London, 1905-28), vol. III, *A History of the County of Durham* (1928), pp. 93-136; S.L. Greenslade, 'William Whittingham, dean of Durham, 1524-79', *Durham University Journal*, 8 (1946), 28-36; Richard B. Dobson, 'English monastic cathedrals in the fifteenth century', *TRHS*, 1 (1991), 151-72; David Michael Loades, 'Monastery into chapter: Durham, 1539-1559', in Diana Wood (ed), *Life and Thought in the Northern Church, c.1100-c.1700* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 315-35; Joyce M. Horn, David M. Smith and Patrick Mussett, 'Durham: Introduction', in *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857*, 11 vols (London, 1969-2004), vol. XI, *Carlisle, Chester, Durham, Manchester, Ripon, and Sodor and Man Dioceses* (2004), pp. 67-9; Geoffrey Moorhouse, *The Last Office: 1539 and the Dissolution of a Monastery* (London, 2008); Brown (ed.), *Durham Cathedral*.

therefore churches with multiple identities, having been (either simultaneously or at different times) monastic and cathedral churches. The aim of this section is twofold. Firstly, it will consider these texts within their context of composition, in order to explore how these churches' monastic identities were portrayed in relation to their cathedral identities from the late sixteenth to later seventeenth century – thereby investigating whether the 1640s and 1650s did indeed see a shift, leading to a growing antiquarian interest in cathedrals *as cathedrals*. Secondly, it will consider these texts within their published Restoration context – which itself strengthens this claim for an increased interest. This editorial framework highlights the interests of the Restoration public – a public for whom the experience of Civil War had shaped an awareness and appreciation of the cathedral as an antiquarian 'object'. I will briefly consider what this reveals more generally about attitudes to cathedrals during the Restoration period.²⁴

1. THE RITES AND MONUMENTS

Dated to around 1593, *The Ancient Rites, and Monuments of the Monastical & Cathedral church of Durham* was most probably compiled by the Durham antiquary William Claxton (1530–1597). Scholars have suggested that the text's sympathetic tone might be explained by its being drawn from older sources (perhaps even from oral testimonies) from one or more members of the Durham monastic community shortly after the dissolution, and/or by Claxton's own Catholicism.²⁵ Written in Latin, it was first translated and published in 1672 by the Welsh antiquary John Davies, who acquired a manuscript of the text, possibly from his friend, the Durham poet John Hall.²⁶ While existing in slightly

On Peterborough Abbey and its elevation to cathedral, see, for example, R.M. Serjeantson and W.R.D. Adkins (eds), 'Houses of Benedictine monks: The abbey of Peterborough', in *Victoria County History: Northamptonshire*, 5 vols (London, 1902-2002), vol. II, *A History of the County of Northampton* (1906), pp. 83-95; W.T. Mellows (ed.), *Peterborough Local Administration: The Foundation of Peterborough Cathedral AD 1541* (Kettering, 1941); idem (ed.), *Peterborough Local Administration: The Last Days of Peterborough Monastery* (Kettering, 1947); Dorothy Owen, 'From monastic house to cathedral chapter: the experiences at Ely, Norwich and Peterborough', in Marcombe and Knighton (eds), *Close Encounters*, pp. 4-17; Joyce M. Horn (ed.), 'Peterborough: Introduction', in *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857*, 11 vols (London, 1969-2004), vol. VIII, *Bristol, Gloucester, Oxford and Peterborough Dioceses* (1996), pp. 111-2.

²⁴ These questions will be dealt with in more detail below, part III, pp. 191-205.

²⁵ ODNB, 'Claxton, William (1530–1597)'. On the manuscript sources for Davies' and later editions of *The Rites*, see *A Description or Breife Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites, and Customes Belonginge or Beinge within the Monastical Church of Durham Before the Suppression. Written in 1593*, ed. James Raine (London, 1842), pp. vii-xv; Diana Newton, *North-East England 1569-1625: Governance, Culture and Identity* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 147-49. See also Allan Doig, 'Sacred Space: Liturgy and Architecture at Durham Cathedral', in *Historic Churches: The Conservation and Repair of Ecclesiastical Buildings*, 18 (2011), 39-42. On the Claxton authorship, see A.I. Doyle, 'William Claxton and the Durham chronicles', in James P. Carley and Colin G.C. Tite (eds), *Books and Collectors, 1200-1700* (London, 1997), pp. 335-55 (esp. pp. 347-9); ODNB, 'Claxton, William (1530–1597)'.

²⁶ John Davies, *The ancient rites, and monuments of the monastical, & cathedral church of Durham* (London, 1672). ODNB, 'Davies, John (1625–1693)'.

variant manuscript copies, all present the rites, customs and monuments of the church of Durham as they stood before the dissolution.²⁷

For Diana Newton, *The Rites*' depiction of the church's 'flourishing condition' on the eve of the Reformation reflects the work's 1590s context, when north-eastern economic and military hardship led to 'a concerted effort to recover the 'glories' of Durham's past'.²⁸ Indeed, *The Rites* recreated the late medieval church in painstaking detail, leading the reader through the church space and dwelling along the way on the beauty and craftsmanship of its ornaments, fabrics and utensils, as well as on its monuments and inscriptions. Interwoven with this spatial progression were accounts of processions, customs and rituals – all of which combined to present the church in its 'flourishing condition' as a deeply layered and ritualised sacred space.²⁹ However, as Davies' dedicatory epistle to James Mickleton,³⁰ a lawyer and native of Durham, made clear, *The Rites* was not only 'an account of ... [the church's] flourishing condition' but also a 'most satisfactory prospect ... of [its] Ruines'.³¹ That this account was, inevitably, one of loss and absence is reinforced by the church's depiction as an intrinsically monastic space.³² Throughout the text, the reader is lulled by the rhythm of monastic devotion and ritual.³³ Although describing the more prominent or visually striking aspects of monastic life, *The Rites* also captured the repetition and routine, recording, for instance, how the monks 'put on their Vestments in the Revestry' as they 'went to say, or sing high Mass', and how 'Cressets of earthen metal, fill'd with Tallow ... were lighted every Night when Day was gone ... burn[ing] till break of Day next Morning'.³⁴ These almost poetic insights into the monastic community captured the loss of an entire way of life dismantled at the dissolution.

While bishops appeared as a strong, recurring presence in the church's history, *The Rites*' account of the 'church of Durham' was almost entirely monastic, both in the loss it lamented and in the memories it resurrected. Bishops were portrayed as agents of change and consolidation, and as the church's founders, builders and patrons.³⁵ Their presence permeated the church interior, and the reader's attention was repeatedly drawn to their portraits (on funerary brasses and in glass windows) and to their pious lives (as recorded on their tombs).³⁶ However, this presence can be partly explained by Durham's

²⁷ *A Description or Breife Declaration of... the Monastical Church of Durham*, ed. Raine, pp. x-xii. For one variation, see, for example, idem, pp. 91-102.

²⁸ Davies, *The ancient rites*, sig. A2r. Newton, *North-East England 1569-1625*, p. 148.

²⁹ On this medieval layering of architecture, liturgy and devotion, see, for example, Emma J. Wells, 'Making 'Sense' of the Pilgrimage Experience of the Medieval Church', *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture*, 3 (2011), 121-46; Doig, 'Sacred Space: Liturgy and Architecture at Durham Cathedral'.

³⁰ John Hall, the manuscript's owner, was Mickleton's brother in law. See *A Description or Breife Declaration of... the Monastical Church of Durham*, ed. Raine, p. xv.

³¹ Davies, *The ancient rites*, sig. A2r.

³² On the sense of loss, see, for example, Davies, *The ancient rites*, pp. 11, 18, 44, 47, 49, 66, 70, 110-1, 122.

³³ This is almost always recounted in the past tense. See, for example, Davies, *The ancient rites*, p. 2.

³⁴ Davies, *The ancient rites*, pp. 5, 14.

³⁵ See, for example, Davies, *The ancient rites*, pp. 68, 73-4, 75, 76, 77, 80, 111-22.

³⁶ See, for example, Davies, *The ancient rites*, pp. 3, 24-6, 30, 31-2, 68, 82-3, 85-6, 93-4, 98.

unique institutional history, in which the bishop and monks formed one body as the congregation of St Cuthbert.³⁷ The bishops' presence, therefore, did not undermine the monastic nature of the community so much as reinforce its power and prestige. The fact that the church was only referred to as a cathedral three times further demonstrates how *The Rites'* interest in the church was for its monastic significance.³⁸ That cathedrals' monastic pasts were still being promulgated in this way in the 1590s adds significance to Whitgift's vision of a Protestant cathedral ideal, as investigated in chapter 1.³⁹ Not only was Whitgift responding directly to puritan critiques, but he was having to offer an equally attractive vision of communal life and religious purpose to that propagated by *The Rites*.

2. ROBERT HEGGE'S *LEGEND OF ST CUTHBERT*

Composed in c.1625, *The Legend of St Cuthbert, with the Antiquities of the Church of Durham* (1663) was written by Robert Hegge, a native of Durham.⁴⁰ While several manuscript versions survive, all focus on St Cuthbert and his role in the development of Christianity in the north-eastern counties.⁴¹ Sarah Scutts has seen it as a product of early Stuart interest in the Anglo-Saxon Church and its saints, while Walsham has highlighted its association of hagiographic legends with the landscape.⁴² Indeed, Hegge's account gave prominence both to saints and to the spatial specificity of Cuthbert's life and miracles, charting the wanderings of the Lindisfarne monks (with Cuthbert's body) through the northern landscape. However, as the title suggested, this work was also introduced as touching on 'the Antiquities of the Church of Durham' – 'antiquities' in the sense not only of material remains, but of earlier customs, events or records.⁴³ The narrative was therefore presented as an intrinsic part of the cathedral's history and identity and Hegge portrayed the church of Durham as deriving its significance from Cuthbert's life and miracles, particularly the veneration of his relics.⁴⁴ This was captured in his account

³⁷ See, for example, William Greenwell, *Durham Cathedral* (Durham, 1932; first publ. 1881), p. 19. See, for example, Davies, *The ancient rites*, pp. 108, 110.

³⁸ See Davies, *The ancient rites*, pp. 95, 112 (x 2). The other references to 'cathedral' were made by Davies.

³⁹ See above, chapter 1, pp. 41-4.

⁴⁰ Robert Hegge, *The legend of St. Cuthbert with the antiquities of the Church of Durham* (London, 1663). On Hegge, see Philip Pattenden, 'Robert Hegge, an Oxford antiquary', *Oxoniensia*, 45 (1980), 284-99; idem, 'Robert Hegge of Durham and his St Cuthbert', *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland*, 5 (1980), 107-23; *ODNB*, 'Hegge, Robert (1597?-1629)'; Newton, *North-East England 1569-1625*, p. 148; Simon Webb, 'Introduction', in Robert Hegge, *The Legend of St Cuthbert; in a Modern English version by Simon Webb*, ed. Simon Webb (Durham, 2009; kindle ed.); Scutts, "'Truth never needed the protection of forgery'".

⁴¹ On the Durham copy, see Pattenden, 'Robert Hegge, an Oxford antiquary'.

⁴² Scutts, "'Truth never needed the protection of forgery'", pp. 270-2; Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*, pp. 480-1.

⁴³ See 'Antiquity, n.', *OED*, definitions 6 and 7. That Hegge might be envisaging this broader definition might be gleaned from Hegge, *The legend of St. Cuthbert*, p. 2. For a discussion on the titles of the various versions, see below, p. 185.

⁴⁴ On early modern persistence in the veneration of St Cuthbert, see, for example, Rosamund Oates, "'For the lacke of true history': Polemic, Conversion and Church History in Elizabethan England', in Nadine Lewycky and

of the monks' flight from Danish incursions, when the prospect of losing Cuthbert's body during a storm at sea led Hegge to mockingly observe: 'Where had then been the Church of Durham ...?'⁴⁵

As this comment reveals, Hegge's account – unlike *The Rites* – followed traditional Protestant narratives of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in which the Church was shown to have 'gradually [fallen] prey to Rome's encroaching corruption'.⁴⁶ Cuthbert was portrayed as deceitful and hungering after power, while the crowds of believers, gathering to witness his miracles and venerate his relics, were shown as credulous and deluded. Although the church was repeatedly (and negatively) presented as Cuthbert's church, it was also portrayed as inherently monastic, being referred to either as 'the church of Durham' or as an 'abbey', one plagued by corruption and idolatry 'till Henry 8th. sent that Earthquake among Monasteries and Sepulchres of the Saints'.⁴⁷

However, Hegge's account also sought to emphasise the church's episcopal identity – though one subverted during the Middle Ages. Although its bishops were portrayed as endowing the church and raising it to glory,⁴⁸ they were secondary figures to Cuthbert and his monks, whose greed, deceit and lies defined the medieval history of the church.⁴⁹ Whereas *The Rites* used the bishops' presence to reinforce the power and prestige of the monastic community, Hegge distinguished between these and portrayed the contemporary Church of the mid-1620s as returning the church to its true, episcopal identity. Himself exposed to nascent Arminianism during his time in Oxford, Hegge clearly saw the Laudian era as reasserting the cathedral's status and glory as an episcopal see, no longer subjected to the authority of the monks, and in which

the Reverend Bishop now Incumbent, under whom the Church of Durham seemes to renew her age, and take a new lease of her Eternity, which for the internal beauty of her high Altar, Cathedral musick, sacred laver, and other ornaments may challenge her sister. Churches for Priority.⁵⁰

This exemplifies chapter 1's conclusions regarding a growing Laudian emphasis on cathedrals' episcopal status.⁵¹ However, the church itself was only referred to as a cathedral three times in the entire work.⁵² The focus remained on the figures of Cuthbert and the bishops. This suggests that, while the

Adam Morton (eds), *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 133-52 (esp. pp. 151-2).

⁴⁵ Hegge, *The legend of St. Cuthbert*, p. 40.

