

**English Attitudes toward Continental Protestants  
with Particular Reference to Church Briefs c.1680-1740**

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## **Abstract**

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It has long been accepted that the Catholic threat posed by Louis XIV played an important role in English politics from the late seventeenth century onwards. The expansionist politics of Louis and his attempts to eliminate Protestants within his sphere of influence enhanced the sense of a general crisis of Protestantism in Europe. Moreover news of the persecution of foreign Protestants stimulated a great deal of anti-popish sentiment as well as a sense of the need for Protestant solidarity.

The purpose of my studies is to explore how the English perceived the persecution of continental Protestants and to analyse what it meant for the English to be involved in various relief programmes for them from c. 1680 to 1740. Accordingly, I have examined the church briefs which were issued to raise contributions for the relief of continental Protestants, and which serve as evidence of Protestant internationalism against the perceived Catholic threat of the day. I have considered the spectrum of views concerning continental Protestants within the Church; in some attitudes evinced by clergymen, there was an element which might be called ecclesiastical imperialism rather than internationalism. At the same time I have examined laymen's attitudes; this investigation of the activities of the SPCK, one of the most influential voluntary societies of the day, which was closely concerned with continental Protestants, fulfills this purpose. In the eighteenth century the Church of England became more reluctant to get involved with the foreign Protestants and applications from them for fund raising tended to fail to obtain support. Nevertheless when an application for a brief was turned down, the SPCK in some cases stepped in, until the time came when its Protestant internationalism, inherited from the age of Louis XIV, also faded away.



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## Abbreviations

BL	British Library
Bod	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BPU	Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Geneva
<i>Cal. S. P. Dom.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series</i>
<i>Cal. Tr. Books</i>	<i>Calendar of Treasury Books</i>
<i>Cal. Tr. Papers</i>	<i>Calendar of Treasury Papers</i>
CLRO	Corporation of London Records Office, London
GL	Guildhall Library, London
GRO	Gloucestershire Record Office, Gloucester
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library, London
<i>PHS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London</i> (up to 1985), <i>Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i> (after 1985)
PRO	Public Record Office, London
SRO	Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford
SSV	Società di Studi Valdesi, Torre Pellice
UA	Unitätsarchiv, Herrnhut
USPG	United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Archives, Oxford



## Note on Style

Dates are given in Old Style (OS) as to the events in Britain, while dates on the continent are given in New Style (NS), except where indicated. The year is taken as starting on 1 January rather than 25 March, the English New Year in Old Style.

Spelling and capitalisation of seventeenth and eighteenth century material are modernised, except the titles of publications.



## Introduction

It has long been accepted that the Catholic threat posed by Louis XIV played an important role in English politics from the late seventeenth century onwards. The expansionist policies of Louis and his attempts to eliminate Protestants within his sphere of influence enhanced the sense of a general crisis of Protestantism in Europe. Moreover news of the persecution of foreign Protestants, together with a large influx of Huguenot refugees into England, stimulated a great deal of anti-popish sentiment as well as a sense of the need for Protestant solidarity. With the accession of James II, his pro-Catholic policy, though involving also toleration for dissenters, accelerated anxiety about the future of English Protestantism, and contributed to the events of 1688 and 'the Glorious Revolution.'<sup>1</sup> However, insufficient attempts have been made hitherto to analyse in detail the precise nature of the response to the general crisis of Protestantism in Europe.

Given the English concern with these continental developments, it is striking how few studies have so far been made of the response to the crisis from the English point of view.<sup>2</sup> As a member of the European-wide

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<sup>1</sup> For discussion of international developments in the 1680s, see John Carswell, *The Descent on England* (London, 1969); Andrew Lossky, 'The General European Crisis of the 1680s', *European History Review*, 10 (1980); Jonathan I. Israel ed., *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its World Impact* (Cambridge, 1991); J. F. Bosher, 'The Franco-Catholic Danger, 1660-1715', *History*, 79 (1994). For the Catholic factor in Restoration England, see John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660-1688* (Cambridge, 1973).

<sup>2</sup> Along with Israel, op. cit., the articles in Ragnhild Hatton and J. S. Bromley eds, *William III and Louis XIV: Essays 1680-1720 by and for Mark A. Thomson* (Liverpool, 1968) still provide useful insights into English involvement with continental affairs of the period. As to the ecclesiastical aspect, Norman Sykes noted that developments in the Church of England of the period were very much affected by relations with the foreign Protestant churches. See Norman Sykes, *The Church of England and Non-episcopal Churches in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: An Essay towards an historical*



Protestant community England had been engaged in a long battle against Catholicism since the late sixteenth century which, if it cannot necessarily be described as an open war of religion, was at least a cold war. Thus, financial support was regularly offered to the distressed foreign brethren, and plans for Protestant union in Europe, from a military level to an ecclesiastical one, existed throughout the period. When William of Orange ascended the English throne, the conflict with France, into which the English were plunged, was seen by many as a religious war, and the Williamite propagandists willingly exploited this in order to justify English commitment to the European-wide war against France.<sup>3</sup> Their accounts were couched in strongly Protestant language: free Protestant England was set against popery and the tyranny of France, and the current European situation was interpreted in terms of Protestant countries ranged against Popish ones. The fact that William's alliance included the Holy Roman Emperor and Spain, and moreover that they had the Pope's blessing as well, were often conveniently forgotten. These views were reinforced by the increasing religious polarisation of the allies of William III, and later Anne,

*Interpretation of the Anglican Tradition from Whitgift to Wake* (London, 1949); do., 'Ecumenical Movements in Great Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, eds Ruth Rouse and S. C. Neill (London, 1954); do., *Old Priest and New Presbyterian* (Cambridge, 1955); do., 'Godly Union and Concord', in do., *From Sheldon to Secker: Aspects of English Church History 1660-1768* (Cambridge, 1959). Although more specialised, two articles of Eamon Duffy, '"Correspondence Fraternelle"; The SPCK, the SPG, and the Churches of Switzerland in the War of the Spanish Succession', *Studies in Church History*, Subsidia, 2 (1979) and 'The Society of [sic] Promoting Christian Knowledge and Europe: The Background to the Founding of the Christentumsgesellschaft', *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 7 (1981) provide valuable insights into English efforts to safeguard the Protestant community on the continent in the eighteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> For the Protestant aspect of William III's propaganda and its link with his foreign policy, see Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge, 1996), especially chap. 4.



on the one side, against the allies of the Jacobite claimants and Louis XIV on the other.<sup>4</sup> Protestant internationalism became an official banner. Daniel Defoe, a supporter of William III, wrote:

.....a war of religion will require us to lay aside all our ill-natured animosities: Here is no foreigners, no refugees, no Dutch men; 'Tis a Protestant, is the general term....

In this cause of religion, gentlemen, if the Swede or the Dane, or the most remote nation be attacked, we are only to examine if the Protestant religion be his signal: if so, we ought to help them be what nation or people soever....When the Protestants in any part of Europe are attacked, *Proximus ardet*; Let us consider, if ever the fire of popery consumes the Protestant powers of Europe, the flame will certainly catch hold of us in England.<sup>5</sup>

These religious considerations were strengthened by Huguenot influences on English opinion. For English journalism, which had developed rapidly after the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695, depended heavily on the activities of Huguenot refugees, embracing as they did most of Europe and releasing information to every corner of the 'republic of letters'. Not only did the press rely on Huguenot news sources, but also many Huguenots worked as news-translators and editors.<sup>6</sup> It is no wonder that post-revolution

<sup>4</sup> The Huguenot journalist Abel Boyer's popular contemporary histories, *The History of King William the Third*, 3 vols (London, 1702-1703) and *The History of the Reign of Queen Anne, digested into Annals*, 11 vols (London, 1703-1713) are typical examples of this view. Sugiko Nishikawa, 'Abel Boyer: A Huguenot Émigre in England during the Wars against Louis XIV', *Seiyoshigaku, or Studies in Western History*, 163 (1992), 25-31.

<sup>5</sup> [Daniel Defoe], *The Danger of the Protestant Religion from the Present prospect of a Religious War in Europe* (London, 1701), pp. 18-19.

<sup>6</sup> For the Huguenot contribution to journalism, see Graham C. Gibbs, 'The Role of the Dutch Republic as the intellectual entrepot of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 86 (1971); do., 'Some intellectual and political Influences of the Huguenot Émigrés in the United Provinces, c.1680-1730', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 90 (1975); do., 'Huguenot Contributions to England's Intellectual Life and England's Intellectual Commerce with Europe, c. 1680-1720', in *Huguenots in*



England was flooded with detailed news of the persecutions on the continent and that Protestant martyrologies proliferated.<sup>7</sup> Seen in this context, the

*Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800*, ed. Irene Scouloudi (London, 1987); do, 'The Contribution of Abel Boyer to Contemporary History in England in the Early Eighteenth Century', in *Clio's Mirror: Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands*, eds A. C. Duke and C. A. Tamse (Zutphen 1985). For the 'republic of letters', see Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680-1750* (New Haven & London, 1995).

<sup>7</sup> The titles of these martyrologies are highly revealing. For example, P. G. D., *The Present State of the Protestants in France: or, an Account of the Violent and Barbarous Persecution They now lye under, and have done ever since the Treaty of Peace at Reswick* (London, 1701); anon., *An Account of the Sufferings and Dying Words, of several French Protestants, under this present Persecution. As it was received from the Hands of several Protestant Ministers, who Arrived lately in England* (London & Edinburgh, 1699). A book of the same title was published in Glasgow, 1717; anon., *An Abstract of Some Letters: Wherein are related the horrible Cruelties done to the French Protestant Slaves on Board the Gallies, on the Account of the Reformed Religion* (London, 1713). The same text is in 'A Faithful Account of the Cruelties done to the Protestants on board the French King's Gallies, on the account of the Reformed Religion' (London, 1700) in *The Torments of Protestant Slaves in the French King's Gallies, and in the Dungeons of Marseilles, 1686-1707 A.D.* ed. Edward Arber (London, 1907); anon., 'An Historical Account of the Sufferings and Death of the Faithful Confessor and Martyr, Monsieur Isaac Le Fevre. An Advocate of Parliament: who, after Eighteen Years' Imprisonment, died a Slave in the French King's Gallies. Together with a particular Relation of the Condition of the other miserable Prisoners there' (London, 1704) in ed. E. Arber, op.cit.; anon., *The Groans of the Oppressed. Or: An Account of the cruel, inhumane, and bloody Persecutions of the Protestants in France and Savoy by the barbarous Papists; suffering for the sake of Religion all manner of Torments* (Glasgow, 1701); A. d'Auborn, *The French Convert: being a true Relation of the happy Conversion of a noble French Lady, from the Errors and Superstitions of Popery, to the Reformed Religion, by means of a Protestant Gardiner (sic), her Servant. Wherein is shewed, her great and unparalleled Sufferings, on Account of her said Conversion: as also her wonderful Deliverance from two Assassins hired by a Popish Priest to Merthyr her: and of her miraculous Preservation in a Wood for two years; and how she was at last providentially found by her Husband, who ( together with her Parents ) was brought over by her Means to the Embracing of the true Religion, as were divers others also. The whole Relation being sent*



Catholic threat is likely to have fuelled the sense of Protestant internationalism among the English at this time. However we conceive of Augustan England, its political-religious aspect needs to be located in a European setting. Without it, we fail to get a true picture of politics and religion both before and after the 'Glorious Revolution'.

The purpose of the present study is to explore how the English perceived the persecution of continental Protestants and to analyse what it meant for the English to be involved in various relief programmes on their behalf from c. 1680 to 1740. Accordingly, it will concentrate initially on the church briefs which were issued to raise contributions for the relief of continental Protestants, and which serve as evidence of Protestant internationalism against the perceived Catholic threat of the day (Chapters I & II).

Church briefs had been issued by royal command since Tudor times to urge members of parishes to make generous donations for various charitable purposes. Generally they concerned domestic matters such as compensation for victims of fire or the cost of repairing a parish church, but they were also used as a method of raising collections publicly for continental Protestants. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries continental Protestants frequently asked for financial help from English Protestants. According to W. A. Bewes, who attempted in 1896 to list the records of briefs, they were issued on at least 32 occasions for continental Protestants from 1568 onwards, and the English generously responded to the calls for the help of their brethren in spite of the briefs' carrying no legal enforcement.<sup>8</sup> Although the work of Bewes is a good introduction to briefs as well as providing a valuable listing, and more recently T. L. Auffenberg has

*by a Protestant Minister, now a Prisoner in France, to a French Refugee in London*, 2nd edn (London, 1699).

<sup>8</sup> W. A. Bewes, *Church Briefs or Royal Warrants for Collections for charitable Objects* (London, 1896), pp. 57-58. Between the 1660s and the 1730s briefs for the continental Protestants were issued on at least 18 occasions.



supplied details of the system between 1625 and 1705, to date no extended study of the briefs for the continental Protestants as such has been undertaken.<sup>9</sup> (The one exception to this generalisation is that of the briefs for the Huguenots in England in the 1680s.<sup>10</sup>) One of the objectives will be to offer a fuller picture of the Protestant briefs in Augustan England.

Unfortunately, however, the survival of brief records is limited: they are mainly found in local archives which usually note only the receipt of a brief and the sum collected. Consequently, it is very difficult to make out individual reasons for donations at the parish level: in the case of some of briefs even the total sums collected cannot be discovered. We simply have to assume that the degree of sympathy of the English towards the persecuted continental Protestants was reflected, to some extent, in the total sum of the collections. Moreover certain briefs turned out to be registered in only a

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<sup>9</sup> Bewes, *ibid.* ; T. L. Auffenberg, 'Organized English Benevolence: Church Briefs 1625-1705' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1973). Mark Harris, "'Inky Blots and Rotten Parchment Bonds': London, Charity Briefs and the Guildhall Library", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 66 (1993) and 'The Finding and Use of Brief Records', *Archives*, 11 (1994) give some useful lists of briefs in local historical society publications.

<sup>10</sup> Along with the other forms of financial aid to the Huguenot refugees in England, such as the 'royal bounty', the collections under the briefs for them in the 1680s have been widely examined. For example, W. A. Shaw, 'The English Government and the Relief of Protestant Refugees', *English Historical Review*, 9 (1894); George B. Beeman, 'Notes on the City of London Records dealing with the French Protestant Refugees. Especially with Reference to the Collection made under various Briefs', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* (subsequently cited as *PHS*), 7 (1901-1904); Raymond Smith, 'Financial Aid to French Protestant Refugees 1681-1727: Briefs and the Royal Bounty', *PHS*, 22 (1970-6); *Records in the Huguenot Library: The Royal Bounty and connected Funds, the Burn Donation, The Savoy Church 1689-94*, ed. do., quarto ser., Huguenot Society London, 51 (1974); Huguenot Library London, R. A. Sundstrom, 'The Huguenots in England 1680-1876: A Study in Alien Assimilation,' (unpublished revised version of PhD dissertation, 1978. Originally submitted at Kent State University, 1972); M. M. Escott, 'Profiles of Relief: Royal Bounty grants to Huguenot Refugees, 1686-1709', *PHS*, 25 (1989-93).



handful of parish records. For example, while a few local church records list the reading of the brief for building a Protestant church in Mitau in the Duchy of Courland (now Jelgava in Latvia) in 1709–10,<sup>11</sup> no central record of the issue of it has been found. Even in the 1720s an attempt to make a list of past 'briefs for foreign charity' failed: it listed only six briefs and ended up by saying simply that 'there has been several other briefs by order of council as [to] the Palatines.'<sup>12</sup> We need to keep in mind the deficiencies of the brief records and make the maximum use of other contemporary sources, such as correspondence and diaries. Moreover the records at the SPCK archives, London, reveal that when an application for a church brief was turned down, this voluntary society in some cases stepped in. Thus, any account of church briefs will not be sufficient without a discussion of those who promoted church briefs and other relief programmes for the continental Protestants. Their attitudes towards continental Protestants will also be investigated in the following chapters.

The English individuals engaged in the church briefs for continental Protestants varied from bishops to laymen of means in the City of London. Since church briefs were organised through the Church of England, we will be considering the spectrum of views within the Church itself concerning continental Protestants; in some of the attitudes evinced by clergymen, there was an element which might be called ecclesiastical imperialism rather than internationalism. A central figure is Henry Compton, Bishop of London. Whereas in the 1680s he was one of the active promoters of church briefs as well as the ardent guardian of the Huguenot refugees, by the 1700s he was

<sup>11</sup> Maresfield register, Sussex, in Edward Turner, 'Briefs', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 21 (1869), 212; Cowley register, Oxford, in J. Horsfall Turner, 'Briefs in Parish Registers', *Notes and Queries*, 6th ser., 2 (1880), 188; *The General Accounts of the Churchwardens of Chipping Campden 1626 to 1907*, ed. Leighton Bishop (Broadway, Worcestershire, 1992), p. 160.

<sup>12</sup> Public Record Office, London, SP 36/9–55. This list included the brief for Mitau.



becoming more preoccupied with propagating the Church of England overseas. Moreover he subsequently became a supporter of both Sacheverell and Atterbury who had a marked distaste for non-episcopal foreign Protestants. Though most scholars would generally accept that Compton counted as a 'high church' bishop,<sup>13</sup> his attitude towards non-episcopal Protestants remains an open question. A detailed consideration of the change of attitudes in his long relationship with foreign Protestants is provided in Chapter III.

Chapter IV seeks to explore the attitudes of laymen towards distressed continental Protestants. The investigation of the leading members and activities of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), lay-oriented and one of the most influential and well established voluntary societies throughout the eighteenth century, which was closely concerned with continental Protestants, fulfils this purpose. Its membership covered a wide range of 'respectable' people, such as well-established men of letters, bankers, lawyers, and clergymen,<sup>14</sup> and their religious positions varied from those of a non-juror to those of a Halle pietist. Admittedly Thomas Bray, who exerted great influence in the foundation of the SPCK in 1699, was a clergyman and protégé of Bishop Compton. Yet, as will be argued in the first part of this chapter, it seems reasonable to conclude, when one considers who were the other leading members, that the Society represented a cross-section of upper secular and lay society. Therefore, a close scrutiny of their

<sup>13</sup> Edward Carpenter, *The Protestant Bishop* (London, 1956), chap.10; G. V. Bennett, 'King William III and the Episcopate', in *Essays in Modern English Church History: In Memory of Norman Sykes*, eds G. V. Bennett & J. D. Walsh (London, 1966), pp. 124-131; Mark Goldie, 'John Locke, John Proast and Religious Toleration 1688-1692,' in *The Church of England, c. 1689 - c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, eds John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 163-164.

<sup>14</sup> For the variety of its membership, see William A. and Phyllis W. Bultman, 'The Roots of Anglican Humanitarianism: A Study of the Membership of the S. P. C. K. and the S. P. G., 1699-1720', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 33 (1964).



attitudes towards continental Protestants will shed light on the response of the English laity to the persecutions of the continent.

It is desirable here to mention briefly recent studies of the SPCK. Recent years have seen a renewal of interest in this organisation in the context of the movement of moral reform in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>15</sup> The Society has been much discussed as the epitome of Anglican evangelistic zeal and is well known for its dedicated work in the distribution of Christian literature, while contributing to the organisation and support of charity schools and workshop movements.<sup>16</sup> Whereas the fact that continental Protestants were in regular contact with the SPCK has been

<sup>15</sup> As regards recent studies of moral reform, see W. A. Speck, 'The Societies for the Reformation of Manners: A Case Study in the Theory and Practice of Moral Reform', *Literature and History*, 3 (1976); Eamon Duffy, 'Primitive Christianity Revived: Religious Renewal in Augustan England', *Studies in Church History*, 14 (1977); Tina Isaacs, 'The Anglican Hierarchy and the Reformation of Manners 1688-1738', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982); David Hayton, 'Moral Reform and Country Politics in the late Seventeenth Century House of Commons', *Past & Present*, 127 (1990); John Spurr, 'The Church, the Societies and the Moral Revolution of 1688', in op. cit., eds John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (Cambridge, 1993); Craig Rose, 'Providence, Protestant Union and Godly Reformation in the 1690s', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 3 (1993); Tony Claydon, op. cit.

<sup>16</sup> Joan Simon, 'From Charity School to Workhouse in the 1720s: The SPCK and Mr Marriott's solution', *History of Education*, 17 (1988); Craig Rose, 'Politics, Religion and Charity in Augustan London c.1680-1720', (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1988); do., 'The Origins and Ideals of the SPCK 1699-1716', in op. cit., eds John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (Cambridge, 1993); Daniel Brunner, 'The Role of Halle Pietists in England (c. 1700- c.1740), with special reference to the SPCK', (unpublished DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1988); Tim Hitchcock, 'Paupers and Preachers: The SPCK and the Parochial Workhouse Movement', in *Stilling the Grumbling Hive: The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England, 1689-1750*, eds L. Davison, T. Hitchcock, T. Keirn and R. B. Shoemaker (Stroud, 1992); David Hayton, 'Did Protestantism fail in early eighteenth-century Ireland? Charity schools and the enterprise of religious and social reformation, c. 1690-1730', in *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland since the Reformation*, eds Alan Ford, James McGuire and Kenneth Milne (Dublin, 1995).



noted, only a few attempts, path breaking though they are, have so far been made to examine SPCK's relations with foreign Protestants.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, little attention has been given to the SPCK's involvement with various relief activities for distressed foreign Protestants including the briefs, although there is considerable evidence to prove that its leading members were deeply engaged in this area.

The religious and political proclivities of the SPCK remain another subject of debate.<sup>18</sup> In 1959 Lowther Clarke, an official historian of the Society, told us that it 'was founded to do practical work, not to promote devotion---that [i.e., the former] was the indispensable foundation of their activities'.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, others have until recently failed to give a more convincing explanation about the wide range of membership of the SPCK. What could make the members work together in the Society in a period of fierce party conflict? In the more recent historiography, however, of the SPCK during the eighteenth century, Craig Rose has brilliantly shown that 'the Society's primary concern was to reassert the influence of the Church of England'; and to that end, he points out, its members repeatedly asserted the

<sup>17</sup> Eamon Duffy's two articles in the note 2 above have provided an outline of the SPCK's link with Protestants in Switzerland and Halle in Saxony, although he did not document this in detail; Daniel Brunner's DPhil dissertation, op. cit., has widely explored how the Society undertook various ventures inspired by Halle pietists. Some other scholars also have recently begun to acknowledge the importance of seeing the SPCK in the European setting. See, Tim Hitchcock, op. cit., pp. 148-152, 162; David Hayton, 'Did Protestantism fail in early eighteenth-century Ireland?', pp. 172-173.

<sup>18</sup> W. O. B. Allen and Edmund McClure, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898* (London, 1898); S. C. McCulloch, 'The Foundation and Early Work of the S.P.C.K.', *The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the U.S.A.* (March 1949); H. P. Thompson, *Thomas Bray* (London, 1954); Leonard W. Cowie, *Henry Newman: An American in London 1708-43* (London, 1956); W. K. Lowther Clarke, *The History of the S.P.C.K.* (London, 1959).

<sup>19</sup> Lowther Clarke, *ibid.*, p. 3.



importance of the unity of the church against the tide of party conflict.<sup>20</sup> The reason that the SPCK propagated the charity schools as one of its main projects, is that schools were 'viewed as a force for unity in a politically divided society.'<sup>21</sup> Daniel Brunner confirms this point from a different angle. Whereas Rose confines his analysis mainly to the insular context and pays very little attention to the SPCK's links with foreign Protestants,<sup>22</sup> Brunner, on the other hand, in his DPhil dissertation, 'The Role of Halle Pietists in England', has explored how the Society undertook various ventures inspired by the Pietists at Halle in Germany. He has thus shown its ecumenical aspect which could allow it to co-operate with diverse Protestant denominations; the Protestant mission in India remained its largest scale joint project with Halle Pietists and Danish Lutherans throughout the eighteenth century. <sup>23</sup>

The present thesis does not dispute the above points made by Rose and Brunner, or the general view that the distribution of Christian literature was the most important thread throughout. However, there is still room for a considerable measure of disagreement about the role of anti-Catholicism: whereas historians until the 1970s agreed that it was a dominant factor in the

<sup>20</sup> Rose, 'Politics, Religion and Charity', especially chaps 4-5; do., 'The Origins and Ideals of the SPCK'.

<sup>21</sup> Rose, 'Politics, Religion and Charity', p. 135. For the charity school movement, see M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement : A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action* (Cambridge, 1938).

<sup>22</sup> See especially Rose, 'Politics, Religion and Charity', p. 86.

<sup>23</sup> Brunner, op. cit.



SPCK's activities,<sup>24</sup> recent studies tend to play down its importance.<sup>25</sup> Rose claims that 'anti-popery can in no sense be described as an issue of central importance to the Society. It came to the fore only at moments of acute danger to the Protestant Succession. In fact, hostility to Quakerism loomed much larger in the SPCK's deliberations.'<sup>26</sup> Even if an argument remains about the importance of the anti-popish factor, it is clear that the SPCK was engaged in several such activities, not to mention its distribution list which included many books attacking Roman Catholicism. Moreover it was notably declared in 1706 that 'every charity school is as it were a fortress and a frontier garrison against popery'.<sup>27</sup>

In addition, it is pointless to compare the degrees of hostility to Quakerism and Catholicism. Nor does Rose give us the evidence that the SPCK actually gave priority to its activities against Quakerism over those against Catholicism. Contrary to his claim, the unpublished minutes of the SPCK show that the Quakers were rarely mentioned at general meetings after 1708.<sup>28</sup> Of

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<sup>24</sup> See Jones, op. cit., pp. 35, 110-111; Cowie, op. cit., pp. 27-30; Glenice Siddall, 'The Movement to Reform and Improve Social Manners and Morality in the Years 1678-1738 with Especial Reference to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge', (MA dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1978), pp. 11, 55-84; Duffy, "'Correspondence Fraternelle'", 251-280.

<sup>25</sup> For a notable example, see Rose, 'Politics, Religion and Charity', pp. 85, 110-113; do., 'The Origins and Ideals of the SPCK', p. 186.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> White Kennett, 'The Charity of Schools for Poor Children' (1706), *Twenty Five Sermons Preached at the Anniversary Meeting of the Children Educated in the Charity Schools in and about the Cities of London and Westminster* (London, 1729), p. 73.

<sup>28</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 5, fol. 267. After 27 March 1712, the issue concerning Quakers had not been discussed until 1731. In 1731 the Society was alarmed by a report that the Quakers had dispersed in northern England 'large quantities of Woolston's books upon The Miracle of Our Saviour', and started investigations. Soon two Quakers came to the Society's meeting and swore 'in their own names, and the name of their brethren, their detestation of Woolston's Principles, and that they were far from encouraging the dispersion of such vile books as he had wrote'. The chairman of the



course the animosity of the SPCK towards the Quakers was very obvious, especially during the first few years, but so also was it towards Catholicism. As the books against Quakers were sent to its members in the country, so were anti-popish publications: so much so that the annual publication of the Society's *Reports* included in its list of publications a section headed 'Against Popery' until this century.<sup>29</sup> The leading members repeatedly made remarks against Quakers, as they did against Catholics. Indeed, for some members of the SPCK, the Quakers were the more to be feared because they were regarded as crypto-papists. When a corresponding member asked for some books against Quakers, the general meeting decided to send him Charles Leslie's *The Snake in the Grass*.<sup>30</sup> This book suggested that Quakers were planted by Rome in Protestant countries in order to 'divide and confound their only substantial adversary the Church of England.'<sup>31</sup>

The anti-popish factor is essential to a proper understanding of the SPCK's activities. The Society helped persecuted foreign Protestants because at least some leading members of it easily identified their own possible fate

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meeting assured the Quakers in the name of the SPCK that 'they were entirely satisfied as well by the accounts received from the corresponding members of this Society as from their own declaration that the information they had received was groundless.' *ibid*, vol. 14, fol. 68. See also, fol. 38.

<sup>29</sup> SPCK, *An Account of the Origin and Designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London, 1733), p. 31. Other heads are 'Holy Scriptures', 'Publick and Private Devotion', 'Catechism', 'The Holy Communion', 'Christian Doctrine and Practice', 'Concerning Particular Duties', 'Common Vice', 'Charity Schools and Work-Houses'. The head of 'Against Popery' was kept until 1831 then changed in 1832 to 'on Popery' which was kept in the Society's annual report until 1915.

<sup>30</sup> SPCK Minute, 18 March 1703, printed in *A Chapter in English Church History: Being the Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Years 1698-1704*, ed. Edmund McClure (London, 1888), p. 220.

<sup>31</sup> [Charles Leslie], *The Snake in the Grass: or, Satan transform'd into an Angel of Light, discovering the deep and unsuspected Subtilty which is couched under the pretended Simplicity, of many of the principal Leaders of those People call'd Quakers*, 2nd edn (London, 1697), pp. 184-186. Leslie was a non-juror.



with that of their continental brethren. In the latter part of Chapter IV it will be argued that the SPCK was not simply an epitome of the eighteenth century movement for moral reform in Britain, as is often claimed, but was also the offspring of the Europe-wide Protestant Reformation.

Finally, the expectations of continental Protestants also require to be mentioned. English relief activities were closely watched by Protestants from Poland to Piedmont. Many of them were correspondents of Bishop Compton or the SPCK (sometimes of both), and some were persistent in the promotion of Protestant Reformation, however much it might involve the propagation of the Church of England. Their links with England, which continued until the Protestant internationalism of the age of Louis XIV began to fade away in the 1730s, offer an insight into the changing state of religion in eighteenth century England (Chapter V).



# Chapter I

## Church Briefs for Continental Protestants

### c.1680-1702

Many parochial records include items on church briefs, sporadic though they often are. Briefs were issued by the command of the sovereign to obtain funds for charitable purposes, ranging from relief for people who lost their houses by fire and rebuilding a parish church, to the redemption of Christian captives in Barbary.<sup>1</sup> At a time when other forms of social welfare were confined to parish units or were organised by philanthropic individuals, briefs were the benevolent system most used by the central government for gathering alms more widely. Urging parishioners to make generous donations, a brief was read before the congregation at every parish church in the particular counties in which the collections were authorised, or sometimes at the door of every house. The sums collected were sent, usually through the administrative system of the Church, to appointed commissioners. London, with its great wealth, tended to be included in the area where a brief applied. It is worth repeating the oft-quoted remark of Samuel Pepys on the briefs. On 30 June 1661 he wrote, 'To church, where we observe the trade of briefs is come now up to so constant a course every Sunday, that we resolve to give no more to them'. That day his church, St Olave Hart Street, collected £ 1 2s. 7d. on behalf of the victims of a fire in the parish of St Dunstan in the West. The sum was comparatively small,<sup>2</sup> but the parishioners had been asked for money on the fourteen previous Sundays.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a summary of church briefs, see Bewes, *Church Briefs*; Auffenberg, 'Organized English Benevolence'; Harris, "Inky Blots and Rotten Parchment Bonds".

<sup>2</sup> See table 1 below, 'Five Parish church contributions to briefs, 1680-1704'.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, eds R. C. Latham and William Matthews, 7 vols (Berkeley, 1970), II, 128.



Briefs owed their origin to Papal letters in medieval times, but after the Reformation English monarchs, conscious of their membership of the European Protestant community, started to use them not only for domestic needs but also in support of Protestants on the continent. Indeed they were also useful in enhancing a Protestant identity among the English. In many cases briefs for continental Protestants were read out all over England and Wales, combining the news of persecutions of Protestants with the message that ever-expanding 'popery and tyranny' go hand in hand. During the last two decades of the seventeenth century, successive English rulers witnessing the exodus of the Huguenots from France, issued briefs on their behalf: Charles II in 1681, James II in 1686 and 1688, and William III in 1694 with the addition of a brief in 1699 for the Vaudois, the Huguenots' Protestant neighbours in Savoy. But their handling of the briefs varied greatly, especially since the latter two needed to consider the effect of the briefs on the English in a period of an increased influx of Huguenots. What follows in this chapter is an account of briefs in the 1680s and the 1690s designed to shed light on Protestant internationalism among the English at the height of the 'general crisis' caused by Louis XIV. However, before proceeding to the main task it is desirable to describe Cromwell's brief for the Vaudois, as it is preceded an example of Protestant internationalism. Tudor and early Stuart monarchs had also issued briefs for the continental Protestants. Their recipients included the city of Geneva, which needed to arm itself against the Catholic Duke of Savoy, as well as the Huguenots and the Palatines whose homelands were ravaged by wars on the continent. But subsequently, Oliver Cromwell's brief for the Vaudois was especially used as Protestant propaganda and is also the best documented up to that point.



In the 1650s the Thirty Years' War was already in the past and the English Civil War was over. Yet the prospect of a new and imminent religious war in Europe loomed so that it haunted the political considerations of the politicians of Europe: Cromwell sought a way to strengthen the bonds of the Protestant community and in 1654 sent John Dury to the continent with the mission of building a Protestant union.<sup>4</sup> Hearing about the massacre of the Savoyard Protestants in April 1655 (a report from Dury in Switzerland was one of the first), Cromwell immediately attempted to form a European Protestant league, which would extend as far as Sweden and Transylvania, against the Catholic Duke of Savoy. He further sought an effective way to intervene against the persecution: not only were special envoys sent to Savoy but also the French court was requested to intercede with the Duke on behalf of the Vaudois. In addition to these diplomatic efforts, Cromwell, like many other Protestant rulers<sup>5</sup>, also arranged a public occasion to raise funds for the Vaudois: Thursday 14 June was appointed as a day of fast and humiliation on behalf of the victims and nation-wide collections were to be taken on the same occasion.<sup>6</sup> In recommending this

<sup>4</sup> On Cromwell's foreign policy, see Roger Crabtree 'The Idea of a Protestant Foreign Policy', in *Cromwell. A Profile*, ed. Ivan Roots (London, 1973); Timothy Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy* (London, 1995). For John Dury, G. H. Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius* (London, 1947), pp. 127-341; Martin Schmidt, 'Ecumenical Activity on the Continent of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in Rouse and Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948*, pp. 97-99; Sykes, 'Ecumenical Movements in Great Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', pp. 134-136.