⁴⁶ Scutts, "Truth never needed the protection of forgery", p. 271.

⁴⁷ Hegge, *The legend of St. Cuthbert*, pp. 65, 75-6.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Hegge, *The legend of St. Cuthbert*, pp. 69-70.

⁴⁹ See, for example, Hegge, *The legend of St. Cuthbert*, pp. 15-6, 29-30, 41, 45, 46-7, 52-3, 54-7, 69.

⁵⁰ Hegge, *The legend of St. Cuthbert*, p. 92.

⁵¹ See above, chapter 1, pp. 53-5.

⁵² See Hegge, *The legend of St. Cuthbert*, pp. 11, 59-60, 92. It is used a fourth time symbolically, pp. 39-40.

Laudian Church did see an increased interest in cathedrals as episcopal sees, it was the experience of the 1640s and 1650s which reified cathedrals as objects of antiquarian interest.⁵³

3. GUNTON'S *HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF PETERBURGH*

Composed during the 1660s or 1670s, the *History of the Church of Peterburgh* was written by one of the cathedral clergy, Simon Gunton.⁵⁴ A native of Peterborough, it was through his father's position as diocesan registrar that Gunton first developed a particular fascination for the cathedral, its history and monuments – the inscriptions of which he transcribed as a boy.⁵⁵ Appointed prebendary in 1646, Gunton published a number of works in defence of Prayer Book worship and on the sanctity of church buildings during the Interregnum.⁵⁶ Restored to his position at the Restoration, Gunton played an important part in restoring worship to the cathedral. His extensive manuscript notes on the cathedrals' antiquities were later revised and published posthumously as the *History* in 1686, by the then cathedral dean, Simon Patrick.⁵⁷

An abbey elevated to cathedral status under Henry VIII, the structure of the *History* emphasised the church's monastic history. Drawing on the famous 'Book of Swapham', a medieval history of Peterborough Abbey, Patrick described the *History*'s chronological account of the lives of the abbots as a continuation of this earlier work, being 'for the perfecting of these Labours'.⁵⁸ Gunton's account emphasised the power, authority and jurisdiction of the abbots, whom he portrayed as industrious in defending and increasing the church's rights and privileges. However, he also captured the human dimension in the relationship between the abbot and his monks, at times based on affection, loyalty and pastoral care, and, at others, giving rise to factions and betrayal. Although Gunton's attitude to monasticism varied, his portrayal of the dissolution of the abbey involved loss and scepticism. In his

⁵³ On cathedrals' importance compared to bishops during the 1640s and 1650s, see Atherton, 'Cathedrals and the British Revolution', p. 113.

⁵⁴ On Gunton, see Richard Gough, *Anecdotes of British Topography. Or, An Historical Account of what has been done for Illustrating the Topographical Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2014; first publ. 1768), pp. 379-80.

⁵⁵ ODNB, 'Gunton, Simon (bap. 1609, d. 1676)'. See Simon Patrick, 'The Preface', in Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, sig. A1r.

⁵⁶ [Simon Gunton], *Ortholatrea: or, A brief discourse concerning bodily worship* (London, 1650), published anonymously and later reissued under his name in 1661; idem, *God's house, with the nature and use thereof, as it ought to be understood and respected by Christians under the gospel* (London, 1657). See ODNB, 'Gunton, Simon (bap. 1609, d. 1676)'.

⁵⁷ On Patrick, see *The General Biographical Dictionary: Containing An Historical and Critical Account of the Lives and Writings of the Most Eminent Persons in every Nation; particularly the British and Irish; from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time*, ed. Alexander Chalmers, 32 vols (London, 1812-17), vol. XXIV, pp. 191-9 (esp. p. 196).

⁵⁸ Patrick, 'Preface', in Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, sig. A2v. On the Peterborough tradition of monastic histories, see Malasree Home, *The Peterborough Version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Rewriting Post-Conquest History* (Woodbridge, 2015). On the Civil War fate of the 'Book of Swapham', see Patrick, 'Preface', in Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, sig. A1r.

entry for the church's last abbot, John Chambers, Gunton noted the uncertainty surrounding the abbey's surrender into the king's hands, although, he conjectured,

probable it is, that Abbot John loved to sleep in a whole skin, and desired to die in his nest wherein he had lived so long, and perhaps might use such means, *as might preserve (if not his means to his Church, yet) his Church to posterity.*⁵⁹

Gunton's lament at the dissolution was primarily (if not exclusively) for the loss of the church's rights, privileges and revenues, with the consequences this had for the seventeenth-century cathedral, rather than the dismantling of the monastic way of life – an attitude also apparent in Heylyn's historical works.⁶⁰ In his account of the Reformation – 'those times, wherein that great alteration in the Church, and alienation of her Revenues, hapned'⁶¹ – Gunton was concerned to record the financial consequences of the dissolution. His inclusion of the church's inventory (taken on 30th November 1539 at the time of its surrender) conveyed both the magnificence of the church interior, with its 'Front of Green Silk, with Ostrich Feathers', and the abundance of food, utensils, vestments and ornaments essential to a religious community.⁶² Taking the reader through the abbey's church, kitchen and outhouses in turn, the reading of the inventory acted as a pilgrimage of loss and absence – though one of the church's goods and revenues. The rise in prominence of the Laudian party, with its emphasis on the materiality and sanctity of the church space, and defence of the Church's rights and privileges, had led to growing concerns about sacrilege – best embodied in Henry Spelman's unpublished but widely circulated *History and Fate of Sacrilege*.⁶³ While Gunton's account demonstrated this continued concern for sacrilege, it also reflected Restoration churchmen's awareness and desire to see the cathedral properly endowed and furnished.⁶⁴ The dissolution was thus portrayed as a precursor to the cathedral's losses of the mid-seventeenth century.

While Gunton's account of the dissolution captured a sense of loss in the church's fortunes, he also offered a more positive reading of the Reformation, when 'Two years after this Inventory', in 1541, 'the King changed the person from an Abbot to a Bishop, the Church from a Monastery to a Cathedral, and the Town of Peterburgh from a Village to a City'.⁶⁵ Underpinned by civic pride, Gunton's account portrayed the church's elevation to cathedral status as a new phase, for both church and city – and one

⁵⁹ Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, pp. 57-8. Italics mine.

⁶⁰ See above, chapter 4, pp. 152-4.

⁶¹ Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, p. 58.

⁶² Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, pp. 58-65.

⁶³ Sir Henry Spelman, *The history and fate of sacrilege discover'd by examples of scripture, of heathens, and Christians, from the beginning of the world continually to this day* (London, 1698). Walsham, "“Like fragments of a shipwreck”", p. 92; Michael B. Kelly, 'The Invasion of Things Sacred: Church, Property, and Sacrilege in Early Modern England', unpubl. PhD dissertation (University of Notre Dame, 2012). On Spelman, see Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, ch. 6 (esp. pp. 164-5).

⁶⁴ On Heylyn's petitioning attempts on behalf of cathedrals at the Restoration, and his histories as reflecting these concerns, see above, chapter 4, pp. 152-4.

⁶⁵ Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, p. 66.

subtly distinct from the dissolution. Although Gunton noted that Henry's decision was rumoured to be due to his wife Katherine's burial there, he emphasised the church's inherent advantages as the explanation for its elevation:

Be it so, or no, the goodly structure of the place, convenient situation for a new erection, with accommodations thereunto, might make a fair plea for a reprieve from the stroke of that Ax which cut others down.⁶⁶

However, the elevations of its abbot, monastery and town were not portrayed as drastic ruptures in the church's history.⁶⁷ 'Return[ing] ... now to our Series of Succession', Gunton continued his account of the lives of the abbots with the lives of its bishops, whom he portrayed as their direct successors, and with that of its deans, whom he similarly portrayed as 'the Abbots ... Successors' in their revenues. Such was Gunton's emphasis on continuity in the church's history that he described the Interregnum period as 'an Inter-Episcopate' – thus reflecting Restoration concerns over institutional strength after the disjuncture of the mid-seventeenth century.⁶⁸ That Gunton privileged the post-Reformation identity of the church is evident from the work's later episcopal and capitular emphases. Through this, Gunton subsumed the monastic origins of the church – emphasised in the very structure of the narrative – into a broader narrative of continuity which celebrated the church's cathedral status and its significance for the city.

*

All three works displayed very different approaches to the monastic heritage of England's cathedrals, not only because of their widely differing polemical contexts, but due to their relation to the mid-seventeenth century. Both *The Rites* and Hegge's *Legend* focused almost exclusively on the monastic heritage of the church of Durham, and though Hegge's account emphasised the cathedral's episcopal identity, this arose from his interest in bishops, rather than from an interest in the cathedral *per se*. While the structure of Gunton's *History of the Church of Peterburgh* (1686) highlighted the church's monastic heritage and its loss, its purpose was to celebrate the church's status as an episcopal see and cathedral – both in the sense of a capitular community and a building. Gunton's work bears out Atherton's claim for an increased interest in cathedrals' materiality as a result of the Civil Wars.⁶⁹ However, it also shows the influence of Dugdale's *History of St Paul's* on later works of cathedral history, with its inclusion of

⁶⁶ Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, p. 57.

⁶⁷ Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, p. 85.

⁶⁸ Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, pp. 68, 86.

⁶⁹ Atherton, 'Cathedrals and the British Revolution', p. 113. See Patrick, 'Preface', in Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, sig. A1r.

engravings and its title's emphatic reference to the church's foundation and to archival sources ('passages of history').⁷⁰

The very fact that *The Rites* and Hegge's *Legend* were published after the Restoration strengthens the claim for a heightened interest in the histories and antiquities of cathedral churches prompted by the experience of Civil War and Interregnum. The choice of the published works' titles, determined by their respective editors, John Davies and Richard Baddeley, further reinforces this point. Davies' translation appeared as *The Ancient Rites, and Monuments of the Monastical, & Cathedral Church of Durham: Collected out of Ancient Manuscripts, about the Time of the Suppression*, thereby departing (ever so slightly) from the titles of earlier manuscript copies. While one, for instance, spoke solely of 'the Monasticall Church of Durham before the Suppression',⁷¹ Davies' variant title promoted the church as both 'Monastical & Cathedral' – an emphasis which, interestingly, would later be reverted in James Raine's 1842 edition of the text.⁷² Similarly, Richard Baddeley published Hegge's work under the title of *The Legend of St Cuthbert, with the Antiquities of the Church of Durham*. Existing in several manuscript copies, all with varying titles, it is significant that Baddeley chose this title over the others. Indeed, the majority were entitled the 'History of St Cuthbert's Churches at Lindisfarne, Cuncacestre, and Durham'.⁷³ While Baddeley's chosen title gave prominence to the life of Cuthbert, its subtitle emphasised the fact that the work was not a straightforward hagiography. In speaking of 'the Antiquities of the Church of Durham', Baddeley drew attention to the materiality of the church and its monuments, despite the fact that it was never the focus of Hegge's work. Indeed, Hegge's account rather emphasised the peripatetic origins of the church than its 'embeddedness'. This readjustment could be seen to reflect Restoration interests in the cathedral (or indeed any church) as an antiquarian 'object', whose history and significance was perceived as resting in its very materiality.

While this editorial context reinforces the claim that the 1640s and 1650s led to an increased interest in cathedrals as antiquarian objects, this does not mean – as chapter 2 has explored – that such an interest was underpinned by a coherent understanding of cathedrals' ecclesiological significance. Indeed, the motives behind their publications appear complex. While all three works emphasised, in different ways, either the monastic past or continuity with it, those publishing these texts held different religious beliefs – making it difficult in understanding their motives for propagating these texts (and what they say about cathedrals). While Davies' views are unknown, his friend Hall, through whom he acquired the

⁷⁰ Its full title is *The history of the Church of Peterburgh: wherein The most remarkable Things concerning that Place, from the First Foundations thereof: With other Passages of History, not unworthy [of] Publick View, are represented. by Symon Gunton, late Prebendary of that Church. Illustrated with Sculptures. And set forth By Symon Patrick, D.D. now Dean of the same.*

⁷¹ DUL, Cosin MS B.ii.11.

⁷² On the various titles, see *A Description or Breife Declaration of... the Monastical Church of Durham*, ed. Raine, pp. vii, xii-iv.

⁷³ On the various titles, see Scutts, "Truth never needed the protection of forgery", n. 1, p. 270.

manuscript, was suspected of atheism.⁷⁴ Baddeley had been secretary to Bishop Thomas Morton of Durham, whose appointment to the see was one of the last three Calvinist episcopal promotions between 1625 and 1640, yet he published the Laudian Hegge's account of the cathedral.⁷⁵ While Gunton was a Restoration 'high' churchman, the latitudinarian Patrick would become bishop in the post-revolutionary Church. In addition to this, all three works were published by men with local connections. Such overlapping motives and differing beliefs demonstrate just how complex attitudes to cathedrals were during the Restoration period: no single, coherent view of their significance underpinned a desire to promote cathedrals as objects of antiquarian interest.

PART II: FROM ANTIQUARIAN 'TOOL' TO OBJECT OF STUDY:

THE CATHEDRAL IN ANTIQUARIAN MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

The foregoing comparison of three works on formerly monastic cathedrals shows how the experience of Civil War iconoclasm and Interregnum abolition moulded a generation of antiquarians more attuned to cathedrals' fate, histories, materiality and status as episcopal sees. However, while cathedral antiquarianism emerged from works of monastic history, it also developed out of broader antiquarian interest in church monuments. The result of a growing appetite for works of local history and genealogy, church monuments were increasingly valued as repositories of genealogical data, which served to reinforce the gentry's social position, privileges and interests, both historically and geographically.⁷⁶ Accounts of cathedrals were thus subsumed into this broader interest or incorporated into cathedral-specific surveys of their monuments and inscriptions – like William Camden's *Reges, Reginae, Nobiles et Alii in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii Sepulti* (1600), Henry Holland's *Monumenta Sepulchraria Sancti Pauli* (1614),⁷⁷ and (most importantly) John Weever's *Antient Funeral Monuments* (1631).⁷⁸

This 'monumental' approach continued to influence how cathedrals were approached and appreciated, not just by antiquarians, but also by gentlemen and -women as domestic tourism flourished

⁷⁴ ODNB, 'Hall, John (*bap.* 1627, *d.* 1656)'.