<sup>5</sup> Protestants in France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany raised funds for the Vaudois. The States General ordered a day of fast and collections in the Netherlands. The Walloon Church at Amsterdam immediately collected 9,225 Florins. J. Arnal, 'Le Comité Vaudois', *Bulletin de la commission de l'histoire des églises wallonnes*, 4 (1936), 14-15.

<sup>6</sup> Randolph Vigne, '"Avenge, O Lord, Thy Slaughtered Saints." Cromwell's Intervention on Behalf of the Vaudois', *PHS*, 24 (1983-1988); Venning, op. cit., chap. 6; Prescott



on 25 May, he made sure that the English knew what was happening in the Catholic duchy:

[the Vaudois] were by an edict from the said Duke enjoined in the hardest season of the winter, to quit their habitation upon penalty of loss of life and confiscation of their estates, unless they should within twenty days after the publication of the said edict make it appear that they had embraced the Roman Religion; which hard and rigorous command was soon after most severely put in execution by an army sent amongst them, which by continual slaughters, massacres and other intolerable violences daily executed upon them, enforced them to retreat to the mountainous parts of their country, the better to secure themselves from the fury of their adversaries, who putting many of them to the sword, and continuing daily to prosecute them with barbarous and inhumane cruelties and tortures, forced the rest fly for their lives, who are now wandering with their wives and little ones, destitute and afflicted by hunger, cold and nakedness, in such desolate places of the mountains where they may best hide and shelter themselves from the remainder of their most implacable enemies' rage and violence.....

Then he urged the English to consider 'the sad calamitous estate of our poor brethren as also of the future danger upon all the Protestant churches in general.'<sup>7</sup> The sonnet by Milton, 'Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints, whose bones lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold', can be said to be a product of anger and fear in the Lord Protector's camp. His propaganda also heightened the apocalyptic atmosphere of the expectation of a holy war against the Catholics. Observing how people were moved by the news of the persecutions, Christer Bonde, a Swedish diplomat who was negotiating an Anglo-Swedish alliance at the English court, reported to Karl X on 23 August:

The common people, on the Exchange and in the streets, say openly that all the learned men have shown, from the prophecies of Daniel and by other reasons, that a king of Sweden, with England, shall overthrow the seat of the pope, and give to the service of God its right prosperity and use again; which time is

Stephens, *The Waldensian Story* (Lewes, Sussex, 1998), chap. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Printed in Bewes, op. cit., pp. 149-150.



now at hand, and the occasion necessary to be embraced.<sup>8</sup>

If English compassion for their co-religionists elicited by the Vaudois massacre was reflected in the sums donated, Cromwell's propaganda was a great success. The total contributed by the Cromwell brief was £38,097 7s. 3d. and was the third biggest of the century, after the brief for the Huguenots of 1686 and for the Irish Protestants of 1689. Even the collection for the Great Fire of London in 1666 was only £16,201 9s. 9 1/2d.<sup>9</sup>

The legacy of this Protestant internationalism still remains, not only in Milton's sonnet but also in a dyke in a Vaudois village in Piedmont<sup>10</sup> named after Cromwell: in fact, it was built with the funds collected in England under the brief of 1738, when a flood destroyed houses there, and very soon was called after Cromwell, who was apparently still remembered as a great benefactor.<sup>11</sup>

\* \* \*

The reign of Charles II saw an increasing threat of persecution of

<sup>8</sup> *Swedish Diplomats at Cromwell's Court, 1655-1656*, trans. and ed. Michael Roberts, Camden Society, 4th ser., 36 (London, 1988), p. 142. Peter Julius Coyet, Bonde's fellow Swedish diplomat, wrote on 25 May 1655 about Cromwell's donation for the Vaudois and the brief: 'The persecution of the Piedmontese by Savoy has much moved the protector, who has contributed £ 2000 for their relief from his own means, and intends shortly to impose a tax [he mistook the brief for a tax] through the entire kingdom for that purpose; and to write to the Duke of Savoy urging him to milder measures, and to making a safer place of refuge for them within his country.' *Ibid.*, p. 73. See also pp. 134-135.

<sup>9</sup> Bewes, *op. cit.* p. 147, p. 193.

<sup>10</sup> Bobbio Pellice, Provincia di Torino.

<sup>11</sup> I am grateful for this information to Ms Gabriella Lazier, Archivist of the Tavola Valdese, Torre Pellice. See also Bewes, *op. cit.*, p. 58.



French Protestants in their native country.<sup>12</sup> Charles II did not dare to interfere in Louis XIV's policy, nevertheless he did not spare himself in supporting the exiled French Protestants in England.<sup>13</sup> As a pragmatic man, he may have courted popularity by helping them. In London the collections for the refugees were started by royal order on 28 July 1681, though it soon became clear that this was not enough. Immediately after receiving a petition from the Huguenot refugees to extend the area where the order applied, he again ordered collections to be made under a brief to every parish in England and Wales on 10 September 1681.<sup>14</sup> The terms in his instruction were much milder than Cromwell's, describing the refugees only as 'afflicted Protestants.... by reason of the rigours and severities which are used towards them upon the account of their religion'. Thus under Charles II Protestant internationalism did not openly come to the fore.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, he did not slacken his efforts and closely watched the progress of the relief programmes. His care for the refugees was widely publicised. *The London Gazette*, the government newspaper, reported in December 1681;

His Majesty having appointed the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London and the justice of peace for the county of Middlesex to attend him this day in council was pleased earnestly to recommend to them the making some temporary provision to accommodate the French Protestants, who are lately fled hither for their religion, with lodgings in convenient spare places in and about the City, until they be dispersed into other parts of the kingdom, much of what has been so charitably collected in the City for their relief, being already spent in hiring lodgings

<sup>12</sup> R. D. Gwynn, 'The Ecclesiastical Organization of French Protestants in England in the later seventeenth century, with special reference to London,' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1976) pp. 263-266.

<sup>13</sup> Auffenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-266; Gwynn, *op. cit.*, p.269.

<sup>14</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MSS 984 C, fol. 43. For the studies of financial aids to the Huguenot refugees in the 1680s, see the note 9 in Chapter I above.

<sup>15</sup> Printed in Beeman, 'Notes on the City of London Records dealing with the French Protestant Refugees', p. 113.



for them.<sup>16</sup>

When a rumour went forth that a great part of the refugees were papists, The *London Gazette* denied it and encouraged contributions by the order of Charles.<sup>17</sup> More importantly, to bring this fund-raising about, Charles was able to call on the help of the Bishop of London, Henry Compton. Indeed, Compton became one of the most prominent and devoted champions.<sup>18</sup>

Compton's commitment to the cause of the persecuted foreign Protestants was outstanding during the 1680s and '90s. As the Bishop of London, who was in charge of churches overseas,<sup>19</sup> rapidly expanding though his jurisdiction was, he keenly monitored the Protestant situation on the continent. Compton received news and stories of his foreign brethren's sufferings,<sup>20</sup> and also corresponded with Huguenot ministers in France. The latter informed him of their traumas in the face of the increasing Catholic threat around the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and some of them desperately sought his help in order to leave France.<sup>21</sup> The information he received included 'Monsieur Claud's account of the state of the Protestants in France',<sup>22</sup> which was later translated from the French by Thomas Tenison, subsequently

<sup>16</sup> Printed in *ibid.*, pp. 117-118.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>18</sup> Carpenter, *The Protestant Bishop*, pp. 321-343; Gwynn, *ibid.*, pp. 275-284.

<sup>19</sup> For the origins of the Bishop of London's jurisdiction overseas, see Geoffrey Yeo, 'A Case Without Parallel: The Bishops of London and the Anglican Church Overseas, 1660-1748', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44 (1993). At the time of the Reformation, no provision was made for episcopal control over the English abroad. According to Yeo, although it cannot be established why he was given it, in the course of the seventeenth century the Bishop of London was assumed to have responsibility for churches overseas, and Compton confidently accepted the task.

<sup>20</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 984 C. fols 62, 68

<sup>21</sup> Rawlinson MSS 982 C. fols 17-23, 25, 31, 147; 984 C. fols 17, 25, 27.

<sup>22</sup> Jean Claude, 'Mémoire'. Compton's own copy in Rawlinson MS. 984 C. fols 254-257.



Archbishop of Canterbury, but burnt 'by the publique Hang-man' in May 1686 under pressure from the French ambassador.<sup>23</sup>

Consequently, Compton became well acquainted with 'the information of these barbarities' which 'comes from so many and unquestionable testimonies'.<sup>24</sup> For the Protestant refugees, then, he devoted his energy to spreading the news of their miserable situation and to promoting co-operation among the bishops in gathering collections with scrupulous care. Compton commented that 'the encouragement of his Majesty's brief [of 1681] has given us hopes of a full return of the Charity in behalf of those poor persecuted Protestants of France.'<sup>25</sup> By November 1682 returns of collections from 'several dioceses' had still not come in. Compton thought this had 'in a great measure discouraged the hopes that might justly have been entertained for their relief.' He appealed forcibly to one of the tardy, William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, about the need to hurry 'for mercy's sake to poor souls daily perishing for want', begging him for a 'speedy answer'.<sup>26</sup> In August 1683 Compton found himself 'obliged very earnestly to press' some bishops 'for a speedy return of the collections' by sending a circular letter jointly with the Lord Mayor of London.<sup>27</sup> He begged in this letter for their 'compassionate sense of the brethren's necessitous condition'. In response to his enthusiasm, some of the bishops replied with apologies for the smallness

<sup>23</sup> Narcissus Luttrell, *A brief historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, 6 vols (Oxford, 1857), I, 376-377; John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols (Oxford 1955) IV, 510-511; Edward Carpenter, *Thomas Tenison: His Life and Times* (London, 1948) pp.322-323. Its publication was subsequently allowed.

<sup>24</sup> *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series* [subsequently cited as *Cal., S.P.Dom.*] 1680-1681, p. 696.

<sup>25</sup> Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS 35, fol.124.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 35, fol.124.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 34, fol. 104



of the amounts,<sup>28</sup> and others did so with explanations for its slowness.<sup>29</sup> Replying to Compton's letter, Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford, another of the laggards, had to explain in May 1684 that negligence had caused the loss of the briefs sent to one of his deaneries and that he had then urged his ministers to collect money.<sup>30</sup>

By 1689, when it was wound up, the brief of 1681 had raised a total of £14,631 11s. 7 1 4d.<sup>31</sup> The distributions began on 8 August within a few days after the king's order to London, under the supervision of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Mayor of London and Compton.<sup>32</sup> However, within a year of the issue of the brief, Compton realised that the collections were unlikely to catch up with the demands of the influx of refugees, and at this stage could only assist 'the maintenance of the colony [of the Huguenot refugees in England] for three months.' Therefore, 'it would be impossible to maintain them long by alms of the country, however abundant they may be'. It was thought to be essential to 'put them in a position to gain their living.'<sup>33</sup>

Understanding this, Compton nevertheless spared no effort to help Huguenot refugees to settle in England, though he met resistance from some corporations. Lincoln refused absolutely to accept any refugees; it claimed not to be able to afford them and pointed out that 'it will be no advantage to

<sup>28</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 983C, fol. 55.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 983C, fol. 65.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 983C, fol. 67.

<sup>31</sup> Shaw, 'English Government and the Relief of Protestant Refugees', 663-664., op. cit., p. 266. Cf., 'Account of the Collection upon the Brief granted by his Majesty for Relief of the poor French Protestants', Rawlinson MS 984 C, fol. 209; Bewes, op. cit., p. 209.

<sup>32</sup> £5,796 in total was allotted to the French Church of Threadneedle Street, £4,292 to another French Church at the Savoy, £794 to the Pest House, the predecessor of the French Hospital, and £1298 to the Huguenots in Ipswich. See, Beeman, op. cit., pp. 121-122; C. F. A. Marmoy, 'The "Pest House", 1681-1717: predecessor of the French Hospital', *PHS*, 25 (1992), p. 387.

<sup>33</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom*, 1680-81, p. 698.



this city but a prejudice to them and all other.'<sup>34</sup> Southampton also showed reluctance in accepting them.<sup>35</sup> Hence, Compton even sent to the Secretary of State a draft of a reproachful letter to be circulated to such uncooperative towns.

I am very sorry that the poor French Protestants meet with such cold entertainment from you. I should be loth to complain to his Majesty, but to deny them the use of your church and such other conveniencies as may encourage their conformity to our Church and fidelity to the king is so great a disservice to the government and the established religion...<sup>36</sup>

Although he did care about the problem, his attitude to foreign Protestants seemed to be little affected by whether they were likely to conform to the Church of England. This is singular, especially because the matter of conformity should have been one of the most important considerations for a reputed high churchman such as Compton.

However, for several other high-church prelates that was still the material point. No matter what efforts Compton made to assist the Huguenots, some bishops remained unenthusiastic. He tried to find positions for Huguenot intellectuals and called for help from other bishops. George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, was asked for a recommendation for the election of a demy at Magdalen College, Oxford in June 1682, but he replied that he could not recommend a 'Frenchman' for such a position at any time.<sup>37</sup> When Compton again approached Morley, this time to provide money for Monsieur Brevet a French minister, and his family, several months later, even though Morley promised to do what he could, he expressed some

<sup>34</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Appendix viii, Report, xiv., The Corporations of Lincoln, Bury St Edmund's and Great Grimsby*, p. 109.

<sup>35</sup> See the note below.

<sup>36</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1680-81, p.698.

<sup>37</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 983 C, fol. 54.



unhappiness about the Huguenots' maintaining 'presbyterian discipline' and their influence on English presbyterians. He then expressed his wish that they should preferably retire to Germany or Holland.<sup>38</sup> His opposition stemmed from trouble in his diocese. Enclosed with this reply to Compton, Morley sent a copy of a letter from the corporation of Southampton complaining about an alliance between the Huguenots and the dissenters, and saying that a considerable number of dissenters used the French chapel in the town as an asylum against the law.<sup>39</sup>

Furthermore, William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, did not show as much ardour in the cause of Protestant internationalism as Compton did. For all his knowledge of their sufferings, his circular letter of September 1683 to the bishops of his province indicated an arms-length attitude to the Huguenot refugees, in spite of the fact that the letter was in response to a petition from poor exiled Huguenot ministers.<sup>40</sup> He agreed that Anglican clergymen should assist them 'in such a way as we should think most suitable to them and their condition'.

But when I put them in mind that their want of language rendered them incapable of employment in the Church (if our own over-great numbers of English clergymen left any room for them) & therefore pressed them to be more particular in their proposal; they desired that every Bishop in the province might be moved to provide an annual subscription for one of them (which he should choose out of the whole number) by a contribution to be made by the dignified and more wealthy clergy of each diocese, in such proportions as they could by their own examples and persuasions procure subscriptions for. To this proposal I told them they could not expect I should give answer, until I had consulted all my brethren, who are concerned in it, and received the opinions and resolutions thereupon.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 984 C, fol. 50.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 984 C, fol. 48.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 984 C, fol. 46.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.



Here, we notice that he required the bishops' opinions but neither revealed his own view nor made any suggestion. Sancroft attached importance to the question of whether foreign Protestants might not be antagonistic to the Church of England.<sup>42</sup> When the Huguenots at Wandsworth, which came under the diocese of Winchester, decided to conform to the Church of England, he wrote:

... all of them were so much disabused of the prejudices and misreports that the enemies of the Church of England did, at their first coming as well as in their native country... endeavour to infuse in their mind, that they did heartily desire to conform themselves to the discipline and rights of the Church of England.<sup>43</sup>

Sancroft was different from Compton and had more in common with Morley in being worried that the influx of the Huguenots would provide encouragement to the dissenters. Sancroft was basically a high churchman and keen on preserving the purity of the Church of England.<sup>44</sup> He might hate popery, but he also greatly disliked presbyterians. He fiercely opposed the dissenters in Restoration England. However much he was shocked by the persecution of the Huguenots by Louis XIV, he was not an opponent of religious intolerance.<sup>45</sup> It is therefore understandable that he was extremely cautious about receiving continental Protestants with open arms, fearing that this might endanger the Church of England.<sup>46</sup>

When James II came to the throne in February 1685, the persecution of

<sup>42</sup> Gwynn, op.cit., p. 274.

<sup>43</sup> John Traviss Squire, 'Huguenots at Wandsworth', *PHS*, 1 (1886), 240.

<sup>44</sup> G. V. Bennett, 'The Conflict in the Church,' in *Britain after the Glorious Revolution 1689-1714*, ed. Geoffrey Holmes (London, 1969) pp. 156-159.

<sup>45</sup> Mark Goldie, 'John Locke, John Proast and religious toleration 1688-1692,' in *The Church of England c. 1689-c.1833*, eds John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (Cambridge, 1993), pp.145-148.

<sup>46</sup> See Chapter IV below.



the Huguenots in France was approaching its climax with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 22 October (NS) of the same year. During the 1680s, especially immediately after the Revocation, the influx of distressed refugees into England had been swelling.<sup>47</sup> Compton was determined to assist the Huguenot refugees, regardless of the degree of their conformity to the Church of England,<sup>48</sup> and at the time of the Huguenot brief of 1686, he made an ardent appeal to the clergy of his diocese on 2 April in order to raise a collection. He showed no hesitation in underlining the cruelty of the persecution;

You have such an object of charity before you, as it may be, no case could more deserve your pity. It is not a flight to save their lives, but what is ten thousand times more dear, their conscience. They are not fled by permission, (except the ministers, who are banished), but with the greatest difficulty and hardship imaginable. And therefore it will be an act of the highest compassion to comfort and relieve them, as being performed to persons whose afflictions it is hard to say, whether of mind or body are the greater. When we reflect upon that desolation that has been before their eyes, of all their goods and stores, the barbarity of usage, both to their bodies and estates, and their quitting their whole subsistence with their native soil, through all sorts of peril, one would imagine it the greatest hardship. But when we come to examine that anguish which is brought their minds, it is incomparably greater; their wives, children, and relations imprisoned, clapt into mountains, put down into dungeons, inhumanely tormented and afflicted, till they renounce their faith, or perish in the trial.

<sup>47</sup> Robin Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage* (London, 1985), pp. 23-24, 35; Graham C. Gibbs, 'The Reception of the Huguenots in England and the Dutch Republic, c.1680-1690,' in *From Persecution to Toleration; The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, eds Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel and Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford, 1991), pp. 277-278. During the reign of Louis XIV, a total of 200-250,000 Huguenots is estimated to have left France. Among them, Gwynn estimates that the number of the Huguenots who settled in England between 1660 and 1715, was 40-50,000. Though the number of the Huguenots who passed through England on the way to Ireland, America or other countries on the continent, is still uncertain, the literature agrees that the peak of the influx of the period was around 1685-1688.

<sup>48</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 983 C., fol. 120; Carpenter, op.cit., pp.85-86; Gwynn, 'The Ecclesiastical Organization of French Protestants in England', 314-316.



He then refers to the advantage to the English in accepting the refugees as an excellent human resource for the English economy. And he continues:

...But God excuses no man from being good and charitable. They who have no mite to give, have hearts to pray; and this occasion requires, with an equal necessity, our prayers for those who still lie in misery and irons, as it does our Benevolence for such as are escaped. Exhort then your people whilst they have time, to do good; and to bless God for the opportunity, and to honour the King for his gracious encouragement....<sup>49</sup>

It is remarkable that in, his recommendation of the brief, he neither took into account the question of the Huguenots' nonconformity to the Church of England nor hesitated to help Protestant refugees whoever they were. Indeed he managed to evade the issue a few months later when Archbishop Sancroft, commissioned by James II, complained that the conformity of the Huguenot congregation in the Savoy, London, was not satisfactory and insisted they should conform in every respect to the Church of England. Compton replied to Sancroft that the Huguenots already conformed sufficiently, according to the usages required by Charles II.<sup>50</sup> Compton also appears here to have been in defiance of the king. His attitude on the above mentioned occasions is an illustration of the general sympathy towards Protestant brethren against a background of increasing fear of Catholicism.

Compton did not hide his antagonism towards the Roman Catholic religion, although James II regarded open criticism of his religion as an insult to himself.<sup>51</sup> For all the king's displeasure, Compton allowed the clergy of his diocese to preach anti-Catholic sermons. The contributions of London parishes to the 1680 brief were dramatically increased in

<sup>49</sup> Bod., Tanner MSS 30, fol. 10.

<sup>50</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS C. 983, fol. 120.

<sup>51</sup> Carpenter, op. cit., chap. 6.



comparison to that of 1681. According to Auffenberg's examination of 10 London parish contributions to Huguenot briefs, except for St Alphage,<sup>52</sup> the figures increased from about double to sixty fold.<sup>53</sup> Particularly notable is the case of St Giles in the Fields where the contributions rose from £20 4s. 3 3/4d. to £1690 19d.<sup>54</sup> Soon after the reading of the brief, the vicar of St Giles, John Sharp, subsequently Archbishop of York, provoked the king's anger because of his vindication of Protestant claims against the Roman Catholic Church; and while public attention was aroused, even after the contrite Sharp had sent an apologetic petition to the king, this issue culminated on 6 September 1686 with Compton himself, who had been protecting Sharp, being suspended from the exercise of all episcopal functions.<sup>55</sup> Later, in 1688, Compton was the only prelate who signed the invitation to William III of Orange, subsequently taking up arms and joined the revolution.<sup>56</sup>

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Before considering the response to the briefs in more detail, something should be said concerning James II's attitude to the relief of the Huguenots. Contemporaries were convinced that James II's attitude to the Huguenot

<sup>52</sup> The contributions of St Alphage increased from £11 14s. to £13 19s.

<sup>53</sup> From 'Table 12: Ten London Parishes Contributions to Four Huguenot Briefs 1681-1694' in Auffenberg, op. cit., p. 282.

<sup>54</sup> Local Studies and Archives Centre, Holborn Library, London, Churchwardens' Account of St Giles in the Fields, 46 DUD Box 2.

<sup>55</sup> Boyer, *The History of King William III*, II, 76-83; Nathaniel Salmon, *The Life of the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Dr. Henry Compton* (London, 1715), pp. 17-39; Carpenter, op. cit., chap. 6.

<sup>56</sup> For his background, see Chapter III below.



refugees was essentially negative.<sup>57</sup> With the news of the deteriorating situation of Protestants on the continent, suspicions about the Catholic monarch in their own country rapidly increased. This fear is reflected by John Evelyn the diarist when he commented in November 1685 on the silence of the official paper, the *London Gazette*, concerning Huguenot persecution which had been violently increasing since the previous April:

One thing was much taken notice of, that *the Gazettes* which were still constantly printed twice a week, and informing us what was done all Europe over &c.; never all this time, spake one syllable of this wonderful proceeding in France, nor was any relation of it published..., save what private letters and the persecuted fugitives brought: Whence this silence I list not to conjecture, but it appeared very extraordinary in a Protestant country, that we should know nothing of what Protestants suffered &c.: whilst great collections were made for them in foreign places more hospitable and Christian to appearance.<sup>58</sup>

The Dutch Republic and Brandenburg extended the hand of welcome to the Protestant refugees throughout the 1680s.<sup>59</sup> Apart from compassion for their Protestant brethren they had other reasons: the human resources of the Huguenots were needed for economic reasons; moreover religious affinity was less of a problem than in England when receiving a mass of

<sup>57</sup> E. S. de Beer, 'The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and English Public Opinion', *PHS*, 18 (1947-52); Gwynn, 'The Ecclesiastical Organization of French Protestants in England', chap. 7; do., *Huguenot Heritage*, chap. 8.

<sup>58</sup> John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed E. S. de Beer, 6 vols (Oxford, 1955) IV, 487.

<sup>59</sup> R. L. Poole, *A History of the Huguenots of the Dispersion at the Recall of the Edict of Nantes* (Lonon, 1880), chaps. 4, 5, 13; R. B. Evenhuis, *Ook dat was Amsterdam*, 4 vols (Amsterdam, 1971), III, 49-54; Jurgen Wilke, 'Berlin zur Zeit des Edikts von Potsdam: Das Edikt und seine Bedeutung', in *Hugenotten in Berlin*, eds Sibylle Badsobner-Groger et al. (Berlin, 1988). In the case of Brandenburg, the Calvinist Elector also wanted to expand the influence of the Reformed Church amongst the Lutheran population. Richard L. Gawthrop, *Pietism and the Making of Eighteenth century Prussia* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 44-49, 55-51. 60-61.



Calvinists.<sup>60</sup> Only a few weeks after religious toleration was officially ended in France, by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes on 22 October 1685 (NS), Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg, issued the Edict of Potsdam on 29 October/8 November, which had already been prepared before the Revocation and invited the refugees to his territories. It also accused Louis XIV of religious intolerance.<sup>61</sup>

By comparison, in many eyes the plight of the Huguenots did not meet with an official response quickly enough in England. James did order the council to prepare a brief for the French Protestants on 6 November 1685 but its preparation took time. Lady Rachel Russell, being herself half Huguenot and worrying about her relatives in France,<sup>62</sup> reported to Dr Fitzwilliam, a canon of Windsor, on 15 January 1686:

The brief for the poor Protestants was not sealed on Wednesday, as was hoped it would be; the chancellor [George Jeffreys] bid it to be laid by, when it was offered him to seal.<sup>63</sup>

The brief was finally issued only on 5 March, and was read in churches almost one month later. The expressions in the brief were carefully softened by James and Lord Chancellor Jeffreys, out of consideration for the feelings of Louis XIV, avoiding mentioning the cruelty of the persecution; the brief stated simply that the French Protestants were refugees and needed relief.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Gibbs, 'The Reception of the Huguenots in England and the Dutch Republic', pp. 299-301.

<sup>61</sup> The Edict of Potsdam, in Max Beheim-Schwarzbach, *Hohenzollernsche Colonisation. Ein Beitrag zu der Geschichte des preussischen Staates und der Colonisation des oestlichen Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1874) pp. 48-53.

<sup>62</sup> *Letters of Lady Rachel Russell*, ed. anon., 6th edn (London, 1801), pp. 78-80, 82, 86-87.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>64</sup> Printed in Bewes, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-214. Cf. Gwynn, 'The Ecclesiastical Organization of the French Protestants in England', pp. 309-311; Gibbs, 'The Reception of the



It is highly likely that the probable effect of the brief on stimulating anti-popery was a cause of James's moderate tone. But his attempt to gloss over the fact of religious persecution in connection with the brief seemed to produce the opposite result: the English became more suspicious about the influence of Louis and the Catholics on James. Evelyn records on the day that the brief was read:

25 St. Mark [April] : this day was the Brief for a collection of relief to the Persecuted French Protestants (so cruelly, barbarously and inhumanely oppressed, without any thing laid to their charge) read in our Church; but which had been so long expected, and with difficulty at last procured to be published, the interest of the French Ambassador and cruel papists obstructing it.<sup>65</sup>

Here, Evelyn was implying a reluctance on the part of James to help the Protestants, and also French Catholic influence over him. Only ten days later he learned of the burning of Jean Claude's book describing the persecution in France, and received news of another persecution of the Protestants by the Catholic Duke of Savoy who was incited by Louis XIV - the renewal of persecution in Piedmont.<sup>66</sup> Evelyn interpreted this book burning as a Catholic demonstration against 'the pious & truly generous charity of all the nation', and, hearing about the new persecution in Piedmont, he was encouraged to suspect 'a universal design to destroy all that would not Masse it, thro[ugh] out Europe, as they had power.'

Anglican clergy came under increasing pressure from the king. Archbishop Sancroft modified the language of a circular letter to the clergy,

Huguenots in England and the Dutch Republic', pp. 289-290.

<sup>65</sup> Evelyn, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

<sup>66</sup> Evelyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 510-511. Vittorio Amedeo II of Savoy issued an edict prohibiting Protestantism on 31 January 1686 (NS), and began to attack the Vaudois on 22 April 1686 (NS). Geoffrey Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II* (London, 1983), pp. 97-98.



on strong advice from Jeffreys.<sup>67</sup>

Whereas great numbers of foreign protestants are already come and do still [daily] arrive in this kingdom, who [by reason of the great rigours and severities us'd toward them at home, upon ye account of their religion, have been forc'd to] abandon their native country, with all ye comforts and advantages thereof, and have thereupon chosen to put themselves under his Majesty's royal protection, the great part whereof, [not being permitted to bring over their estate with them], are reduced to very great exigencies and necessities.<sup>68</sup>

The words within square brackets were dropped in Sancroft's circular letter. Other bishops seemed to take their cue from it. In a circular letter to the clergy of his diocese, Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, did not mention the persecution in France but urged them to promote 'this very seasonable and most noble charity' toward 'great numbers of strangers in extreme necessity'.<sup>69</sup> He called the Huguenots 'Protestant strangers', words underlining their alienness, though added that they had good inclinations to conform to the Church of England. Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, also used the words 'Protestant strangers' and avoided mentioning the persecution in his letter to the clergy in his diocese. On the other hand, he earnestly encouraged them to 'persuade, exhort, and stir up' people 'to contribute freely and cheerfully to the relief of these distressed Christians'.<sup>70</sup> The bishop also preached 'a most excellent & pathetic

<sup>67</sup> Bod., Tanner MSS 31, fol. 279. Jeffreys wrote to Sancroft, 'I have presumed a little to vary from [Sancroft's draft], to humour the letters patents, and to obviate the inconveniences his Majestie apprehends may attend his service by any though but seeming, reflection'.

<sup>68</sup> Tanner MSS 36, fol. 154, in Beeman, 'Note on the City of London Records dealing with the French Protestant Refugees', op. cit., p. 175.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 30, fol. 11.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 30, fol. 22.



discourse' to stir up charity for the French refugees in March 1686,<sup>71</sup> and then of his own accord contributed £4,000 to the brief collection.<sup>72</sup> Thus, he did not intend to be antagonistic to the persecuted Huguenots.

Even the distribution of the funds was under supervision of Chancellor Jeffreys, and information leaked from the meeting of the brief commissioners suggests that as far as the Huguenot refugees were concerned Jeffreys would satisfy the most cautious opinion on conformity among the churchmen.

The disposers of the brief money met the first time yesterday [13 April 1686]; I am told the Chancellor carried it in a manner he sent away many with sad hearts, he concluded so strictly on the qualifications of such as were to partake of the charity; I think he would admit none to receive it, that did not take the sacrament from his own chaplain.<sup>73</sup>

In spite of the king's reluctance to help the Huguenots and in spite of the cautious attitude of several high church prelates, the total contributions to the 1686 brief reached £42, 889 8s. 10 3/4d. This was the largest sum received for foreign Protestants in the seventeenth century, and also the largest among all collections made by church briefs. Compared to Charles II's brief of five years earlier, this large amount not only makes clear the compassion of the English for their foreign brethren but also can be regarded as reflecting a sense of Protestant crisis among the English on the eve of the 'Glorious Revolution'.

The waves of French immigrants continued. On 31 January 1688 James issued another brief to renew for one year the former brief of 5 March 1686. It is striking that a point that was emphasised in the brief was about the

<sup>71</sup> Evelyn, *op. cit.*, 504.

<sup>72</sup> Edward Hayes Plumptre, *The Life of Thomas Ken*, 2 vols (London, 1890), I, 243.

<sup>73</sup> *Letters of Lady Rachel Russell*, p. 95.



distribution of the fund collected by the previous brief.

... since the expiration of the term of the said letter patents [the 1686 brief], we have been informed, that... all the several sums of money which were collected by virtue thereof, have been faithfully expended and applied to the uses and purposes within that brief specified, and by that means a very considerable number of those French Protestants have been put into a condition of exercising the arts and mysteries they were skilled in, or otherwise providing for themselves and families, without being any longer burthensom to any.<sup>74</sup>

What the passage makes clear is that James needed to declare what the fund was 'faithfully' spent on. Retrospectively, Abel Boyer mentioned in his account (1702) of the reign of James that the people suspected James of diverting funds for 'French Papists that were invited over to serve the king's design', namely the advance of popery in England.<sup>75</sup>

... for he [James II] not only granted them [the French Protestant refugees] briefs, but gave 'em also large sums out of his privy purse, to excite the charity of his subjects by his royal example. Nevertheless, those briefs had not all the good effect which was intended by His Majesty: Many people refusing to contribute towards those charitable collections...<sup>76</sup>

Boyer's explanation must have been based on secondhand information, because he arrived in England at the earliest in the summer of 1689. He did not, moreover, specify whether he was referring to both of James II's briefs for the French Protestants. It is a debatable point how much influence the doubts of the English about James's intentions had upon the contributions. Nevertheless, this is a telling episode concerning the strength of distrust of James II at that time. The sum of the second brief of James for the Huguenots was half the previous one, £ 21,823, although much of it was speedily

<sup>74</sup> The Corporation of London Records Office, London, Ex-Guildhall Library MS 345.

<sup>75</sup> Boyer, *The History of King William the Third*, II, 102-103.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.



collected being complete, by the end of June 1688.<sup>77</sup> Later that year, the political turmoil that England was plunged into must have seriously disturbed the execution of the brief.