⁷⁵ ODNB, 'Morton, Thomas (*bap.* 1564, *d.* 1659)'.

⁷⁶ On the development of local history during the early modern period, and particularly its connection to the gentry, see Jan Broadway, *William Dugdale and the Significance of County History in Early Stuart England* (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1999); idem, *'No historie so meete': Gentry culture and the development of local history in Elizabethan and early Stuart England* (Manchester, 2006); idem, 'Symbolic and Self-consciously Antiquarian: the Elizabethan and early Stuart Gentry's Use of the Past', *HLQ*, 76 (2013), 541-58.

⁷⁷ Holland's work was later expanded and reissued as *Ecclesia Sancti Pauli illustrata* (London, 1633). See Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, pp. 212-3.

⁷⁸ On Weever's importance to antiquarian studies, see, for example, Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, ch. 7.

in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁷⁹ For the antiquarian Henry Keepe, this later phenomenon compelled him to undertake his *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia* (1683), as ‘[the] daily concourse of Gentlemen, and Ladies; as well Forainers, as Natives, led by their curiosity, came to behold *this so famous Mausolaeum, or place of Sepulchre and Repository* of our Kings, Princes, and chief Nobility’.⁸⁰ Although Keepe included ‘a concise and short Historical account of the Original, foundation, and continuance of this Church both in its Buildings and Government’, his work primarily presented the church as a ‘Mausoleum’ of the great and the good.⁸¹ Payne Fisher’s *The Tombes, Monuments and Sepulchral Inscriptions lately visible in St. Paul’s Cathedral* (1684) was similarly concerned with presenting the reader with the numerous ‘Saints, Soldiers, Citizens, and worthy Patriots, buried in the Bowels of St Pauls Great Cathedral’.⁸² Although differing in approach, both works were constructed around the assumption that a cathedral’s primary significance lay in its monuments and in the illustrious ancestors buried there.

Treatment of monuments in cathedral-specific surveys, such as Keepe’s and Fisher’s, however, was not typical. In the early Stuart period in particular, ‘monumental’ approaches to cathedrals were mostly incorporated into county histories, with cathedrals being used as antiquarian ‘tools’ – their monuments, inscriptions and coats of arms providing evidence of a family’s origins and networks. Unsurprisingly, such an approach was enshrined in antiquaries’ working papers for such histories: their manuscript collections. This section will consider four manuscript collections (compiled during the 1650s, the Restoration, and post-1689) and their engagement with cathedrals and their monuments as another lens through which to investigate whether the 1640s and 1650s did indeed see a growing interest in cathedrals as distinct objects of study and interest, rather than solely as monumental repositories.⁸³

⁷⁹ See below, epilogue, pp. 207-10. There existed a ‘keeper of the monuments’ at Westminster Abbey from at least 1561. See, for example, Merritt, *The social world of early modern Westminster*, p. 162; Peter Sherlock, ‘The Art of Making Memory: Epitaphs, Tables and Adages at Westminster Abbey’, in Jennifer Spinks and Dagmar Eichberger (eds), *Religion, the Supernatural and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden and Boston, 2015), pp. 354-69 (esp. p. 355).

⁸⁰ Henry Keepe, *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia, or, An historical account of the original, increase, and present state of St. Peter’s, or the Abby Church of Westminster* (London, 1681), sig. A1r. Italics mine.

⁸¹ On Keepe’s work as an expansion of Camden, Stow and Weever’s, see Keepe, *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia*, sigs A3r-v.

⁸² Payne Fisher, *The tombes, monuments, and sepulchral inscriptions lately visible in St. Pauls Cathedral* (London, 1684), sig. A2r.

⁸³ This dating is taken from the Bodleian catalogues. See *A summary catalogue of western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been catalogued in the Quarto series*, ed. Falconer Madan *et al.*, 7 vols in 8 (Oxford, 1895-1953; repr. with corrections in vols I and VII, Munich, 1980), vol. II, nos 4143-5101 [Dodsworth]; nos 6491-6536 [Dugdale]; nos 8463-8622 [Wood]; *Summary catalogue of post-medieval western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: Acquisitions 1916-1975*, ed. Mary Clapinson and T.D. Rogers, 2 vols (Oxford, 1991), vol. I, no. 45703, vol. II, no. 54141 [Gale].

1. TWO EARLY MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS: DODSWORTH AND DUGDALE

Compiled during the Civil War and Interregnum, Roger Dodsworth's and William Dugdale's manuscript collections are notable – not only for being restricted to a 'monumental' engagement with cathedrals – but also for cathedrals' lack of prominence.⁸⁴ While cathedrals acted as important repositories of centrally-held records, materials collected from cathedrals (whether coats of arms, epitaphs or monumental inscriptions) were not imbued with greater significance because collected from the 'mother churches' or bishops' seats – as Dugdale's 1643 sketches of Worcester Cathedral material demonstrate.⁸⁵ In fact, the scarcity of cathedral visual and monumental material in these collections points towards a greater emphasis being placed on parish material. This could be explained precisely because of the cathedral's status as a trans-local institution.

Broadway has shown the gentry's importance in the development of antiquarianism in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁸⁶ Growing interest in local history arose primarily from this network of landowners, whose collection of manuscripts reflected this increasing concern with genealogy and land. Material present at the local level – such as in parish churches, their windows and monuments – provided these antiquarians with the most obvious source of information when exploring the connection of families with the locality. Cathedrals, by being intrinsically trans-local, would therefore not have possessed as much locally-sensitive material as their parish counterparts. This limited engagement with cathedrals is interesting when compared to Dugdale's *History of St Paul's* (1658) in which the cathedral, as an object of antiquarian study, takes centre stage. However, what led to Dugdale's publishing the *History* was the fortuitous meeting in 1656 with John Reading, the Inner Temple lawyer who had acquired the papers of St Paul's.⁸⁷ This suggests cathedral antiquarianism was being treated as a distinct interest or project, as yet separate from broader antiquarian endeavours and deriving from particular circumstances.

2. A RESTORATION MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION: ANTHONY WOOD

A later, Restoration manuscript volume, that of the antiquary Anthony Wood (1632–1695) reveals a subtle but distinct shift in the place of cathedrals in the antiquarian mindset. While still using cathedrals as repositories of archival and material culture (as Dodsworth and Dugdale had),⁸⁸ Wood's manuscript collections reveal a growing interest in cathedrals as institutions, buildings and communities with their own histories. Wood's manuscript volume, MS. Wood B.14 (dated 1668-1686), included, for instance,

⁸⁴ Bodl., Dodsworth MSS and Dugdale MSS.

⁸⁵ Bodl., Dugdale MS 11, fos 137v-139v, 1638-51.

⁸⁶ See above, fn. 76, p. 186.

⁸⁷ Broadway, 'The honour of this Nation': William Dugdale and the *History of St Paul's* (1658)', pp. 199-200.

⁸⁸ Bodl., Wood MS F.31.

accounts of both Worcester and Norwich cathedrals, and its detailed clerical lists demonstrate a desire to emphasise continuity in cathedrals' histories – perhaps reflecting Restoration attempts at erasing the disjuncture of the mid-seventeenth century.⁸⁹ While these accounts demonstrate a growing interest in cathedrals as a category, another item in this manuscript volume reveals the development of cathedral antiquarianism into a manuscript genre.

Not published until 1712, Thomas Browne's 'Repertorium' on monuments in Norwich cathedral was recorded by Wood as '[t]ranscribed, & additionall notes put to it in the lower margin in red inke, by me Anth. à Wood of Merton College in Oxon, in the beginning of March an. 1681/2'.⁹⁰ Wood faithfully copied out Browne's text, carefully distinguishing the original work from his own additions. He corrected Browne's transcriptions of Latin inscriptions, added ones he had omitted and enlarged on details which Browne only briefly noted. Wood's engagement with the 'Repertorium' showed an awareness of – and a concern for – an original work. While this demonstrates active engagement with the material, Wood's ownership of this work also reveals how cathedral antiquarianism had evolved into a distinct manuscript genre, shared within antiquarian circles, during the Restoration period. Indeed, Thomas Tenison suggested in 1683 that this work was being widely circulated in manuscript form. Having been 'written merely for private use', Tenison warned that 'the Relations of the Authour expect such Justice *from those into whose hands some imperfect Copies of it are fallen*; that, without their Consent first obtain'd, they forbear the publishing of It'.⁹¹ While this explains the presence of this copy in Wood's manuscript collections, this comment is significant in highlighting both the widespread interest which this work generated (even in manuscript form) and the anxiety over the publication of an imperfect copy.⁹² Not only does this reveal a clear interest in cathedrals – whether solely among antiquarians or more widely – but it also highlights how cathedral antiquarianism had become a manuscript *genre*, with distinct accounts of cathedral history (as opposed to cathedrals simply appearing in manuscript records or papers). As Wood's manuscript collections demonstrate, the cathedral was no longer being treated simply as an antiquarian 'tool' but was fast becoming an object of study in its own right.

⁸⁹ Bodl., Wood MS B.14, fos 1-16, 17-33, 1668-86. On Gunton's similar attempts in his cathedral history, see above, pp. 182-4.

⁹⁰ Bodl., Wood MS B.14, fos 34-49, 1668-86 (fo. 48 v).

⁹¹ Thomas Tenison, 'The Publisher to The Reader', in Thomas Browne, *Certain miscellany tracts* (London, 1683), sig. A3r. Italics mine. See *ODNB*, 'Browne, Sir Thomas (1605–1682)'.
⁹² On early modern cultures of 'publication', see Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-century England* (Oxford, 1993).

3. A POST-1689 MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION: SAMUEL GALE

While Wood's manuscript volume showed a broader interest in cathedrals than either Dodsworth or Dugdale's early ones, Samuel Gale's manuscript collections from the 1690s and 1700s were even more extensive. These contained a 1711 account of 'some Antiquities at Glastonbury, & in the Cathedrals of Salisbury, Wells, & Winton', along with substantial notes on York Minster which included a survey of the cathedral, entitled 'A Breif Historicall View of ye severall Foundations and Building of the Cathedrall Church of York'.⁹³ Like Wood's collections, Gale's demonstrated how cathedral antiquarianism had evolved into its own genre, although one no longer confined to manuscript, but now being envisaged as a printed publication. As well as containing a history of York Minster, his collections included a list of 'queries' to be chased up – such as details of inscriptions or the position of certain monuments (fos 4-5) – as well as a list of addenda, from 'Insert ye Inventory of the vests, copes, plate &c.', and 'Describe the Front of the Church', to 'Insert Wilfrides Life from Alewynus' (fo. 21).⁹⁴ This showed not only a concern for accuracy and comprehensiveness, but suggests Gale's intention to publish.

In addition to this, Gale's manuscript works reflected on their own purpose – something absent from Wood's. Although this might reflect the greater readiness of the material for publication, it also demonstrates the extent to which cathedral antiquarianism, even at the manuscript stage, was becoming an established, confident and legitimate endeavour. In his manuscript account of 'The Monuments, Inscriptions, and Epitaphs, of Archbishops, Nobles, Gentry, and others buried in ye Cathedrall Church of St Peter in Yorke',⁹⁵ Gale repeatedly highlighted the limitations of antiquarian research, caused by destruction, neglect or time. This led him to lament how 'Posteritie [was thus] deprived of ye Memory of some famous Persons here interred'.⁹⁶ Gale's antiquarianism was thus self-consciously portrayed as an attempt to recreate the material glories of the cathedral, as well as record the resting places of those 'famous Persons'. Finally, Gale's work's displayed several competing motivations, revealing how cathedral antiquarianism was becoming a more complex, layered and three-dimensional genre. Although concerns with monuments and memory loomed large, Gale was equally concerned with recent and present developments in the cathedral – as evidenced by his correspondence.⁹⁷ In his account of the monuments, Gale emphasised both his intention to insert 'The Cheifest of ye Monuments *especialy all the New ones*' and how his list of archbishops was '*until this present yeare 1699*'.⁹⁸ He took particular pains to record recent additions and repairs to the cathedral, particularly those undertaken between 1698

⁹³ Bodl., Eng. Misc. MS e.147, fos 93-112v, 113r-118v, 119-120 v; Top. Gen. MS c.66, fos 2-22.

⁹⁴ Bodl., Top. Gen. MS c.66, fos 2-22.

⁹⁵ Bodl., Eng. Misc. MS e.147, fos 93-112v.

⁹⁶ Bodl., Eng. Misc. MS e.147, fo. 93.

⁹⁷ Bodl., Top. Gen. MS c.66, fos 23-4.

⁹⁸ Bodl., Eng. Misc. MS e.147, fo. 93v. Italics mine.

and 1699 by the then dean, who ‘hath mightily beautified the Church by repairing of it in several places’: his father, the antiquary Thomas Gale.⁹⁹

*

Compared to Dodsworth and Dugdale’s earlier manuscript collections, both Wood’s (dating from the late 1660s to the late 1680s) and Gale’s (dating mainly from the late 1690s and early 1700s) revealed increased interest in cathedrals beyond their material or archival usefulness, as buildings, institutions and communities which generated a certain pull. Wood’s manuscript collections (particularly his annotated copy of Browne’s ‘Repertorium’) demonstrated an active engagement with cathedrals as objects of study in their own right. However, this interest was confined to them as historical objects. Although Gale was also drawn to cathedrals’ pasts, his personal connection and interest in the cathedral as a living community and institution demonstrates the evolution of cathedrals’ place in the antiquarian imagination, and indeed within society, after 1689. Not only had they become established and legitimate objects of study, but they had cemented their place in antiquarian culture, as this next section will investigate further.