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Turning to briefs at the parish level, the following table shows the contributions of two London parish churches, and of three in the country, to briefs from 1680 to 1704.<sup>78</sup> As note 2 below the table indicates, the foreign Protestants here include not only continental Protestants but also Irish Protestants and Protestant captives in the Barbary States.

<sup>77</sup> CLRO, Ex-Guildhall Library MS 280. Cf. Smith, *Records in the Huguenot Society*, p 15.

<sup>78</sup> Guildhall Library, London, St Lawrence Jewry, Churchwardens' Accounts, Guildhall Library MS 2593/2-3; St Giles in the Fields, Churchwardens' Accounts; E. S. Taylor, 'Briefs', *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, 2 (1856) pp. 222-224; 'Churchwardens' Accounts, Dallington, Northamptonshire,' *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, new ser., 3 (1910-11), pp. 103, 249-272; *The Rector's Book Clayworth, Notts*, eds Harry Gill and Everard L. Guilford (Nottingham, 1910). Divisions of the year differ according to parishes: some are divided by Easter, others are divided by Lady Day and so on. Records of the year of collections for some briefs for foreign Protestants are often different from the year of their issue in some parishes. In this table the numbers of annual briefs for other good causes are divided into each year of the collections shown in records where there are no dates. However, because of inconsistencies, briefs for foreign Protestants are here necessarily shown in the year of issue. These parishes are selected because their records between 1680 and 1704 are comparatively well kept.



Table 1 Five Parish Church Contributions to Briefs 1680-1704

name of church	St Lawrence Jewry (London)	St Giles in the Fields(London)	Ormsby(Norfolk)	Dallington(Northamptonshire)	Clayworth(Nottinghamshire)							
	contributions to annual number of briefs for foreign Protestants	contributions to annual number of briefs for other briefs	Contributions to annual number of briefs for other briefs	Contributions to annual number of briefs for other briefs	Contributions to annual number of briefs for other briefs							
	average	average	average	average	average							
1680	-	5	5:3:11	1:12:5	1	0:0:10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0:15:8	2	0:2:4	1:11:3	2	0:6:4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1681	4:9:0	3	1:2:5	0:7:0	3	0:2:4	0:6:0	6	0:3:9	-	1	0:3:6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
	57:4:6		20:4:3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1:14:9			0:8:10			2:11:1		
1682		7	12:5:5	-	10	0:3:4		3	0:3:10		6	0:4:7
1683	-	10	5:12:9	-	3	1:0:1	-	10	0:3:10		3	0:6:5
1684	-	2	1:12:5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	3	0:6:3	-	6	0:4:11		7	0:7:7
1685		3	2:3:4	-	15	0:2:6	-	10	0:2:8	-	13	0:4:0
1686	364:17:1	1	3:16:8	1240:19:0	2	0:1:8 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	-	6	0:2:11	2:12:6	3	0:3:5
1687	-	-	-	450:0:0	-	-		-		-	2	0:7:3
1688	300:12:0	1	100:0:0	233:18:6	2	14:7:0	-	1	0:4:4	2:2:2		-
1689	225:19:11	2	30:3:11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	900:0:0	4	64:0:1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	1	0:5:9	1:7:5	-	-
1690	75:15:6	5	10:9:5	156:14:0	5	15:0:7	-	4	0:4:7	0:12:7	3	0:4:7
1691	-	1	4:3:17:0		5	11:13:0	-	2	0:4:4		7	0:3:4
1692	27:8:6	7	1:6:5	99:8:11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	6	2:19:11	2:9:4	3	0:3:8	0:12:7	3	0:5:1
1693	-	5	14:10:9	-	3	2:13:6	-	5	0:3:5	-	6	0:4:9
1694	18:0:0	3	12:4:2	38:1:4	1	2:7:3	1:5:5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	4	0:2:3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1:15:1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	3	0:3:9
1695	-	2	14:6:7	-	4	15:4:10:11	-	4	1:17:7	-	-	1:13:10
			0:15:8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>			8:12:6			0:4:4			-
1696	-	4	8:13:4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	-	2	15:9:1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	1	0:5:2	-	4	0:4:6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
1697	-	3	7:19:1	-	3	26:2:10	-	4	0:3:11	-	5	0:6:9
1698	-	4	14:4:7	-	2	40:16:6	-	1	0:2:6		6	0:5:3
1699	98:14:6	2	11:5:1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	383:2:5	2	6:7:5	2:19:0	4	0:4:2	3:0:3	-	-
1700	41:7:6	1	19:4:6	148:3:16	-	-	0:18:7	-	-	1:17:7	3	0:9:7
1701	31:5:3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	4	1:17:11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	68:10:5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	4	10:7:10	-	1	0:3:3	-	5	0:5:10
1702	-	13	1:4:5	-	6	2:18:1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1703	-	6	7:11:9	-	3	1:8:4	-	5	0:3:2	-	-	-
1704	123:4:6	4	5:4:5	103:4:6	3	14:17:11	-	8	0:2:8	-	-	-

Note 1: the figures indicate pounds, shillings and pence.

Note 2: the beneficiaries of the church briefs for the foreign Protestants were: in 1680, 1692, 1700 and 1701 the captives in the Barbary states; in 1681(upper figure) the Reformed Church in Poland; in 1681 (lower figure), 1686, 1688 and 1694 the Huguenots; in 1689 and 1690 the Irish Protestants; in 1699 the Vaudois; in 1704 the Orangists.

Note 3: briefs for the captives in the Barbary states in 1680-1701 included foreign Protestants but others as well.

Note 4: for St Giles in the Fields in 1687 collection was carried over from 1686

Note 5: the amounts of the collections for the fire of Warwick in 1695, which are unusually high among church briefs for other causes, are as shown in the upper figure for 1695.



What is immediately apparent from the table is that all collections for the briefs for distressed Protestants in these five parishes exceeded collections for other causes, such as victims of fire or rebuilding a church. The international crisis of Protestantism was a question of national magnitude. In spite of the big differences in annual payments between a rich parish in London such as St Giles in the Fields, and a country parish such as Clayworth with 411 parishioners in 1688, this tendency is common to all five parishes. The contributions to other causes by the three parishes in country districts did not normally reach one pound, with the exception of the briefs for loss by a devastating fire in Wapping, London in 1683, and a fire in Warwick in 1695 (which destroyed half of the town in the previous year). On the other hand, these parishes were often able to raise over one pound for the briefs for the foreign Protestants. This consistently applies to the periods both before and after the Glorious Revolution, and, to some extent, other parishes too.<sup>79</sup> Therefore it seems reasonable to argue that English concern about persecutions of Protestants in foreign countries never flagged throughout this period.

St Michael Bassishaw, London, provides another example from a different angle. Its churchwardens' accounts give the names and sums of contributors to the Huguenot brief in 1681 as well as to the Huguenot brief in 1688, though its record of the Huguenot brief in 1686 is, unfortunately, missing.<sup>80</sup> In 1681 this church collected £30 1s under the brief from 96 contributors. Interestingly the account of the collection in 1681 shows the

<sup>79</sup> See, also the extracts of the churchwardens' accounts in Sussex, in Edward Turner, 'Briefs', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 11 (1869), pp. 207-217; St Stephen Coleman Street Brief Book 1680-1746, GL, Guildhall Library MS 4467.

<sup>80</sup> St Michael Bassishaw, Churchwardens' Accounts, Guildhall Library MS 2601 1, Part II.



names of 112 'gentlemen' in total, including sixteen men who did not donate. Since the number of inhabited houses in this parish in 1695 is presumed to be 135 with 908 people,<sup>81</sup> supposing that the number was not greatly altered between 1681 and 1695, the householders in the parish in 1681 consisted of the 112 'gentlemen'. Accordingly a majority of householders seem to have contributed to the Huguenot cause in 1681. Moreover, it also implied that only householders could afford the donations. The persons who contributed more than £1 either in 1681 or in 1688 were as follows:

	1681	1688
Sir James Edwards	£5	£20
Sir Jeremy Sambrook	£1	£40
Sir Thomas Player	£3	-
Sir Thomas Stamp	£2	-
Mr Peter Vandeput	£1	£21 5s. 6d.
Mr Wagstaff	10s.	£20
Mr Faulkner	0	£3 4s. 6d.
Mr Faulkner & family	-	£1 1s. 6d.
Cornell Guys and Mr Hoele	-	£15
Mr Knap	£1 1s. 6d.	£1
Mr Hedge	£1	-
Mr Vanarker	£1	-
Mr Slaughter	£1	-
Mr Chapman	5s.	£1
Mr Malthus	5s.	£1
Mr Woodford	5s.	£1
Mr Symonds	5s.	£1
Mr Kent	5s.	£1
Mr Willcox	5s.	£1
Mr Hoarne	10s.	£1
Mr Lodge	6d.	£2
Serjeant Goodfellow	0	£2 3s.
Mr Goodfellow	-	£2
Lady Palmer	-	£2
Mr Powele	-	£1
Mr Cattle	-	£1

In 1681 the greatest contribution was £5 by Sir James Edwards, who had been Lord Mayor of London 1678-9. The second greatest was £3, the third was £2,

<sup>81</sup> *The Compton Census of 1676: A Critical Edition*, ed. Anne Whiteman (London, 1986), pp.44-46.



there were six of £1, and all others were under £1. In 1688 this church collected £150 15s. 6d. from 62 parishioners by 13 April, about two months after the issue of the briefs. But money came from only 62 parishioners: more than half of the householders did not contribute despite the fact that the collection was larger than in 1681. It may be suggested that opinion in St Michael, Bassishaw about the reception of the Huguenots was divided among the parishioners: supporters may have added to their contributions while hostile people may even have declined to make donations. This is likely to be a reflection of the political turmoil of the reign of James II. This time Sir James paid £20, four times as much as before. But his donation was only the third greatest. The highest was £40 from Sir Jeremy Sambroke and his family and the second was £20 5s. 6d. from Sir Peter Vandeput.<sup>82</sup> Mr Wagstafe also contributed £20. Clearly, the parishioners generally paid higher amounts in 1688. Taken together with the fact that the total sum of this parish contribution to the 1686 brief was £225, which was recorded by the City corporation,<sup>83</sup> it is fair to say that the interest in this parish in the persecuted Huguenots had increased enormously since the reign of Charles II up to the 'Glorious Revolution'. Although not all the English favoured the foreign Protestants, indeed there were several acts of violence against the Huguenot settlers,<sup>84</sup> the importance of the fact that some 40-50,000 Huguenots, most of them having arrived in the 1680s and the early 1690s, could settle in England cannot be overemphasised.

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<sup>82</sup> Vandeput was a commissioner of the briefs of 1686 and 1688.

<sup>83</sup> Accounts of Money received and paid for the Relief of French Protestants, CLRO., Ex-Guildhall Library MS 280.

<sup>84</sup> M. R. Thorp, 'Anti-Huguenot Undercurrents in Late-Seventeenth Century England', *PHS*, 22 (1970-6), pp. 570-571.



Throughout the following reign of William III news of persecuted Protestants continued to arrive while England became increasingly committed to continental affairs. As to his religious commitment, William was lukewarm enough to underplay the Protestant cause for the benefit of his Catholic allies. However, he took a different political stance in England. As Tony Claydon has shown, he first needed to establish his legitimacy as the English monarch, and then to persuade the people to commit themselves to the continental war. To help achieve this his propagandists made the most of biblical usage to describe William's war as a Protestant crusade, fighting for the international Reformed church, for which England had a responsibility as a member.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, this was also the case with their campaign for the persecuted foreign Protestants. No sooner had William and Mary come to the throne than they issued a declaration welcoming the French Protestant refugees.<sup>86</sup> They defined the sufferings of the refugees as the same as those from which the English regarded themselves as having been spared a few months before by God's intervention.

Whereas it hath pleased almighty god to deliver our realm of England, and the subjects thereof, from the persecution lately threatening them for their religion, and from the oppression and destruction which the subversion of their laws and the arbitrary exercise of power and dominion over them had very near introduced; We finding in our subjects a true and just sense hereof, and of the miseries and oppressions the French Protestants lie under.

The new monarchs therefore promised that they would 'endeavour in all reasonable ways and means to support, aid and assist' the refugees.<sup>87</sup> This

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., especially, pp. 134-147.

<sup>86</sup> Declaration by William and Mary, 25 April 1689, printed in Beeman, 'Note on the City of London Records dealing with the French Protestant Refugees', op. cit., p. 162.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.



was an official message of Protestant internationalism claiming that all Protestants should unite under the threat from their common enemy---popish tyranny.

In the event William paid a considerable personal price in order to wage war on the continent. With the drastic increase in taxation for war expenditure, his popularity rapidly declined, not to mention the fact that his legitimacy was constantly challenged by the Jacobites. The perennial English dislike of continental wars, alongside a traditionally deeply-rooted xenophobia, led Parliament often to harass the Dutch king, as epitomised in the passing of the Act of Succession in 1701. The continuous tension of the international situation, which was particularly influenced by the expansionism of Louis XIV, gave the English little choice but to follow William's European policy and stem the threat of France.<sup>88</sup> A succession of Protestant persecutions on the continent also helped William to exploit the threat of popery.

Calls for help from Protestants immediately followed the revolution, though the first one came not from the continent but from Ireland. The Ulster Protestants having accepted the sovereignty of William and Mary, Ireland soon became a battlefield where the armies of the present and Protestant king and the former and Catholic king fiercely clashed. James landed in Ireland with a French army in March 1689. William and Mary were quick to move in support of the Protestant victims of the war; on 26 April 1689 they issued the brief for the Protestant refugees from Ulster and made evident to the English the distress of the Irish Protestants caused by the popish powers. Thus, Williamite bishops, including Compton and Burnet, in their joint letter to the clergy, injected Protestant interest into the Irish

<sup>88</sup> Graham C. Gibbs, 'The Revolution in Foreign Policy', in *Britain after the Glorious Revolution 1689-1714*, ed. Geoffrey Holmes (London, 1969); Robert McJimsey, 'A Country Divided? English Politics and the Nine Years War', *Albion*, 23 (1991).



situation and projected in as a part of a wider battle of the Protestants versus papists, in which the English were also deeply involved:

The deplorable state of the Kingdom of Ireland, and the just apprehensions of a new massacre from the Papists there, have forced many thousands of families to fly over into England..... Hoping you will represent to the people, that as these our distressed brethren are driven from their houses and possessions by the enemies both of our religion and country; So if we have any regard either to the name of an Englishman, or a Protestant, we must be deeply affected with their misery. It is not long since we ourselves had the dreadful prospect of being forced to abandon our country, and of choosing a voluntary exile.<sup>89</sup>

The total amount raised came to £38,527 1s. 1 1/4d.<sup>90</sup> and shows clearly the English sentiment against the former and popish king who had returned to Ireland manifestly under Louis XIV's power. On 18 February 1690 another brief for the Irish Protestants was issued. It said that 'we do ... exhort and require all our good subjects of this kingdom, duly to consider the necessities of these their brethren, and to do for them on this occasion, that which they would expect from others if they were reduced into like condition.'<sup>91</sup> The total sum from both briefs finally reached £59,146 14s. 4 3/4d. on 30 December 1696.<sup>92</sup>

William and Mary also honoured their declaration on the behalf of the French Protestants. They announced in the brief of 1694 that since their accession to the crown, they had given 'out of our [their] royal bounty, issued out of our treasury at several times, very considerable sums for the necessary support of more than three thousand persons [the Huguenots] that are in no capacity to help themselves.'<sup>93</sup> Moreover on 31

<sup>89</sup> Bod., Tanner MSS 27, Fol. 54.

<sup>90</sup> CLRO, Ex-Guildhall Library MS 283.

<sup>91</sup> The second brief for the Irish Protestants, quoted in Bewes, op. cit., p.235.

<sup>92</sup> CLRO, Ex-Guildhall Library MS 283.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 344.



March 1694 William and Mary issued a brief to collect funds to sustain the Huguenots in England and Ireland. In the brief, details of the condition of the refugees were given, in striking contrast to those of James, to explain further the needs of the Huguenots.<sup>94</sup> This brief raised £11,829 5s. 10 1 4d.<sup>95</sup>

Poor Huguenots came to rely on a more consistent form of aid, in the shape of the 'royal bounty', that is to say, a grant in aid based on the revenues of the crown. Its distribution was made nation-wide by an official organisation. The French committee representing the refugees was under the supervision of an English committee, both appointed by the sovereign.<sup>96</sup> The poverty-stricken refugees watched the activities of the French committee closely, since the distributions were sometimes their only income. Although on occasion accused of putting money in members' own pockets, and of maladministration,<sup>97</sup> the committee nevertheless, operated tolerably well until the nineteenth century. Robin Gwynn has pointed out that the moneys that the committee distributed came not only from the privy purse but also from other sources such as parliamentary grants, public collections and individual donations.<sup>98</sup> Together with the collections under the briefs, the wider commitment of the English to the Huguenots managed to maintain large numbers of refugees. Although the influx of the Huguenots increased a little just after the Nine Years War, it considerably lessened in the course

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 280.

<sup>96</sup> Shaw, 'English Government and the Relief of Protestant Refugees'; Sundstrom, 'The Huguenots in England 1680-1876: A Study in Alien Assimilation', chap. 2; Smith, 'Financial Aid to French Protestant Refugees 1681-1727: Briefs and the Royal Bounty'.

<sup>97</sup> See, for example, PRO, SP 34 24 27.

<sup>98</sup> Robin D. Gwynn, 'The Distribution of Huguenot Refugees in England', *PHS*, 21 (1965-1970) p. 407.



of the reign of Queen Anne.<sup>99</sup> From then on the Huguenots gradually assimilated into English society.

After the Nine Years War, also known as the Palatinate War, Louis XIV's renewed pressure on Protestants on the continent created anxiety.<sup>100</sup> Religious refugees 'who, being grown weary of their long exile, may have a mind to return into France', were severely disappointed that this issue was not effectively addressed.<sup>101</sup> An anonymous pamphlet in 1701 accused the Protestant powers of not having properly defended the interest of the refugees since the treaty.

It is very observable, that these new persecutions are used on purpose to insult the Protestant powers, for the executioners of these outrages use to speak to our people thus; *You see now, how such an one hath delivered you; This is the fruit of your fine hopes .....*The council of persecution hath omitted nothing which could defeat the hopes of the Reformed in France.....  
.....the Popish league will every day get strength, and the Protestant party decline, now in one place, now in another.<sup>102</sup>

There had already been sympathy expressed for the foreign Protestants, who had expected that the allies would do something for them at the negotiation at Rijswijk.<sup>103</sup> Soon after the treaty, Evelyn wrote with bitterness:

Nothing all this while done at all for the poor Protestants or their

<sup>99</sup> Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>100</sup> *Flying-Post*, 23 February, 2, 11 November 1699; *Post Man*, 9 March 1699; *London Gazette*, 23, 10 October 1699.

<sup>101</sup> P. G. D., *The Present State of the Protestants in France: or, an Account of the Violent and Barbarous Persecution They now lye under, and have done ever since the Treaty of Peace at Reswick*, n. pag.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, n. pag.

<sup>103</sup> For the negotiation with regards to the Huguenots, see Frank van Deijk, 'Elie Benoist (1640-1728), Historiographer and Politician after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 69 (1989), pp.70-86.



interest, even in the Palatinate itself, which shews, how little they were minded by us or any of the confederates, since the D. of Sax [Duke of Saxony], & others go over daily the papists, so as the peace is nothing that which it was hoped.<sup>104</sup>

Learning of the distressed situation of Protestantism in the Palatinate after the war, Bishop Compton also came to view the treaty critically.

I wish the treaty at Ryswick could have prevented this misfortune, which is likely to fall upon many more of the Protestants in Germany.<sup>105</sup>

In the last years of William, when the hatred of the Dutch king, who had brought war on to the shoulders of the English, reached its peak, news of Catholic advances, such as the Elector of Saxony's conversion, and the renewal of persecution of Protestants, were good topics for government propaganda in order to remind the English that popery was a cruel and aggressive faith, and that thus William's anti-French policy was right. When news about the Vaudois refugees from the Duchy of Savoy reached him in late 1698, William and his bishops carefully orchestrated a brief to make the most of it.

However William's interest in the Vaudois was not born in a day. In the winter of early 1686, Vittorio Amedeo II, the Duke of Savoy, yielding to pressure from Louis XIV, launched a crusade aimed at exterminating his Protestant subjects in the valleys of Piedmont.<sup>106</sup> Apart from some 3,000 who

<sup>104</sup> Evelyn, op. cit., V, 270-271.

<sup>105</sup> Gloucestershire Record Office, Gloucester, D 3549, 6 2 7.

<sup>106</sup> The religious movement of the Vaudois, or Waldenses, was founded in the twelfth century by Pierre Valdes of Lyons. They embarked on translations of the Latin bible into vernacular languages and claimed that the Church should live in poverty and humility, appealing to scripture as their authority. Because of the Inquisition and persecutions against them, they were gradually confined to the Alpine valleys in the Dauphine in France and Piedmont in the Duchy of Savoy. At the time of the Reformation,



converted, out of a population of perhaps 15,000, only some 3,800 Vaudois survived the duke's persecution as prisoners until March 1687 when they were eventually expelled to the cantons of Switzerland.<sup>107</sup> The Netherlands, German Protestant princes and Swiss cantons attempted to settle them in their respective territories. The Swiss especially did not wish them to return to Piedmont, and wanted them instead to settle somewhere in Protestant territories since the Swiss Confederation feared provoking Louis XIV. Against all odds, fewer than a thousand armed Vaudois exiles under the leadership of Pastor Henri Arnaud, joined by some Huguenots as well as French Vaudois, broke through the French border guards and returned to their deserted valleys in the late summer of 1689. This was the so-called 'glorieuse rentree', i.e., 'the Glorious Return'.<sup>108</sup> Luckily for this isolated

they came under the influence of Swiss reformers. Their main valleys in Piedmont were Luzerne, San Martin, Perosa and Pragela. The last was under French sovereignty until the War of the Spanish Succession. For a general history of the Waldenses, see A. R. Pennington, *Henri Arnaud: or the Glorious Return of the Waldenses of Piedmont* (London, 1862); Alexis Muston, *A Complete History of the Waldenses and their Colonies*, trans. John Montgomery, 2 vols (London, 1875); John Pons, *A History of Waldenses* (*Morganton News Herald*, 1937; repr. 1968?, 2nd ed. 1982); C. P. Merlino, *The Waldensians: The first 800 Years 1174-1974*, trans. C. W. Arbuthnot (Torino, 1980); Euan Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics: The Waldenses of the Alps, 1480-1580* (Oxford, 1984); Stephens, op. cit.

<sup>107</sup> Figures are based on Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, p. 98.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., pp.102-105; do., 'The Waldensians in the Absolutist State of Victor Amadeus II', *Collana della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 11 (1990); Theo Kiefner, *Henri Arnaud* (Stuttgart, Berlin, and Köln, 1989), pp.55-82; do., *Die Waldenser auf ihrem Weg aus dem Val Cluson durch die Schweiz nach Deutschland 1532-1755*, 3 vols (Göttingen, 1980-1995), II (1985), 155-350; Musée du Léman ed. *La Glorieuse Rentrée* (Nyon, 1989); Christopher Storrs, 'Thomas Coxe and the Lindau Project', *Collana della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 11 (1990), 199-204; Randolph Vigne, 'Huguenot migration to the Cape of Good Hope: archival fact and Voltairean myth', paper delivered at "'Out of New Babylon": the Huguenots and their Diaspora' international conference, College of Charleston, 14-17 May 1997.



force, William, realising the strategic importance of the Protestants' presence in the border area between France and Savoy, did not desert them. English and Dutch diplomats persuaded the reluctant Swiss to permit the sending of reinforcements to the allies from Switzerland.<sup>109</sup> Moreover Vittorio Amedeo, who had already come to resent Louis XIV's influence over Savoy, concluded that the maritime powers would be more beneficial allies than France and that he could use the question of the Vaudois as a bargaining counter with them. The alliance between the maritime powers and Savoy was cemented in 1690, and consequently the Vaudois were allowed to live in their valleys in Piedmont under the protection of William. The Vaudois, some of them having wandered far into northern Europe, gradually returned to the valleys.<sup>110</sup> However it took another four years until the Duke officially issued an edict in 1694 to admit Vaudois worship under the terms of the treaty with the maritime powers.<sup>111</sup>

However much the strategic importance of Savoy occupied their minds, William and Mary consistently presented themselves as defenders of

<sup>109</sup> For the activities of Thomas Coxe, the English envoy to the Swiss cantons, see, Storrs, *op. cit.* For diplomatic relations between England and the Swiss Protestant cantons, see L. A. Robertson, 'The Relations of William III with the Swiss Protestants, 1689-1697', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th se., 12 (1929).

<sup>110</sup> Hendrik Carel vos Leibbrandt, *Rambles through the Archives of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1688-1700* (Cape Town, 1887), pp. 90-99; 'A Letter from Henri Arnaud, dated 10 Sept. 1690', printed in *PHS*, 25 (1989-1993), p. 93;

<sup>111</sup> For diplomatic relations between England and Savoy, see Jeremy Black, 'The Development of Anglo-Sardinian Relations in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', *Studi Piemontesi*, 12 (1983); Christopher Storrs, 'Diplomatic Relations Between William III and Victor Amadeus II 1690-96' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of London, 1990); do, 'Machiavelli Dethroned: Victor Amadeus II and the Making of the Anglo-Savoyard Alliance of 1690', *European History Quarterly*, 22 (1992); Robert Oresko, 'The Diplomatic Background to the Glorious Rimpatrio: The Rupture between Vittorio Amedeo II and Louis XIV (1688-1690)', *Collana della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 11 (1990).



Protestantism to the area. The envoys of the maritime powers to Turin were always instructed to take care of the Vaudois. Since the reconstruction of the Vaudois community after their long exile heavily depended on the training of young pastors and schoolmasters, Mary not only revived a scholarship to maintain two Vaudois youths at English universities,<sup>112</sup> but also created annual pensions for the Vaudois community.<sup>113</sup>

In 1696 the Duke of Savoy changed sides again and made a separate peace with Louis. William Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, wrote to Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury since 1695:

...the poor Vaudois are like to be in a very ill condition. They are indeed now in the hand of their bloody enemies, and nothing can preserve them from destruction but some extraordinary appearance of the hand of God.<sup>114</sup>

Just as Lloyd had expected, Vittorio Amedeo issued on 1 July 1698 (NS) an oppressive edict to expel the Vaudois of French origin out of the Duchy<sup>115</sup>; it affected some 3000 people including Henri Arnaud, the leader of the 'Glorious Return' and currently moderator of the synod, and six other pastors. During August these Vaudois left for Switzerland. The cantons had already been heavily burdened with '8000 poor French refugees [presumably Huguenots]', so no sooner had the French Vaudois taken refuge in Switzerland, than both they and the French had to seek another place to live.<sup>116</sup> Having taken counsel with the Dutch diplomat Pieter Valkenier, in

<sup>112</sup> See Chapter V below.

<sup>113</sup> Mary II gave a pension of £555 per annum for the Vaudois pastors and schoolmasters. Societa de Studi Valdesi, Torre Pellice, Coute Germania 8, fols 2-3.

<sup>114</sup> William Lloyd to Tenison, 17 October 1696, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Lambeth MS 929, fol. 42.

<sup>115</sup> Theo Kiefner ed., *Die Privilegien der nach Deutschland gekommenen Waldenser*, 2 parts (Stuttgart, Berlin and Köln, 1990), I, 570-572.

<sup>116</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1699-1700, p.92.





September Arnaud and the other pastors set off for the Protestant territories in northern Europe to seek aid. The news of their condition soon spread. Recommended to them by Valkenier in the name of his government, some German princes, such as the Duke of Württemberg, Eberhard Ludwig, and the Landgrave of Hessen who issued an edict to welcome those refugees of the reformed religion,<sup>117</sup> held out a helping hand to the refugees. Even so, the refugees were too poor to start a new life from scratch. Arnaud went to England to appeal in person to William III to raise collections urgently in the Netherlands and England.<sup>118</sup>

Their need to remove from Switzerland was reported, possibly through Dutch intelligence, to William III, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London on 20 January 1699 at the latest.<sup>119</sup> Accordingly William already intended to 'do what may be thought fit for their relief' before the

<sup>117</sup> Luttrell, op. cit., IV, 419. The Landgraves of Hessen, both Friedrich II of Hessen-Homburg and Ernst Ludwig of Hessen-Darmstadt, issued edicts. Having already accepted some three thousands Huguenots and Vaudois by 1699, the Landgrave of Hessen-Cassel, Carl I, did not receive any Vaudois in 1699, though he applied to England for financial help for Protestant settlers in his territory. Poole, op. cit., chap. 12; Kiefner, *Die Waldenser*, III, 177.

<sup>118</sup> Valdo Vinay, 'I rifugiati valdesi nell'Assia-Darmstadt e la loro corrispondenza con l'arcivescovo Thomas Tenison di Canterbury (1699)', *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 147(1980); Kiefner, *Henri Arnaud*, pp. 119-126; Do., *Die Waldenser*, III, 33-74. On the way to England, Arnaud passed through Zurich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Hanau, and the Hague. He remained always in close contact with Protestants in those places, and could count on their charity for funding his travel. See also the letters of Henri Arnaud, printed in E. M. Comba, *Henri Arnaud: Sa vie et ses lettres* (La Tour, 1889), pp. 66-69.

<sup>119</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1699-1700, p. 26. Arnaud submitted a petition to the States General of the Netherlands dated on 20 January 1699 (NS), then he left The Hague for England soon after 29 January (NS). Henri Tollin ed. 'Urkunden', *Geschichtsblätter des Deutschen Hugenotten-Vereins*, Zehnt IV, Heft 10 (1895), pp. 48-49; Comba, op. cit., 68.



arrival of Arnaud in England.<sup>120</sup> The *Post-Man* reported that in advance of England, the States General of the Netherlands had proclaimed a collection for the Vaudois on 17 February 1699.<sup>121</sup> No sooner had William learned in detail of their circumstances and requirements from Henri Arnaud, than he consulted Bishop Compton and Archbishop Tenison and planned a campaign in support of the Vaudois starting on 12 March 1699.<sup>122</sup> To make the fullest impact on the English, William even turned down an application from the Palatines, who were supported by John Sharp, Archbishop of York, in early 1699 on the ground that a brief for them 'may be a prejudice to that for the Vaudois'.<sup>123</sup> It is no wonder that Arnaud could assure the Duke of Württemberg of 'the success of the enterprise at London' in a letter dated on 12/22 February only a few weeks after his arrival.<sup>124</sup>

As in the time of Cromwell, the nation-wide fasts and collections for the Vaudois served as reminders of the continuing Catholic threat to Protestantism in general. The main points of this campaign were well expressed in Compton's instruction to the clergy of his diocese. The appeal was couched in terms of English responsibility towards less fortunate and weaker brethren abroad. Thus, Compton not only desired them to 'stir up the people under your charge to a liberal contribution', but also mentioned the importance of not disappointing the expectations of the 'Protestant brethren abroad.'

We cannot but tell you, it is expected from us by all our Protestant brethren abroad, who indeed have set us a noble example, in the large contributions they have already made, in

<sup>120</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1699-1700, p. 26.

<sup>121</sup> *Post-Man*, 21 Feb., 28 Feb., 1699.

<sup>122</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1699-1700, pp. 92-94; The Brief of 12 March 1699 for the Relief of the Vaudois and French Refugees, CLRO, Ex-Guildhall Library MS 350.

<sup>123</sup> GRO, D3549 6 2 7.

<sup>124</sup> Comba, *op. cit.*, p. 69.



their respective churches and states. And it will appear very strange if the Church of England, that has always been reputed the pillar of the Protestant cause, should not signalize her zeal for it, on so pressing an occasion.

Moreover, he emphasised several points designed to encourage a sense of 'a fellow-feeling' towards their 'poor brethren'.

...it will be convenient, that you represent to your several congregations, the *Greatness* of this calamity in all its circumstance: of which they will have a more lively sense and fellow-feeling, if you put them in mind of their own terrors and apprehensions of misery, while we were in danger of being brought under the scourge of that cruel religion [the Catholic]. And this will naturally lead you to suggest to them their obligations to comfort those poor creatures, who now suffer what we formerly *fear'd* with so much uneasiness. Our liberality on this sad occasion, will be the properest expression of our thankfulness for that deliverance, as well as the most effectual means of prevailing with God to continue to us the quiet enjoyment of our religion.<sup>125</sup>

It is apparent from this extract that Compton urged the clergy and their congregation to show solidarity against the popish threat, in the context of Protestant internationalism. He deliberately tried to make the most of the brief in order to further the Protestant cause.

The 5th April 1699 was decided on as a day of public fast 'to implore God's mercy & deliverance of the poor persecuted Protestants' abroad,<sup>126</sup> and sermons were preached for them. Even rural villages such as Clayworth in Nottinghamshire obeyed this order. William Sampson, the rector of Clayworth, wrote in his rector's book that 'upon the 5th of Apr. was a Publ[ic] Fast, that G[od] would avert the designs o' the enemies o' the Protestant Religion.'<sup>127</sup> Luttrell wrote about the day in London:

<sup>125</sup> The Letter from the Bishop of London to the Clergy of his Diocese, 14 March 1699, CLRO.

<sup>126</sup> Evelyn, *op. cit.*, V, 319; *London Gazette*, 16 March 1699.