PART III: THE DEVELOPMENT OF CATHEDRAL ANTIQUARIANISM **AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY, c.1660-c.1730**

A comparative study of three printed works of cathedral history, along with an examination of four manuscript collections has revealed the extent to which there developed a growing antiquarian interest in cathedrals in the period following the Restoration. The three printed works, all on formerly monastic cathedrals, demonstrate a shift in emphasis away from the churches’ monastic pasts and towards their cathedral identity. The four manuscript collections similarly demonstrate how antiquarian engagement with cathedrals evolved from simply treating them as genealogical repositories, to their becoming objects of study in their own right. The preceding discussions appear to bear out Atherton’s claims that the experience of Civil War, and the endeavours of Ryves, Dugdale, Hollar and King, had drawn attention to the fate, history and materiality of cathedrals.

While scholars have made claims for the antiquarian importance of Dugdale’s *History of St Paul’s* as ‘the first monograph on an English cathedral’, many have also emphasised its broader significance

⁹⁹ Bodl., Eng. Misc. MS e.147, fos 107, 114. *ODNB*, ‘Gale, Thomas (1635/6–1702)’.

as reflecting an ‘Anglican’ identity during the 1640s and 1650s.¹⁰⁰ This section will investigate this claim through a study of post-Restoration works of cathedral history. For the Restoration and post-revolutionary periods, this will include some of the works already mentioned, notably Simon Gunton’s *History of the Church of Peterburgh* (1686), and Samuel Gale’s manuscript collections, as well as his history of Winchester Cathedral (1715). For the early Hanoverian period, I shall consider the works of the non-juror Richard Rawlinson and the antiquarian Browne Willis (c.1715-1730).¹⁰¹

As Broadway has shown, Dugdale reworked the *History* throughout the Restoration period, continuing the church’s narrative up until 1685.¹⁰² Unpublished due to the financial difficulties of his printer, Moses Pitt, the manuscript fell to his grandson, William Dugdale, and was later published by the churchman and Lichfield canon Edward Maynard in 1716.¹⁰³ This study will use the first (1658) and second (1716) editions of Dugdale’s *History of St Paul’s* – and the differences between them – as a lens through which to consider evolving traits within cathedral antiquarianism between c.1660 and c.1730. Three traits will be considered: first, the evolution from works on individual cathedrals, to publications containing accounts on several cathedrals, to (finally) the cathedral ‘series’ of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Second, I shall explore the growing importance of the clergy as a ‘presence’ within cathedral antiquarianism – as patrons, authors and collaborators. The third issue is the question of polemic in cathedral antiquarianism. The aim of this section, by tracing these evolving traits, will be to consider what this reveals about shifting attitudes to cathedrals, the Church of England, and religious identity during the Restoration period and after the Act of Toleration.

¹⁰⁰ Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, p. 73.

¹⁰¹ Richard Rawlinson, *The Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Worcester: to which are added, the Antiquities of the Cathedral Churches of Chichester and Lichfield* (London, 1717) [hereafter, *Worcester*]; idem, *The History and Antiquities of the City and Cathedral Church of Hereford* (London 1717) [hereafter, *Hereford*]; idem, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Rochester... Containing... An Appendix of Monumental Inscriptions in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, Supplementary to Mr. Somner’s and Mr. Batteley’s Accounts of that Church* (London, 1717) [hereafter, *Rochester*]; idem, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral-church of Salisbury, and the Abbey-Church of Bath* (London, 1719) [hereafter, *Salisbury*]. Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedral Church of St. David’s, and the Edifices belonging to it, as they stood in the Year 1715* (London, 1717) [hereafter, *St David’s*]; idem, *A Survey of the Cathedral-Church of Llandaff* (London, 1719) [hereafter, *Llandaff*]; idem, *A Survey of the Cathedral-Church of St Asaph* (London, 1720) [hereafter, *St Asaph*]; idem, *A Survey of the Cathedral Church of Bangor* (London, 1721) [hereafter, *Bangor*]; idem, *A Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, Carlisle, Chester, Man, Lichfield, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester and Bristol* (London, 1727); idem, *A Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, and Peterborough* (London, 1730). Hereafter, *Cathedral Survey*, vols I and II. Willis also published two works on religious houses which contained accounts of some of the cathedrals. Browne Willis, *An History of the Mitred Parliamentary Abbies, and Conventual Cathedral Churches*, 2 vols (London, 1718-9). Hereafter, *Mitred Abbies*, vols I and II.

¹⁰² Jan Broadway, *William Dugdale: a life of the Warwickshire historian and herald* (Gloucester, 2011), p. 193. On the unpublished fate of many early modern antiquarian projects, see Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, pp. 16-7.

¹⁰³ Edward Maynard, ‘To the Reader’, in William Dugdale, *The History of St Paul’s Cathedral in London, From its Foundation... Beautified with sundry Prospects of the Old Fabrick, which was destroyed by the Fire of that City, 1666... A Continuation thereof, setting forth what was done in the Structure of the New Church, to the Year 1685. Likewise, An Historical Account of the Northern Cathedrals, and Chief Collegiate Churches in the Province of York... The Second Edition... Publish’d by Edward Maynard* (London, 1716), sigs A1r-A2r. Hereafter, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral*, second ed. ODNB, ‘Maynard, Edward (1654–1740)’.

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CATHEDRAL ANTIQUARIANISM: THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CATHEDRAL ‘SERIES’

In his ‘To the Reader’, Edward Maynard, the editor of the second edition of Dugdale’s *History of St Paul’s* (1716), gave an account of his discovery of the expanded *History* notes amongst Dugdale’s voluminous manuscript collections. These, he found, included a new introduction and additions, with an account of the new building and a catalogue of benefactors, which listed the sums donated to the work, ‘And, which is a dantly more than all the rest together, An Historical Account of the Northern Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, which is altogether New’.¹⁰⁴ Maynard’s enthusiasm for this particular addition reflects early eighteenth-century developments in antiquarianism – notably the beginnings of edited cathedral ‘series’.¹⁰⁵ However, this addition also demonstrates how pioneering Dugdale was in his interest in cathedrals as a category, rather than as single, isolated institutions.

While the 1658 edition focussed solely on St Paul’s Cathedral, the 1716 edition included ‘A Brief Historical Account of the Cathedrals of York, Durham and Carlisle; as also of the Principall Collegiate Churches in the Province of York’, separated from the rest with its own title page. Although later antiquarians questioned Dugdale’s authorship of these accounts,¹⁰⁶ the inclusion of these cathedral histories (however short compared to that of St Paul’s) shifted the interpretative framework of the work away from the individual cathedral and onto cathedrals more generally. However, as Broadway has discussed, Dugdale had always thought of his work as part of a broader antiquarian project on cathedrals.¹⁰⁷ His original preface (1658) had spoken of his tour as one concerned with ‘*the principall Churches of this Realme*’, and how he had ‘neglected no pains to take notice of those which were then here, and in many other Cathedralls’.¹⁰⁸ He continued by explaining how, he had ‘thought fit, in the first place, to begin with this Church of St Paul’.¹⁰⁹ Far from being a monograph on a single cathedral,¹¹⁰ the *History* was envisaged as the starting point for a much broader project on the nation’s cathedrals. That he had begun such a work can be gleaned from an undated letter to the Yorkshire antiquary, Nathaniel Johnston,¹¹¹ in which Dugdale shared his frustration at how,

The copy of my intended worke for the Cathedralls & Collegiate churches whereof I told you (and wherein the printer had made a beginning and printed thirty sheets before Spelmans were

¹⁰⁴ Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral*, second ed., sig. A1v. Italics mine.

¹⁰⁵ See below, pp. 195–6.

¹⁰⁶ The Stamford antiquarian Francis Peck (1692–1743) claimed the accounts of York, Ripon, Southwell and Beverley, were the work of Sir Thomas Herbert, and not Dugdale. See marginalia (dated 16 Nov. 1732) in CUL, S 484.a.71.1.

¹⁰⁷ Broadway, *William Dugdale: a life*, p. 107. See William Dugdale, *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, ed. William Hamper (London, 1827), pp. 329, 330–1, 333–4.

¹⁰⁸ Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral*, first ed., sig. A3v. Italics mine.

¹⁰⁹ Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral*, first ed., sig. A4r. Italics mine.

¹¹⁰ On architectural historians’ interpretation of Dugdale’s *History of St Paul’s*, see Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, p. 73.

¹¹¹ ODNB, ‘Johnston, Nathaniel (*bap.* 1629?, *d.* 1705)’.

taken on, and the stopt, wch cost us in printing & paper no lesst than fifty pounds) is burnt, through the ... carelesnesse of my printer.¹¹²

The inclusion of accounts of York, Durham and Carlisle cathedrals in the second edition of the *History of St Paul's* shows Dugdale's continued commitment to this vision while editing the work throughout the 1660s, 1670s and 1680s.

However, this endeavour never fully materialised, nor did it influence subsequent Restoration antiquarians to attempt such a project. The cathedral histories published or composed in the period between 1660 and 1689 were all confined to a single cathedral: Hegge and Davies on Durham, Gunton on Peterborough, and Browne on Norwich. Works dedicated solely to cathedral monuments similarly focussed on single cathedrals: Keepe on Westminster and Fisher on St Paul's. Furthermore, only Gunton's was written, expanded (by Patrick) and published during the Restoration period. Hegge and Davies' had been written before the Civil Wars, and Browne's would not be published until 1712. The Restoration period is therefore also interesting for its lack of published contemporary cathedral histories. As chapter 2 explored, cathedrals continued to be objects of debate throughout the Restoration period.¹¹³ Whereas historical scholarship provided a discourse through which to defend cathedrals' Protestant credentials (as chapter 4 argued),¹¹⁴ the lack of published contemporary works may reflect a hesitancy surrounding cathedral antiquarianism (with its natural emphasis on materiality and the medieval past) at a time of heightened debate regarding their roles in the reformed Church of England.

Interest in cathedrals as a category only appears to have gathered momentum following the Glorious Revolution.¹¹⁵ As discussed, Gale's manuscript collections from the 1690s and 1700s demonstrated a growing interest in cathedrals as a category, with accounts of Salisbury, Wells and Winchester cathedrals, as well as a greater readiness for printed publication.¹¹⁶ However, it was only in 1715 that Gale's work on Winchester was published (his York Minster collections remaining in manuscript) – which suggests another shift in attitudes to cathedrals after the Hanoverian succession, when uncertainty surrounding the post-revolutionary settlement abated.¹¹⁷ Although dedicated to a single cathedral (like the cathedral histories before it), it provided the first explicit advocacy of a more sustained antiquarian project on England's cathedrals since Dugdale. Based on an account of the cathedral by the Earl of Clarendon, Gale declared

¹¹² Bodl., Top. Yorks. MS c.36, fo. 11v: William Dugdale to Nathaniel Johnston, (n.d., c.1665-78). Sadly, the second half of this letter has been cut out, just below the above quote!

¹¹³ See above, chapter 2.

¹¹⁴ See above, chapter 4, pp. 156-61.

¹¹⁵ See above, p. 191.

¹¹⁶ Bodl. Eng. Misc. MS e.147, fos 119-120 v.

¹¹⁷ Samuel Gale, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Winchester, containing, All the Inscriptions upon the Tombs and Monuments: With an Account of the Bishops, Priors, Deans, and Prebendaries; also, The History of Hyde-Abbey. Begun by the Right Honourable Henry late Earl of Clarendon, And continued to this Time, By Samuel Gale, Gent. Adorn'd with Sculptures* (London, 1715). Hereafter, *Winchester*.

it is to be lamented, that in so copious a Subject, so few Writers have been employed, *that to this Day many of our Cathedral Churches have lain in such Obscurity, as to have had no particular Notice taken of them*, and should this incurious Humour prevail, Posterity might justly deplore our Negligence and the Want of those Antiquities we so slightly esteem.¹¹⁸

Gale's lament and interest was shared by others, for soon after the publication of this account, there appeared a spate of works on England's cathedrals by Richard Rawlinson and Browne Willis. These post-1715 volumes often included accounts on more than one cathedral.¹¹⁹ Rawlinson added histories of Chichester and Lichfield to his edition of Thomas Abingdon's c.1647 account of Worcester Cathedral (1717), while his work on Rochester Cathedral was supplemented by 'An Appendix of Monumental Inscriptions in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury' (1717). His final cathedral volume was published under the combined title of *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral-church of Salisbury, and the Abbey-Church of Bath* (1719).¹²⁰ While dedicating a whole volume to each of the four Welsh cathedrals, Browne Willis' treatment of England's cathedrals took the shape of two 'surveys': the first, in two volumes, covering the cathedrals of York, Durham, Carlisle, Chester, Man, Lichfield, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester and Bristol (1727); the second, on Lincoln, Ely, Oxford and Peterborough (1730).

The cathedral 'series' of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would come to be defined by their comprehensive approach and the level of editorial oversight (which envisaged them as clearly demarcated projects), as exemplified by John Britton's fourteen volume *Cathedral Antiquities of England* (1814–1835).¹²¹ In the early eighteenth century, only one work comes close to such a definition: Browne Willis' three volume surveys of cathedrals. Yet even this did not cover all of England's cathedrals and depended on the cathedral collections Willis acquired.¹²² Nonetheless, the period after 1689, and especially after 1715, did see a shift in methodology with regard to cathedrals. This was partly the result of broader developments within antiquarian scholarship – with works such as Henry Wharton's two volume *Anglia Sacra* (1691), Thomas Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* (1695) and John Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1716) demonstrating a growing comprehensive impetus within the study of ecclesiastical antiquities.¹²³ However, this growing desire for a more sustained study of England's cathedrals also suggests changing attitudes to cathedrals themselves. A comparison between the publications of the Restoration (few contemporary published accounts, and on single cathedrals) and those of the post-revolutionary period (many and on several cathedrals) points to the

¹¹⁸ Gale, *Winchester*, p. 4. Italics mine.

¹¹⁹ Gale's account of Winchester Cathedral was supplemented by a history of Hyde Abbey. See Gale, *Winchester*, pp. 138–43.