<sup>127</sup> *The Rectors Book Clayworth, Notts, op.cit.*, p.127.



Yesterday being the fast upon account of the persecution of the Vaudois and other foreign Protestants, 'twas observed strictly here; Dr Willis preacht before the king at Whitehall, the Bishop of Bangor before the Lords, and Mr Smalwood before the Commons: all their sermons set forth the severities of the popish persecution at this time against the Protestants, and Dr Lucas, of Coleman street, in his sermon, speaking of his majestie, among other expressions, said he was born to have his person exposed to his enemies abroad, and his patience tried by his subjects at home: the clergy of all persuasions exhorted their hearers to be very liberal in their charity upon this occasion.<sup>128</sup>

This Dr Lucas was Richard Lucas, vicar of St Stephen Coleman Street, who was famous for his powerful sermons,<sup>129</sup> but unfortunately the 5 April sermon is not preserved. His church paid £46 10s. as the collection for the Vaudois to the Chamber of London,<sup>130</sup> although this sum was relatively small compared with other collections for foreign Protestants made by this church.<sup>131</sup>

It seems that clergymen in the diocese of London more or less followed the instruction from Compton: they put great emphasis on the importance of fellowship with continental Protestants, who now suffered popish oppression as the English would have done under James II. James Smalwood, who was also mentioned by Luttrell, accused 'the Romish Church' of cruelty in his sermon before the House of Commons at St Margaret's Westminster. He referred to 'the total extirpation of the Protestants in Moravia, Silesia,

<sup>128</sup> Luttrell, *op.cit.*, V, 502.

<sup>129</sup> *DNB*.

<sup>130</sup> CLRO, Ex-Guildhall Library MS 281.

<sup>131</sup> The collections were as follows:

1681 French Protestants	£58	12s.	4d.
1686 French Protestants	£185	6s.	6d.
1688 French Protestants	£198	0	0
1689 Irish Protestants	£153	8s.	5 1 2d
1690 Irish Protestants	£64	13s.	4d.
1694 French Protestants	£42	13s.	0
1704 Protestants of the Principality of Orange	£105	2s.	2d.

from GL, Guildhall Library MS 4467.



Bohemia and Hungary, the massacre of the Huguenots in France, and English Protestants in Ireland' along with 'the cruel inhumanities against the Vaudois.'<sup>132</sup> Urging the congregation to have compassion for the fellow Protestants on the continent, he also referred to 'memorable examples of the Popish cruelty' in the past in England, such as Queen Mary I's reign and the Gunpowder plot. He thus connected the defence of the country with the Protestant interest beyond the national interest. St Margaret's Westminster raised £324 18s. 8d., the fourth largest sum in the Archdeaconry of London. The day after his sermon 'the Common voted thanks to Mr Smallwood [sic] for his sermon.'<sup>133</sup>

In the case of William Wake, rector of St James Westminster and the future Archbishop of Canterbury, on the day of the public fast, he recited the 600 year history of the Vaudois' sufferings, taken from *An Account of the late Persecution of the Protestants in the Vallys of Piedmont* that had been published at Oxford in 1688. He urged the congregation to join in their relief and argued in terms of religious brotherhood because 'they are our brethren not only as they are Christians, but as they are reform'd too.'<sup>134</sup> It was 'not only a matter of charity, but of interest also to us [English Protestants] to help and relieve them [the Vaudois]' against the interest of 'our common enemy', namely the Catholics. St James's Westminster collected £ 428 2s. 3d. up to 1 June, the second biggest amount in the London area.

Nicholas Brady's sermon at St Mary Magdalen, the parish church of Richmond, Surrey, also insisted on the fellowship of the Protestants in Europe in accordance with Bishop Compton's advice. He added:

<sup>132</sup> James Smalwood, *A Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons at St Margarets Westminster* (London, 1699), p. 17.

<sup>133</sup> Luttrell, op.cit.

<sup>134</sup> William Wake, *The Case of the exiled Vaudois and French Protestants stated* (London, 1699) p.26.



Let us not so far remember that they are foreigners, a word that sounds harshly in English ears, as to forget that they are Christians and Protestants.<sup>135</sup>

St Mary Magdalen, Richmond, paid £61 2s 8d to the Chamber of London on 16 June. There are no records of churchwardens' accounts of this church before 1700. However, the contributions of this parish in the following years will suffice to show how large its contribution for the Vaudois was:<sup>136</sup>

1700	3 collections upon the briefs, average sum	£3 0s. 0 1 2d.
1701	4 collections upon the briefs, average sum	£3 8s. 2d.
1702	4 collections upon the briefs, average sum	£1 9s. 4d.
1703	5 collections upon the briefs, average sum	£1 17s. 6d.

This church also collected £42 6s. 10d., on 19 January 1704, for the Protestants of the Principality of Orange. Its contribution to such religious causes far exceeded that of other briefs, in common with the parish churches in Table 1 above.

The effect of these sermons on individuals is difficult to fathom. A few names of contributors are in the account of the Chamber of the City of London. They included William III (£1,000), the Earl of Nottingham (£50), Sir Josiah Child, Baronet (£200), the Marchioness of Tavistock (£50), and an executrix of a major's estate (£10). It is difficult in this account book to distinguish the bishops' gifts from the collections in their dioceses. The following table shows the contributions of dioceses. The figures in brackets are the estimated gifts of bishops within the contributions.

<sup>135</sup> Nicholas Brady, *A Sermon preach'd at the Parish-Church of Richmond in Surry* (London, 1699), p.17.

<sup>136</sup> Surrey Record Office, Kingston-upon-Thames, St Mary Magdalen, Richmond, Parish Register, 3.



**Table 2 Diocesan Contributions to the Brief for the Vaudois 1699-1710****(The figures in roundbracket show probable bishops' donations.)**

Canterbury	£ 1016	19s.	2 1/4d.	(£ 80)
Bath and Wells	£ 396	5s.		
Bristol	£ 597	4s.	9d.	(£ 20)
Chichester	£ 586	8s.	2d.	(£ 20)
Ely	£ 515	6s.	3d.	(£ 40)
Exeter	£ 1286	2s.	4d.	
Gloucester	£ 453	12s.	10 1/4d.	
Hereford	£ 359	16s.	1/4d.	
Lichfield and Coventry	£ 840	14s.	11 1/4d.	(£ 150)(£ 20)
Lincoln	£ 1436	15s.	11 3/4d.	(£ 20)
London	£ 8298	15s.		(£ 40)
Norwich	£ 1847	6s.	8 1/2d.	(£ 20)
Oxford	£ 520			(£ 20)
Peterborough	£ 516	9s.	2 1/4d.	
Rochester	£ 347	18s.	1 1/2d.	
Salisbury	£ 1101	1s.	5 1/2d.	(£ 40)
Winchester	£ 1552	14s.	8d.	(£ 40)
Worcester	£ 450			
St David's	£ 47	6s.	6d.	
St Asaph	£ 38			
Bangor	0			
Llandaff	0			
York	£ 877	8s.	10d.	(£ 40)
Carlisle	£ 76	3s.	7d.	
Chester	£ 655			(£ 20)
Durham	£ 388	7s.		
Ireland	£ 1600			
Private donations	£ 1800	10s.		
Total	£ 27,606	6s.	6 1/2d.	



The total sum of the brief reached £27,606 6s. 6 1/2d. by 24 December 1710.<sup>137</sup> From the table it is easy to see the importance of the donation from London. Most of the 135 parishes within and around London sent returns to the Chamber of the City of London within the first six months and they finally raised £6278 83/4d.<sup>138</sup> Among them, 14 of the parishes reached over £100, on the other hand 22 parishes did not reach £10, though, as seen from Table 1 above, this was still a great deal money if compared with donations in the country.

Distribution of the fund had already started on 23 June 1699 in accordance with the decision of the commission (Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Compton were among its members), about where and how much of the fund was to be distributed.<sup>139</sup> The refugees were now scattered over German territories such as Brandenburg, Württemberg and Hessen-Cassel, and Ireland and the American colonies. Moreover these different places competed in their claims for a share of the distribution. Even the Vaudois themselves were divided between different localities as regards their share of the collection.

The 'success of the enterprise' undertaken by Arnaud for the Vaudois refugees in Germany also effected a change in the terms of Queen Mary's pensions. Not only did William and the committee now decide to pay from the collection made by the brief, but they resolved too that the pensions which the exiled Vaudois pastors and schoolmasters had received in the valleys of

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<sup>137</sup> The Accounts of this collection are contained in Lambeth MS 928 in the Lambeth Palace Library and Ex-Guildhall Library MS 281 in the Corporation of London Records Office, although they generally only record the amount and dates of contributions of each deanery. But for the archdeaconry of London, these accounts show the amounts and dates of contributions of each parish church.

<sup>138</sup> LPL, Lambeth MS 928. c.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 1028, fols 1-47.



Piedmont should continue to be assigned to them in Germany. This caused alarm among the Savoyard Vaudois who remained in the valleys of Piedmont. They had assumed that the pensions as a whole would be allocated to the valleys. As soon as the synod of Piedmont learnt of the change in June 1700 from a letter of Jacques Papon from Frankfurt, one of seven expelled pastors, they immediately decided to send one Vaudois pastor and one Swiss pastor to William III, in order to 'beg him in the name of the valleys, to be so charitable as to continue the ...pensions to them in conformity with the intentions of Mary, Queen of glorious memory.'<sup>140</sup> However, their deputies were dissuaded by Philibert d'Hervart, English envoy extraordinary to Bern, from going 'further for several reasons' and were forced to entrust the task to him.<sup>141</sup> They had to be satisfied with begging the English envoy in Turin, and waited.<sup>142</sup> Unfortunately for them, the interference of d'Hervart made matter worse among the English, who were involved in the commission of the church briefs for the Vaudois refugees. William Lloyd,<sup>143</sup> Bishop of Worcester since 1699, wrote a letter to Tenison for the Vaudois in Württemberg in December 1700;

He [Monsieur Jordan] and Monsieur Pastre....are the agents of the Vaudois in Württemberg, to defend their cause about his Majesty's charity, against their brethren in Piedmont, who never had more than half, but now put in a claim to all by Monsieur d'Hervart. It cannot be denied that those now in Württemberg land are as true Vaudois as those in Piedmont....while those Vaudois on the other side of Chuson [the Vaudois in Piedmont] are suffered to

<sup>140</sup> *Actes des synodes des eglises vaudoises 1692-1854*, ed. Théophile. J. Pons (Torre Pellice, 1948), p. 33.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p.35.

<sup>142</sup> *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the Right Hon. Richard Hill*, ed. W. Blackley, 2 vols (London, 1845), II, 817-819, 963-965.

<sup>143</sup> Lloyd was apparently on good terms with Arnaud. In the letter of September 1690 to John Thornton, chaplain to the Earl of Bedford, Arnaud had specially thanked Lloyd for his efforts in the interest of the Vaudois. 'A Letter from Henri Arnaud, dated 10 Sept. 1690', *op. cit.*



continue in their valleys, and are now only fewer in number than they were 15 years since, but otherwise in as good a condition now as they were then, (which Mr Hill [the English diplomat in Savoy] said, he would advise Monsieur d'Hervart not to give his Majesty occasion to think of, for fear it should make him turn his charity some other way,) these poor men on the French side of Chisone now in Württemberg land have now more need of charity than they had when it was first given them by his Majesty of blessed charity.... So the charge must light somewhere else, and since the poor men themselves cannot bear it.<sup>144</sup>

In fact all the pensions to Piedmont were consequently suspended.<sup>145</sup> The Vaudois in Piedmont therefore implored Bishop Compton to reinstate their money in December 1701.

the seven expelled pastors [the Vaudois in Germany] had requested assistance from his Britannic Majesty and other great lords that they had believed to be favourable to them for having, in their place of refuge, the continuation of the same pensions that they had received here,....By this means they have caused us a loss in regard of the aforesaid pensions....which put us in a poor position to support our pastors and our schoolmasters.<sup>146</sup>

We have no information on how and exactly when their pensions were restored. In the Autumn of 1703 the Vaudois in the valleys decided to ask Switzerland to find out about the matter of the pensions, and a warrant for £555 was issued in September 1704 to be paid to the English envoy to Turin for the Vaudois in the valleys.<sup>147</sup> Added to this, on 16 December the commission of the church briefs for the Vaudois refugees ordered firstly English agents in Piedmont to send £400 to Turin 'for the use of the Protestants there', and this was followed by another £285 on 27 August

<sup>144</sup> LPL, Lambeth MS, 1029, fol.109. The Vaudois settled in Germany had appealed to the commission for urgent help. *Calendar of Treasury Papers* [subsequently cited as *Cal. Tr. Papers*], 1697-1701 2, p. 447.

<sup>145</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MS 984, fol. 63.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Blackley, II, 824-825.



1706.<sup>148</sup>

Archbishop Tenison presided over the commission and actively tackled the difficult task of sending funds overseas while instructing English diplomats on the spot, such as George Stepney in Brandenburg,<sup>149</sup> and agents, such as David Jordan in Frankfurt am Main and Frederick Bonet, a Prussian resident in London.<sup>150</sup> Tenison was even appealed to in order to resolve a conflict between Vaudois and Lutheran ministers in their new homeland.<sup>151</sup> Bishop Compton also attended almost every meeting of the commission for the brief for the Vaudois.<sup>152</sup> The commission paid a total of £4,500 to Brandenburg, £11,050 to Wurttemberg, £2,250 to Hessen-Cassel, and £6,230 to the American plantations, up to 29 January 1703.<sup>153</sup>

Henri Arnaud, the pastor of the exiled Vaudois, stayed in England for about six months<sup>154</sup> to campaign for their cause, as well as for relief activities on behalf of the Huguenots. He also had meetings with influential people in London, including William III, Tenison and other bishops, as well as the Huguenot ministers.<sup>155</sup> The SPCK archive has a copy of the document which Arnaud signed as a witness, giving accounts of persecutions of the Huguenots.<sup>156</sup> The king gave Arnaud a colonel's commission and 'in consideration of his service and the necessities of himself and family' £100 from the collection for the Vaudois.<sup>157</sup> In September Arnaud retired to

<sup>148</sup> CLRO, Ex-Guildhall Library MS 281, fols.74-76.

<sup>149</sup> *Cal. S. P.Dom.*, 1699-1700, p.180

<sup>150</sup> LPL, Lambeth MS 939, fol. 2.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 935, fol. 28.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 1028, fols. 1-47.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 1028, fols. 1-47; CLRO, Ex-Guildhall Library MS 281.

<sup>154</sup> Comba, *op. cit.*, p.68; anon., *Lettre a Monsieur Henry Arnaud* (London, 1699).

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*; Muston, *op. cit.*, II, 117-118; Vinay, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>156</sup> SPCK archives, London, Papers and Memorials 1715-1729, CP.1, fol. 72.

<sup>157</sup> CLRO, Ex-Guildhall Library MS 352 49. Thomas Tenison and Henry Compton wrote this warrant for Arnaud on 25 June 1700. However, there is another record of a payment



Dürrmenz (then soon to Schönenberg, the neighbouring village) in Württemberg and worked as the pastor there. Arnaud apparently impressed many in England. Three years later, a newly appointed English diplomat John Chetwynd, having heard much about Arnaud, imagined the hero of the Glorious Return as Achilles and his men as myrmidons.<sup>158</sup> With a plan to send military support to the Protestants in southern France, he met Arnaud in Frankfurt in December 1703, on his way to Turin. Chetwynd could not hide a trace of disappointment in his letter to the Earl of Nottingham.

I have now finished my treaty with Mr Arnaud, but I have not found my account with him so well as I expected. I was told in Holland that I might depend upon 5 or 600 good men at least, that 300 of them were....under arms in the lines under the command of General Arnaud &c: when I came hither I found that Monsieur Arnaud had really been in lines with his brother and hopes to pick up at least 100 of his countrymen...<sup>159</sup>

Despite this disappointment, Chetwynd became a benefactor of the Vaudois in Piedmont in the first half of the eighteenth century and helped them beyond the requirement of a diplomat. In October 1704 when the problem of pensions for the Vaudois in Piedmont was about to come to a settlement, Chetwynd assured Archbishop Tenison that 'the original Vaudois' deserved the Queen's charity.<sup>160</sup> He wrote the archbishop;

I must confess that I cannot [but] have some veneration for these mother churches, who never did believe transubstantiation: and who are the only people on this side of Alps, who do not say their prayers before images.<sup>161</sup>

for him of £150 on 23 June 1699. Ex-Guildhall Library MS 281, fol.74; LPL, Lambeth MS 1028, fol. 7.

<sup>158</sup> Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford, D639 8 2, fol. 31.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., fol. 48.

<sup>160</sup> SRO, D649 8 2, fol. 144.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.



This carefully organised campaign for the Vaudois in 1699 was another success for the cause of Protestant internationalism. It also may have influenced English views about the continent. In 1700 and 1701 the negative attitude of parliament toward William III was at its height. As is known from the Kentish petition, there were growing criticisms of parliament from outside.

The people of the county of Kent, as well as in the most parts of the kingdom, had expressed great dissatisfaction at the slow proceedings of parliament; and that the king was not assisted, nor the Protestants abroad considered.<sup>162</sup>

Having been moved by the news of the Vaudois through the campaign associated with the brief, which was added to by the news of other persecutions on the continent, it is not surprising that the Catholic threat was no longer felt to be merely the concern of other countries. Despite the unpopularity of William, parliament gradually came to support entering another war that William was preparing for, as the international tension rose. Especially when Louis recognised the Catholic James Edward Stuart as James III in September 1701, many English people would have remembered the claims about the Catholic threat in the campaigns for the Vaudois and the Huguenots. As anti-papist propaganda, the contribution of the campaigns of the church briefs is likely to have been valuable for William, who was by nature a man of realpolitik.

With the sudden death of William III on 8 March 1702 the political and religious arenas changed. As G. V. Bennett comments,<sup>163</sup> the church became

<sup>162</sup> Daniel Defoe, 'The History of the Kentish petition', (London, 1701) in *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters and other Pamphlets* (Oxford, 1727), p. 80.

<sup>163</sup> Bennett, 'King William III and the Episcopate', in *Essays in modern English Church History: In Memory of Norman Sykes*, eds G.V. Bennett and J. D. Walsh (London, 1966), p.131.



the battleground of political factions in the reign of Queen Anne. Nevertheless Anne and her government took over William's war as well as the cause of Protestant internationalism. But it should be noted that realpolitik still came in to play. Anne's government found no difficulty in fighting with the Catholic powers against Louis XIV, and even made peace in 1704, very willingly, with Vittorio Amedeo II the persecutor of the Vaudois. Still posing, however, as a protector of Protestantism in Europe, the crown continued to issue church briefs for continental Protestants. In the next chapter, the handling of church briefs for continental Protestants after William's death will be considered.



## Chapter II

### Church Briefs for Continental Protestants after William III

As explained in the previous chapter, the issuing of church briefs for the Huguenot refugees and the Vaudois during the 1680s and 1690s fuelled English concern about the Catholic threat to Protestantism on the continent and this despite the fact that it involved helping non-Anglican Protestants — a very sensitive issue for some bishops. After the revolution in 1688-89, William III certainly made the maximum use of such occasions to bring home to the English a sense of the general crisis facing European Protestantism and to justify the Protestant succession. The church briefs for the Vaudois in 1699 offered the Williamite regime an excellent opportunity to underline the fact that England was a guardian of Protestantism in Europe.<sup>1</sup> In 1702 Queen Anne and her government inherited not only William's war but also his role as a protector of distressed Protestant brethren. While they continued to pay pensions and allowances to Huguenot refugees and the Vaudois which their predecessors had agreed,<sup>2</sup> they also monitored the conditions of Protestants in various parts of Europe and pressured Catholic rulers when it was considered necessary.<sup>3</sup> As an additional part of the relief programmes the queen also issued briefs for continental Protestants. It is therefore time to examine the church brief activity after William III.

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter II above. For the Protestant aspect of William III's propaganda linked with his foreign policy, see Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, especially chap. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 933 C, fol. 164; *Cal. Tr. Papers 1714-1719*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>3</sup> Anne worked in particular for the toleration of the Protestants in the Palatinate and the release of Huguenot galley slaves, throughout her reign.



During the reign of Queen Anne, there were three major campaigns for collecting money by church briefs for continental Protestants: Protestants in the Principality of Orange in 1704, a Protestant church in Oberbarmen in the Duchy of Berg in 1707, and the Palatine refugees in 1709.<sup>4</sup> All these campaigns managed to raise substantial contributions. However there were a number of other unsuccessful applications for briefs. Before discussing the church briefs of Queen Anne's reign, we need to consider the circumstances of their issue.

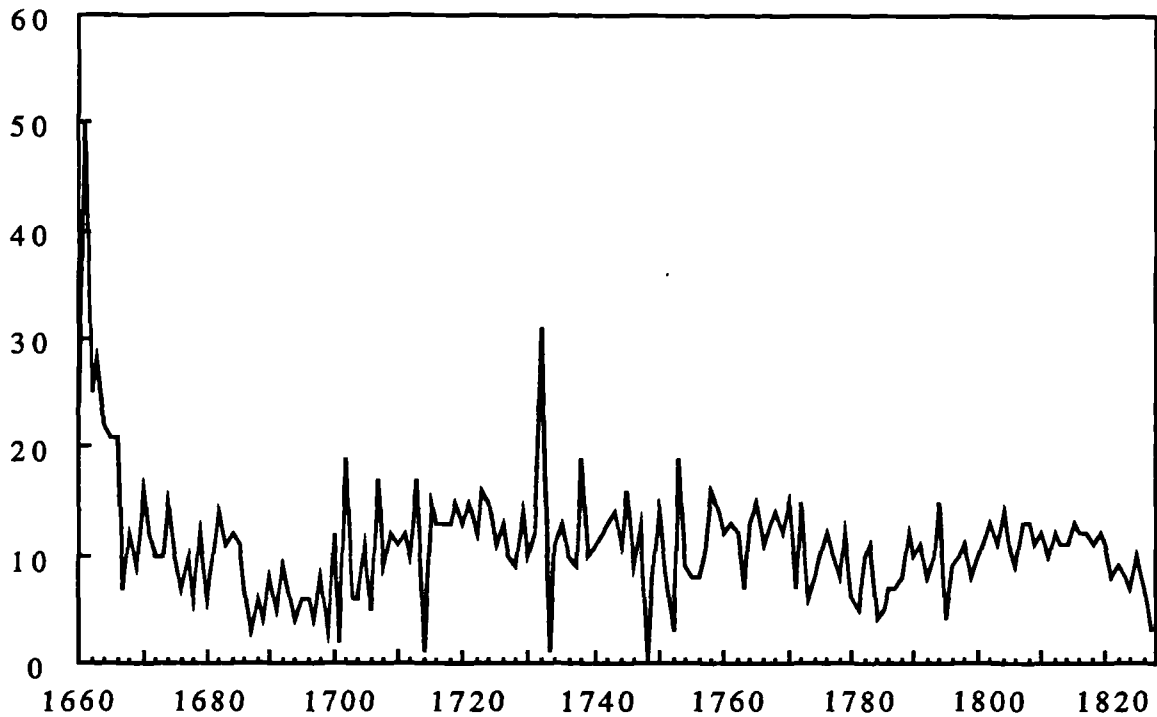
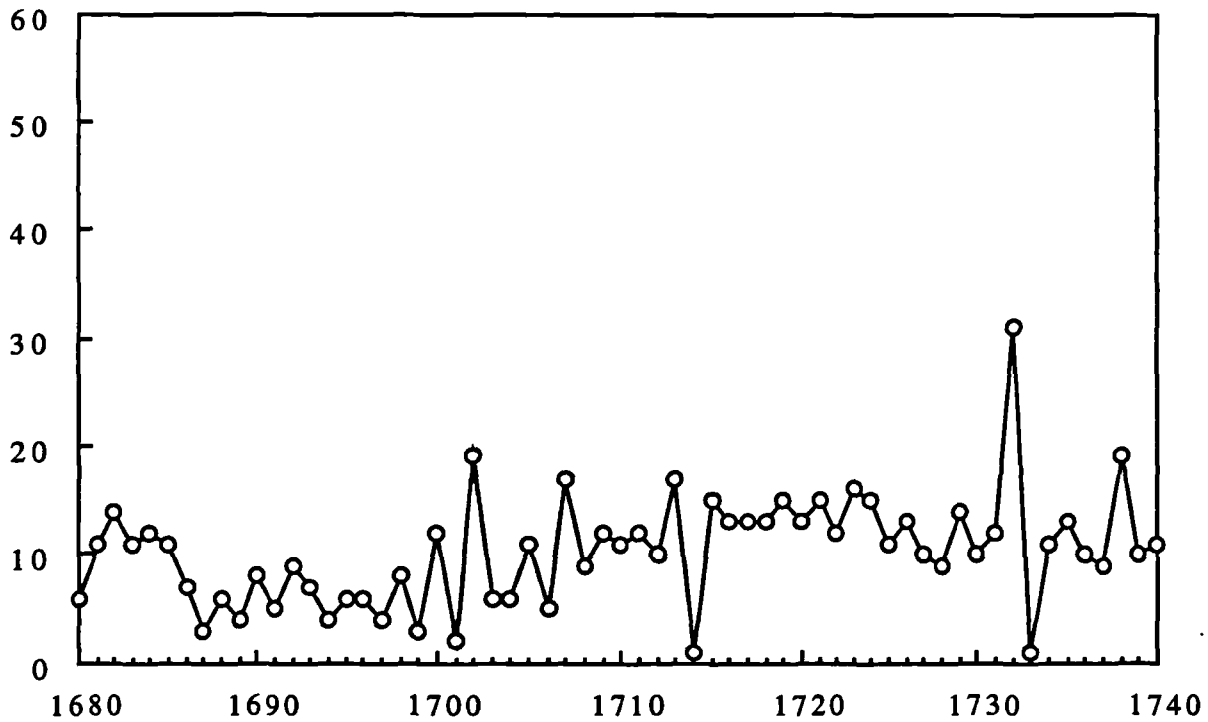
It should be noted here that, judging from the number issued at this period, church briefs as a money-raising system were not at all in the state of decline that is claimed by T. L. Auffenberg.<sup>5</sup> On the contrary, with the exception of the Commonwealth period, the number of issues generally remained steady until the abolition of church briefs in 1828, though there were some dips and also sharp increases from time to time. (See the graphs below: Fig. 1 & 2).

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<sup>4</sup> There are also the records at the parish level about the church briefs for the Protestants of Mitau in Courland, as well as in Poland and Livonia in 1709. Judging from the fact that any official record of the issue of them appears to be missing, it seems that the campaigns were relatively small or trivial.

<sup>5</sup> See Auffenberg, 'Organized English Benevolence: Charity Briefs, 1625-1705', pp. 10-11, 114-115. He claims that the church briefs worked well only in the Tudor-Stuart period as a system of organised national benevolence yet even then suffering from fraud, corruption, and mismanagement of funds; according to him, they were already in decline by 1705 when parliament passed a statute for preventing abuses in briefs. He barely considers the situation, however, after 1705. As far as the numbers of briefs are concerned Auffenberg relies on the list in W. A. Bewes's *Church Briefs*, which attempts to count all briefs from the Commonwealth to 1828 and is still the most comprehensive one, but he only tabulates them annually from 1660 to 1690 without without any further evidence of the decline of briefs (p. 388). Moreover, he misses the contribution under the brief for the Palatines in 1709, which should be marked as the fifth biggest contribution throughout the history of briefs in his table of 'greatest contributions to briefs' (p. 390).



**Fig.1** Estimated number of annual brief collections 1660-1828**Fig. 2** Estimated number of annual brief collections 1680-1740

Source: Bewes, *Church Briefs*, pp.276-332. (The last brief for continental Protestants was for the Vaudois, issued on 23 Dec. 1768, which Bewes incorrectly lists as issued in 1767.)



This relatively consistent number of briefs may indicate that the authorities regularly took into account the ability of the nation to contribute as well as possible conflicts of interest. Certainly William III turned down the application from the Palatines, who were supported by John Sharp, Archbishop of York, in early 1699 on the ground that a brief for them 'may be a prejudice to that for the Vaudois.'<sup>6</sup> It is also highly likely that the number of briefs for foreign Protestants was strictly limited deliberately because their requirements were usually expected to be much greater than those generated by domestic disasters. In 1726 William Wake confessed to a friend in Switzerland his hesitation to 'take any new load upon' the English by raising money for 'our friends abroad', since they were already burdened with subscriptions and collections for various undertakings at home and in the American plantations.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, it is true that English charity became more preoccupied with ecclesiastical matters at home during the first half of the eighteenth century. This is reflected, to some extent, in the changing purposes of briefs. As shown in Figure 3 below, between the 1680s and 1730s, church repair became the dominant concern in the issue of briefs. By contrast, the secular purposes of briefs, such as helping victims of fire, lessened dramatically.

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<sup>6</sup> GRO, D3549 6 2/7.

<sup>7</sup> Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Geneva, MSS. Inventaire 1569, fol. 141.



Sometimes the money was collected in the form of a subscription if a brief was not issued. Thomas Warapiet, Archbishop of Sancta Cruz [sic] in Gocthan in Perso-Armenia,<sup>8</sup> came to Amsterdam in the early 1700s to procure a printing press and type in Armenian characters for producing religious books in Armenia, but was forced by the war to stay on in the Netherlands. Henry Compton, Bishop of London, and Thomas Tenison and John Sharp, respectively Archbishops of Canterbury and York, heard about this in 1707 from Compton's protégé John Cockburn in Amsterdam, and made efforts to raise money for the Armenian archbishop and even to arrange an audience with the queen for him.<sup>9</sup> Apparently on those prelates' instructions, Robert Nelson a non-juror urged members of the SPCK, one of the most influential religious societies of the day, to contribute to the project of the Armenian archbishop. Nelson also asked Dr Charlett, master of University College, Oxford, to help the archbishop to raise money on his visit to Oxford.<sup>10</sup> The reason Nelson worked so eagerly on behalf of the Armenian archbishop may perhaps be linked to the fact that non-jurors sought an alliance with the Eastern Orthodox Churches in order to escape from their isolation in England.<sup>11</sup> The records at the SPCK archives also show that the Society

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<sup>8</sup> He was also called the Abbot of the Order of St Anthony.

<sup>9</sup> *Reverendissimi in Christo Patris Thomæ Archiepiscopi Sanctæ Crucis in Gocthan Perso-Armeniaë, Peregrinationis suæ in Europam, Pietatis & Literarum promovendarum causa susceptæ, Brevis Narratio* (Oxford, 1707); SPCK Archive, Minute Book, vol. 2-4, fols. 25-27. The Society donated ten guineas toward 'promoting Christian knowledge' in Armenia.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.; A Letter from Nelson to Charlett, 22 May 1707, printed in C. F. Secretan, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the pious Robert Nelson* (London, 1860), pp. 225-6.

<sup>11</sup> Sykes, 'Ecumenical Movements in Great Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', pp. 161-162; George Florovsky, 'The Orthodox Churches and the Ecumenical Movement prior to 1910', *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, eds Ruth Rouse and S. C. Neill (London, 1954), pp. 189-193.



sometimes raised money for the Huguenot galley slaves in France, and also for some other continental Protestants.<sup>12</sup>

The number of applications for church briefs from continental Protestants was evidently much greater than those actually issued. They continued to be made throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, but it is difficult to produce a precise figure. Even Archbishop Wake in 1726 found the numerous applications unmanageable. He wrote to a foreign friend who was considering an application for help that 'Many are the applications that are made to us for help to erect churches in Germany; one at this time for a church at Durkheim; all which considered, I doubt very little will be gotten here for that you mention'.<sup>13</sup> Although the English government was well aware of Protestant sufferings, through their own network of English diplomats and informants on the continent, would-be recipients of aid still needed personally to recommend themselves to the government in hope of obtaining a brief. Moreover they needed support from people who exercised influence over the relief activities. While sympathetic English prelates, such as Compton, Burnet, Lloyd, Sharp, Tenison and Wake were the main recipients of petitions from foreign Protestants, a certain number of lesser clergy, magistrates, lawyers, and influential foreign residents in London, working as the bishops' agents, came to acquire a tight grip on the business of charitable collections. Members of the French committee<sup>14</sup> certainly fell into this category. A Huguenot clergyman, observing this committee for Huguenot refugees, said that 'nothing was granted to anyone without the approval of these reverend divines'. However

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<sup>12</sup> For the records of the collections for the galley slaves, see SPCK, Treasurer's Cash Book, General Designs, FT 5/1, fol. 282; SPCK, Minute Book, vol.1, fols. 332-334; *ibid.*, vol. 2-4, fol. 37. They donated £122 17s. in June 1705.

<sup>13</sup> BPU, MSS, fol. 141.

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter II above.



'access to these gentlemen was more difficult than to the king himself'.<sup>15</sup> During Queen Anne's reign, with help from one Thomas Fischer and the local magistrates of Blomberg, Protestants in Istrup bei Blomberg in the Grafschaft zur Lippe managed to submit a petition to one of the secretaries of the state for building a new school in their village. However their efforts did not bear fruit in England perhaps because they lacked the backing either of their sovereign or of influential people in England.<sup>16</sup>

Some examples will make clear the point that many of those people who acted as a bridge between the English authorities and continental Protestants were leading members of the SPCK. Furthermore they acquired a general control over church brief matters. More will be said about the SPCK's members and designs in Chapter IV, but here the focus is on their role in the church briefs. The fact that some prominent subscribing members, as well as some corresponding members, came to be chosen as commissioners of the briefs for the Orangeois, the Oberbarmen church, and the poor Palatines,<sup>17</sup> often made their meetings look like those of the SPCK,<sup>18</sup> and they apparently

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<sup>15</sup> *Memoirs of the Reverend Jaques Fontaine 1658-1728*, ed D. W. Rössinger (London, 1992), p.134.