¹²⁰ The only exception being his *History and Antiquities of the City and Cathedral Church of Hereford*, which only dealt with Hereford.

¹²¹ John Britton, *Cathedral Antiquities of England*, 14 vols (London, 1814–35).

¹²² See Willis, *Cathedral Survey*, vol. II, pp. i–ii.

¹²³ See Sweet, *Antiquaries*, pp. 233–5.

impact of the Act of Toleration in shaping a more confident engagement with cathedrals among churchmen – particularly after the Hanoverian succession.¹²⁴

2. THE ROLE OF THE CLERGY AND THE CATHEDRAL AS ANTIQUARIAN COMMUNITY

Dugdale had dedicated the original edition (1658) to Lord Hatton, the politician and collector, under whose patronage and incentive Dugdale had set out on his tour of England's churches in the summer of 1641.¹²⁵ While presenting the work as a response to the turbulent changes suffered by the Church 'through the Presbyterian contagion, which then began violently to break out',¹²⁶ this response was, however, predominantly lay. Although a number of clergy were among the donors for the plates, the majority were drawn from the ranks of the nobility and gentry, the universities, the antiquarian community and the College of Arms.¹²⁷ It was by them, 'whose hearts, notwithstanding a multitude of discouragements, are still much affected to the honour of this Nation' that Dugdale was encouraged 'to communicate ... [the present work] to the World'.¹²⁸ Although Maynard did not add a dedication of his own to the second 1716 edition, his 'To the Reader' provides an insight into how the relationships of patronage surrounding works of cathedral history had shifted from the time of the first edition. Recounting his diligence in readying the work for publication, Maynard emphatically noted how,

in the first place I waited on the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, *as principally concern'd in the chief Subject of the Book*; Then upon the Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of York, and the Right Reverend the Lords Bishop of Durham and Carlisle, *as Persons particularly concern'd in the Account given of their Respective Churches*, who seem'd very well pleas'd with the Design in Hand, *promising to give it all proper Encouragement*.¹²⁹

When Dugdale first published the *History*, the Church of England had been abolished, its bishops and clergy were either in hiding or in exile. Although this explains the relative absence of the clergy as a 'presence' in the original edition, it is still significant that, by the time of the second edition, their support was now seen as a prerequisite to publication.

Works of cathedral history published during the Restoration continued in the 1658 *History* tradition in drawing their patronage mainly from lay supporters. Davies' translation of *The Rites* (1672) was dedicated to James Mickleton, a native of Durham and member of the Inner Temple.¹³⁰ Keepe's survey

¹²⁴ This is discussed below, p. 199.

¹²⁵ See Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, p. 78.

¹²⁶ Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral*, first ed., sig. A3v.

¹²⁷ On the donors of the *History of St Paul's* plates, see Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, p. 97.

¹²⁸ Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral*, first ed., sig. A4r.

¹²⁹ Edward Maynard, 'To the Reader', in Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral*, second ed., sig. A1v. Italics mine.

¹³⁰ On Hall's 'patronage', see Davies, *The ancient rites*, sig. A2v.

of the monuments of Westminster Abbey (1682) was dedicated to Henry Howard, the earl of Arundel, while Fisher's work on St Paul's (1684) was offered to Charles II. Even those works written or edited by men with clerical connections lacked any direct reference to their affiliation with the Church.¹³¹ Hegge's *Legend* (1663) appeared without ecclesiastical dedication or reference, despite being published by Richard Baddeley, secretary to Bishop Thomas Morton of Durham. Although the title of Gunton's *History of the Church of Peterburgh* (1686) explicitly mentioned its being written by a 'late Prebendary of that Church' '[a]nd set forth by Symon Patrick, D.D. now Dean of the same', Patrick's preface only mentioned Gunton's connection to the city (rather than his position as prebendary) as making him 'the better fitted for the Work he undertook'.¹³² The predominance of lay patronage in works of cathedral history in the Restoration period – even the reluctance to emphasise any clerical connections – stands in stark contrast both to Maynard's 1716 edition and to the majority of cathedral works published after 1689.¹³³ Gale's history of Winchester Cathedral (1715), for instance, was dedicated to Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Winchester. Willis' *St Asaph* (1720) was offered to William Fleetwood, its former bishop who had been transferred to Ely in 1714, while the dedication of *Bangor* (1721) to Adam Ottley, Lord Bishop of St David's, was presented as archiepiscopal in nature, its survey 'compleat[ing] all the Welsh diocesses heretofore subordinate to your Predecessors, Archbishops of the Metropolitanical See of St David'.¹³⁴

The increasingly clerical associations surrounding these works of cathedral history were not, however, confined to questions of patronage. The collaborative nature of early modern antiquarianism has been explored at length by recent scholars, and Sweet has noted how clergy were 'the most numerous occupational grouping amongst the [eighteenth century] antiquaries'.¹³⁵ While partly due to their education and professional interests, experience in filling in archdiaconal and episcopal visitation returns meant that clergy were invariably 'the most conscientious' respondents to antiquarian queries.¹³⁶ While works of cathedral history published during the Restoration omit explicit mention of collaborations, those published after 1689 include them. The prefaces to Gale, Rawlinson and Willis' cathedral histories all painstakingly outlined the source of their documents and methodologies (particularly their comparison of surviving copies) and took care to thank their contributors. Yet what is most significant about these is the preponderance of clerical contributors. Rawlinson's cathedral works drew on the manuscript collections of a number of clergy, while cathedral clergy dominate Willis' list of contributors. Bishops Ottley and Fleetwood not only promoted and supported Willis' antiquarian endeavours, but themselves provided 'valuable Material' and put their extensive networks

¹³¹ On Keepe's (unacknowledged) connection to Westminster Abbey, see *ODNB*, 'Keepe, Henry (1652–1688)'.

¹³² Patrick, 'The Preface', in Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, sig. A1r.

¹³³ For later works dedicated to lay patrons, see Willis, *St David's*; idem, *Llandaff*; idem, *Cathedral Survey*, vol. I.

¹³⁴ Willis, *Bangor*, sigs A1r-v.

¹³⁵ Sweet, *Antiquaries*, pp. 49-57 (p. 49).

¹³⁶ Sweet, *Antiquaries*, p. 51.

to Willis' disposal in gathering information.¹³⁷ Deans, prebendaries, canons and vicars choral – alongside registrars, archdeacons and masters of College schools – 'spared no Pains in communicating whatever they thought proper for ... [Willis'] drawing up' of these cathedral histories, providing transcripts of manuscripts in their personal collections, extracts from bishop and chapter registers, 'draughts' of the cathedral and transcriptions of epitaphs.¹³⁸

The predominance of cathedral clergy suggests greater confidence in their promotion of cathedrals' histories and materiality after 1689, as well as the increasing importance of cathedrals as antiquarian communities. Cathedrals, with their valuable libraries and scholarly seclusion, would have been particularly attractive to antiquarian scholars and historians – much as the monasteries would have once been.¹³⁹ Furthermore, by the eighteenth century, interest in antiquarian study had become a primary means for aspiring clergymen to gain both a reputation in print and preferment – particularly under bishops who appreciated antiquities.¹⁴⁰ The antiquarian Thomas Tanner, chaplain to John Moore, Bishop of Norwich, spent much of his time in the early 1710s between Norwich (where he was chancellor from 1701) and Ely (where he was made canon in 1713).¹⁴¹ His correspondence reveals the life of an antiquarian for whom cathedrals provided a stimulating scholarly atmosphere – including for cathedral antiquarianism, Tanner having worked on improving Baddeley's 1663 edition of Hegge's *Legend*.¹⁴² Returning to Ely in November 1713 to fulfil his terms of residence, Tanner recounted how he had spent his first week in 'the good company of our New Dean' and two of the prebendaries 'together in a friendly, chearfull and hospitable manner'. Their subsequent departure left him lamenting their absence,

where I have nothing to do but to mind my prayers & studies, a state of living very acceptable to one that is hurried all the rest of the year in a great town ad a busy employmt. – The situation of the place, buildings, solitude &c are very Monastick; and among other work I have cut out during my stay here, I intend to review the Notitia Monastica, and shall be obliged to Mr Hern or any other friend, that will please to furnish me with any corrections or Additions.¹⁴³

Tanner's example demonstrates how cathedrals – with their communities, collections and seclusion – could act as powerful scholarly refuges and attract, even grow, those with antiquarian interests. His

¹³⁷ See Willis, *St David's*, sig. A3v; Willis, *St Asaph*, sig. A2v.

¹³⁸ See Willis, *St Asaph*, sigs A2r-v; Willis, *Bangor*, sig. A2v; Willis, *Cathedral Survey*, vol. I, pp. iv-vii.

¹³⁹ On the attraction of cathedral closes and university colleges for this reason, see, for example, Grant Tapsell, 'The reluctant chaplain: William Sancroft and the later Stuart Church', in Hugh Adlington, Tom Lockwood and Gillian Wright (eds), *Chaplains in early modern England: Patronage, literature and religion* (Manchester, 2013), pp. 193-211. On the place of libraries in defences of cathedrals, see, for example, above, chapter 1, p. 59.

¹⁴⁰ Sweet, *Antiquaries*, pp. 54-5.

¹⁴¹ *ODNB*, 'Tanner, Thomas (1674–1735)'.

¹⁴² Bodl., Ballard MS 4, fos 39-40, 49-50, 51, 85-86. *ODNB*, 'Tanner, Thomas (1674–1735)'.

¹⁴³ Bodl., Ballard MS 4, fos 111-2 (fo. 111r): Thomas Tanner to Arthur Charlett, Ely, Dec. 1, 1713.

example, as well as Willis' works, shows that cathedrals were often filled with budding antiquarians, willing to promote cathedrals' histories as valuable objects of antiquarian interest.

Although the majority of cathedral histories published between 1660 and 1730 were by lay people (with only Gunton, Patrick and Rawlinson as exceptions), this increased clerical 'presence' in cathedral antiquarianism (as patrons and collaborators) – especially after 1689 – had a profound impact on assumptions about the genre. In the preface to his first volume of cathedral surveys, Willis asserted that 'an Undertaking of this Kind would *more properly have been the Province of an Ecclesiastick, than of a Layman*', although he himself undertook it 'for want of others engaging herein'.¹⁴⁴ Willis' statement demonstrates how cathedrals – as antiquarian objects of study – were increasingly perceived as tied to the Church of England and its clergy. Bishops were increasingly perceived as the natural patrons for such works, while cathedral clergy became its active contributors and promoters, and cathedrals, a scholarly refuge. In addition to this, the majority of cathedral antiquaries were themselves devoted members of the Church of England (with Rawlinson a bishop in the nonjuring Church of England).¹⁴⁵ However, despite its royalist, episcopalian origins of the mid-seventeenth century, it was not until after 1689 (and perhaps even after the Hanoverian succession) that these clerical connections were strengthened and became a hallmark of the genre.

3. CATHEDRAL ANTIQUARIANISM AS POLEMICAL DISCOURSE

As has already been mentioned, scholars have emphasised the *History*'s polemical status as 'a celebration of ... a building that had become a charged political and religious symbol, in which Dugdale did not attempt to disguise his royalism or his support for an episcopal church'.¹⁴⁶ Dugdale presented the *History* as arising from a 'duty [which] I conceive my self obliged unto, *merely as I am a son of the Church of England (without any other relation to this particular Cathedrall whatsoever)*'.¹⁴⁷ However, this was also driven by a particular, Laudian understanding of the Church, one which considered the church a sacred space, beautified for the worship of God, and endowed through the ages by the charity of pious ancestors. His opening survey on the building of sacred places, taken from Richard Hooker's *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1597), made clear his religious position, while his carefully reconstructed 'vision of a magnificently adorned church' – with its timeless customs, gifts and endowments – silently condemned the greed and violence of iconoclasts.¹⁴⁸ Dugdale's beliefs in the

¹⁴⁴ Willis, *Cathedral Survey*, vol. I, p. viii. Italics mine.

¹⁴⁵ On Wood believing Keepe had converted to Rome under James II, see *ODNB*, 'Keepe, Henry (1652–1688)'. On Fisher's sympathetic views to Laudianism, see *ODNB*, 'Fisher, Payne (1615/16–1693)'. On Browne's *via media* way between Scripture, the Church of England and reason, see *ODNB*, 'Browne, Sir Thomas (1605–1682)'. On Willis' devotion to the Church of England, see *ODNB*, 'Willis, Browne (1682–1760)'.

¹⁴⁶ Broadway, 'The honour of this Nation': William Dugdale and the *History of St Paul's* (1658)', p. 194.

¹⁴⁷ Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral*, first ed., p. [172]. Italics mine.