<sup>16</sup> PRO, SP/ 34/31/67. Undated. The Catalogue of the PRO misreads 'Istrup in the county & Dominion of Lippe' as 'Strup, in the county of Lisse'. Istrup is about 140 kilometres east of Barmen where the Protestants would build a church in 1710 with English help. According to the Nordrhein-Westfälisches Staatsarchiv Detmold, inhabitants in Istrup built a school in 1710 nevertheless.

<sup>17</sup> It is difficult to identify all the names of commissioners written on briefs. Added to this, the full membership of the SPCK in its early years is unknown, therefore how many SPCK members were commissioners remains unclear. However, apart from titled nobility and prelates, at least 11 out of 18 commissioners for the Orangeois were probably SPCK members, 4 out of 13 for the Oberbarmen church, and 26 out of 34 for the Palatines.

<sup>18</sup> The commissioners and SPCK members who attended meetings between 20 May and 24 May 1709 for the relief for the Palatines were Thomas Bray, Sir John Philipps, John Chamberlayne, Frederick Slare, Robert Hales, Robert Nelson, Henry Hoare, Justice Hooke, Henry William Ludolph, John Tribbeko, George Andrew Ruperti, William Dudley and George Watson. The SPCK membership of the other attendees, James Keith, Rupert



had considerable influence over the conduct of briefs. Indeed, distressed continental Protestants consulted them as to whether they had a chance of obtaining a brief or to raise charitable collections, and many of them were willing to undertake the long journey to England, as John Holling of Hanover a foreign corresponding member of the Society, implied in early 1714.

[Holling writes] that the provost of Wolgast [ in Pomerania ] by name von Platen a Dr in divinity having collected some opinions there and other parts of Germany towards rebuilding the church in said town, which together with the whole town was reduced to ashes by the Muscovites, had desired him to enquire of his friends in England whether it might be advisable for him to go thither to solicit charities for this purpose, and particularly whether the Society would be pleased to countenance him therein; he sends with his letter a printed narrative in High Dutch representing the miserable condition of those poor people, the contents of which he desires may be communicated to the Society by Mr Chamberlayne [a leading member of the SPCK].<sup>19</sup>

This letter suggests that knowledge of English church briefs for continental Protestants was already widespread even in the Baltic world, and made them hope that their presence in England would be an advantage in obtaining one, as is borne out by the journeys of Henri Arnaud, the Vaudois pastor in 1699,<sup>20</sup> and Conrad Gülcher of Oberbarmen in 1707.<sup>21</sup> In deciding to put off the plan the secretary of the Society provided the following detailed explanation.

I received your very kind letter of the 15th January with the High Dutch pamphlet and communicated the same to the Society

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Bridges and Mr Freske, is uncertain. There is no clue as to the identity of Mr Voace. *Ecclesiastical Records: State of New York*, ed. Hugh Hastings, 7 vols (Albany, 1902), III, pp. 1739-1742.

<sup>19</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, Received, no. 3853.

<sup>20</sup> See Chapter I above.

<sup>21</sup> See below.



but thô they heartily wished the provost of Wolgast might find assistance from English charity to rebuild his church, yet this kingdom has been so often for 10 years and more past plied with addresses [of] the like nature that 20 royal briefs for a distressing calamity will not produce so much charity now as one formerly not to say also used to do. That the poverty introduced by the war has contributed very much to lessen peoples ability if not their charity. The Archbishop of Thebais in Egypt came hither not long time to solicit for relief to the Christians in those parts under some oppression from the Turks but could not obtain wherewith to bear his personal expenses thô he lived with the utmost frugality [and] at last my lord Treasurer begged of the Queen £50 for him which was paid him upon condition he would leave the kingdom and so he did and I believe may be now in Holland for want of money to go home. By this you may guess how cold charity is grown among us, nor do I expect it will be otherwise till it shall please God to bless us with a real and flourishing peace.<sup>22</sup>

This letter suggests that charitable requests had become so frequent during the reign of Queen Anne that the English, wearied by the War of the Spanish Succession, were increasingly reluctant to respond. Indeed, the circumstances of church briefs gradually changed by the end of the queen's reign - something reflected in the increasing response of the SPCK to distressed Protestants, which will be discussed in Chapter IV. But having sketched the English context of foreign requests for charitable assistance, it is now necessary to examine the three major briefs approved under Queen Anne.

\* The Brief for the Orangeois \*

The situation in the Principality of Orange was of particular concern to William III and his Protestant relations. Under his sovereignty, the principality, maintained its independence from Catholic France, and offered a refuge for Huguenots in the surrounding areas. It was therefore not at all surprising that Louis XIV always wanted to annex this Protestant island in

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<sup>22</sup> SPCK, Society's Letters, CS2/ 4, fol. 9.



the middle of southern France and in fact repeatedly invaded it.<sup>23</sup> William succeeded in having French troops removed from the principality under the terms of the peace treaty of Rijswijk in 1697, but died a few years later in 1702 without issue. Despite the fact that William had appointed the stadholder of Friesland, who held the inherited title of the Count of Nassau, as his successor in the principality, the French king appropriated it for the Prince of Conti on the grounds of compensating him for the loss of his properties in the Netherlands. It began to look as though the worst fear of the Protestants would be confirmed: namely that under a Catholic monarch the liberties of Protestant subjects were threatened. In November 1702 Louis demanded that the principality should be ceded back to him, and in 1703 he prohibited Protestant reformed worship in it. Some 3,000 Protestants had to dispose of all their properties within three months. Many of them were unable to sell their properties, because no Catholic resident was willing to buy them for the 'fear of the Jesuits', and consequently left France in poverty.<sup>24</sup>

The alarmed Protestant powers sought to rescue them and this became a successful international operation. Merchants from Switzerland and Geneva, residing in Lyons, soon took action and organised collections for their journey. Although the Orangeois were not allowed to take the direct route to Geneva, and moreover women and children were forced to travel separately from men (their sufferings on route Gilbert Burnet described with

<sup>23</sup> Louis XIV occupied the principality between 1673 and 1678 (the treaty of Nijmegen), and again between 1685 and 1697 (the treaty of Rijswijk).

<sup>24</sup> For the history of the principality of Orange, see [ J. Convenent], *A short History of the Revolutions that have befallen the Principality of Orange in the Reigns of Louis XIV* (London, 1703); A Native of Languedoc, *An Account of the Theater of War in France* (London, 1703), pp. 34-35; *Zur zweihundertjahringen Jubelfeier der Maison d' Orange am 14 September 1905*, ed., the Directors of the Maison d'Orange (Berlin, 1905 ; anon., 'Die Maison d' Orange', *Der Deutsche Hugenott*, 28 (1964), 7-12.



indignation in his sermon for the brief),<sup>25</sup> they somehow managed to reach Switzerland. At the time English and Dutch agents were eagerly gathering information on the Protestants in southern France for their plan of invasion from Savoy. This may have added something to the lively concern for the welfare of the Orangeois, and certainly the news of their removal was rapidly conveyed. On 18 August Pieter Valkenier, the Dutch ambassador to Switzerland, reported to the Netherlands on the safe arrival of some refugees and their reception in Switzerland.

Monsieur the president d' Alançon [président du Parlement] and all the councillors of Orange arrived here [Baden]<sup>26</sup> with many other persons of quality; the people are also arriving incessantly, the men via Nice and the women in boats as far as Seyssel.<sup>27</sup> The people are being lodged here with the Sindics, the councillors of the small and great council, and with the better-off persons. Everyone here goes so far as to want to have them. They are treated very well, and those who are poorly dressed are given fresh clothes: charity is great and well used; it is thought that about 2,000 people are coming, and we shall know exactly, as a register of them is being kept.<sup>28</sup>

The Protestant powers vied with one another in offering the exiles financial aid. The Duke of Saxe-Weitz gave 1000 ecus; and the Duke of Gotha gave 200 Thlr. Other collections were as follows: Neu Mark 863 Thlr., Pomerania 903 Thlr., Lübeck 500 Thlr., Magdeburg 218 Thlr. 15 Gr., Anhalt 500 Thlr., the Grafschaft zur Lippe 1500 Thlr., Wolfenbüttel 90 Thlr., Bernburg 200 Thlr., Hamburg 150 Thlr. The total of collections by the Protestant princes of the Empire and of Brandenburg-Prussia reached 2500

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<sup>25</sup> Gilbert Burnet, *A Sermon Preach'd at St James's Church, upon the Reading the Brief for the persecuted exiles of the Principality of Orange* (London, 1704), pp. 23-25.

<sup>26</sup> A meeting place of the Swiss Confederate Diet until 1712.

<sup>27</sup> The women and children of Orange were sent in ship up the Rhône to Seyssel, and from there they were brought to Geneva by carts.

<sup>28</sup> *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Waldenser-Gemeinde Pragela*, ed. Daniel Bonin, 3 vols (Magdeburg, 1911, 1913, 1914), III (1914), 175.



Thlr. The Landgrave of Hessen-Cassel and the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel promised to provide transport when the refugees moved from Switzerland.<sup>29</sup>

It is a curious fact that Vittorio Amedeo II, the Catholic Duke of Savoy, also offered help despite the fact that he himself had effected the expulsion of some 3,000 Vaudois Protestants from his duchy only five years previously. Valkenier the Dutch ambassador wrote:

The president d' Alançon [of Orange] being at Turin, His Royal Highness [Vittorio Amedeo II] wished to see him; he had therefore the honour to make his bow to him; this Prince said to him, that he had wanted to assure him in person, that he was very sorry for their misfortune and that he would very much like to be able to relieve them; that he had given orders, that nothing should be taken for the passports, and that if the slightest wrong was done to them in his estates, he would have good and summary justice done to them.

The duke even added that;

...if the Orangeois had passed through the Valleys [of the Vaudois], they would have seen how his subjects of the [Protestant] religion were as content with him as he was with them, regarding them as those who were most faithful and affectionate to him.<sup>30</sup>

It would be however a mistake to deduce that the Duke of Savoy had fundamentally changed what had been his religious policy up to then. Like Louis XIV, Vittorio Amedeo II preferred a policy of 'one faith, one law, one king', but was prepared to bend his religious principles in order to win favour with his Protestant allies, especially so soon after having changed sides from Louis XIV to the maritime powers. He certainly realised the importance of the Protestant religion for his allies and acted accordingly. Later in 1713 when the released Protestant galley slaves passed through

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<sup>29</sup> *Zur zweihundertjährigen Jubelfeier der Maison d' Orange am 14 September 1905*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>30</sup> Bonin, op. cit., III, 175-176.



Turin on their way to Geneva, he again welcomed them at his court in front of the ambassadors of both Britain and the Netherlands.<sup>31</sup>

England was no less generous than the other Protestant powers. Queen Anne apparently felt responsibility for the 'subjects to our late dear brother.'<sup>32</sup> No later than August 1703 Queen Anne ordered a church brief for the Orangeois to be prepared and it was issued on 11 November 1703, though its reading was delayed, for an unknown reason, until 30 January 1704.<sup>33</sup> The first donation of £12 5s, came from St Mary at Hill in London on 11 February.<sup>34</sup> On 27 February 1704, John Evelyn attended the sermon by Gilbert Burnet, 'upon the reading the brief for the persecuted exiles of the Principality of Orange'<sup>35</sup> and observed that 'this he exaggerated with all the topics of rhetoric, and preaching earnestness for a liberal contribution to be sent to those afflicted Christians.'<sup>36</sup> As Evelyn wrote, Burnet dramatised their journey into exile as the suffering of a godly people in order to encourage charitable giving. After telling the story of the Orangeois he played on the sense of Protestant fellowship by emphasising that like the English they were also the subjects of the godly deliverer, William III.<sup>37</sup>

What can move us more powerfully, than when we see such a course of inhumane and barbarous fury on the one hand, and of such firmness, consistency, and patience on the other hand....Here is a whole church, or rather a little nation that comes in a body to throw themselves upon Providence, and on the bowels of their

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<sup>31</sup> Jean Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un protestant condamné aux galères de France, etc* (Rotterdam, 1757), intro. André Zysberg (Paris, 1982), pp. 247-248.

<sup>32</sup> Printed in Bewes, op. cit., pp. 243-244.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1703-4, p.101; *Post Man*, 1 Feb., 1704. See Bewes, p. 243.

<sup>34</sup> CLRO, Ex-Guildhall Library MSS 281, fol. 13.

<sup>35</sup> Burnet, op. cit.

<sup>36</sup> Evelyn, op.cit., V, 559.

<sup>37</sup> See also Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge, 1996). He has explored the propaganda of Gilbert Burnet which portrayed William III as a godly prince.



brethren. Can we hear of such things, and not to be moved, and melted by them. One circumstance in this matter will, I hope, have some effect. This is the last stroke, that the malice of their enemies as well as ours, could level at the memory of our late great king, for whose sake they felt they were all along the worse used; and it seems to be the last tribute we can pay the memory of our late deliverer, to be more than ordinarily bountiful to these his faithful, and now miserable subjects.<sup>38</sup>

In his circular letter to the clergy of his diocese, Simon Patrick, Bishop of Ely, also suggested that the English had a special responsibility as the champion of their fellow Protestant brethren. While appealing to 'the deplorable condition' of the Protestants in Orange he emphasised the happiness of England;

On all such occasions we cannot, without great unthankfulness to God, but acknowledge his singular goodness to us of this nation, whom he has wonderfully delivered, and hitherto saved, not only from the like sufferings for our religion, but from the miseries of war, that lye heavy on the neighbouring country.

It is visible to all the world how God has preserved the Church of England to be at this time, as it has been always esteemed, the chief support and strength of the Protestant religion under her majesty the glorious protector of it; And their eyes are upon us at this time to observe what we will do on this extraordinary occasion.<sup>39</sup>

The understanding of the revolution of 1688-9 as a deliverance by God from French tyranny and Popish oppression was becoming connected here with the idea of the English as a chosen people. Because of this recognition, Bishop Patrick urged that England should be 'the chief support and strength of the Protestant religion under her majesty the glorious protector of it' and should be expected to help Protestant brethren. The points stressed in his letter were not materially altered from those made by Compton at the time of

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<sup>38</sup> Burnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>39</sup> Simon Patrick, *The circular letter to the clergy of his diocese* (London, 1703), p. 2. The letter was dated 10 January 1704.



the Vaudois brief in 1699; the propaganda on both occasions was couched in terms of an appeal to international Protestant solidarity against popery.<sup>40</sup>

Although the collection raised by the 1704 brief was much smaller than that of 1699 for the Vaudois, the final sum of the brief up to 1714 reached £19,548 6s. 10d.<sup>41</sup> It was exchanged for 96,632 Thlr. 8 Gr.;<sup>42</sup> the biggest donation by far from all Protestant princes. Nevertheless in the account book there were only four gifts recorded by individuals apart from churchmen: Lord Pagett gave £15, William Willman Esq. £20, and Mr Frisk £5 7s. 6d., and there was a gift from an unknown person £103 4s. 6d. The diocesan contributions to the Brief for the Protestants of the Orange are as follows.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> See Chapter I above.

<sup>41</sup> CLRO, Ex-Guildhall Library MSS 281, fol. 23.

<sup>42</sup> 'Die Maison d' Orange', 9.

<sup>43</sup> CLRO, Ex-Guildhall Library MSS 281, fols 13-23. The figures in brackets are bishops' donations.



**Table 3 Diocesan Contributions to the Brief for  
the Protestants of the Principality of Orange 1704-1714**  
(The figures in round brackets show probable bishop's donations.)

Canterbury	£ 1016	2s.	4 1/4d.	(£ 50)
Bath and Wells	£ 365	3s.		
Bristol	£ 377	17s.	3 1/2d.	(£ 20)
Chichester	£ 394	16s.	7d.	
Ely	£ 316	10s.	1 3/4d.	
Exeter	£ 1263	14s.	6d.	
Gloucester	£ 440	1s.	7d.	
Hereford	£ 125			
Lichfield and Coventry	£ 698	10s.	4 1/2d.	(£ 5)
Lincoln	£ 1307	14s.		
London	£ 7011	15s.	4 3/4d.	
Norwich	£ 1449	15s.	1/2d.	(£ 5)
Oxford	£ 326	11s.	6d.	
Peterborough	£ 54	6s.		(£ 4 6s.)
Rochester	£ 289	18s.	11 3/4d.	
Salisbury	£ 759	1s.	5 1/2d.	(£ 20)
Winchester	£ 1277	18s.	4 1/4d.	
Worcester	£ 520			(£ 10)
St David's	£ 100	18s.	10 3/4d.	
St Asaph	0			
Bangor	£ 52	19s.	11 1/2d.	(£ 5)
Llandaff	£ 75			
York	£ 542	2s.	8 3/4d.	(£ 20)
Carlisle	£ 46	9s.	8 1/2d.	(£ 5)
Chester	£ 569			
Durham	£ 111	3s.	1/2d.	
Brecknockshire	£ 42	5s.	10 1/4d.	
Private donations	£ 155	1s.		
Total	£ 19,548	6s.	10d.	



Compared with the Vaudois brief of 1699 above (Table 2), it is clear that it was the same five which collected most for the Orangeois. They were from the top, London, Norwich, Winchester, Lincoln and Exeter, though the positions of Winchester and Lincoln were reversed from the time of the Vaudois brief. They were followed by Canterbury and Salisbury (again the order was reversed). The fact that most of the Huguenots had settled in south-east England, may be reflected in the donations. As far as the two top dioceses are concerned, the wealth of London and Norwich also helps to explain their generosity. Added to that it is known that the cities of London and Norwich, aware of the advantage of the enterprise of Protestant 'strangers', had positively accepted them.<sup>44</sup>

This English collection was eventually handed over to a claimant of the succession to the title of the Prince of Orange, namely Friedrich I, King in Prussia, who was also Elector Friedrich III of Brandenburg.<sup>45</sup> On the death of William III of England, Friedrich I, being one of William's closest heirs through his mother, Louise Henriette of Orange, laid his claim to William's possessions as Prince of Orange including the principality which was the origin of William's title.<sup>46</sup> This caused extra tension between Prussia and France as well as the Netherlands until the treaty of Utrecht. Charles Wentworth, Baron Raby, English envoy at the court of Berlin, reported repeatedly that Friedrich put pressure on England to take his side in the

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<sup>44</sup> John Miller, 'Town governments and Protestant strangers', *PHS*, 26 (1994-1997).

<sup>45</sup> Friedrich III, Elector of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia, etc. became a king in 1701 on the condition that he could be king only in East Prussia. Therefore his title after 1701 was Friedrich I, 'King in Prussia', Elector of Brandenburg, etc.

<sup>46</sup> A Native of Languedoc, *op. cit.*, p. 35; For Prussia's claim as a successor of the prince of Orange, see Jonathan I Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1995) pp. 959-970.



dispute of succession to the Prince of Orange. On 24 September 1703 Raby wrote:

The king....by way of reproach said [that] he had not only been owned as king but as sovereign Prince of Orange.....I am often asked whether I have an answer from England about that of Orange.<sup>47</sup>

Friedrich not only claimed the lands but also showed an aspiration to follow in the footsteps of William III as a Protestant hero, yet he was careful not to provoke the emperor by this, who was now his ally in the War of the Spanish Succession. Friedrich, like Anne, decided not to interfere with the emperor's policy as regards his Protestant subjects, in particular the Protestants in Hungary, until 'the time is more proper.'<sup>48</sup> The case of the Orangeois was a good opportunity for Friedrich to show himself as a worthy successor of William. Apart from ordering a collection, which eventually raised 25,393 Thlr. 20 Gr. 10 Pf.,<sup>49</sup> he openly declared that he was prepared to receive the Orangeois now in Switzerland into his territories as his subjects. This decision was made, at least to some extent, with the aim of gaining English support for his claim to the title of Orange. No sooner had he learnt that Anne was preparing a brief for the Orangeois, than he communicated through Raby his gratitude to her as their sovereign prince. Raby wrote to Nottingham that 'the queen's charity to the people of Orange has pleased this king [Friedrich] extremely, who will look upon them as his subjects...'<sup>50</sup> The English government also apparently made a gesture to support Friedrich's claim, as the main competitor was French, while at the same time trying to prevent Prussian expansion at the expense of the allies.

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<sup>47</sup> PRO, SP90/2 93.

<sup>48</sup> SP90/2/93. In his letter to the secretary of state, Raby reported Friedrich's decision on this matter.

<sup>49</sup> 'Die Maison d' Orange', 9.

<sup>50</sup> PRO, SP90 2/105.



The king sent to me two days ago at Cüstrin [Kostrzyn in Poland], it was to tell me how extremely he was obliged to the Queen, for that Mr Spanhaim [Prussian ambassador in England] had sent him word, when he spoke to her majesty that she would be pleased to order a voluntary contribution for his subjects of Orange, that the queen was pleased to say in answer, that she had already given orders to have it done, and thereupon he fell into great praises of the queen, and a world of assurances of his friendship and readiness always to serve her. I took that opportunity of making many compliments from the Queen to him, and would have pressed that matter to him at the same time about his quitting of Northhausen<sup>51</sup>.....<sup>52</sup>

In early spring 1704 the Swiss claimed that they could not keep the refugees 'by their charity in their territories beyond the end of April,' so an immigrant operation involving some 3,000 Orangeois became urgent. In Berlin a commission was established to manage the money collected for the Orangeois in the Empire and in Brandenburg-Prussia, and started to distribute it to the Orangeois in Geneva and Frankfurt am Main and then to other settlements of refugees such as Halle, Halberstadt, Brandenburg, Neu-Haldersleben and Magdeburg.<sup>53</sup> In England, on 21 April, when some of the money had been already received at the chamber of London, the trustees for the brief for the Orangeois consulted Frederick Bonet,<sup>54</sup> the 'Prussian King's resident' in England, and Louys de St Laurens and Jean Covenant, 'deputed by the said refugees to appear for them', regarding the use of the collection. At

<sup>51</sup> SP 90 2 71. Northhausen was a town over which sovereignty was a cause of dispute between Prussia, Hanover and Celle. By order of the Queen, Raby had continued 'reasoning to them both, how much I [Raby] think it for their mutual interests to agree, & how great an advantage it would be to the Protestant religion in general & how great a satisfaction it is to the Roman Catholics to see the Protestants fall out and weaken one another.'

<sup>52</sup> SP90 2 110-111.

<sup>53</sup> 'Die Maison d' Orange', 9; For the commission, see also PRO, SP90 2 376.

<sup>54</sup> Frederick Bonet eventually became a residing member of the SPCK on 20 March 1712. He was introduced to the Society by John Chamberlayne. SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 5, fol. 263.



the request of these three, the trustees decided to remit the money to Brandenburg-Prussia as soon as possible since many of the refugees were already on their way to their new homes.<sup>55</sup>

In Berlin Raby, the English envoy (ambassador extraordinary 1705-1711), was determined 'to see that none of the charities [was] misapplied'.<sup>56</sup> Indeed he did so, from the transfer of money to the foundation of *Die Maison d' Orange*, a hospital maintained by English collections. After personally checking among merchants, who offered various exchange rates, he persuaded the English government to use his personal banker in the City, Alexander Cairnes, to remit the money.<sup>57</sup> He also considered a method of settlement of the poor, hinted at in the memorial of Friedrich's commission for the Orangeois refugees, whereby money collected might be not distributed but kept as capital to maintain poor people.<sup>58</sup> Since the English collection was a large and sizeable amount of money, he also considered using it to build and support a house for the poor Orangeois. Backed by the English authorities, he resolutely carried out his plan and eventually persuaded the commission of its advantages. He reported to Robert Harley on 26 July 1704;

....I should be glad you or the Archbishop [ of Canterbury]  
would give me your opinion, in what manner you would have me

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<sup>55</sup> PRO, SP34/3/146; See also SP34/4/9.

<sup>56</sup> SP/90/2/378.

<sup>57</sup> Shortly after receiving Raby's recommendation of Cairnes to Robert Harley, the secretary of state, dated 10 June 1704(NS) and another on the 17th of the same month (NS), the trustees arranged to make remittances through Cairnes. PRO, SP90/2/380, 383-4 and 404. On behalf of the Orangeois Cairnes remitted £2,000 on 22 July 1704, £4,000 from 19 September to 4 October 1704, £6,000 from 5 December 1704 to 13 January 1705, £2,000 on 20 June 1705, £1,400 between 18 and 26 September 1705, £600 on 6 March 1706, £2,000 between 5 January and 18 February 1707. CLRO, Ex-Guildhall MSS 281, fols. 65-85. Later he also helped the Palatine refugees.

<sup>58</sup> PRO, SP90/2/386-387, *Reflexions sur l'Establissement des Refugiés d'Orange* (9 June 1704). See also PRO, SP90 2 382-385, 404.



dispose of charity for the Orange refugees, that it may appear to be English charity. I still tell them that I must insist upon the foundation of a house in her majesty's name, and by some discourse I had with them yesterday they seem not averse to it so much as at first, and design out of the money, I have drawn for already to pay the people here myself what the commissioners judge proper for their establishment; they have sent me a list of names of people that are not able to maintain themselves, and the allowance comes to about 50 crowns a week, which is ten pound English, and they would have given to the ancients of the church to distribute to them, but I would have them pay it out of their collection here, that ours might be paid in larger sums, which will be much more taken notice of, than if dwindled away; and Since such a number of poor people must be kept, that are not able to work, I desire them to come to an immediate resolution of putting out a sum, whose interest may be sufficient to keep those poor people without eating out the principal insensibly as the way they are about to go now will certainly do. I sent you a copy of part of Mr Aglionby's letter to me, in which he says those at Geneva are stubborn people, and are accused to have it in their eye to return home, the commissioners desire extremely to show what and how much her majesty thinks should be given them out of the English collection, and upon that they may know how much they have to depend on here.<sup>59</sup>

Troublesome though the negotiation with the commission was about this plan, Raby had the patience to work it out, and finally on 14 July 1705 obtained the approval of Friedrich I.<sup>60</sup> He also succeeded in arranging that a British diplomat in Berlin, i.e., either an envoy or an ambassador, would keep the final power over the management of the house from the disposal of the money to the nomination of its directors. Die Maison d' Orange was completed by 1711 in the Dorotheenstraße, two streets behind Unter den Linden.<sup>61</sup> Raby left Berlin in the same year to join the peace negotiation as the British ambassador to the Netherlands.

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<sup>59</sup> SP90 3/2.

<sup>60</sup> *Zur zweihundertjährigen Jubelfeier der Maison d' Orange am 14 September 1905*, pp. 29-30. 2, 200 Thlr. was spent on the house, the furniture, beds and bed-linen, and 38,000 Thlr. was allocated as the capital investment. 'Die Maison d' Orange', 9.

<sup>61</sup> In 1885 the hospital moved to the area south of the Tiergarten; it was destroyed during the Second World War. Ursula Fuhrich-Grubert, *Die Französisch Kirche zu Berlin: Ihre Einrichtungen 1672-1945* (Bad Karlshafen, 1992), pp. 18-19.



During the War of the Spanish Succession the Protestant powers not only refrained from interfering in the Holy Roman Emperor's policy toward his Protestant subjects, but also skirted round the question of the emperor's Roman Catholic religion; popery was a detestable and tyrannical faith but it was confined only to Louis XIV and his allies. In his eleven volume annals of the political events, in which he portrayed the War of Spanish Succession as a war of an international league of Protestants against Louis XIV, Abel Boyer never called the Catholic allies of England popish.<sup>62</sup> In many minds for much of the eighteenth century popery may have been interchangeable with Catholicism, but there were clearly times when it was not. Moreover, there was an attempt to play down religion, as having been used as 'the pretext of some private interests' from 'the spirit of division.'<sup>63</sup> Yet the Protestant powers were not necessarily indifferent to news of Protestant persecutions in the territories of the Catholic allies. Queen Anne and Friedrich I considered possible interventions on behalf of the Protestants in Hungary,<sup>64</sup> but took no action. After the war, in 1716, the English government actively broadcast some stories of the Hungarian Protestants' sufferings along with news of the persecution in Poland. As will be discussed later in this chapter, a Protestant college in Transylvania, which was destroyed by the emperor's army in 1704, had to wait until 1716 to receive

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<sup>62</sup> Nishikawa, 'A Huguenot Emigré in England during the Wars against Louis XIV', 30-31. Cf. Claydon, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

<sup>63</sup> *The Daily Courant*, 31 December 1703.

<sup>64</sup> PRO, SP90/2/93-94, 100, 137-141, 378-379; SP90/3/163-164. Reflecting the concern of the English in this matter, Marlborough and Godolphin feared that George Stepney, English envoy to Vienna, might be thought by the emperor to be too sympathetic to the Hungarian rebels. *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, ed. H. L. Snyder, 3 vols (London, 1975) I, 345. See also R. J. W. Evans, 'East Central Europe 1540-1700', in *International Calvinism, 1541-1715*, ed. Menna Prestwich (Oxford, 1985), pp. 188-189.



English relief. But as far as the Protestants in the territories of the Catholic Duke of Neuburg, i.e., the Elector of the Palatinate, were concerned, the Protestant princes took more active steps for their brethren.

After the Catholic Neuburgs inherited the electorate of the Palatinate from the Protestant Simmerns in 1685, this land, already exhausted by repeated wars,<sup>65</sup> became a focus of trouble in Europe mainly because Louis XIV set out to fulfil his territorial ambitions over the Rhenish Palatinate through Elisabeth Charlotte, his sister-in-law and the sister of the last Simmern elector, Karl. Many cities along the Rhine, including Heidelberg, Worms and Speyer, were systematically destroyed by the French army during the Palatinate War - the Nine Years War by another name;<sup>66</sup> and, for the Protestant subjects, as if that were not enough, the new Elector Johann Wilhelm of Neuburg adopted an oppressive policy towards them. The Protestant powers, such as England, Braunschweig, and Brandenburg, repeatedly protested against his religious policy: in England Johann Wilhelm was described in many newspapers as a 'Persecutor'<sup>67</sup>; the Elector of Brandenburg, who possessed some territories in the Lower Rhine region and regarded himself as the guardian of the Protestants there, responded to the oppression of the Protestants in Jülich-Berg, another domain of Johann Wilhelm, by reprisals against the Catholics in his territories, though this led

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<sup>65</sup> Between 1620 and 1650 the Palatinate lost 80 to 85 percent of its population. Hans Fenske, 'International Migration: Germany in the Eighteenth Century', *Central European History*, 13 (1980), 333.

<sup>66</sup> Anon., *An Account of the present Condition of the Protestants in the Palatinate* (London, 1699); anon., *The State of the Palatines for Fifty Years past to this present Time* (London, 1710); Robert Salzer, *Das Schloß gesprengt, die Stadt verbrannt: Zur Geschichte Heidelbergs 1688 89 und 1689 93* (Heidelberg, 1878, 1879), ed., Roland Vetter (Heidelberg, 1993).

<sup>67</sup> Anon., 'An Impartial Account of the Causes of those Innovations and Grievances about Religion,' prefixed to *The Declaration Lately Publish'd, In Favour of his Protestant Subjects, By the Elector Palatine* (London, 1707), p. 4.



to further sufferings for the Protestants in the Palatinate.<sup>68</sup> However, when the War of the Spanish Succession broke out, Johann Wilhelm gradually changed his attitude towards his Protestant subjects. Shortly after he joined the allies against France, in August 1702 he granted the members of the Retormed church of Oberbarmen [today a part of Wuppertal] in the Duchy of Berg liberty to practise their religion freely and publicly, though he still oppressed his Protestant subjects in his other territories.<sup>69</sup> When in 1705 Friedrich I of Prussia protested at the Imperial Diet in Regensburg, with other Protestant princes' support, against Johann Wilhelm's treatment of his Protestant subjects,<sup>70</sup> Johann Wilhelm apparently sought an accommodation with the Protestant princes. Raby, the English diplomat in Berlin, reported his meeting with an envoy from the Elector Palatine:

.....we had a great deal of discourse about the Protestants in the Palatinate. He would justify what his master had done but in short he could not deny but those poor people had suffered several invasions, and he told me that these complaints were very uneasy to his master,

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<sup>68</sup> Adolf Werth, *Geschichte der Evangelische=Reformierten Gemeinde Barmen=Gemark* 1702-1927 (Barmen, 1927), pp. 86-87; Michael Hughes, *Early Modern Germany, 1477-1806* (London, 1992), pp. 135-136; Nicholas Hope, *German and Scandinavian Protestantism 1700-1918* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 65-66.

<sup>69</sup> Werth, *Geschichte der Evangelische=Reformierten Gemeinde Barmen=Gemark* 1702-1927, pp. 78-80; do., 'Die Kollektenreise des Pastors Conrad Gülcher von Barmen=Gemark zur Königin Anna von Großbritannien im Jahr 1707', *Monatsschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, 7 Jahrgang (1900), 191.