¹⁴⁸ Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, p. 76.

sanctity of the church space was also apparent in the engravings to his works.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, Walsham showed how these ecclesiastical edifices were presented in an idealised, pristine condition, in which the etcher has ‘edited out evidence of neglect, decay and weathering’, thus presenting the church as a vision of the ‘beauty of holiness’, erasing all traces of the sacrilege perpetrated within its walls.¹⁵⁰ They portrayed the church as ‘detached from time and space – from worldliness ... free to show the possibility of perfection’.¹⁵¹

For Roberts, Dugdale’s motive in composing the *History* was to ‘produce an eloquent ... plea for the reparation of St Paul’s’, not only in response to the violence inflicted in the 1640s, but also the decades of neglect which had accumulated since the 1561 fire.¹⁵² However, there was surprisingly little outward condemnation of the Civil War iconoclasts. Although his dedication to Lord Hatton spoke of ‘the Presbyterian contagion’, the only iconoclasm outwardly condemned was that inflicted by those ‘pretenders ... to zeal for a thorough Reformation in Religion’ in Edward VI and Elizabeth I’s time.¹⁵³ Dugdale’s condemnation of the violence perpetrated in the 1640s was a veiled lament for ‘this sometime glorious Cathedrall’.¹⁵⁴ The 1716 edition, however, was radically different in this respect. ‘Freed from the constrictions of the Commonwealth’, Dugdale’s reworking of the text during the Restoration period was bolder, more self-assured and candid in its condemnation.¹⁵⁵ What had simply been described as ‘the Presbyterian contagion’ was now referred to as ‘all Sorts of Schismaticks, under Colour of a purer Reformation’.¹⁵⁶ Dugdale spoke of ‘the lamentable Devastation and Spoil’ made ‘by those great Pretenders to Godliness’.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, the ‘Continuation’ to the 1658 *History of St Paul’s* did not open with the Restoration, but returned to the Interregnum, emphatically reminding the reader of the ‘lamentable Condition [in which] it lay for divers Years’, its ‘beautiful Corinthian Pillars’ ‘shamefully hewed and defaced’, with the statues of James and Charles ‘despitefully thrown down and broke in Pieces’.¹⁵⁸ The strengthening of this work’s polemic (with its bolder and more vehement emphasis on the Civil Wars and the subsequent sacrilege) reflected the religious divisions of the Restoration period. As has been discussed in chapter 2, Restoration conformists continued to use earlier puritan and nonconformist opposition to cathedrals (notably the Civil Wars) to exemplify their deceitfulness and greed, despite Charles II’s ‘Act of Oblivion’.¹⁵⁹ Antiquarian scholarship should therefore be seen as

¹⁴⁹ Corbett, ‘The Title-Page and Illustrations to the *Monasticon Anglicanum* 1655-1673’, p. 104.

¹⁵⁰ Walsham, “‘Like fragments of a shipwreck’”, pp. 99, 100.

¹⁵¹ Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, p. 93.

¹⁵² Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, pp. 73, 75.

¹⁵³ Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral*, first ed., sig. A3v, p. 45.

¹⁵⁴ Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral*, first ed., pp. 42, 44, 45.

¹⁵⁵ Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, p. 102.

¹⁵⁶ Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral*, second ed., p. xxvi.

¹⁵⁷ Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral*, second ed., p. xxvii.

¹⁵⁸ Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral*, second ed., p. 148.

¹⁵⁹ See above, chapter 2, p. 88.

another discourse through which Restoration conformists continued to propagate this memory and respond to the instability of the religious settlement.

Although not all Restoration cathedral works presented the Civil Wars and Interregnum in quite such vehement terms,¹⁶⁰ Gunton's *History of the Church of Peterburgh* (1686) and its continuation by Patrick displayed a similar strengthening in the work's polemical tone over the course of the Restoration period. Unlike Dugdale's 1658 edition, written under the Commonwealth, Gunton's account of Peterborough Cathedral, written in the early 1660s, was already more explicit about the iconoclasm suffered in the 1640s. '1643' repeatedly occurs throughout the text, like a sacred temporal marker in the life of the church, as its monuments were levelled to the ground, their brasses 'disrobed' or 'divorced from ... [their] Marble'.¹⁶¹ Although Gunton's history ended with a short account of the iconoclastic attack perpetrated upon the cathedral, by the time Patrick was editing the work in the early 1680s, this account was perceived as somewhat lacking. After his expanded lives of the abbots and bishops, Patrick ended his 'Supplement' by explaining that,

There being wanting in Mr. G. an account of the defacing of this Church, by the Souldiers in the late Rebellion, Mr. Francis Standish the present worthy Chanter of it, hath at my desire drawn it up in the following Narrative. Which may be the more credited, because he then lived in this place (where he was born and bred) and was a spectator of most things that he relates.¹⁶²

The following, greatly expanded and much more detailed, account of Civil War iconoclasm sought to offer a more reliable account of those events and to correct that provided by *Mercurius Rusticus* – which, in itself, demonstrated the continued relevance and authority of that text in popular understandings of cathedrals.¹⁶³ The fact that such an account was drawn up at the desire of Patrick, the current dean of the cathedral, is significant. It suggests that cathedrals and their clergy continued to envisage themselves, their cathedral and its history, both as an integrated whole and in embattled, polemical terms – and this was a vision which some were willing to propagate and celebrate throughout the Restoration period.

Although Dugdale's expanded work and Gunton and Patrick's *History* reflected the religious context of the Restoration, its challenges and insecurities, their works nonetheless presented very different understandings of cathedrals. This demonstrates how multiple conceptions of cathedrals prevailed after the Restoration, as explored in chapters 2 and 4. Dugdale continued to propagate a Laudian view of cathedrals as sacred 'mother churches', while the latitudinarian Patrick sought to emphasise the cathedral's Reformation past. While Gunton had portrayed the actions of the last abbot as arising from self-preservation, Patrick's continuation was both more positive and understated, noting how his

¹⁶⁰ See, for example, Keepe, *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia*, pp. iv, 17.

¹⁶¹ Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, pp. 41, 55. See also, *idem*, pp. 50, 57, 68, 80, 83.

¹⁶² Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, p. 332.

¹⁶³ For references to *Mercurius Rusticus*, see Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, pp. 335, 336.

‘making a Resignation of his Abbey, [was] *as many did*, under the common Seal, into the Kings hands’ – thereby incorporating this act into a broader narrative of national change and reformation.¹⁶⁴ This change in emphasis, along with the work’s publication during James II’s reign could be seen as responding to Catholic challenges and as seeking to assert the cathedral’s Protestant identity, while Gunton’s account of continuity between the medieval church and the cathedral could be used to assert the Church of England’s position as the true, though reformed, Church in the British Isles.¹⁶⁵

Works on cathedrals between 1660 and 1689, written and composed by those for whom the memory of the Civil Wars and the abolition of bishops, deans and chapters remained vividly present, continued to disseminate the memory of those sufferings. However, even after the Hanoverian succession, the memory of the Civil Wars continued to be propagated – as the publication of the second edition of Dugdale’s *History* in 1716 attests.¹⁶⁶ Another example can be found in Rawlinson’s *History... of Hereford Cathedral* (1717). Having given a defence of the study of antiquities, Rawlinson reflected on how,

To Two Happy Masters in these Studies we owe those noble Remains of Antiquity, preserv'd by Dugdale and Gunton, who themselves foresaw, and in some measure eluded that Destruction by their Labours, which soon after they saw performed by Fanatical Fury; when an Unnatural Rebellion was attended by the most horrid Impieties; when a Prophanation of all Holy Places, and a Demolition of whatever was useful, ornamental, or any-way contributed to the Beauty of Holiness, became the more peculiar Mark of those purer Zealots. When we see in those Sacred Repositories, I just now mentioned, the Pourtraits and Inscriptions of those breathing Marbles, which the Rage of a devouring Fire, and the hotter Spirit of Enthusiasm have destroyed or defaced; do we not applaud the Diligence and Foresight, not to give it a higher Term, of those who have preserved the Memories of so many Heroik Minds, which, without their Care, had now been lost?¹⁶⁷

Rawlinson’s powerful lament demonstrates how the Civil Wars continued to be propagated as central to understandings of cathedrals long into the 1710s, but also provided the genre with an almost hagiographic narrative. Dugdale and Gunton, the ‘Two Happy Masters in these Studies’, become, as it were, the patron saints of cathedral antiquarianism, their histories, ‘those Sacred Repositories’ in which the cathedrals’ pasts were forever enshrined. However, the emotional vehemence of Rawlinson’s lament was unique to him, probably as a result of his nonjuring beliefs.¹⁶⁸ His engagement with the memory of

¹⁶⁴ Gunton, *The history of the Church of Peterburgh*, pp. 57-8, 330. Italics mine.

¹⁶⁵ Although published in 1686, the preface was dated 20 June 1685. James came to the throne on 6 February 1685.

¹⁶⁶ See, for example, Gale, *Winchester*, pp. 5, 25.

¹⁶⁷ Rawlinson, *Hereford*, sigs A2v-A3r.

¹⁶⁸ See also, Rawlinson, *Worcester*, pp. xxx-xxxi, xxxiv; idem, *Salisbury*, pp. viii-ix, 116, 118. For less explicit mentions of damage, see, for example, Rawlinson, *Salisbury*, pp. 30, 43, 46, 52, 53, 62.

the Civil Wars echoed earlier, Restoration works, for after 1689 (and especially 1715) engagement with this past saw a subtle shift in works of cathedral history.

While such lament continued to be a hallmark of cathedral antiquarianism, this was done in more restrained terms. Gale's manuscript collections from the 1690s and 1700s had commented on 'ye Church [being] ... a sufferer in being robbed of that which made it appear very beautifull' and his repetition of 'worne', 'torne', 'lost', and 'remaine' captured the legacy of loss brought about by '[t]his Miserable havock ... made ... In ye time of ye late civile Warrs'.¹⁶⁹ His 1715 work also spoke of Winchester Cathedral as a church 'which neither various Revolutions, nor Wars, nor Time it self (ever injurious to Monuments) has yet been able to demolish'.¹⁷⁰ Such references were not only vague, but were presented without religious references. Furthermore, while records of the sale of Church lands in the late 1640s (documents in the possession of Rawlinson) were routinely included in works of cathedral history, it rather suggested its becoming an established feature of the genre, rather than one with continued polemical significance. Although the first three decades of the eighteenth century saw the publication of works such as John Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* (1714) which continued to propagate an inflammatory depiction of the 1640s and 1650s, it is interesting that works of cathedral history became less polemically aggressive on this issue over the course of this period. As chapter 3 has explored, cathedrals found a place in an emerging culture of civility and sociability after 1689. The nuancing of cathedral antiquarianism's engagement with the Civil War may be seen to reflect cathedrals' changing place within broader English society and their inclusion within this culture.

Nonetheless, works of cathedral history after 1689 continued to be used polemically, particularly in defence of the contemporary Church – demonstrating, as chapter 3 has shown, that the events of 1688-9 did not put an end to competing visions of cathedrals. While the non-juror Rawlinson presented his work as arising from, but also promoting, 'the present Happy Constitution', 'built upon the Basis of antient Foundations',¹⁷¹ Gale (a supporter of the Hanoverian succession) praised the accession of George I as presenting

the auspicious Prospect of better Days, not only to the Nation in general, but to the Church of England in particular; whilst we behold a King, descended from the Royal Race of the Saxons, Great, Wise, and Good, adorning the British Throne, and following their Illustrious Steps.¹⁷²

The dedication of Gale's *History of Winchester Cathedral* (1715), was itself not uncontroversial. The Bishop of Winchester, Jonathan Trelawny, had been one of the Seven bishops imprisoned and tried under James II and his appointment to the see of Winchester by Queen Anne provoked the so-called

¹⁶⁹ Bodl., Eng. Misc. MS e.147, fo. 93.

¹⁷⁰ Gale, *Winchester*, p. 4.

¹⁷¹ Rawlinson, *Rochester*, p. iii.

¹⁷² Gale, *Winchester*, sig. A3 v.

Bishoprics Crisis.¹⁷³ While Gale and Rawlinson's cathedral histories aimed at buttressing a confident vision of the established Church,¹⁷⁴ Willis' works reveal the underlying tensions and uncertainty surrounding the Church's position. The dedication of the first volume of his *Mitres Abbies* (1718) calls upon William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, to protect Willis' antiquarian endeavours, for,

indeed, under what less Name can it take sanctuary, in an Age wherein there are those to be found, who make it their Business to expose and ridicule the least mention of these religious Structures, and *have been led to such a Degree of Zeal, as to wish to see our very Cathedrals and Colleges levelled with the Ground*; as if the superstitious Rites of the former Age had, like the Leprosy of the ancient Jews, penetrated the very Walls; or that the Papal Authority cou'd not be totally subverted, unless by undermining these also.¹⁷⁵

Willis was only too aware of the continued polemical potency of such antiquarian endeavours and of the need for patronage and protection. He lamented how this had 'deterred our Ancestors soon after the Reformation from engaging in these Studies', thus committing much to oblivion.¹⁷⁶ Yet Willis retained the hope that his works 'should have so good Effect as to spirit up any charitably dispos'd Person to restore' these cathedrals, 'which [had] fall'n into a most deplorable Decay'.¹⁷⁷ Concern for their disrepair continued to define antiquarian discourse on cathedrals, although, in Willis' works, this drew on contemporary neglect rather than on Civil War destruction.¹⁷⁸ Yet just as Civil War disrepair had stood in for nonconformist impiety, so did contemporary neglect stand in for wider problems within the Church.¹⁷⁹ Opening his first volume of cathedral surveys, Willis sought to explain himself to his readers, how,

For my own Part, I hold every Man's Character and Memory sacred, and would, on no Occasion, attack them otherwise than purely for the sake of Example and Admonition, which the Subject of this Essay unavoidably lead me into: That seeing how the Neglect of Residence and Repairs of Cathedrals, and the perverting to private and selfish Uses the Benefactions appropriated to the Support of these venerable Edifices, without any Dread of Sacrilege, or Regard to those Statutes most solemnly sworn to: I say, that seeing how these Causes have produced the deplorable Effects of Ruin and Destruction of some of our Cathedral; *all present and future Church Dignitaries may be hereby awakened, and deterred from either doing, or omitting, what must necessarily be attended with the like Consequences*, and what they must justly condemn in their Predecessors.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷³ ODNB, 'Trelawny, Sir Jonathan, third baronet (1650–1721)'.

¹⁷⁴ However, for a defence of antiquarianism, see Rawlinson, *Rochester*, p. i.

¹⁷⁵ Willis, *Mitred Abbies*, vol. I, sigs A3v-A4r.

¹⁷⁶ Willis, *Mitres Abbies*, vol. I, sig. A4 r.

¹⁷⁷ Willis, *St David's*, sigs A3r-v; Willis, *Landaff*, pp. i-ii.

¹⁷⁸ See also Willis, *St Asaph*, sig. A4r.

¹⁷⁹ See also Willis, *St. David's*, sig. A4v.

¹⁸⁰ Willis, *Cathedral Survey*, pp. vi-vii. Italics mine.

Willis envisaged his work as encouraging acts of charity for the repair of cathedrals – not dissimilar, in fact, to Dugdale’s own motivations in the *History*. Just as Dugdale’s account stood as a veiled condemnation of contemporary disrepair, so did Willis’s – although this time, the responsibility lay within the Church herself. Through his accounts of cathedrals’ histories and materiality, Willis hoped to ‘awaken’ the clergy to the fate of cathedrals and to endow them with a zeal for the Church’s cause. The polemical context and priorities might have changed since Dugdale’s publication of *The History of St Paul’s*, but cathedral history continued to be envisaged as a polemical discourse in defence of the Church – albeit now as a means of advocating reform from *within*.

*

This chapter has sought to provide a study of cathedral antiquarianism between c.1660 and c.1730, as another lens through which to consider how cathedrals were understood and engaged with outside formal ecclesiastical debates in this period, complementing the picture outlined in chapters 1-3. While (as chapter 2 explored) the experience of the 1640s and 1650s did not cement cathedrals’ ecclesiological significance or role within the Church, their Interregnum fate did lead to an increased awareness and interest in cathedrals’ materiality. As this chapter has shown, this both gave rise to an antiquarianism which celebrated the histories and materiality of cathedrals and moulded a generation more aware and appreciative of these buildings as antiquarian ‘objects’ in their own right. The period between 1660 and 1689 saw the tentative beginnings of a genre of antiquarian writing about cathedrals, spurred on by Dugdale’s *History of St Paul’s Cathedral* (1658). Earlier Tudor and Stuart accounts of cathedral histories were published, a reflection both of this growing interest in cathedrals and in these texts’ status as antiquarian objects themselves. However, there existed no single, coherent vision of cathedrals behind this interest during the Restoration period – thus reinforcing chapter 2’s findings. While both Dugdale’s draft second edition (composed during the Restoration) and Patrick’s expansion of Gunton’s *History of the Church of Peterburgh* (1686) demonstrate how cathedral antiquarianism could be a discourse through which Restoration conformists responded to the instability of the religious settlement, their works presented very different understandings of cathedrals. Dugdale promulgated a Laudian view of cathedrals as sacred ‘mother churches’, while the latitudinarian Patrick emphasised their Reformation pasts – differences also apparent in Heylyn and Burnet’s historical works (explored in chapter 4).

Cathedral antiquarianism continued to be used to promulgate different polemical agendas after 1689, demonstrating (as chapter 3 has explored) that different visions for cathedrals persisted in the post-revolutionary period. The non-juror Rawlinson thus continued to propagate the memory of the Civil Wars in vehement terms, while Gale used his cathedral history of Winchester to celebrate the Hanoverian succession. In the context of suggestions that cathedrals were widely considered markers of ‘Anglican’ identity in this period, such findings complicate the idea of ‘Anglicanism’ as a monolithic entity in the long eighteenth century.

Nonetheless, certain trends within cathedral antiquarianism demonstrate that 1689 did see a shift in perceptions of cathedrals (as argued in chapter 3). The first trend is the development of the cathedral ‘series’, and indeed the explosion of printed works. Those published during the Restoration were few and limited to single cathedrals, and the lack of published contemporary histories suggests a hesitancy in promoting cathedrals’ medieval pasts and materiality at a time when their place within the Church was still heavily debated. The period after 1689 (and especially 1714), however, saw an explosion in printed works, the majority of which focussed on several or multiple cathedrals, as exemplified by the works of Rawlinson and Willis in the 1710s and 1720s. The second trend was an increased clerical presence in cathedral antiquarianism (as patrons and contributors) after 1689 – particularly cathedral clergy, with cathedrals becoming more obviously antiquarian communities. Both these trends – an increased interest in cathedrals as a category and a prominent clerical presence – may demonstrate how the post-revolutionary period was more conducive to engaging with cathedrals as an institutional category after they had largely ceased to be part of ecclesiological debates following the Act of Toleration (as chapter 3 highlighted). Finally, the third trend concerned shifts in cathedral antiquarianism as polemical discourse. Although Rawlinson continued to propagate the divisive memory of the Civil Wars, the emotional vehemence of his account was the exception after 1689, with others’ engagement with this memory becoming more muted, vaguer and often lacking religious undertones – as evidenced by Gale’s works. Furthermore, as Willis’ example demonstrates, antiquarian lament increasingly focussed on contemporary neglect, rather than Civil War iconoclasm, using it to advocate Church reform – rather than as an attack on dissenters. As chapter 3 showed, cathedrals were gradually incorporated into an emerging culture of civility and sociability after 1689, and within this context, some dissenters chose to attend cathedral worship as a way of participating in that culture. During the Restoration period, cathedral antiquarianism had served as a discourse through which both ‘high’ and latitudinarian churchmen propagated the divisive memory of Civil War in response to religious instability and nonconformist challenges. The nuancing of this discourse after 1689 can be seen to reflect cathedrals’ integration into this emerging culture of civility. Cathedral antiquarianism (and interest in cathedrals as antiquarian objects) thus became, like attendance at cathedral worship, a means of participating in that culture in the long eighteenth century – one which, as the epilogue will show, was open to dissenters.

EPILOGUE AND CONCLUSION

A member of a prominent dissenting family, and daughter of the famed Parliamentary colonel, Nathaniel Fiennes,¹ Celia Fiennes (1662-1741) undertook a series of travels through England between c.1685 and c.1712. Recording observations on her various journeys, Celia later reworked the notes into a journal, intended for a broader audience.² Scholars have noted similarities between Celia's *Journeys* and the dissenter Daniel Defoe's *A Tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain* (1724-27), both for their interest in the modern state of the nation and because, 'Like Defoe, she did not share the current enthusiasm for antiquarianism'.³ While Celia's *Journeys* gave prominence to England's burgeoning trade and growing industries, her account was filled with observations of England's past and its remnants, including cathedrals. During her travels, Celia commented on, if not visited, all but two of England's twenty-two cathedrals.⁴ Although her journal remained in manuscript until 1812, it provides an insight into how nonconformists engaged with cathedrals after the Act of Toleration, and within the context of England's flourishing domestic tourism in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁵ Her engagement with cathedrals encapsulates certain trends which this thesis has sought to explore.

During her travels – Celia told the reader – she had sought to engage her mind not only for the sake of diversion, but that observations might 'remain for ... [her] after *conversation*'. She encouraged domestic travel, that 'the Ladies might have ... *some subject for conversation*', particularly 'to *entertain* strangers', thereby reflecting the importance of domestic tourism within an emerging culture of civility.⁶ Celia's engagement with cathedrals reflected this view of domestic travel as a means of stimulating conversation. Her journal repeatedly drew attention to what was 'remarkable' or 'curious', focussing on cathedrals' monuments, architecture and unique treasures (such as Chichester's wall-paintings or

¹ Colonel Fiennes had played an active role in the Long Parliament debates and during the Protectorate, notably in calling for the abolition of episcopacy. *ODNB*, 'Fiennes, Nathaniel (1607/8–1669)'.
² Christopher Morris, 'Introduction', in Celia Fiennes, *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes, c.1682-c.1712*, ed. Christopher Morris (Exeter, 1988; first publ. 1982), pp. 10-31 (p. 17).

³ *ODNB*, 'Fiennes, Celia (1662–1741)'. For Celia's interest in the modern state of the nation (and uninterest in antiquities), see E.G.R. Taylor, 'England of the Glorious Revolution', *Geographical Journal*, 111 (1948), 101-4; Esther Moir, *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists, 1540-1840* (London, 1964), p. 36; Fiennes, 'To the Reader', in Fiennes, *The Illustrated Journeys*, p. 32; Pamela Sharpe, 'Travelling the seventeenth-century English economy: a rediscovery of Celia Fiennes', *The Historian*, 58 (1998), 8-11. For a discussion of Celia's *Journeys* in the context of domestic travel and emerging views of nationhood and identity, see Andrew McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2009), ch. 5.

⁴ These were Christ Church, Oxford, and Rochester Cathedral, despite her visiting the cities. Lincoln Cathedral was neither explicitly mentioned nor treated, although Celia did recount, in detail, her experience in the bell tower. *The Illustrated Journeys*, p. 84.

⁵ On domestic tourism and popular engagement with England's antiquarian remains, see notably Sweet, *Antiquaries*, ch. 9.

⁶ Fiennes, 'To the Reader', in *The Illustrated Journeys*, p. 32. Italics mine.

Salisbury's ancient clock).⁷ Some, such as Norwich or Bristol Cathedral, were thus summarily dismissed as being 'fine large Cathedral[s] and very lofty but [having] *nothing remarkable of monuments or else*' and '*nothing fine or curious in ... [them]*'.⁸

While Celia showed interest in other big churches or ruins, such as Coventry and Glastonbury, cathedrals were engaged with in a way other buildings were not: as an architectural category.⁹ She commented on Salisbury being 'not so large *as some other Cathedralls*'.¹⁰ York Minster captured her imagination, 'the loftiness of the windows ... [being] more than ... [she] ever saw any where else' and 'the body of the Church ... larger *than any Cathedrall ... [she] ha[d] seen*'.¹¹ Despite her interest in the 'curious' and the unique, Celia conceived of cathedrals not simply as individual objects, but as a category of interrelated buildings. Furthermore, these were buildings which Celia actively engaged with.¹² At Hereford, she visited the cathedral library where she 'was shown by the Dean of Herriford the History of Pope Joan with her Picture', which though 'writt in old English ... [she] made a shift to read it'.¹³ Recounting her experience in the bell tower at Lincoln, Celia noted how the 'Great Tom' was 'rarely ever rung but only by ringing the Clapper to each side – which we did'.¹⁴ While such experiences legitimised her account as that of an eyewitness, they also demonstrate how cathedrals were not simply viewed as antiquarian objects but as buildings with which to engage – including by dissenters like Celia.

Celia prided herself on 'the freedom and Easyness' with which she spoke and wrote,¹⁵ and – from her journal accounts – held clear views about religion, praising dissenting meeting houses, disparaging Quakers and Papists, and describing William and Mary as 'deliverers' from Popery.¹⁶ Celia's engagement with cathedrals is significant, firstly, for what she did (or did not) comment on in view of her nonconformist identity. She repeatedly praised artistic depictions of biblical scenes, including an altar painting at Gloucester, 'soe fine that the tapestry and pillars and figure of Moses and Aaron ... [were] soe much to the life you would at least think it Carv'd'.¹⁷ She was also silent on instances of past iconoclasm, simply describing Exeter Cathedral's west front as 'preserv'd in its outside adornments beyond most ... [she] ha[d] seen, there remaining more of the fine carv'd worke in stone the figures

⁷ See, for example, *The Illustrated Journeys*, pp. 144, 191, 195. While using a well-established descriptive language, Celia sought to be discriminating in her judgement. See, for example, *The Illustrated Journeys*, pp. 65, 120-1, 178, 191.

⁸ *The Illustrated Journeys*, pp. 137, 172, 192. Italics mine. See also *The Illustrated Journeys*, p. 157.

⁹ See, for example, *The Illustrated Journeys*, pp. 66, 69, 189, 199. This did not stop her discriminating between cathedrals, minsters and abbeys.

¹⁰ *The Illustrated Journeys*, p. 37. Italics mine.

¹¹ *The Illustrated Journeys*, p. 91. Italics mine.

¹² See also *The Illustrated Journeys*, pp. 90, 92, 191, 199.

¹³ *The Illustrated Journeys*, p. 65.

¹⁴ *The Illustrated Journeys*, p. 84.

¹⁵ Fiennes, 'To the Reader', p. 32.

¹⁶ Celia's nonconformist views are particularly apparent in her positive portrayals of dissenting meeting houses and her comments on faith. See, for example, *The Illustrated Journeys*, pp. 183, 197.

¹⁷ *The Illustrated Journeys*, p. 190. See also *idem*, pp. 36-7.

and niches full'.¹⁸ This is interesting considering observations on Civil War iconoclasm were an important feature of cathedral antiquarian discourse. Secondly, her engagement with cathedrals is noteworthy for the lack of outward critique. While Celia's account included sarcastic comments – for instance on a funerary monument 'look[ing] more like a Soldier or Beau than a Bishop'¹⁹ – there were only two instances in which Celia outrightly critiqued cathedrals and their practices.²⁰

At Durham, Celia recounted her seeing 'severall fine embroyder'd Coapes' with elaborate scenes from Christ's life, which 'is put on the Deanes shoulders at the administration of the Lords Supper'. This, Celia observed, was 'the only place that they use these things in England, and several more Cerimonyes and Rites retained from the tymes of Popery', 'there ... [being] many papists in the town and popishly affected, and daily increase'.²¹ She similarly described Ely as '[the] Church [which] has the most Popish remains in its walls of any ... [she] ha[d] seen', and noted in her account how it 'was much frequented by the priests in King James the Seconds tyme and many of their Relics washed faire to be seen', with one priest rumoured to have claimed that 'they hoped quickly to be in possession of it'.²² As Celia exclaimed, 'blessed be God that put a tymely stop to the Protestants utter ruin and the hopes of the Papists'.²³ However, even these critiques were not of cathedrals *per se*, or even necessarily of those specific cathedrals. The problematic cathedral practices at Durham were portrayed as reflecting the city's being 'popishly affected'.²⁴ At Ely, she emphasised the active role of Roman Catholics in the church during James II's reign – thereby highlighting their agency in the survival of the cathedral's popish remnants. Celia also described these as 'still remain[ing]' (implying the possibility of change) and of the priests' plot as being to 'the Protestants utter ruin' (the 'Protestants' being the 'retainers to the Church') – thereby implying a view of cathedrals and their communities as Protestant.²⁵

Celia's engagement with cathedrals in her *Journeys* captures certain trends which this thesis has sought to consider. Firstly, it demonstrates that attitudes to cathedrals in the period between 1660 and 1714 were more complex than has previously been appreciated. Secondly, it shows how across this period, and especially as a result of the 1689 Act of Toleration, perceptions of cathedrals shifted. Thirdly, it reveals that, while different understandings of cathedrals continued to be promulgated after 1689, cathedrals' inclusion within an emerging culture of civility and sociability allowed for less polemical modes of engagement with cathedrals to develop. The following conclusion will seek to

¹⁸ *The Illustrated Journeys*, p. 199.