<sup>70</sup> PRO, SP 90/3/163. On 20 January 1705 Raby wrote to Robert Harley that '[Friedrich I] desired I would recommend it [his letter to Anne] particularly since the Elector of Palatine uses his Protestant subjects in the Palatinate worse than ever, which has obliged his Prussian Majesty to make a declaration at Ratisbon [Regensburg] that unless more regard is had to the Protestants he shall think himself obliged to use his Papist subjects in the same manner. But he is sure that a strong representation from the queen my Majesty and the States General will have a greater influence on the emperor and that Elector shew anything than his Prussian Majesty and all Protestant princes of the empire can do.' See also SP 90/3/203; 90/3 216-218.



who had much rather to satisfy his subjects, and all his Protestant allies, and settle the rights and privileges by a particular treaty which he was ready to do and then there would be no more reason of complaint. I was glad to hear the Elector was really in that disposition which would be the happiest thing in the world for those poor people.<sup>71</sup>

After negotiation with Protestant powers, the elector issued a declaration on 21 November 1705 promising an entire liberty of conscience for the Roman Catholics, the Calvinists and the Lutherans alike. In response to it an account, asserting that 'the elector neither is nor ever was a persecutor' and emphasising that he was fighting for the common cause against France, was circulated with his declaration in England in 1707.<sup>72</sup> Because its relations with the elector were exceptionally good at this time, (the elector was supplying troops for the maritime powers),<sup>73</sup> the English government possibly attempted to enhance the image of her ally. It may therefore not have been a pure coincidence that a brief for building a church in Oberbarmen in the Duchy of Berg, Johann Wilhelm's territory in the Lower Rhine area, was issued in the same year, 1707, mentioning 'that his most serene highness the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, has given leave [for it] to his Protestant subjects.'<sup>74</sup>

Since the elector had given Protestants permission to exercise their religion in the area in 1702, a new Protestant parish, that of Gemark in Barmen, was soon established and a new pastor, Conrad Gülcher of Haan, was duly appointed. Yet it took almost five years for the Protestants there to achieve the prospect of building a church with English help; in 1703 they

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<sup>71</sup> SP 90 3 248.

<sup>72</sup> 'An Impartial Account of the Causes of those Innovations and Grievances about Religion,' 4.

<sup>73</sup> W. A. Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration* (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 7.

<sup>74</sup> PRO, SP 34 9 59, fol. 95.



obtained a letter of recommendation from the Synod of Berg, which urged fellow-believers to assist the newly established parish, though the donation was only enough to maintain their pastor and public church service. According to Adolf Werth, a local historian, it is likely that a suggestion was made in 1706 to ask for a contribution from England by Johann Wilhelm Teschemacher, who lived in London but was born in Barmen. The parish of Gemarkte jumped at this idea and immediately sent Conrad Gülcher to the Hague to appeal to the Duke of Marlborough in person, and to obtain a letter of recommendation from him to Queen Anne. With this success, the Protestants of Oberbarmen approached the Elector Johann Wilhelm and managed to obtain not only his recommendation to Anne, but also his order to his envoy in England to give them every support when they contacted him in London. Therefore when Conrad Gülcher left Barmen with Johannes Wülffing jr. the son of the Mayor of Elberfeld, as his accountant on 25 May 1707 (since Gülcher admitted that he was not good at dealing with financial matters), he was well prepared to meet the queen. On 6 June they landed in London and with the help and advice of Samuel Palmer, a well known Presbyterian preacher, they met influential public figures in London and professors in Oxford; on 22 July Gülcher had an audience of Queen Anne at Windsor and eventually obtained a promise of issue of a brief for building a church in Gemarkte.<sup>75</sup>

The case of the Parish of Gemarkte in Barmen now went extremely well. The commissioners, including Johann Wilhelm Teschemacher and Samuel Palmer, were appointed before Gülcher left England on 17 October. When setting out on the fund-raising campaign they inquired of Gemarkte about an

<sup>75</sup> Werth, 'Die Kollektentreise des Pastors Conrad Gulcher von Barmen=Gemarkte zur Königin Anna von Großbritannien im Jahr 1707'; do, *Geschichte der Evangelische=Reformierten Gemeinde Barmen Gemarkte 1702-1927*. The works of Werth are based on the detailed account of the major fund-raising journeys by Conrad Gulcher. Gulcher returned to Oberbarmen from England on 9 November 1707.



estimate of the costs involved in building the church, which 'ought to be neither too costly nor of poor quality, and of small dimensions, so that the enemies of truth will not be envious of it, or indeed ridicule it', as well as the best method of investment of money assigned to the maintenance of a pastor.<sup>76</sup> To the first Gemarkung suggested 4,000 Rthl. and to the latter, to invest not in Oberbarmen but in the Duchy of Mark which was under the sovereignty of the Hohenzollerns.<sup>77</sup> Queen Anne ordered selective collections over 26 counties and some corporations in England, including the City of London and 13 other cities, to exploit the prosperous parts of the country, under the brief for Gemarkung on 9 November 1707.<sup>78</sup> The brief was also supported by a circular letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the clergy in his province on 7 January 1708. In his letter, Tenison admitted that '[the exercise of the Protestant religion] has heretofore always been denied through the prevalence of the popish faction' and appealed to the sense of Protestant brotherhood.

..it is our duty in a more particular manner, and that which is expected from us by all our Protestant brethren abroad, to take all occasions of signalling our zeal for the advancement of the common interest of Protestants, which is most nearly and inseparably united with our own.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> 'The Letter from the commissioners to the moderator of the Synod of the Reformed Church in the Duchy of Berg', 1 September 1707, printed in Werth, *Geschichte der Evangelische=Reformierten Gemeinde Barmen=Gemarkung*, pp. 98-99.

<sup>77</sup> 'The Letter from the Synod of the Reformed Church in the Duchy of Berg to the commissioners', 2 November 1708, printed in *Geschichte der Evangelische=Reformierten Gemeinde Barmen=Gemarkung*, pp. 100-102. Their decision to invest in the domain of Brandenburg-Prussia suggests that the Protestant residents had some doubt about the newly introduced toleration of the Elector Palatine.

<sup>78</sup> PRO, SP 34/9 59, fol. 95.

<sup>79</sup> Thomas Tenison, *The Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter* (London, 1708).



Yet, the Protestant language in his letter was rather exceptional. In the brief, terms which might have offended the Elector Palatine were apparently avoided. It underlined that 'his most serene highness the Elector Palatine of the Rhine hath given leave to his Protestant subject of the district of Oberbarmen....to erect and build a church for the exercise of the Protestant religion there,' and those Protestants were simply 'unable to build the ... church, and support the ministry, by reason of their poverty'.<sup>80</sup> Comparatively small though the collection was, the final sum, £2,120 19s. 3d. (11,348 Rthl) was sufficient for a parish church with about 400 parishioners.<sup>81</sup> The church was completed in 1710.<sup>82</sup>

So far, the relief activities for Protestant subjects of the Elector Palatine had been successful. However, it seems that the appeal to the sense of international Protestant community in England was gradually weakening during the last years of the reign of Queen Anne as the political as well as the religious tide was beginning to change. The subsequent episodes of the Oberbarmen brief process may have reflected this change. White Kennett, later the Bishop of Peterborough, also one of the commissioners of the brief for Barmen-Gemarke, planned to commemorate the English charity. In 1710 on advice from Tenison, Compton and Burnet he proposed 'placing a bust or half statue of Queen Anne in their church now erecting as a grateful acknowledgement of her Majesty's bounty and goodness to them.' Yet the opinion of the Queen, sought by Compton, put a damper on this plan; 'she had

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<sup>80</sup> PRO, SP34 9 59, fol. 95.

<sup>81</sup> 'The Letter from the Synod of the Reformed Church in the Duchy of Berg to the commissioners', p. 100.

<sup>82</sup> The church of Barmen-Gemarke was demolished in 1888 and a new church was built in the same place within a few years. It was from this church that on 30 May 1934 the German Confessing Church issued the Barmer Erklärung (the Barmen Declaration) against Nazism. My thanks are owed to Professor Seiji Kimura and Dr Uwe Eckardt for information on the church of Barmen-Gemarke.



no desire to have that honour done her in a foreign country.'<sup>83</sup> Instead of a bust, the committee decided to place a monument with a Latin inscription by Kennett. The reasons for the queen's rejection of the original plan are unknown: she may have been concerned diplomatically about the elector's opinions. But even the revised plan of the monument was not carried out until the reign of George I.<sup>84</sup>

Meanwhile, however, the Rhenish Palatinate itself was subject to further turbulence. In the eighteenth century the Palatinate witnessed a mass exodus of its people. The main reason for the emigration was that the proprietors of newly acquired lands, such as the formerly Turkish parts of Hungary and Russia, and areas of Colonial America, saw a potential labour force in the most war-torn areas in Germany, and sent their agents there in order to attract them.<sup>85</sup> The future in the new lands, as described by the agents, certainly had a great appeal to people living in the devastated regions. Hungary alone received 100,000 immigrants from Germany, mainly from the areas of the upper Rhine, the Neckar and the upper Danube, between 1689 and 1747.<sup>86</sup>

From around 1705 the proprietors of Carolina and Pennsylvania joined the competition for labour and advertised in the Palatinate detailing the attractions of the English plantations in America. Then, in January 1708 some forty poverty stricken Palatines deserted their homes and embarked on

<sup>83</sup> British Library, Lansdowne MSS 1024, fol. 221.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., fol. 485; Werth, 'Die Kollektenreise des Pastors Conrad Gulcher von Barmen Gemarke zur Konigin Anna von Großbritannien im Jahr 1707', 194; G. V. Bennett, *White Kennett 1660-1728 Bishop of Peterbrough* (London, 1957), p. 186. According to Werth, the monument with inscription composed by White Kennett, was re-erected in the new church of Gemarke which was built in 1888-1890. The monument still remains though it is uncertain whether it is the original. The church was destroyed in 1943 but restored in 1955.

<sup>85</sup> Hans Fenske, op. cit., 336-347.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 341, 344.



their journey to New York. With the help of an English agent in Frankfurt am Main they first made their way to London, then with the royal charity managed to cross the sea to their promised land where each of them received fifty acres of land. This success story, along with the tales of English generosity, lured thousands of Palatines to England in the following year. Accelerated by the exceptionally cold winter of 1708/09, known as 'the Great Frost', in the course of a few months from early May 1709 some 13,000 Palatines arrived in London and the wave of immigrants continued thereafter.<sup>87</sup> It is easy to imagine that it caused considerable problems in England, which were worsened by the decision of the Whig government to attempt to settle them in England or Ireland instead of sending them, as was their wish, to America.<sup>88</sup> As the work of H. T. Dickinson on the Poor Palatines affair has shown, the reception of such large numbers from the Palatinate triggered both a Tory and a high church reaction, which was led by Henry Sacheverell and Francis Atterbury. There were successive eruptions of xenophobia in various parts of Britain, and Dickinson has also explored how contemporaries linked the arrival of these foreigners with the passing of the General Naturalisation Act<sup>89</sup> in March 1709, vigorously pursued by the Whig government, to which blame was consequently attached.<sup>90</sup> More recently, Daniel Statt has set this event in the context of the long term controversy over immigrants as the source of strength for a

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<sup>87</sup> An account in 1711 gives the total number who came to England as 32,468. Knittle, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, chaps 1-3; H. T. Dickinson, 'The Poor Palatines and the Parties', *English Historical Review*, 82 (1967); Daniel Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen: The Controversy over Immigration and Population, 1660-1760* (London, 1995), chap. 5.

<sup>89</sup> The act allowed foreign Protestants to be naturalised for a fee of one shilling.

<sup>90</sup> Dickinson, *op. cit.*; do, 'The Tory Party's Attitude to Foreigners: a Note on Party Principles in the Age of Anne', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 40 (1967).



state;<sup>91</sup> the Palatines became the unwilling subjects of an experiment in immigration policy whose signal failure contributed to the fall of the government that had sponsored it.<sup>92</sup>

It is probable that the Poor Palatines affair hardened English opinion towards foreigners even when they were Protestants. They were accused of taking bread from the English poor; furthermore it was rumoured that 'they would bring a plague among us [the English]'.<sup>93</sup> For all the governmental campaign for the brief, which stressed the historical image of persecution of the Palatines,<sup>94</sup> many a contemporary understandably suspected that the motive for the immigration was not religious but economic.<sup>95</sup> In addition,

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<sup>91</sup> Statt, op. cit., chaps 5 and 6.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>93</sup> *The Wentworth Papers 1705-1739*, ed J. J. Cartwright (London, 1883), p. 96.

<sup>94</sup> The brief of 1709 for the Poor Palatines claimed that 'whereas by reason of the many and great hardships and depressions which the people of the Palatinate near the Rhine in Germany, (more especially the Protestants) have sustained and lain under for several years past by the frequent invasions and repeated inroads of the French (whereby more than thousands of their great cities, market towns, and villages have been burnt down to the ground, as Heidelberg, Mannheim, Worms, Speyer ....and other towns; and great numbers have perished in woods and caves by hunger, cold, and nakedness) several thousands of them have been forced to leave their native country, and seek refuge in other nations...' *A Brief for the Relief, Subsistence and Settlement of the Poor distressed Palatines* (London, 1709). The petition of the Palatines, which underlined the same point, was also distributed. 'The State of the Poor Palatines, as humbly represented by themselves upon their first arrival in this Kingdom about June 1709.' printed in anon., *The Piety and Bounty of the Queen of Great Britain: With the charitable Benevolence of her loving Subjects, toward the Support and Settlement of the Distressed Protestant Palatines* (London, 1709), p. 2.

<sup>95</sup> Modern historians agree on the gravity of the economic plight of the refugees. Yet, the religious reason cannot be ignored. Though the Elector Palatine issued a declaration promising entire liberty of conscience in 1705, the people in Oberbarmen had suspicions about his intentions (note 77 above), and there were other events which increased the anxiety of the Protestants. For example, the University of Heidelberg, which was once a scholarly centre of Calvinism, complained that the elector forced it to accept Jesuit professors. SPCK, Papers and Memorials, CP1, fols 55-58. Such suspicions



the fact that considerable numbers of Catholics were mixed with the Palatine Protestants strengthened those suspicions and aroused the anger of the opposition, as a Tory pamphlet well expressed it;

...For as to their pretences to come hither purely for the exercise of their religion, there was nothing in it, though some were induced to relieve them, on account of their pretended persecution, as Count Gallas, the imperial ambassador, made appear to her majesty by a memorial that acknowledged a great number of them to be papists...<sup>96</sup>

Yet, the brief for the poor Palatines in 1709 received £22,583, 5s. 10d., the next largest sum after the Vaudois brief of 1699, and the fifth biggest since Cromwell's Vaudois brief, and this English charity greatly contributed towards sending them to America<sup>97</sup> or, against their will, to Ireland. How was this achieved and who were the people involved with the fund rising?

No sooner had the first group of Palatines landed in England, than the government, having already prepared itself, to some extent, for the event through information received from the Netherlands, was quick to act. Daniel Defoe reported the queen's appointment of the commissioners for her charity for the Palatines in May, most of whom eventually became the commissioners for the brief issued on 16 June.

Her majesty being inform'd of the miserable condition of these people, was at the whole charge of transporting them into her own dominions, and took particular care for their substance; but their numbers being like to increase, and it must necessarily take up some time for appointing and setting the distribution of her majesty's

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were well founded. The elector's effort to promote Catholicism and to harass Protestantism produced a major religious crisis in the empire in 1720s. Hughes, op. cit., pp. 135-136.

<sup>96</sup> Anon., *A View of the Queen's and Kingdom's Enemies, in the case of the Poor Palatines* (London, 1709), p. 7.

<sup>97</sup> Though about 3,000 persons reached America, up to 1711 the death rate among the Palatines who had arrived England at this period was at least 20 %. Hans Fenske, op. cit., pp. 336-337.



charity for their daily relief, a certain number of well-dispos'd private gentlemen, divines, physician, merchants, and others, whose names and characters I have no authority to publish, and whose indefatigable pains and unexemplify'd charities, nothing less than heaven can recompense, voluntarily, and without any invitations or motive, but their own pious inclinations obliging them to it; 1st, Because the Palatines were in great distress. 2dly, Because they were strangers: And 3rdly, Because it was not known that the government, or any else provided, for them. In which good offices they laboured abundantly and effectually, from about the middle of May till the 2nd of July, at which time, commissioners were appointed by her Majesty's letter patent, to take care of them, and receive proposals for the disposal of them, whereof all these private gentlemen aforesaid, are of the number.

In order to make provision for these distressed people, when these gentlemen acted in a private capacity, they first met in a room, in the Temple-Change Coffee-House, and afterwards at a gentlemen's chambers in the Queen's Bench Walk in the Temple, where they elected themselves into a charitable society, elected a chair-man, and came to such resolutions as were thought most expedient for the subsistence of the Palatines. To which end, they chose two agents to attend these people *de die in diem*, to inform themselves, and then the gentlemen, of their several conditions, and to distribute the private charities in such proportion as they saw convenient, 'till places might be found to lodge them in, without any trouble to the inhabitants....<sup>98</sup>

Since Defoe wrote this in the middle of the controversy over the Palatines in order to defend the government's policy towards them, there is a certain economy with the truth. Contrary to the implication in his account of the government's early detachment, the government had in fact been involved with the 'certain number of well-dispos'd private gentlemen' from the first stage; Sunderland, the secretary of state, gave instruction to the board of trade to assist in settling the Palatines as early as 3 May 1709.<sup>99</sup> More importantly, with the board of trade papers as evidence, it is clear that most of 'the gentlemen' at the Temple-Change Coffee House were, in fact, keen promoters of the moral reform movement and leading members of the SPCK. Of seventeen would-be commissioners for the brief, who appear in the remaining minutes of the meetings at the Temple-Change Coffee House

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<sup>98</sup> Daniel Defoe, *A brief History of the Poor Palatine Refugees, lately arriv'd in England* (London, 1709), pp. 30-31.

<sup>99</sup> PRO, CO 388/76/54.



between 20 and 24 May, thirteen were influential members of the SPCK,<sup>100</sup> including John Tribbeko, the chaplain to the German Lutheran Chapel at St James's, and George Andrew Ruperti, the minister of the German Lutheran Church in the Savoy, whom Defoe described as 'two agents.'<sup>101</sup> The minutes also show that they may have used Henry Newman, the secretary of the SPCK, as the secretary of their meetings.<sup>102</sup> The leading figures of the SPCK such as Thomas Bray, John Shute, John Chamberlayne and Frederick Slare were active at the forefront as commissioners and trustees for the charity for the Palatines. Slare examined the health of the newly arrived Palatines and 'furnished [them] with medicine' at his own expense during May, i.e. until he was officially appointed as a commissioner for the brief.<sup>103</sup> Bray, who was the minister of St Botolph, Aldgate, held a service for the Palatines once a week as early as May, with the help of Ulrich Scherer, another German member of the SPCK, Tribbeko and Ruperti,<sup>104</sup> and Bray and his congregation of St Botolph had been doing a great deal to house and feed the Palatines before 28 June, the date of the issue of the brief.<sup>105</sup> He even accommodated 526 Palatines in the parish and the adjacent parishes at least

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<sup>100</sup> See note 18.

<sup>101</sup> PRO, CO 388/76/56; *Cal. S. P. Col.*, 1708-9, pp. 290, 295-296, 298, 370; *Cal. Tre. Papers*, pp. 172, 202, 206, 208-209, 226.

<sup>102</sup> Hastings, *op. cit.*, p. 1741. The minute of 24 May records the presence of Newman though his name was not on the attendance list. The same applies to meetings of the SPCK; Newman did not name himself in the minutes of the Society.

<sup>103</sup> Hastings, *op. cit.*, pp. 1739-1740. Defoe told about a physician, almost certainly Slare, that he 'took the pains to visit them [the Palatines], and supplied them with physical medicaments at his own expence, as well as in leaving a chirurgeon behind him, to administer them according to his direction.' Defoe, *A brief History of the Poor Palatine Refugees*, p. 32.

<sup>104</sup> Luttrell, *A brief historical Relation of the State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, V, 446; Hastings, *op. cit.*, p. 1742. Defoe, *A brief History of the Poor Palatine Refugees*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>105</sup> Dickinson, 'The Poor Palatines', 470.



until the summer of 1717.<sup>106</sup> Chamberlayne, too, was apparently an important link between the SPCK and the meetings concerning the charity for the Palatines. Under the date of 28 July 1709 some parts of his activities were recorded in the minutes of the SPCK:

....he had dispersed the several copies of the Society's letter to his friends in the country, among the lords and others, trustees for the relief of the Palatines, at their general meetings and also at their several committee, as also to Her Majesty's justice of peace for Middlesex the Grand Jury and Petty Jury at Hick's Hall,<sup>107</sup> so that he found himself under a necessity of sending for an addition to the number they were pleased to order, which he hoped they would approved of....

The Society approved his activities and decided to pay his expenses.<sup>108</sup> Yet though the leading members were deeply engaged in the relief activities for the Palatines, it is not likely that the SPCK officially joined them. Presumably it did not need to be officially involved with the relief activities as the government took the responsibility. The Society supported them from the side though the government made the most of the co-operation and network of the SPCK.

To cope with the thousands of Palatines that soon exhausted the royal bounty, the justices of peace for the county of Middlesex, where many of the leading members of the SPCK lived,<sup>109</sup> petitioned the queen on 7 June, to

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<sup>106</sup> SPCK, Society Letter, CS2 6, fols 63-64. These Palatines consisted of 135 men, 126 women and 265 children.

<sup>107</sup> The justices of peace for Middlesex who gathered at Hick's Hall on 7 June 1709 submitted a petition to the queen to issue a brief for the Palatines. *The Piety and Bounty of the Queen of Great Britain*, p. 3.

<sup>108</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 5, fol. 9.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 6, fols 228-229. On 27 January 1715 the anniversary meeting of the Society, its biggest annual event, was postponed, since it clashed with the election for Middlesex. Newman wrote that 'this day, being the day for electing members of Parliament for the county of Middlesex, so many gentlemen of the Society were obliged to give their attendance at the election, as made it necessary for the chairman and



issue a brief for 'several thousand Germans of the Protestants religion, oppressed by exactions of the French in their own country'. On 16 July it was issued for Middlesex and it was soon extended to all of England.<sup>110</sup> Just as the Middlesex petition stressed the fact that the Palatines were Protestant religious refugees oppressed by the French, so did the pro-Palatine prelates in their circular letters. Archbishop Tenison, as usual, fiercely criticised the inhumanity of the French against the Protestants, and appealed to the sense of responsibility of the Church of England for foreign Protestant churches;

The Church of England (to use the dying words of one of my predecessors ) hath been a shelter to other neighbouring churches when a storm hath driven upon them. It was such in former times, it hath been so of late, and I question not it will be so in this instance, in exemplary manner.<sup>111</sup>

William Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, followed his example more passionately;

You cannot but have heard how their country, the Palatinate....has been overrun by the French above twenty years since: And that part of it, where these poor people lived, being on that side of the river next to France, has been a French conquest the greatest part of this time. There they have lived like Israel in Egypt, groaning under the yoke of their cruel task-makers. Whose Pharaoh, the grand enemy of the Protestant religion, after his having destroyed it in his own kingdom, and with his forces butchered the poor Protestants in Piedmont, was not like to spare those in the Palatinate.<sup>112</sup>

At the parish level, a clergyman who was a sympathiser of the Palatines preached in the same language, probably learning from those prelates' letters. Henry Shute, minister of St Andrew Holborn and a leading member of

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stewards, to order notice to be given for suspending the anniversary meeting of the Society intended to be on this day.'

<sup>110</sup> *The Piety and Bounty of the Queen of Great Britain*, pp. 3-10; *A View of the Queen's and Kingdom's Enemies, in the case of the Poor Palatines*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>111</sup> *The Piety and Bounty of the Queen of Great Britain*, p. 11.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.



the SPCK, wrote down several heads of his sermon on the back of a copy of the brief.

The deplorable condition of the poor distressed Palatines  
above two thousands of their cheerful cities - market towns -  
and villages burnt down and destroyed.

great numbers have perished by hunger - cold - and  
nakedness and several thousands forced to leave their native  
country.

near ten thousand of them are now in and about this city of  
London in a very poor and miserable condition

Occasioned by the frequent invasions and repeated inroads of  
the French

they humbly beg your Christian charities<sup>113</sup>

Though the Protestant rhetoric used by Tenison and others helped to raise funds for the Palatines, some prelates remained cool. The circular letter of Compton, who within a year would clearly stand by a high churchmen like Sacheverell at the time of his trial, was a mere notice of the brief compared with Tenison and Lloyd, or compared to his own letters at the time of the briefs for the Huguenots and the Vaudois. Yet this may have been due to his failing health. Moreover, he may have not regarded the Palatines as religious refugees. His complete letter is as follows;

You see with what earnestness the brief presses for a diligent and careful promoting a plentiful contribution towards the relief of the poor people therein mentioned. And therefore I do earnestly intreat you to answer so charitable an expectation, by the best and most hopeful methods, that lie in your power: In which you shall have the best assistance from,

Sir,

Your most assured friend and brother,

H. Compton.<sup>114</sup>

It was to be only a few months before the Sacheverell affair, in which the bigoted high churchman publicly accused latitudinarians such as Tenison of

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<sup>113</sup> CLRO, Ex-Guildhall Library MS 353, fol. 85.

<sup>114</sup> *The Piety and Bounty of the Queen of Great Britain*, p. 29. For his attitude toward continental Protestants during the reign of Queen Anne, see Chapter III below.



harbouring enemies of the Church and State by tolerating non-Anglican Protestants. As G. V. Bennett comments, the church became the battleground of political factions in the reign of Queen Anne. In the circumstances, the controversy over the Palatines seems to exhibit not so much the English sense of a general crisis of Protestantism but rather the growing insularity of the Church of England. This emerged more clearly in the course of the eighteenth century, but, retrospectively, the Palatine brief may have been a turning point. The case of Thomas Bray serves as another example of this change. Hard though he worked for the relief of the Palatines, Thomas Bray, the leading figure in the foundation of the SPCK, came to regret the manner of the reception of the Protestant refugees in England, in which many of them remained as dissenters. His experience of working with John Tribbeko and George Andrew Ruperti, SPCK members as well as German Lutheran clergymen, may have made him more sensitive on this matter, although his collaborators used a German translation of the Anglican liturgy. While he worked for the Palatines, he wrote a proposal in May 1709 about the importance of urging the Palatines to conform to the Church of England.

Considerations why particular care ought to be taken that this first company of Palatines consisting of Lutherans and Calvinists should be invited and gently led into an uniformity of worship according to the liturgy of the Church of England.

That if the first Walloon Churches which came over into England by the persecution of the Duke of Alva had with a prudent management been induced to receive our liturgy all the succeeding casts of French and Walloon Protestants which came over after would in all probability have joined in the same service, and not retained a form but little distant from that of Presbyterians. And so the manifold mischiefs to our Church from the great body of men in the beginning of our late troubles and continuing to this day might have been prevented.

That in all probability as great numbers of the German Protestants may follow these as did of the Walloon and French.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ballard MS. 48, fol. 111.



As a minister of the Church of England, Bray expressed concern about unconditional reception of foreign Protestants in England: for the reason that this may have encouraged Presbyterians at home. Although many of the other leading members of the SPCK willingly supported non-Anglican Protestants, continuously paying attention to their welfare, he gradually confined himself to other activities of the Society, such as funding parochial libraries in Wales, and rarely attended its general meetings.<sup>116</sup> He ardently supported the Hanoverian succession in the last years of the reign of Queen Anne and still acted as a commissioner for the first brief for continental Protestants under George I.<sup>117</sup> Bray is an example of the reactionary turn now being taken by the Church of England, as conformity became a more important factor for the authorities in their decision-making for issuing briefs.

Despite this reactionary current of religion and politics in England, Queen Anne was hailed widely as a heroine of the international Protestant cause for winning the release of the Protestant galley slaves, mainly Huguenots, from Louis XIV in her last years. Since the treaty of Rijswijk, the failure of the Protestant powers to force France to release the Protestant prisoners, who were forced to work as galley slaves in the French navy, had been the major issue.<sup>118</sup> The relief activities for the galley slaves have never been investigated, but the fact that the subsistence of those slaves was supported by contributions secretly sent to them from the Protestant powers

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<sup>116</sup> See Chapter IV below.

<sup>117</sup> See below in this chapter.

<sup>118</sup> Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un protestant condamné aux galères de France, etc.* As regards the situation of Protestant galley slaves, Jean Marteilhe's memoir is still the best source. Cf. Abel Boyer, *Political State of Great Britain*, 60 vols (London, 1711-40), V (1712-13), 144-160, VI (1713), 235-241. In England the matter was often considered at the meetings of the SPG and the SPCK. USPG Archives, Rhodes House, Oxford, SPG Committee, I, 1702-10, fols. 35, 36; SPG, Journal Appendix A, Documents, fols. 136-148; SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 1, fols 332-334, vol. 2-4, fol. 37.



suggests that Protestants outside France were concerned about them and co-operated internationally to help them. (The supervisors of the galley slaves often checked their belongings to see if they hid money received from Protestant countries).<sup>119</sup> The SPCK also joined the campaign for 'the confessors of the Protestant faith.'<sup>120</sup> Though the peace talks at Utrecht failed to free them, Queen Anne continued to negotiate with France, and finally gained the release of 136 prisoners, one third of all prisoners, in June 1713. Those who were freed in Marseilles were so enthusiastically welcomed in Protestant territories that, in order to avoid being excessively fêted and to save time, they had to conceal their identities on their way to their families or friends. Queen Anne was very much praised among the Protestants. Some of the former prisoners even made journeys to England to thank the queen in person.<sup>121</sup> The majority of the remaining prisoners were gradually freed after the death of Louis XIV, mainly during the regency of Philippe II d'Orléans, the irreligious son of Elizabeth Charlotte, the princess palatine.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Marteilhe, op. cit. pp. 168-183.

<sup>120</sup> SPCK, French Protestant 2, Letter Received 1713-1715, fols 1-7; SPCK, Papers and Memorials 1715-1729, CP1, fols 45-47, 59-65; Bod., Rawlinson MSS 743 C., fols 16-17. Marteilhe wrote that the petitions of the Marquis de Rochegude, a Huguenot refugee, finally moved the queen. Some of his petitions survive at the PRO. SP34/10/10 and SP34/10/138. Rochegurde used some members of the SPCK to make contact with the queen. SPCK, Society's Letter, CS2/4, fol. 25.

<sup>121</sup> Marteilhe, op. cit. pp. 249-257; SPCK, Society's Letter, CS2/3, fols 80, 82-83. When they visited England in Autumn 1713, the SPCK raised £100 12s. 13d. for those prisoners still unreleased. The general assembly in Scotland sent a letter of thanks to the queen for her care of the Protestant galley slaves. *The Correspondence of the Rev. Robert Wodrow*, ed. Thomas M'Crie, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1842), I, 449-450.

<sup>122</sup> Marteilhe, op. cit. pp. 350-351, note 87. As to the attitude of Philippe II d'Orléans toward religion, see J. H. Shennan, *Philippe Duke of Orléans* (London, 1979). He was a sceptic and a deist. Ibid., pp. 15-16. Added to this, I suspect that his mother influenced his attitude towards religious matters. Elizabeth Charlotte of Pfalz-Simmern, converted from Calvinism to Catholicism by the persuasion of her aunt Sophia, Electress of Hanover, showed strong hatred toward the French army in the Palatinate and was



Not only did the religious climate in England change, but also the environment of the Protestant community in Europe changed with the death of Louis XIV.

Finally it deserves notice that nonconformists in England responded to the church briefs. All three briefs for continental Protestants in the reign of Queen Anne were, in fact, addressed to 'the separate congregations and meetings of Protestant dissenters' too.<sup>123</sup> The Quakers were particularly concerned for the persecuted Protestants.<sup>124</sup> Although there appears to be only limited information on their relief activities, there is evidence that they had already made subscriptions for German Pietists, Huguenots and other persecuted Protestants abroad.<sup>125</sup> The case of the Palatines indicates that the Quakers in London made collections of their own and arranged to hand them in with the collections of the Church of England on a parish basis.<sup>126</sup> In addition, John Bellers, a leading Quaker, entertained a lively concern for the cause, submitting a proposal to the commissioners for 'raising a college of industry' in order to solve the question of Palatine employment.<sup>127</sup>

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distressed by the persecution of the Palatines. For her relations with Philippe, see Shennan, *ibid.*, pp. 129-130. For her relations with Sophia, see Ragnhild Hatton, *George I* (London, 1978), pp. 24-27, 37, 72. Her views about the Palatines, *Briefe der Liselotte von der Pfalz*, ed. Helmuth Kiesel (Frankfurt am Main, 1981), pp. 70-71, 76, 82, 132, 164, 177.

<sup>123</sup> CLRO, Ex-Guildhall Library MSS 355. See also PRO, SP34/9 59. In the case of the Palatine brief, it especially names 'the people called the Quakers.'

<sup>124</sup> William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (Cambridge, 1961) pp. 594-595.

<sup>125</sup> Nicholas Rüst, 'Friends and Pietists in Germany', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 7 (1910); 'Notes and Queries', *ibid.*, 46.

<sup>126</sup> CLRO, Ex-Guildhall MS 353, fols 64-66, 80, 105, 162.

<sup>127</sup> John Bellers, *To the Lords and others Commissioners, appointed by the Queen to take care of the Poor Palatines* (1709).