¹⁹ *The Illustrated Journeys*, p. 92.

²⁰ Durham and Ely. Interestingly, these are the only two cathedrals she described as having a bishop who was lord temporal.

²¹ *The Illustrated Journeys*, pp. 178-9.

²² *The Illustrated Journeys*, pp. 142-3.

²³ *The Illustrated Journeys*, p. 143.

²⁴ *The Illustrated Journeys*, p. 179.

²⁵ *The Illustrated Journeys*, pp. 142, 143.

summarise these trends and to consider what these might contribute to the question of ‘Anglicanism’ in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

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Current scholarship on the Restoration period has viewed cathedrals’ re-establishment in 1660 as uncontroversial. For Atherton, the decisive experience of the 1640s and 1650s led to English cathedrals ‘emerg[ing] from the Revolution strengthened and with a renewed purpose at the heart of the church’.²⁶ This led to their being ‘rapidly re-established ... as a considered act of Anglican identity’ at the Restoration.²⁷ While placing less importance on the 1640s and 1650s, other accounts have similarly presented the Restoration as a turning point in the history of (early modern) cathedrals, putting an end to the preceding century’s onslaught of iconoclasm, neglect and polemical attack.²⁸ This thesis has sought to reconsider such claims by exploring cathedrals’ place in ecclesiastical debate, historical writing and antiquarian scholarship between 1660 and 1714.

While the experience of the 1640s and 1650s did indeed lead, as Atherton claims, to an increased awareness of and interest in cathedrals’ materiality (as chapter 5 explored), their Interregnum fate did not generate agreement among royalists (or indeed former cathedral clergy) regarding their ecclesiological significance. As chapter 4 demonstrated, Thomas Fuller and Peter Heylyn’s histories reflected how their experiences of the episcopal Church’s abolition led them to very different conclusions about which aspects of the Church’s Reformation legacy were worth defending as fundamental to its very identity. These differences carried on into the Restoration period, as chapter 2 showed. Although their chapters were swiftly reconstituted over the summer and autumn of 1660, the theological spectrum evident among their clergy suggested no single, coherent vision behind cathedrals’ re-establishment. That cathedrals’ exact role in the Church was still disputed can be gleaned from their place in debates over religious settlement in 1660-2.

After the 1662 Act of Uniformity, a Laudian understanding of cathedrals as ceremonial ‘mother churches’ was reasserted, partly through the endeavours of the Restoration archbishops Gilbert Sheldon and William Sancroft, and partly through a re-assertion of diocesan notions of episcopacy. However, this vision was not unanimous nor was it unchallenged. As chapter 1 demonstrated, there existed myriad ways in which cathedrals were conceptualised within English Protestantism and this variety persisted into the Restoration period. This is evidenced by Heylyn and Burnet’s historical accounts, and Dugdale and Patrick’s antiquarian works, which celebrated different visions of cathedrals, while also defending their continued existence in the post-Reformation Church. While highlighting the existence of multiple

²⁶ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, p. 115.

²⁷ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals and the British Revolution’, p. 114.

²⁸ See above, introduction, pp. 11-4.

conceptions of cathedrals, chapter 1 also demonstrated that puritan engagement with cathedrals was more complex than one of straightforward opposition, and this complexity similarly persisted in nonconformist attitudes after the Restoration. Nonconformists thus not only questioned cathedrals' Protestant credentials, but challenged the 'high' church vision of cathedrals propagated by some Restoration churchmen (and what it said about the national Church and religious identity) to further their own cause and promulgate other visions of the Church and English Protestantism.

Advocates of toleration highlighted cathedrals' failure to live up to Restoration 'high' churchmen's ecclesiological standards to demonstrate the impossibility of strict conformity (and uniformity), and thus the Church's implicit acceptance of tolerationist principles. Proponents of comprehension similarly rejected the 'high' church narrative, either for its reading of cathedrals as diocesan/episcopal, or for their portrayal as embodying the English Church. Cathedrals' growing ecclesiological significance among 'high' churchmen, however, cemented the idea of cathedrals as 'untouchable' institutions. This was reflected in conformist proposals for accommodation after 1662 which repeatedly sought to protect cathedrals from the consequences of such moves. Recognising the opposition they would encounter in seeking to reform cathedrals (either in worship or regarding their role in the Church), a minority of nonconformist divines (notably the puritan minister Richard Baxter) adapted their proposals by 'abandoning' cathedrals in the hope of moving the wider Church towards comprehension.

The passing of the Act of Toleration in 1689 transformed the Church of England from *the* national Church into an established one. Scholarship on cathedrals from 1689 has shown limited interest in charting the impact of these events beyond prosopographies of nonjuring clergy. Instead, the picture of post-revolutionary cathedrals is one of division and dispute (particularly during the 'rage of party'), of isolation from broader debates and society, and of spiritual negligence and idleness. However, as chapter 3 explored, cathedrals continued to be involved in debates after 1689. Awareness of the Church's need to efficiently utilise its resources within the "commercialization of religion",²⁹ meant that the question of cathedral ministry was raised afresh. Churchmen promulgated different visions of how best to incorporate cathedrals into the Church's response to the post-revolutionary challenge of a denominational marketplace. One response, exemplified by Burnet, sought to *redefine* cathedral ministry along more pastoral and educational lines, thereby drawing inspiration from the vision of cathedrals as centres of reform which he had promulgated in his Restoration historical works (see chapter 4). This was controversial, however, drawing opposition from high churchmen both for its drastic proposals regarding pluralism and for its redefinition of cathedral ministry. The failure to implement this vision – and the opposition it generated – was reflected in the low churchman John Strype's historical works. While offering a 'Burnetine reading of the sixteenth century',³⁰ Strype's more

²⁹ Gregory, 'The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of the Anglican clergy after 1689', p. 70.

³⁰ Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*, p. 83.

nuanced depiction of cathedrals' place in the Reformation reflected the experience of challenges and divisions within the post-revolutionary Church.

While Burnet's vision centred on harnessing cathedrals' pastoral and educational potential to win dissenters back, another vision focussed on the need for reforming cathedral worship as a means of achieving comprehension. Not only does this reveal continued attempts to promote Protestant unity after 1689, it also demonstrates an evolution in cathedrals' place within these proposals. Where once cathedrals had been included in relation to Church government, the question of cathedral ministry debates in 1689-90 led to cathedral worship taking centre stage when considering how best to persuade dissenters to re-join the Church. The failure of both this and Burnet's visions for the post-revolutionary cathedrals, however, suggests that a view of cathedrals as centred on ceremonial worship had become established. Indeed, a third response to the question of cathedral ministry within the post-revolutionary Church sought neither to redefine nor reform it, but to celebrate it as a unique ministry and form of devotion within the Church and the denominational marketplace. Interestingly, this was promoted by both latitudinarian and high churchmen.

While cathedrals continued to be debated and different visions for them promulgated after 1689, the Act of Toleration nonetheless had a significant impact on the ways in which cathedrals were conceptualised. Burnet's proposals, for instance, while drawing on an earlier Protestant cathedral ideal, adapted it to the post-revolutionary Church's emphasis on pastoral ministry. Cathedrals' place in comprehension proposals similarly changed as a result of 1689, and understandings of cathedrals as centred on worship lost the 'Laudian' ideal's emphasis on conformity and coercion. Most importantly, while cathedrals were implicated in ecclesiological debates during the Restoration period, this appears no longer to be the case after 1689. For high churchmen hoping to reassert the Church's coercive power, cathedrals were no longer regarded as ecclesologically significant for achieving these aims. Instead they placed their hopes in Convocation. This shift in cathedrals' ecclesiological importance after 1689 was also apparent among nonjuring churchmen. As chapter 4 showed, Jeremy Collier's treatments of cathedrals in his *Ecclesiastical History* revealed how far the experience of deprivation and ejection led to a shift in nonjuring high churchmen's ecclesiology, which saw cathedrals' ecclesiological significance and connection to episcopal power undermined and denied. That cathedrals ceased to appear in ecclesiological debates after 1689 is also reflected in developments within cathedral antiquarianism. As chapter 5 explored, while the experience of the 1640s and 1650s led to an increased awareness and interest in cathedrals' materiality, it was only after 1689 (and perhaps even 1714) that cathedral antiquarianism began to flourish as a genre, suggesting greater confidence in celebrating cathedrals as a category.

Finally, the period after 1689 saw a shift in nonconformist engagement with cathedrals. No longer fighting either for indulgence or for a national Church whose Reformation legacy they sought to change,

cathedrals only rarely appeared in nonconformist critiques after the Act of Toleration. While dissenters ceased to be interested in cathedrals ecclesiologically, their engagement with them after 1689 interestingly echoed developments among conformists. The first concerned cathedral worship. As cathedrals came to be included within an emerging culture of civility, cathedral worship became a means of participating in that culture – as Daniel Disney lamented and the Presbyterian Mary Crane’s example in chapter 3 may demonstrate. The second development concerned cathedral antiquarianism. During the Restoration period, cathedral antiquarianism had served as a discourse through which both ‘high’ and latitudinarian churchmen propagated the divisive memory of Civil War in response to religious instability and nonconformist challenges. The nuancing of this discourse after 1689, and Celia Fiennes’ example, suggests that cathedral antiquarianism – whether in printed form or through domestic tourism – became another expression of that emerging culture of civility, and a means through which dissenters could participate in it during the long eighteenth century.

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While this thesis is concerned neither with the issue of Anglicanism *per se*, nor with the emergence of ‘denominations’, its findings contribute to questions raised by the new *Oxford History of Anglicanism* in relation to the period 1660-1714. Indeed, its conclusions reinforce growing doubts – formulated, notably, by Anthony Milton – regarding the possibility of talking about ‘Anglicanism’ before the passing of the 1689 Act of Toleration. As I hope to have shown, cathedrals’ continued involvement in ecclesiastical and polemical debate during the Restoration period demonstrates the difficulties of speaking about ‘Anglicanism’, ‘Anglicans’ or ‘Anglican’ identity during the Restoration period.

The contested nature of cathedrals during the Restoration period – particularly ecclesiologically – reflects competing visions of the English Church and a desire to (re)shape its religious settlement. Nonconformist engagement with cathedrals (and indeed the problem of coercion) demonstrates how far the Church of England was still envisaged *as the* national Church to which all were expected to belong. That this form of engagement with cathedrals appears to have ceased after the Act of Toleration demonstrates a shift in the Church’s status, as nonconformists were no longer compelled to grapple with controversial aspects of the Church’s Reformation legacy. Furthermore, this thesis’s study of the cause of comprehension – particularly its evolution – demonstrates just how seriously presbyterian divines took the idea of a national Church. Far from sticking to past solutions, they responded to the changed context of the Restoration years and actively adapted their proposals, seeking new ways of envisaging a comprehensive Church settlement. This demonstrates deeper engagement with the national Church than the focus on parishes scholars have hitherto stressed. This rethinking not only demonstrates the continued commitment of this group to the Church of England, despite challenges and persecution, but also displays just how fluid religious identity was within the boundaries of the Church before 1689.

To speak of ‘Anglicanism’ in the Restoration period would be to dismiss the experience of this group, for whom the religious settlement was still perceived as open to negotiation and reform. However, neither should 1689 be seen as resolving the ‘issue’ of cathedrals or instantaneously seeing the formation of ‘Anglicanism’. Cathedrals continued to be debated and different visions for them promulgated, as churchmen considered how best to respond to the Act of Toleration and its challenges. This further complicates the idea that ‘Anglicanism’ existed as a monolithic entity in the long eighteenth century. Nonetheless, 1689 did see a shift in how cathedrals were engaged with and understood. Earlier visions for cathedrals evolved as a result of the Church’s changed circumstances as one religious entity among many, now unable to enforce attendance at its worship or adherence to its practices. Furthermore, cathedrals’ disappearance from ecclesiological debates after 1689 suggests that, while ecclesiologically contested during the Restoration, the period after the Act of Toleration had an impact on how cathedrals’ place in the Church and English society was understood. However, this is not to claim that cathedrals became established markers of Anglican identity during the eighteenth century as a result of 1689.

Indeed, the reforms of Bishop Edmund Gibson (1669-1748) in the early 1730s proposed to dissolve the bishoprics of Rochester, Bristol and Gloucester and convert their cathedrals into collegiate churches.³¹ The aim of such reforms was to establish better episcopal oversight and administration by applying these revenues to founding three new (better placed) bishoprics and cathedrals.³² Such reforms, however, did not attack cathedrals’ existence in the Church. This question was raised by the Victorian reforms of 1828-32, and two of the most popular proposals recommended that cathedrals be abolished and turned either into parish churches or diocesan theological colleges.³³ Yet whereas Thomas Good had lamented the lack of any written ‘Vindication of Cathedrals’ in 1674, cathedrals were not without advocates in 1828-32. These proposals were attacked in numerous publications, which sought both to defend cathedrals, and to promote their contributions to the Church and society.³⁴ That this was the case suggests, to some extent, that the Act of Toleration did have an impact on cathedrals’ place in English culture and the English imagination – and a study of their place in debates and writings during the long eighteenth century and the Victorian reforms would be fascinating in charting the evolution of this position.

³¹ On Gibson’s reforms, see Stephen Taylor (ed.), ‘Bishop Edmund Gibson’s Proposals for Church Reform’, in Taylor (ed.), *From Cranmer to Davidson*, pp. 171-202.

³² Sykes, *From Sheldon to Secker*, ch. 6, esp. p. 195.

³³ Virgin, *The Church in an Age of Negligence*, p. 24.

³⁴ See, for example, E.B. Pusey, *Remarks on the Prospective and Past Benefits of Cathedral Institutions in the Promotion of Sound and Religious Knowledge and of Clerical Education* (London, 1833; second ed.).

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