\* Relief activities in the time of the Hanoverians \*

Like their predecessors, the Hanoverian kings officially and repeatedly made claims to be the guardians of Protestant Europe. In 1721 Archbishop William Wake wrote to Jean Alphonse Turretini, professor of church history in Geneva:

It cannot be denied but that the work of doing justice to our oppressed brethren goes very heavily on with the Palatine ministers. It is not an easy matter to bring the Jesuitical, or some popish faction, to be willing in anything to support the right of the reformed. Yet still I am persuaded our king will never give over his endeavours till they are relieved, and that not only in the empire, but in Poland and Lithuania. I am assured that it will be insisted upon at the congress of Brunswick to have the treaty of Oliva duly observed with relation to their privileges, and that all the Protestant powers will wish in their demands for it. Sir Robert Sutton [the British ambassador to France] does all he can, upon every occasion, for our brethren in France....There is more difficulty in getting anything done for those of Hungary & Bohemia. The imperial court being not very easy to be treated with that request.<sup>128</sup>

In the new year, 1725, Wake again assured his foreign friend about the king's attitude towards continental brethren.

His Lordship [Charles Townshend] assured me that the king needed no representations to put him in mind of the sufferings or dangers of the poor Protestants in all parts: That he had taken all the care he could to get some mitigation to those in France; but that he received little encouragement from their ministers to think he should persist much on their behalf. That however, Mr Walpole his ambassador at Paris, had directions to watch all opportunities of doing them service, and that our ministers did the same, with the French ambassador here. I am satisfied this is true, and that the king has a very deep sense of the persecutions abroad; and is exceedingly concerned for what has passed in Thorn [Torun in Poland], before his letter could get to the King of Poland: where he has, by treaties, a right to interpose, I am persuaded he will do it rigorously in the behalf of our brethren....<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> BPU, Geneva, MSS. Inventaire 1569. fol. 89.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 121.



Despite such a royal gesture, church briefs for continental Protestants were in fact rarely issued; there were only four during the 46 years of the first two Georges' reigns,<sup>130</sup> yet the applications from the continent for funds continued. The remainder of this chapter will examine how an insular attitude deepened towards relief activities, and how the SPCK, in contrast, came to take a more positive role in fund-raising, especially on the occasion of the Salzburger affair in the mid 1730s, the last large-scale Protestant persecution on the continent.

On 23 March 1716 the church brief for 'the episcopal reformed churches' in Great Poland, Polish Prussia and Transylvania was issued.<sup>131</sup> More precisely, the main objects of the relief were the Protestant community in Lissa [Leszno in Poland] which was once the centre of the Bohemian Brethren in Great Poland and Polish Prussia, having a well known gymnasium or college,<sup>132</sup> and a Calvinist college in Enyed in Transylvania, Hungary [Nagyenyed / Aiud in Romania] founded by Gábor Bethlen, the Prince of Transylvania in 1620. Protestants in both places had suffered during several wars and in the 1700s their towns were burnt down: the

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<sup>130</sup> A brief for the episcopal reformed churches in Poland and Transylvania in 1716, a brief for the Protestants in Copenhagen in 1729-30, a brief for two Vaudois villages destroyed by inundation in 1738, and a brief for re-building a church in Hagen, Westphalia, in 1759. As far as the latter three briefs are concerned, it is very likely that the campaigns were small and limited.

<sup>131</sup> PRO, SP 36 9/57.

<sup>132</sup> Jan Amos Comenius had contributed greatly to make Lissa the spiritual centre of the Bohemian Brethren. However, after 28 April 1656 when the whole town was burnt down by the Polish army, Lissa never recovered its former status, though some attempts were made to reconstruct the Protestant town. For the history of Lissa, see Anon., *A short View of the continual Sufferings and heavy oppressions of the Episcopal Reformed Churches. Formerly in Bohemia, now in Great Poland and Polish Prussia* (London, 1716); Albert Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien in der Provinz Polen* (Lissa, 1904), pp. 183-185, 195; Adam Matuszewski, 'Jan Jonston: Outstanding Scholar of the 17th Century', *Studia Comeniana et Historica* (1989). Oliver Cromwell issued a brief for the Protestants in Lissa in 25 March 1658. Bewes, op. cit., 153-162.



former became involved in 1707 in the Great Northern War, and the latter was attacked by the emperor's army in 1704, during the war of independence for Transylvania led by Francis II Rakóczy.<sup>133</sup>

The timing of the issue of the brief seems therefore somewhat overdue. But there is some reason to think that Protestants in both places might have seen the end of the wars as a better opportunity to obtain a brief. Only one year after the destruction of their town, the Protestants in Lissa had already travelled round the Protestant countries in an effort to raise funds. In April 1708 Jean-Frederic Ostervald, an internationally known theologian of the day, wrote of their arrival in Neuchâtel to Jean Alphonse Turretini in Geneva.

These gentlemen to whom I am giving this letter to you are delegated by the church of Lissa in Greater Poland. They will explain to you the state of their church and the subject of their journey, so I shall say nothing of it to you. I feel myself obliged, however, to tell you that M. Jablonski [in Berlin] recommends [it] to me very particularly, and that our king [Friedrich I of Prussia] has written to Switzerland on their behalf. They are all the more worthy of assistance because their poor town is, besides, absolutely ruined. Their church was the gymnasium of all the reformed churches of Greater Poland and it is important to work at re-establishing it. So I do not doubt that you will recommend them strongly to your magistrate.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> PRO, SP 36/9/57; Albert Werner, op. cit., p. 184; László Szögi, *Régi magyar egyetemek emlékezete: Válogatott dokumentumok a magyarországi felsőoktatás történetéhez, 1367-1777* (Budapest, 1995), English abstract: Universities in Hungary from the Middle Ages to the Enlightened Absolutism: Documents on the History of the Hungarian Higher Education (1367-1777), –<http://elte.hu/ebooks/memoria/eng.html>. Gábor Bethlen firstly found the college in Gyulafehérvár [Alba Iulia] and some members and students of it moved to Nagyenyed in 1662 to establish another college. My thanks are owed to Mr Kis Attila for information on Nagyenyed, and to Dr Aart de Groot for information on Lissa. Dr de Groot kindly showed me the correspondence of Christian Sitkovius, a delegate from Lissa to England in 1714-1716, which is now at Unitatsarchiv, Herrnhut. I also thank Dr P. M. Peucker for his kind assistance and for his information on the materials at Unitatsarchiv.

<sup>134</sup> Printed in R. Gretillat, *Jean-Frédéric Ostervald 1663-1747* (Neuchâtel, 1904), pp. xxv-xxvi.



Since there is scanty information about this journey for fund-raising in 1708, it seems unlikely that they campaigned widely. They were likely to have been more worried about the plague that attacked the city of Lissa in 1709. In 1714 they certainly contemplated another attempt and got in touch with the Dutch synod by sending two delegates: David Cassius and Martinus Theophilus.<sup>135</sup> It is not known whether they reached England. Nevertheless, since some members of the Dutch synod, as well as both Ostervald in Neuchâtel and Daniel Ernst Jablonski in Berlin, were active corresponding members of the SPCK, they could have gained information about English church briefs, and passed it on the Protestants of Lissa. They may therefore have considered that they needed better preparation in order successfully to lobby the English government. Should they seek a strong recommendation from a ruler whose wishes the English government found difficult to resist? Whatever their strategy was, the Protestants in Lissa waited until 1715 for another chance to raise funds in England. During this period they obtained not only the support of the principal Dutch pastors but also, possibly through Jablonski, the recommendation of Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia.<sup>136</sup> On the other hand, the Protestants in Transylvania, having fought against the emperor, could not obtain aid from England during the War of Spanish Succession since the English were extremely sensitive about offending the emperor. It was possibly around early 1715 that Enyed decided to send its delegate to England.<sup>137</sup> Unfortunately there is no information

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<sup>135</sup> Unitatsarchiv, Herrnhut, Correspondence of Christian Sitkovius, NSC-7. Letters of recommendation from pastors and professors of Leiden and Amsterdam.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., NSC-7, Letters of recommendation from pastors and professors of Leiden, Amsterdam, and the Hague; NSC-6. Letter of recommendation from Friedrich Wilhelm to George I, 4 Feb. 1715.

<sup>137</sup> Christ Church, Oxford, Arch. W. Epist. 28, fol. 72. The delegate was in Oxford in late 1715.



available on what preparations the Transylvanians made, apart from the record that, being related to Gábor Bethlen whose wife was a Hohenzollern princess, Friedrich Wilhelm I also wrote a letter of recommendation for them.<sup>138</sup> It may not be pure coincidence that the SPCK became interested in information of 'two Protestant ministers from Lower Hungary' about the situation of Protestantism in Hungary in early 1715 and asked James Stanhope, the secretary of state, to exert 'his favour towards the distressed persons' there.<sup>139</sup> In any case it is highly likely that the Transylvanians came to England as well prepared as the Protestants from Lissa.

Furthermore the change of monarch in England may have been an added encouragement: the court of Hanover was well-known for its religiously tolerant atmosphere and as a centre of the ecumenical movement led by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, the philosopher, under the patronage of George I's mother, Electress Sophia of Pfalz-Simmern.<sup>140</sup> Moreover, the relations of George I and Friedrich Wilhelm I were intertwined by marriages between their houses. It would have been exceedingly embarrassing to reject petitions strongly supported by, in the Prussian king's own words, 'brother, son, son-in-law and friend [*sic*]'.<sup>141</sup>

In the circumstances it would be a reasonable assumption that Protestants in Lissa and in Enyed were aware of each other's activities. If not before, when they had left their respective cities delegates soon realised, at least on the side of Lissa, that they were rivals for English charity. Jablonski, being a preacher to the court of Berlin, but also, as a grandson of Comenius, a promoter of the interest of Bohemian Brethren in Lissa, supported the

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<sup>138</sup> Anon., *A Short History of the Episcopal Bethlenian College in Transylvania* (London, 1716).

<sup>139</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 6, fols 228, 230.

<sup>140</sup> Schmidt, 'Ecumenical Activity on the Continent of Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', pp. 109-116. Hatton, *George I*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>141</sup> UA, Correspondence of Sitkovius, NSC-6.



delegates from Lissa in 1715-17 - Christian Sitkovius, a chaplain,<sup>142</sup> and Samuel Andersch, a lawyer. He used his connections, including Thomas Bray of the SPCK, Frederick Bonet the Prussian resident and member of the SPCK, and Johann Jacob Caesar, the minister of the German Reformed congregation in London and also member of the SPCK,<sup>143</sup> in order to ensure that the share of the Polish Protestants was greater than that of Enyed. On 11 April 1716, Jablonski in Berlin instructed Sitkovius in London:

Although one must not be covetous in matters of grace, against his neighbours, fairness however demands that in the case of the collections in England we in Poland should have a larger share to keep than the Transylvanians. On this account, I am also writing [at once] to Doctor Caesar.<sup>144</sup>

The reply of Caesar was too formal to satisfy Jablonski. Nor did the letters from Bonet and Bray seem to have calmed his anxiety about the share. Half a year later he could not resist suggesting to Sitkovius, his protégé, that he would press Caesar again though Jablonski was careful to stress that they must not 'talk too much about this, so that [they] are not looked on as unsatisfied misers and envious people [der ungnügliche Geizwer, und neidische Leute]'.

I wanted to write to Doctor Caesar on this occasion, but was prevented; I beg you to greet him officially, and to assure him that it will happen [as soon as possible]. This gentleman has distribution in mind only in general. Behold his words:

Moreover, in due time the sharing of such incoming collection money between you and the college of Enyed shall be according to all fair proportion, and be

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<sup>142</sup> Werner, op. cit., p. 193. Sitkovius was the protégé of Jablonski. After graduating from the gymnasium in Lissa, Sitkovius studied at Berlin, Frankfurt an der Oder and Leiden, supported by Jablonski. In 1716 he was appointed the pastor in Lissa.

<sup>143</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 5, fol. 261. On 5 February 1712 Caesar was ordained by Henry Compton as an Anglican priest. GL, Guildhall Library MS 9535/3, fol. 158.

<sup>144</sup> UA, Correspondence of Sitkovius, NSC-10, Jablonski to Sitkovius, 11 Apr. 1716.



made in conformity with the decision of the most noble Lords and trustees.

Because Herr Caesar is not only an active instrument of these collections, but also a commissioner of the same, and indeed its secretary, he can also do a lot as regards the disposition.....<sup>145</sup>

It is apparent from this letter, possibly through the correspondence of Bonet, Bray and other members of the SPCK,<sup>146</sup> that Jablonski understood the procedure for the brief of 1716. On behalf of Jablonski, it should be said that his anxiety over the share can be justified since the Protestants of Lissa must have been concerned for other churches in Great Poland and Polish Prussia. In fact, they were the representatives of all the Protestants in those areas. Jablonski reminded Sitkovius that the brief was needed 'to re-establish one college in those parts [Transylvania] , but among us one college, and also six churches and schools, in two provinces.'<sup>147</sup>

The brief serves as evidence that George I positively followed in his predecessors' footsteps as the guardian of Protestant interest at this stage.<sup>148</sup> Yet the reactionary current in the Church against Protestant internationalism was also to some extent reflected in the text of the brief which emphasised the episcopalian credentials of the beneficiaries. In the brief the claim was made that the Bohemian Brethren owed their origins to John Wycliffe a 'true son of the Church of England' and had 'constantly and strictly kept hitherto to the Church of England's constitution and discipline, as well in relation to an uninterrupted series of bishops and episcopal

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 28 Nov. [1716]. See also, 22 Feb. 1717; 23 March [1717].

<sup>146</sup> Apart from prelates and titled nobility, 8 of 19 trustees were members of the SPCK. Among them was Robert Hales who personally knew Jablonski in Berlin.

<sup>147</sup> UA, Correspondence of Sitkovius, NSC-10, Jablonski to Sitkovius, 28 November [1716], 23 March [1717].

<sup>148</sup> George I also made clear his intention that his predecessors' pensions for continental Protestants, such as for the Vaudois, continued without change in October 1714. *Cal. Tre. Papers, 1714-1719*, pp. 19-20.



ordination from their very first reformation.'<sup>149</sup> This argument, however, raised doubts. A non-juring divine Matthias Earbery enthusiastically contradicted it;

This writer [who wrote a paper for the Transylvanians and the Bohemian Brethren in the name of the Bishop of Ely] has found out a new race of Episcopal beggars, which were never known in the world before, which require some severe reflections; for 1st, 'Tis false as to fact, that such episcopal churches are in the world. They set forth....that Wycliffe was their reformer. ...

About the year 1370, John Wycliffe being banished out of England, fled into Bohemia where he left the dregs of his poisonous notions, but he settled no church policy, nor formed any regular body of followers; and therefore the petition in asserting a succession of clergy from Wycliffe is false.<sup>150</sup>

Responding to the accusations concerning the validity of the Bohemian episcopacy, there were some defenders. The Reverend Thomas Bennet, stood by 'the reformed episcopal churches.'

I have reason to fear, that evil arts have been used...to the prejudice of these poor sufferers....'Tis well known, and universally acknowledged, that these our brethren are descended from those persons, who forsook the corruptions of the church of Rome, by the influence (principally) of those eminent saints and martyrs John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who received their doctrine (in a good measure) from our truly famous countryman John Wycliffe, to whom we are obliged for the first dawns of that reformation, the first glimmerings of that pure gospel light, which (blessed be God for it) does now shine so brightly in this land.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Anon., *A Short View of the Continual Sufferings and Heavy Oppressions of the Episcopal Reformed Churches*. Cf. Gilbert Burnet, *Good Brother* (1716); William Dawes, *Good Brother* (1716); Thomas Bowers, *Good Brother* (1716); William Nicolson, *Good Brother* (1716).

<sup>150</sup> Matthias Earbery, *A Letter to the Bishop of Ely, upon the Occasion of his suppos'd late charge (said to be deliver'd at Cambridge, August 7th, 1716) as far as relates to what is therein urg'd against frequent communion; and for the (pretended) episcopal reform'd churches of Transylvania, Great Poland, and Prussia* (London, 1717), pp. 3-7.

<sup>151</sup> Thomas Bennet, *The Case of the Reform'd Episcopal Churches in Great Poland and Polish Prussia Consider'd in a Sermon Preach'd on Sunday Nov. 18, 1716* (London, 1716), p. 8.



But he was less confident as to whether the episcopacy of the Bohemian Brethren was genuine by the standards of the Church of England.

[The argument against the Bohemian brethren] is farther said, that these our brethren are not what they pretend to be. They would fain be thought, and they are pleased to stile themselves, Reformed Episcopal Churches; whereas they have no true episcopacy amongst them, they have no regular succession of bishops, as an order distinct from, and superior to, Presbyters.

Now, suppose this were true in fact; suppose that our brethren were not properly episcopal, and that they really wanted a regular succession of bishops; will it follow from thence, that they are not objects of our charity, and ought not to be comforted under their present heavy pressures? Is this the spirit of the episcopal church of England, which justly esteems herself, and has ever been acknowledged the bulwark of the reformation?

Then he apparently felt the need to declare his own 'zeal for episcopacy.' He ended up asserting:

'Nor can any man more heartily lament, than I do, what defects some reformed churches labour under...or more sincerely wish and pray for the establishment of an episcopal government in all Protestant churches.<sup>152</sup>

Hints were dropped by Bray to Jablonski in Berlin that he had better demonstrate the episcopal *bona fides* of the Bohemian brethren. In the expectation that the demonstration of their legitimacy might help them 'have a greater share [of the collection] than the Transylvanians', Jablonski decided to take Bray's advice. 'I have also, in my letter to Herr Bray, let such things be understood....[as] would give the people a good and large idea of our churches.'<sup>153</sup> He also sent a 'little dissertation entitled "Unity preserved by

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<sup>152</sup> Ibid., pp. 10-11.

<sup>153</sup> UA, Correspondence of Sitkovius, NSC-10, Jablonski to Sitkovius, 22 Feb. 1717. See also Jablonski to Sitkovius, 23 March [1717].



the Episcopal Succession" to Archbishop Wake, defending the so-called episcopal succession of the Bohemian Brethren.<sup>154</sup> He hoped;

....it will be clearly evident that the churches of the Bohemian Brethren have not only preserved the legitimate episcopal order and its succession to this very day, but also that no other church in the entire reformed world approaches so closely in this respect to the Church of England as the Bohemian Church. For although the other reformed churches in Brandenburg, Hesse, the Palatinate and in the churches of Lesser Poland and of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the kingdom of Poland (including some even of the Swiss churches) enjoy likewise a hierarchical order and reverence their Antistes, Superintendents and Inspectors (who in Hungary and Transylvania are sometimes called Bishops); yet none save the Bohemian Church situated in Greater Poland either has had or has preserved the unbroken thread of episcopal and apostolic succession.<sup>155</sup>

Saying that 'for myself I had held [it] to have been sufficiently proved', Wake gladly accepted the claim of the dissertation since he hoped:

If there are any persons amongst us to whom your affairs are either insufficiently known or differently conceived,....by this work of yours they will be better informed, so that henceforth they will judge more fairly of yourselves and your episcopate.<sup>156</sup>

As far as Enyed in Transylvania is concerned, a correspondent of Wake's left an interesting observation relating to the visit of the Hungarian delegate to Oxford on 12 December 1715.

Mr Aitai a Transylvanian gentleman has made a collection here with the vice chancellor's leave for the rebuilding of their college. The Bishop of Bristol [George Smalridge] was very zealous

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid. In fact, Jablonski had himself had episcopal consecration by the Bohemian Brethren. Later, he, together with Sitkovius, would consecrate Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf of the Moravian Brethren.

<sup>155</sup> Christ Church, Arch. W. Epist. 25, fol. 32. This correspondence, dated 22 March 1717, is translated from the original Latin by Norman Sykes and printed in Norman Sykes, *William Wake*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1957) II, 7.

<sup>156</sup> Christ Church, Arch. W. Epist. 25, fol. 33. Also translated in Sykes, *William Wake*, II, 8.



in the beginning, but of late is grown very cool, & is like to be the last of all the contributors to this good work. I believe Mr Aitai will get about fifty pounds here.<sup>157</sup>

The reason for the Bishop of Bristol's cooling is uncertain; he may have had doubts about the alleged episcopacy of the Bohemian Brethren as the result of the arguments concerning it. However, judging from the fact that the next year he also issued a letter of recommendation for 'the deputies of the episcopal reformed churches in Great Poland and Polish Prussia, and of the episcopal university and college of Enyed in Transylvania,' he was satisfied with the claim of the Bohemian Brethren. In his letter he added;

I have been and conversed with the deputies sent over to solicit for them, and look upon them to be persons of such piety and integrity, that they may safely be depended upon for the truth of that representation, which they make of the state of their churches and university, and of the near affinity, which they bear to the excellent constitution of our own church.

Our brethren they are as Christians, as reformed and as Episcopal; and as they are such, I heartily entreat your brotherly love towards them; My clergy have, whilst I was lately with them, given me so many testimonies of their affection and regard, that I have no reason to doubt of their ready compliance with this request.<sup>158</sup>

Whether or not the theory of 'the episcopal reformed churches' has much validity is immaterial here. What the arguments concerning the Bohemian episcopacy make clear is that conformity to the Church of England had now come to matter in fund-raising in England, as the term 'episcopal beggars' in the letter of Matthias Earbery also implies. The Protestant factor was not enough; here, conformity to the Church was the touchstone.

According to Norman Sykes, Sitkovius was able to collect £5,000; moreover, in 1717, a further £10,000 was given to the Protestants of Poland

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<sup>157</sup> Christ Church, Arch. W. Epist. 28, fol. 72.

<sup>158</sup> George Smalridge, *Good Brother* (1716).



and Hungary [presumably Transylvania].<sup>159</sup> We do not know the proportion of the share between the Protestants in Poland and those in Enyed. The money given for the Protestants in Enyed was sufficient to rebuild their college, and the share allocated to Lissa was used for restoring their gymnasium, yet they had to wait until 1732 to rebuild their church.<sup>160</sup> They would almost certainly have invested the capital, as did the Maison d' Orange in Berlin and the Gemarke Kirche in Oberbarmen. Looking forward to the collections, Jablonski pondered the choice of investment, based on information from the past traced back to the collections under the Cromwell's brief for the Vaudois.

As regards the investment of the capital, this is a delicate point. It might be best if the capital could be invested in England, and the interest were transferred to us yearly....Admittedly the government [of England] is now so well established, God be thanked, that an alteration, or only a disturbance, is not to be feared so soon; but we must still take care of the Unität [Bohemian Brethren] for time everlasting. Hence, I believe that the funds might be invested more safely in Holland, or even more quietly under the king in Prussia, not to mention that the income could be under control here, whereas in England a large part of it would stick to the fingers of the directors and accountant. Hence this matter needs deeper investigation....<sup>161</sup>

It would be interesting to know his choice of home for the funds.

In the wake of the brief for the Bohemian Brethren and the Transylvanians, the other foreign churches showed awareness of English sensitivities concerning the episcopacy. In the late 1710s, the Protestant church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania also approached the Church of England, claiming their preservation of the episcopal succession under the name of superintendent.<sup>162</sup> Accordingly Boguslaus Kopijewics came to

<sup>159</sup> Sykes, *William Wake*, II, 207. He does not give the reference.

<sup>160</sup> László Szögi, op.cit.; Werner, op. cit., pp. 184. 190.

<sup>161</sup> UA, Correspondence of Sitkovius, NSC-10, Jablonski to Sitkovius, 22 Feb. 1717.

<sup>162</sup> Sykes, *William Wake*, II, 8-9. They certainly had a contact with the SPCK. A Chapter in *English Church History: Being the Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian*



England from Vilna [Vilnius], but found both his request rejected and no money left for his return journey.

That finding to his great affliction, his long stay and sickness have been so very expensive to him, that he quite spent, what he had, and now seeth himself entirely destitute of all other outward means for his subsistence and for the performing of a long and chargeable journey to Vilna in Lithuania; it being no less than six hundred miles distance from hence.

Finally in 1718 he obtained an answer from the king, possibly via Wake, to the plea of the Lithuanian synod about the distressed situation of Protestantism there. Having already seen his attitude as expressed in Wake's letter to Turretini, cited above, the reply of George I sounds typical:

His Majesty expresses a deep concern for the oppressed Protestant churches in Poland and Lithuania, and most graciously promises to intercede for the same by joining his interest with those of the kings of Denmark and Prussia, as also of the Czar of Muscovy and the States of Holland, in order to support the said Protestant churches in their former privileges and immunities; and that as soon as a general congress for a place in the North shall be set on foot.

His Majesty will in time consider of some proper ways and means to procure a pecuniary subsidy for the relief of the said Protestant Churches.

There seems no evidence that a fund for the Lithuanians was set up in England in 1720s. The king was scarcely more encouraging about the education of some Lithuanian students in England.

As for the benefit requested for the maintenance of some poor Lithuanian scholars, to be educated in the English universities; his Majesty is pleased to declare: That no such stipends are usually granted in England, but for those that are of the Church of England.<sup>163</sup>

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*Knowledge for the Years 1698-1704*, ed by Edmund McClure (London, 1888), p. 268; SPCK, Society's Letter, CS2/16, fol. 31.

<sup>163</sup> Christ Church, Arch. W. Epist. 28, fol. 56.



These words may not, however, have reflected the king's personal feelings. The modern biographer of George I has pointed to his support for religious toleration for his subjects, which in Hanover was more well established than in Britain, as well as his sympathy toward dissenters in England. Despite his wish, he had to acknowledge the strength of ecclesiastical feeling, which was closely linked with party politics.<sup>164</sup> Accordingly, although Wake assured his foreign correspondent of the king's sincerity about his concern for the Protestants on the continent, George I could not have worked for non-Anglican Protestants as he wished. Even the archbishop had to admit that those currents of opinion in the Church of England which shaped attitudes toward the continental brethren were becoming increasingly introspective and provincial. In 1724 he betrayed his disappointment at the reaction in the English church to the renewed oppression of the Protestants in the Vaudois valleys in Piedmont in 1724.

Our poor brethren of the Valleys have again renewed their complaints, and intimated their fears to our ministers. I have just received a melancholy letter, and memorial from them of which I shall make the best use I can to their advantage. But, the truth is, we seem too much unconcerned in these matters; and I have nobody to help me in my application either to the king, or the court. Our bishops hold no correspondence abroad, nor seem to trouble themselves about anything beyond our four seas.<sup>165</sup>

Having split from the Walpole administration, Archbishop Wake was already politically semi-retired in the 1720s. But we can gather how his attitude toward continental Protestants also became isolated from the records concerning the brief for Protestants in Copenhagen in 1729-30.<sup>166</sup> In 1728 Copenhagen, the Danish capital, was struck by a large fire which completely

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<sup>164</sup> Hatton, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-290.

<sup>165</sup> BPU, Geneva, MSS. Inventaire 1569. fol. 117.

<sup>166</sup> No official record of the issue of this brief has survived.



destroyed half of it.<sup>167</sup> Some small Protestant communities there, such as German and French Protestants<sup>168</sup> as well as a Calvinist congregation,<sup>169</sup> sought aid from foreign countries. Asked his opinion by the secretary of state, Wake's letter of reply, dated 22 November 1728, attempting to persuade George II to issue a brief on the behalf of the 'Danish Protestants', shows his great concern for them. The archbishop ardently begged the king to follow in the footsteps of his father who had issued the brief of 1716 for the Bohemian Brethren.<sup>170</sup> Though the archbishop said that Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, was 'in the same opinion',<sup>171</sup> the bishop's letter to the secretary of the state was in striking contrast.

As I don't know what has been done on the like occasions, nor whether any thing has ever been done on a national way, I am really incapable of forming any judgement concerning it; for, on one hand, it is a case of great compassions and, on the other hand, precedents ought to be guarded against. Has the like application been made to other reformed churches; and if it has, how has it been received? I doubt a general brief all over the kingdom will not be thought proper unless instances of the like kind be found...<sup>172</sup>

Certainly Wake was able to produce for reference purposes the documents of previous briefs.<sup>173</sup> Evidently Gibson did not seem very enthusiastic, though the brief was finally issued. Things had changed since the time when Compton was the Bishop of London. The new insularity in the Church may

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<sup>167</sup> Information from the Statens Arkiver Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen.

<sup>168</sup> John Price, *Humanity and Alms-giving: a Sermon preached upon the day the brief for the relief of the German and French Protestants at Copenhagen was read, being October 26, 1729* (London, 1730).

<sup>169</sup> Church of Scotland, *A Circular Letter: After the late General Assembly's letters were by the [...] wrote to Presbyteries and Synods,...recommending a contribution for the R[e]formed Protestant Congregation at Copenhagen* (Edinburgh, 1731?).

<sup>170</sup> PRO, SP 36 9 51.

<sup>171</sup> SP36/9 51.

<sup>172</sup> SP36 9 53.

<sup>173</sup> SP36/9 55-57.



explain why briefs for foreign Protestants became rare in the course of the eighteenth century, though church briefs for other purposes were continuously issued. On the other hand, the SPCK kept itself busy corresponding with foreign members and responded positively to the news of distressed Protestants abroad. Wake himself acknowledged in 1721 that the performance of the laity was more positive than were the clergy. After explaining to a Swiss divine the difficulty of 'doing justice to our oppressed brethren' on the continent, he continued:

The use I make of this difficulty we are under to support our just rights and privileges in matter of religion, is to recommend a strict union and friendship among ourselves; to which though the most learned of all sides seem better disposed at this time. Yet, I am sorry to find that generally speaking, we find the laity more sensible of this Christian policy, and better inclined to the promotion of it, than ministers.<sup>174</sup>

The case of the Protestants in Kieydan in the Duchy of Smamogitia in Poland [Kédainiai in Lithuania] in 1730 reveals the SPCK's experience in relief activity. The English and Scottish colony in Kieydan, which traded with Königsberg, having been ravaged by the Great Northern War, decided to ask the help of their ancestral land in order to recover their trade. Accordingly the city sent Gordon and Grey, two merchants, to Britain.<sup>175</sup> Even though they were descendants of English and Scottish merchants, 'retaining still the same principles with Great Britain, in the matter of religion', a brief was not issued for them. However the SPCK stepped in and started a campaign to raise subscriptions.

These gentlemen have travelled no less than 1280 miles from the distressed Kieydan, to this place where they now are. But they could hardly have come at a more unseasonable time, most of the nobility and gentry being retired into the country: but, 'tis hoped, God will touch the hearts of some charitably disposed persons, to

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<sup>174</sup> BPU, Geneva, MSS. Inventaire 1569, fol. 90.

<sup>175</sup> Anon., *The City of Kieydan, the metropolis of the Dutchy of Smamogitia* (1730?).



commiserate their deplorable condition, and afford them, out of their abundance, such assistance, in these their most melancholy circumstances, as may prove a lasting comfort to themselves, in this life, and open a passage for them to everlasting treasures in the life to come.<sup>176</sup>

The records at the SPCK archive and the Hoare's museum reveal that 'some charitably disposed persons' were linked with the SPCK. Yet this explanation of why the SPCK set up the subscription seems to be insufficient. Given the information that other continental Protestants had about the church briefs in previous cases, it is unlikely that the deputies from Kieydan should have arrived without the hope of a brief and without preparing the ground beforehand. In fact, they had at least considered it. Henry Newman the secretary of the Society explained in late August 1730 that the reason for setting up a subscription rather than waiting for a brief, was that 'this method of private solicitation was preferred to a brief because of the great delay and expense attending briefs'.<sup>177</sup> If their application for a brief for Kieydan was turned down by either the government or the Church, the secretary of the SPCK always paid due respect to the authorities and discreetly restrained himself from saying anything critical of it.

The subscription unmistakably involved an extra burden on the Society. Nevertheless the leading members demonstrated their experience in working for briefs. While bankers connected with the SPCK, such as the Hoare family, took charge of the money,<sup>178</sup> leading members of the Society, especially Sir John Philipps and Henry Newman, did their best to raise funds

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> SPCK, Society's Letter CS2/21, fol. 61.

<sup>178</sup> Hoare's Museum, London, Ledger vol. 31, fol. 71. The trustees opened an account at Hoare's Bank, Fleet Street, in August 1730. For relation of the Hoares with the SPCK, see Chapter IV below.



and looked around for help.<sup>179</sup> Meanwhile Newman wrote begging letters (he even asked a friend in Boston, Massachusetts, New England), and Sir John Philipps visited his connections and friends. On one occasion, Sir Robert Walpole, a relation of Philipps, was visited by him and 'went immediately & fetched him a bank bill for 50*l*. '<sup>180</sup> The Earl of Harrington, the secretary of state, was another 'generous and liberal' benefactor persuaded by Philipps.<sup>181</sup> In September 1731, the Society received a letter of thanks from Kieydan reporting how the money was used.<sup>182</sup>

In 1731-32 the news of massive Protestant emigration alarmed Europe: nearly 30,000 Lutheran Protestants were expelled by the Archbishop of Salzburg from his province and made their way to Brandenburg-Prussia.<sup>183</sup> After the news was sent to the SPCK by Samuel Urlsperger, a Pietist corresponding member of the SPCK at Augsburg, in the early spring of 1732,

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<sup>179</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 13, fol. 217; Abstract Letter Book, Received, nos. 10927, 10937, 10950; SPCK, Society's Letter CS2/21, Newman to Lord Percival, 25 August 1730 (fol. 62); *ibid.*, CS2/21, Newman to Countess of Huntingdon, 17 December 1730 (fol. 12).

<sup>180</sup> SPCK, New England Letters, CN3/3, Newman to Belcher, 10 Sept. 1730 (fol. 57).

<sup>181</sup> PRO, SP 36/27/66.

<sup>182</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, Received, no. 11381. 'That they received the letter dated 30 of April. Thanking the honourable gentlemen for their unchanged favours; they have obtained a certain sum of money part of which their society has employed upon trade; they received from Konigsberg one useful load with salt, herrings, iron, glass, lead, and other commodities necessary for the use of their trade in that country; they employ a part of the money for the relief of their distressed brethren, as for the rest of the money which by the goodness and vigilance has been remitted to Danzig. That it doth remain there by their unanimous agreement the Society is resolved to employ part of the money upon other merchants goods, cloth, all sorts of [commodities] vendible in that country, the rest will be employed for buying several sorts of goods useful for the earning on their trade, thanking the Society for promoting their interest in Scotland.'

<sup>183</sup> J. F. Shearouse, 'Protestant Activities as Contributing Factors to the 1731 Expulsion of the Salzburg Lutherans: Viewed in Light of the 1648 Peace of Westphalia' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, 1984); W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge, 1992), chap. 3.



the Society turned its attention to the matter. It immediately informed Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, of the details in the hope of getting him to help with the fund-raising. Newman brought to the bishop a manuscripts of the English translation of *An Account of the Sufferings of Persecuted Salzburgers*, written by Urlsperger, which it was considering publishing in order to 'procure charitable benefactions from his majesty's subjects towards their relief.'<sup>184</sup> At this stage, there were clearly expectations among the members that the fund-raising would take an official form. At the general meeting of the SPCK on 28 March some members enquired about the matter:

That in regard to the bishop of London's rank in the church and state, and that this is an affair relating to religion and the Protestant interest abroad,... [they think] that his lordship be humbly desired to lay this matter before his majesty's principal secretary or secretary of state for their approbation of the design of this publication....<sup>185</sup>

Newman, however, had to report that the bishop had expressed a negative attitude when he had visited Gibson to ask his advice on this matter. It is recorded that '[the bishop] excused himself from doing what was desired by reason of his present indisposition which obliged him not to go abroad.' But this report rather stimulated the Society. It was determined to arrange to 'take care that the Account of the Salzburg Protestants be presented by proper hands in the name of the Society to his majesty and the royal family with the persons attending the court at Kensington.'<sup>186</sup> Sir John Philipps

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<sup>184</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 14, fol. 145. '14 March 1731/2. Agreed that the secretary [Newman] wait upon the bishop of London with the MSS translation of the said accounts, as now amended, and acquaint his lordship with the design of the Society to publish the same in order to raise benefactions towards the Protestant exiles from Salzburg and to request his lordship's advice therein.' See, also, Minute Book, vol. 14, fols 148-149.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., fol. 149.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., fol. 174.



and other influential members made full use of their connections.<sup>187</sup> They 'resolved upon doing all that lay in their power to raise collections for their persecuted brethren.'<sup>188</sup> Over the next few years, from 1732 onwards, Newman in London and Urlsperger in Augsburg took considerable pains to help each other successfully to promote the project of Salzburg emigration. By December 1735 the treasurers of the collections had received £9,317.<sup>189</sup> Though the majority of the exiled Salzburgers went to East Prussia, nearly 300 of them chose to go to Georgia, in North America, and settled there with the help of the SPCK.<sup>190</sup>

The Salzburg expulsion was the last of the major religious persecutions in the eighteenth century to shake the international Protestant community. It might have been the more shocking because many believed that the age of religious persecutions was over, though, in fact minor eruptions still occasionally occurred on the continent. While working for the Salzburgers, the SPCK also received from various quarters reports of religious oppression, especially in the Vaudois valleys and in the Hapsburg empire, and, as a result, of the intentions to emigrate by those oppressed.<sup>191</sup> Perhaps as a

<sup>187</sup> PRO, SP36/27/66.

<sup>188</sup> *An Account of the Origin and Designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London, 1734), p. 8.

<sup>189</sup> Lowther Clarke, *A History of the S. P. C. K.*, p. 135. The treasurers were Archdeacon Denne, the rector of Lambeth, Benjamin Hoare, the banker, and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, the king's chaplain and Pietist.

<sup>190</sup> G. F. Johns, *Henry Newman's Salzburger Letterbooks* (Athens, Georgia, 1966); Cowie, *Henry Newman: An American in London 1708-43*, chap. 10; Lowther Clarke, *A History of the S. P. C. K.*, pp. 134-140. 300 families went to Holland, and 800 persons to Hanover, though the majority of the Salzburgers preferred to go to Prussia.

<sup>191</sup> As to the Vaudois, there was a large amount of emigration in the early 1730s. About 350 decided to settle in Holland, but the Society seems to have encouraged the rest still remaining in Switzerland to go to Georgia. The SPCK, Abstract Letters, Received, nos. 12319, 12350; *Henry Newman's Salzburger Letterbooks*, *op. cit.*, pp. 341-342, 392. As to 'oppressed Protestants in the empire', such as 'the Bohemians, Carinthians, and



consequence of receiving this news in the 1730s, the SPCK manifested at this time a heightened fear of popery and built up its campaign to advertise anti-popish books.<sup>192</sup> Here it should be noted that the fear of Catholics did not lose its force in England until after 1745 when the Jacobite threat was finally over. As the counter-reformation faded away towards the middle of the century, so there was a steady development of toleration, albeit limited, all over Western Europe. Thus, the events in Salzburg were seen, even by Catholics, as 'relics of Gothic past.'<sup>193</sup>

Nevertheless English monarchs were still asked to issue church briefs by continental Protestants. After the conquest of Habsburg's Silesia by Prussia, the Protestants at Breslau in Silesia [Wroclaw in Poland] formed a reformed congregation and sent their delegate, Christian Lewis Finne, to ask for aid from England in 1750.<sup>194</sup> He spoke of 'the 'papal tyranny' and 'the yoke of the house of [Catholic] Austria', but the reaction was lukewarm. Not only was the issue of a brief opposed by the ministers of the Church of England, but also neither 'the great men' nor 'the bishops' supported a collection. In fact there was no organised fund-raising campaign for them in England<sup>195</sup> though Finne managed to circulate appeals for private subscriptions with the help of some individuals.<sup>196</sup> Some resented the fact that 'the people of the continent think Great Britain inexhaustible.'<sup>197</sup> No

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Austrian Protestants', the Society especially tried to rescue the Carinthians [the Protestants in Karnten] and helped them to settle in Georgia. SPCK, Miscellaneous Letters CN2/1, fols 4-6, 20, 29-30; *Henry Newman's Salzburger Letterbooks*, op. cit., pp. 145, 152, 157-158, 163-171, 206-207, et. al.

<sup>192</sup> See Chapter IV below.

<sup>193</sup> Hughes, op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>194</sup> UA, R23 A. 9. 5., Christian Lewis Finne, *To the Christian Reader* (London, 1750).

<sup>195</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Philip Doddridge DD (1702-1751)*, (London, 1979), pp. 336, 338.

<sup>196</sup> Finne, op. cit; *Calendar of the Correspondence of Philip Doddridge DD (1702-1751)*, p. 355.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., p. 338.



help was forthcoming from the SPCK which had by now lost its European perspective.<sup>198</sup>

Yet there were four more church briefs to be issued for the continental Protestants until the abolition of the institution: George II issued a brief for re-building a church (the Lutheran Johanniskirche) in Hagen, Westphalia, in 1759, and George III issued briefs for building a church (probably the Lutheran Ludwigskirche) and a school in Saarbrücken in 1761, for the 'Protestant colony of Philippen in Turkish Moldavia [now likely in Moldova]' in 1764, and for Vaudois ministers and schoolmasters in 1768.<sup>199</sup> Although these briefs show that the English monarchs felt a bond with these continental Protestants, it would appear that they were basically very different from the briefs appealing to Protestant solidarity against popery at the time of the general crisis of Protestantism.

In the case of Johanniskirche zu Hagen in the Duchy of Mark (one of Prussian territories in Westphalia), the brief seems to have been, to some extent, a part of the propaganda of the Seven Years War. The community of Hagen required £3,100 to re-build their church in 1758.<sup>200</sup> This amount was not exceptionally large, considering that £2,120 was collected for Gemark in Oberbarmen under the brief of 1707. It was nearly three times as much as the usual charge for church building or repair in England by way of a brief, which was usually between £1,000 and £2,000 in the 1750s and 1760s, although five English churches each requested around £2,500.<sup>201</sup> Moreover the delegates to England, Johann Wilhelm Haußmann, the pastor of the church, and Eberhard Wilhelm Riepe a merchant, obtained a special

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<sup>198</sup> See Chapter IV below.

<sup>199</sup> Bewes, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>200</sup> The brief is printed in *Johanneskirche einst und jetzt: Eine Erinnerungsschrift zu ihrer Wiedereinweihung am 7 Sonntag nach Trinitatis 8 Juli 1951* (Hagen, 1951). n. pag.

<sup>201</sup> Bewes, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-333. From 1754, with a few exceptions, such as the Vaudois brief of 1768, all briefs show the amount of money required for collections.



recommendation from Prince Ferdinand of Braunschweig, the commander-in-chief of the Prussian army, whose name was very well-known in England during the Seven Years War. The reason why the prince gave the recommendation was probably that he had just defeated the French and Austrian armies, the common enemies of Prussia and Britain, in Rhine-Westphalia in the spring of 1758. Of the towns in the area Hagen had suffered heavy attacks from them and, as a consequence, faced economic difficulties. The prince may have hoped that the campaign for a brief would help to strengthen the English-Prussian alliance. If so, his wish was fulfilled. Haußman and Riepe were heartily welcomed by influential figures in England such as the Duke of Newcastle and Thomas Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury. They were with Secker when the news of the surrender of Louisbourg, North America, to the British army was brought to the prelate on 18 August. They rejoiced over the news together and confirmed the bond between England and Prussia, referring back to the brief for Gemark in Oberbarmen, which was, indeed, a nearest town to Hagen (about 17 kilometres).<sup>202</sup> The survival of the Protestant factor can be seen in the text of this brief: it was an appeal to 'Protestant brethren' by 'poor Protestant sufferers.' But it does not follow, because of this, that the English government thought the Seven Years War had something of the aspect of a religious war and seriously regarded the calamities of Hagen as Catholic persecution against their religious brethren. They may have used Protestant language because good free-born Englishmen were, in the traditional view, Protestants. In that sense, Protestantism, as Linda Colley puts it, was still a dominant component of British religious life in the eighteenth century and, especially when the British fought against France, they remembered the

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<sup>202</sup> Werner Gerber, 'Eine Kollektentreise vor 200 Jahren: Pfarrer Haußmann und Kaufmann Riepe in England', *Johanneskirche einst und jetzt*, n. pag.



image of Catholicism in the past and the fact that they were Protestants.<sup>203</sup> This was so even though religion was no longer an issue on which to wage a war.

Yet George III's briefs seem somehow to have had signs of a recovery of the European perspective of Protestantism, though it was short-lived: all three briefs for continental Protestants were issued within first decade of his reign. The first two briefs of George III were issued to strengthen the Protestant interest in Saarbrücken on the Franco-German frontier, and in Moldavia in the Balkans: the commencement of the building of a church and school in Saarbrücken raised expectations that 'distressed Protestants in France and Lorraine' and 'the dominions of the neighbouring German Catholic princes' would have a place of worship.<sup>204</sup> The Protestant colony in Moldavia was thought to be beneficial not only for the free exercise of the Protestant religion in the area, including Podolia and the Ukraine, but also for 'the propagation of pure Christianity' among the Turks and the members of the Greek Church.<sup>205</sup> Nevertheless, judging from the sums involved, the burden of the briefs might not have been keenly felt compared with the usual costs of church building in England. The first was £2,732, and the project of this church was already adopted by their sovereign, Prince Wilhelm Heinrich of Nassau-Saarbrücken.<sup>206</sup> The estimated cost of 'a Protestant colony in Turkish Moldavia' was only £2,500, and the project was supported by Prince Ivan Gregory Hofpador of Moldavia.<sup>207</sup> The last brief

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<sup>203</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London, 1992), chap. 2.

<sup>204</sup> *Brief for Saarbruch Church and School in Germany* (1760).

<sup>205</sup> *Brief for Philippen Colony in Turkish Moldavia* (1764).

<sup>206</sup> *Brief for Saarbruch Church and School in Germany*; Horst Heydt, *Ludwigskirche* (Saarbrücken?, n.d.), n. pag.

<sup>207</sup> *Brief for Philippen Colony in Turkish Moldavia*; anon., *An Account of the grant of the public exercise of divine worship according to Protestant form; also a Church and School to the Colony of Protestants at Philippen, in Moldavia* (London ?, 1761?).



was issued in 1768 for paying salaries to the Vaudois ministers and schoolmasters:<sup>208</sup> it had been a part of the English monarch's obligation since Queen Mary II, and moreover the English government had a special duty toward the Vaudois: it had been an official guardian of the Vaudois since the treaty with the Duke of Savoy in 1690.<sup>209</sup> It may be surmised that the keeper of the royal purse may simply have been being economising. The brief made clear that it was not one for persecuted Protestants, by expressly giving notice that the Vaudois did 'enjoy the free exercise of their religion' under the house of Savoy. Yet it also added that they were 'nevertheless frequently exposed to unjust and vexatious suits from their Roman Catholick neighbours, and subject to such heavy taxes and impositions.'<sup>210</sup>

It seems reasonable to suppose that the Church of England had in the course of the early eighteenth century lost the sense that it was a pillar of the Reformed religion in Europe and had departed from Protestant internationalism. By the 1750s, 'being Protestant' did not have the power to motivate as an ideology in England, and had lost its usefulness as grounds for undertaking a special campaign for briefs. This also reflected the fact that generally religion now mattered little on the international stage.

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<sup>208</sup> *Brief for the Vaudois Protestants in the Valleys of Piedmont, and Dutchy of Savoy* (London, 1768).

<sup>209</sup> See Chapter II above.

<sup>210</sup> *Brief for the Vaudois Protestants in the Valleys of Piedmont* (1768).



### Chapter III

## Henry Compton and the European Perspective of High Churchmen

In Chapter I, Henry Compton (1632-1713) emerged as a central figure in the relief activities of the late seventeenth century. His involvement leads us to the complex question of his own religious and political proclivities. In particular, what was his view of the Protestant churches on the continent which had a church order and ministerial commission different from that of the Church of England?

Compton showed marked concern for the foreign brethren, in defiance of James's pressure against relief activities and the reluctance of some prelates to help non-Anglican Protestants: in the face of the swollen influx of Huguenot refugees after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he appealed to the clergy of his diocese to help them, as has been seen, without raising the issue of the Huguenots' conformity to the Church of England. In 1688 he was the only prelate who not only signed the 'invitation' to William of Orange but also took arms and literally joined the revolution. At first sight, his devotion to persecuted continental Protestants and his hatred of popery seem to be unparalleled in the 1680s.<sup>1</sup> The attitude of the Protestant church abroad would seem to confirm this. It was Compton whom they asked for help in case of need. After their 'Glorious Return' to Piedmont in the Duchy of Savoy, the first Vaudois synod in 1692 named persons and groups among the Protestant powers whom they should ask for support, such as the Consistories

<sup>1</sup> If Gilbert Burnet had remained in England around the time of Revocation, he might also have acted for Huguenot exiles, but he was himself in exile during the reign of James II. Moreover, he was critical about the Calvinist intolerance which he saw in Protestants in Switzerland and Holland, and even among Huguenot refugees. See T. E. S. Clarke and H. C. Foxcroft, *A Life of Gilbert Burnet Bishop of Salisbury* (Cambridge, 1907), pp. 213-215.



of Zürich and Schaffhausen, and Albert van der Meer, the Dutch Commissary of William III in Switzerland. The latter was appointed to supervise the relief activities for the Vaudois in 1690.<sup>2</sup> Compton was also listed, along with William Lloyd, Bishop of St Asaph, and Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, among the potential English benefactors to be approached.<sup>3</sup> Recently Compton has even been called 'a Whig and broad churchman' since he 'hoped to protect the Huguenots from Tory attack' around 1707.<sup>4</sup> However, most scholars would generally accept that Compton, at least after the Glorious Revolution, counted as a high church bishop, for whom the episcopacy and liturgy of the Church of England would normally have carried most weight.<sup>5</sup>

In fact, contemporaries recognised that Compton had strong high church attachments. Queen Mary II, who had much influence in church affairs, found Compton's connections not entirely agreeable in spite of being his former pupil and always showing him due respect.<sup>6</sup> She was suspicious about the consequences of Compton's relations with non-jurors and other high churchmen, complaining in the early summer of 1691:

..we were like to have a great division in the Church; for not only some would stick to their old bishops, but all our high church men and the Bishop of London were ready to join with them and form a party. All imaginable care was taken to remedy all these

<sup>2</sup> Storrs, 'Thomas Coxe and the Lindau Project', 207.

<sup>3</sup> *Actes des synodes des eglises vaudoises 1692-1854*, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Hillel Schwarz, *The French Prophets* (Berkeley, et al., 1980), p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> Carpenter, *Protestant Bishop*, chap.10; Bennett, 'King William III and the Episcopate', pp. 124-131; John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England 1646-1689* (London, 1991), p. 380; Goldie, 'John Locke, John Proast and Religious Toleration 1688-1692', pp. 163-164.

<sup>6</sup> *Biographia Britannica: or, the Lives of the Most Eminent Persons Who Have Flourished in Great Britain and Ireland*, eds William Innys and et al., 6 vols (London, 1747-66), II (1748), 1462.



evils which seemed so incurable that it almost discouraged the endeavours.<sup>7</sup>

It would be too much to say that the personal disappointment of Compton, who had been looked on by many as Sancroft's possible successor until the nomination of John Tillotson as Archbishop of Canterbury in April 1691, led him closer to associations with staunch high churchmen, but Compton increasingly became associated with them after the revolution. Thus, Mary II disapproved of her younger sister's connection with Compton and other high churchmen.<sup>8</sup> In late 1692 William III actually prohibited Compton, as well as the Earl of Rochester, from visiting Anne, Princess of Denmark.<sup>9</sup>

As early as the debates about the 'Church in Danger' in 1705, Compton came out against the principle of political resistance when he complained that 'sermons were preached wherein rebellion was authorized, and the resistance to the higher power encouraged.' Gilbert Burnet replied, ironically, that 'his Lordship ought to have been the last man to complain of that sermon,' referring by implication to Compton's conduct during the revolution of 1688-89.<sup>10</sup> During the reign of Queen Anne Compton expressed opposition to the practice of occasional conformity, which helped dissenters to hold civic or state office by 'occasionally' taking Anglican communion. By the last years of her reign he had become a supporter of Henry Sacheverell and Francis Atterbury, both staunch high churchmen and strong opponents of toleration toward dissenters and presbyterians: they believed that the church was in danger from the toleration expressed by the Whigs and low

<sup>7</sup> *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England (1689-1693)*, ed. Richard Doebner (Leipzig, 1886), p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 24, 26-27; Cf. Goldie, *op.cit.*, 164.

<sup>9</sup> Bennett, 'King William III and the Episcopate', 125-126.

<sup>10</sup> Edmund Calamy, *An Historical Account of My Own Life*, ed. John Towill Rutt, 2 vols (London, 1829), II, 40.



churchmen.<sup>11</sup> Atterbury notoriously expressed a suspicion shared by the Tories and high churchmen regarding the influx of foreigners:

I scarce ever knew a foreigner settled in England whether of Dutch, German, French, Italian, or Turkish growth, but became a Whig in a little time after his mixing with us.<sup>12</sup>

As is well known, Sacheverell's sermon on 5 November 1709 caused wide repercussions by attacking the revolution principles of the then Whig administration as well as the prevailing intellectual climate, in which dissenting academies, including schools run by foreign Protestants,<sup>13</sup> flourished and Huguenot journalists played an active part. On 22 August 1710 Compton delivered an address to the Queen to congratulate her in the name of the clergy of London and Westminster on the collapse of the Marlborough and Godolphin Whig ministry.<sup>14</sup> The address was suspected, rightly, to 'come out of the same forge' as that of the dean of Carlisle, Atterbury, or his personal friend George Smalridge.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the change of attitude by Compton earned the severe criticism of some of his contemporaries.<sup>16</sup>

It should be noted, too, that parliamentary elections consistently revealed Compton's political manoeuvring as a Tory supporter. During a by-election in Essex in 1692 the bishop tried to influence rural deans against

<sup>11</sup> Carpenter, *Protestant Bishop*, chap. 11.

<sup>12</sup> Francis Atterbury, *English Advice to the Freeholders of England* (London, 1714), quoted in anon., *The State-Anatomy of Great Britain* (London, 1717), p. 15.

<sup>13</sup> Brunner, 'The Role of Halle Pietists in England (c.1700-c.1740),' pp. 96-97.

<sup>14</sup> *Post Boy*, 24 August 1710.

<sup>15</sup> Christ Church, Wake MSS, Epist 18, fol. 412; Carpenter, op. cit., pp. 199-203; Bennett, *White Kennett 1660-1728*, pp. 110-111.

<sup>16</sup> Christ Church, Wake MSS, Epist 18, fols 411-412; anon., *Henry Compton, A Letter concerning Allegiance, Written by the Lord Bishop of L---n, to a Clergyman in Essex, presently after the Revolution* (London, 1710); anon., *Some Short Remarks upon the Late Address of the Bishop of London and His Clergy, to the Queen* (London, 1711); Calamy, op. cit., II, 40-41.



Henry Mildmay, a Whig candidate<sup>17</sup>: in a letter to John Strype, rural dean at Low Leyton in Essex, Compton wrote that 'There is a trial of a skill to be, it seems, between Colonel Mildmay's interest and the Church Party in Essex.' Therefore, he continued:

Let me entreat you earnestly to persuade the clergy of your deanery, to use their utmost endeavours to bring in as many voices as they can, for Sir Anthony Abdy and Sir Elijah Hervey, and not to fail being at the election themselves, if their health permit.<sup>18</sup>

Compton's partisan involvement in parliamentary elections continued for some years. Thus he asked Strype to 'stir up our brethren in your deanery' for Sir Charles Barrington in 1693, for Barrington and a Mr Bullock in 1698 and 1701, for Barrington and Sir John Marshall in 1702, for Barrington and Sir Richard Child in 1704, and for Child in 1710.<sup>19</sup>

It has been suggested that Compton's marked shift in attitude, from that of a revolutionary in the late 1680s to being a supporter of the non-resistance doctrine in the 1700s, may have been affected by his personal disappointment in failing to become Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>20</sup> Among his contemporaries, Gilbert Burnet, never a good friend of Compton, also laid particular stress on his individual fallibility of judgement. Burnet famously declared that Compton was 'easy and weak, and much in the power of others'.<sup>21</sup> Among modern historians Gareth Bennett has added that he was not 'particularly "high" in churchmanship or even noted for theological

<sup>17</sup> *House of Commons 1660-1690*, 3 vols (London, 1983), ed. B. D. Henning, I, 278-280, III, 65.

<sup>18</sup> BL, Add. MSS. 5853, fol. 481. Cf. Add. MSS. 5853, fols 479, 482-483, 485, 516.

<sup>19</sup> Sir Charles Barrington and Sir Richard Child were Tories: the latter was also a member of the October Club. *House of Commons 1715-1754*, ed. Romney Sedgwick, 2 vols (London, 1970), I, 549, 602.

<sup>20</sup> Carpenter, *Protestant Bishop*, chaps. 10, 11; Bennett, 'King William III and the Episcopate', pp. 125f.

<sup>21</sup> Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time* (London, 1734), II, 630.



learning.'<sup>22</sup> More charitably, Edward Carpenter's biography of Compton describes him as a practical man who responded to circumstances as they arose, though, referring to Compton's support for a bill against occasional conformity, the author adds that 'it is not easy to see how different circumstances could justify this reversal of a former attitude towards dissenters'.<sup>23</sup> On this view, Compton may be seen as a man of moderate convictions reacting flexibly to contemporary events. Given the impact of the persecution of the Huguenots and the Catholic threat in the 1680s, it is hardly unreasonable that a high church bishop would overlook the issue of foreign Protestants' conformity to the Church of England at least once in his lifetime. The nineteenth century historian, Leopold von Ranke, regarded Compton as an example of a renewed 'consciousness of its Protestant character' in the Church of England, awakened by the Huguenot sufferings, adding that 'the exiles stood far nearer to the nonconformists in creed and ritual than to the high-church party, but no regard was paid to this. Henry Compton, Bishop of London, devoted to the unhappy strangers an attention which they could ordinarily have expected only from one who was in complete agreement with them.'<sup>24</sup>

Moreover, Compton's concern for the Protestant religion abroad did not disappear until the very end of his life. In pursuit of his responsibility for the Church of England overseas, he kept in touch with religious matters outside England. After the Glorious Revolution he continued to voice concern about the sufferings of foreign Protestants, though less prominently than before. (In the case of the Palatines, in fact, he remained distant from the relief activity.) Carpenter has also suggested that because Archbishop

<sup>22</sup> Bennett, 'King William III and the Episcopate', p. 126.

<sup>23</sup> Carpenter, *Protestant Bishop*, p. 193.

<sup>24</sup> Leopold von Ranke, *History of England*, IV, 267-268., quoted in R. L. Poole, *A History of the Huguenots of Dispersion*, p. 105.



Tenison was deeply concerned about the fate of the Protestants on the continent, Compton's role as their guardian was accordingly diminished.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, he remained the man to whom continental Protestants turned in case of need.<sup>26</sup>

Most contemporary biographical accounts agreed in admitting the contribution of Compton to the Protestant religion abroad, without mentioning his change in attitude.<sup>27</sup> In a book published in 1702, Abel Boyer, himself a Huguenot refugee, wrote of Compton that 'this prelate, by his dissuasive charity, and wise conduct, had gained the love and esteem of all the Protestant Churches both at home and abroad.'<sup>28</sup> Again in 1722 this Huguenot and Whig journalist recalled the life of the bishop very affectionately:

He was courteous and affable, not full of words, but very conversable; and as in his ministerial offices, so in his conversation, too, he was willing and apt to teach. He was always easy to access, and ready to do good offices. In his friendships he was constant, I may say inflexible. He was given to hospitality as much as any man, but generous and charitable beyond any

<sup>25</sup> Carpenter, *Protestant Bishop*, chap. 10, pp. 342-343.

<sup>26</sup> For example, see PRO, SP 34 11 63, fols 97-100, Letters of the French Potestant Church in Hamburg, 1709; Bod., Rawlinson MSS 983 C., fol. 162, Cyprian Appia to Compton, 1708.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas Gooch, *A Sermon Preach'd before the right honourable the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at the Cathedral-Church of St Paul's, London, July 26, 1713. On the Occasion of the much-lamented Death of the right honourable and right reverend Henry, late Lord Bishop of London* (London, 1713), pp. 14. 23; William Whitfeld, *A Sermon on the Death of the late Lord Bishop of London, Preach'd, Aug. 11. 1713. Before the worshipful Company of Stationers, at the Parish-Church of St Martin Ludgate. London* (London, 1713), pp. 16-19; Abel Boyer, *The History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne* (London, 1722), Appendix, pp. 61-63; *Biographia Britannica*, II, 1430, 1432; Thomas Birch, *The Life of the most reverend Dr John Tillotson* (London, 1752), p. 201. Nathaniel Salmon was an exception in that he mentioned only the early stage of Compton's interest in the Protestant Church abroad. Salmon, *The Life of the right honourable and right reverend Dr Henry Compton, late Lord Bishop of London* (London, 1715), pp. 9-10.

<sup>28</sup> Boyer, *The History of King William the Third*, II, 76.



example. He provided for twelve poor people constantly, for many others accidentally every day at his Gate. He had divers antient people, men and widows, whom he supported by constant annual pensions, and several children at school at his own charge; beside those educated from children, and brought up to the university and to trades. *He was, in a particular manner, charitable and bountiful to the poor French refugees, who by his death sustained an irreparable loss* [original italics]. He spared no cost nor pains to serve the Church and its clergy in a more lasting manner. He brought in many advowsons from those straggling hands, which were apt to ensnare and wound men's conscience ....<sup>29</sup>

It is surprising that this account does not mention Compton's support of Sacheverell in 1709, which could not have escaped Boyer's notice.<sup>30</sup> At the time of the Sacheverell affair Boyer was upset deeply by the repercussions of Sacheverell's sermon and said that '...no man in his senses could believe, that such men as Doctor Sacheverell were friends to her Majesty's government, and the constitution, who asserted the absolute illegality of resisting princes on any pretence whatever.'<sup>31</sup> Thus he bitterly reported that '...there were not wanting those who in their discourses and writings strenuously maintained his doctrine of passive-obedience by the authorities of great numbers of eminent divines, both the English and foreigners.'<sup>32</sup> In truth, Compton was a very distinguished member of this group of 'eminent divines'. Boyer's hatred of Sacheverell was still unchanged in 1722.<sup>33</sup> Yet in the above account he seems deliberately to have drawn a decent veil over Compton's involvement.

It seems likely that Compton was a high church bishop and at the same time a supporter of distressed foreign Protestants. Less clear are his views

<sup>29</sup> Abel Boyer, *The History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne*, Appendix, 62-63.

<sup>30</sup> In the main text, in which he recounted the Sacheverell event over more than seventy pages, he mentioned the name of Compton only in the list of Sacheverell's supporters at his trial. *Ibid.*, pp. 402-479, 642.

<sup>31</sup> Boyer, *The History of the Reign of Queen Anne, digested into Annals*, VIII, 218.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 220.

<sup>33</sup> Note 30 above.



about non-episcopal foreign Protestants. Since he never wrote any theological works dealing with this matter, it is necessary to complete the picture by reviewing his wider relationships as well as the circumstances in which those relationships were maintained.

Compton was a younger son of the second Earl of Northampton, born in 1632. In 1649 he entered Queen's College, Oxford where he spent three years, but he left Cromwellian Oxford without a degree. After travelling in France and Italy, with the Restoration, he returned to England and resumed his academic studies at Cambridge and then at Oxford and was eventually admitted into Holy Orders.<sup>34</sup> Yet he left no detailed account of his long travels on the continent, and his interest in Protestant churches abroad began in the early stages of his tenure as Bishop of London in the late 1670s.<sup>35</sup> After the restoration of the Church of England in 1660, many bishops poured their energies into strengthening the establishment of the Church as a task of primary importance, setting about their pastoral work with particular vigour. Their activities were spurred on by the looming Catholic threat following the Popish Plot. Some turned their eyes towards the continent to seek a way 'to bring the dissenters to a sense of the necessity of union among Protestants.'<sup>36</sup> Compton was no exception. He had 'frequent conferences with

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<sup>34</sup> *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, ser. 1., p. 314; *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, I, p. 378. After taking his MA at Cambridge, he entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1666, and was incorporated as MA faculty (from Canterbury) for orders of BD and DD (Oxon) in 1667.

<sup>35</sup> Carpenter, *Protestant Bishop*, pp. 10-12, 15-16.

<sup>36</sup> *Biographia Britannica*, II, 1426. For ecclesiastical developments in Restoration England, see Roger Thomas, 'Comprehension and Indulgence', in *From Uniformity to Unity 1662-1962*, eds Geoffrey F. Nuttall and Owen Chadwick (London, 1962); John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England 1646-1689* (London, 1991); Nicholas Tyacke 'The "Rise of Puritanism" and the Legalizing of Dissent, 1571-1719' in *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, eds O. P. Grell, Jonathan I. Israel and Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford, 1991); do., 'Arminianism and the Theology of the Restoration Church', in *The Exchange of Ideas: Religion, Scholarship and Art in Anglo-*



his clergy in the most necessary points of divinity, against the prevailing errors of all times'.<sup>37</sup> His first conference with his clergy in 1678 was on 'the two sacraments and on catechising youth in the true principles of religion'.<sup>38</sup> It was followed by seven successive conferences until his suspension as a bishop in September 1686, and in all eleven conferences were held between 1678 and 1701. During the course of these conferences the hardworking bishop was approached by William Lloyd, a former chaplain to Mary, Princess of Orange. Lloyd had performed a leading role in spreading anti-Catholic fears at the time of the Popish Plot by eulogising Sir Edmund Godfrey as a Protestant martyr. Now he was attempting to bring about a Protestant union with non-episcopal Protestants at home and abroad by modifying the liturgy of the Church of England. Lloyd's idea was in accordance with the major strand of current opinion in the Restoration clergy desiring a single established church, by which churchmen pursued a comprehension plan designed to make the ecclesiastical communion rite of the Church of England more acceptable for non-Anglicans in order to comprehend the dissenters within the Church of England.<sup>39</sup> In the case of Lloyd, his perspective was inclined to be wider than the national boundary. As a first step, Lloyd had already asked Thomas Ken, then chaplain to Mary in the Hague and a rigid churchman who was to become a non-juror, to ask the Dutch theologians for their opinions about reconciliation between the Church of England and dissenters. This overture Ken had rejected. Then in

*Dutch Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, eds Simon Groenveld and Michael Wintle (Zutphen, 1994).

<sup>37</sup> Whitfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 12. See Gooch, *op. cit.*, p.13; *Biographia Britannica*, II, 1426; Carpenter, *Protestant Bishop*, pp. 208-211. The dates of the conferences were 1678, 1679, 1680, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1689-91, 1695, 1697, 1699-1700, and 1701-3.

<sup>38</sup> *Biographia Britannica*, II, 1426.

<sup>39</sup> For the development of comprehension in the restoration England, see Thomas, *op. cit.*; John Spurr, 'The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689,' *English Historical Review*, 104 (1989).



1680 he asked Compton to canvass the opinions of the Dutch divines through Ken.<sup>40</sup>

Lloyd's plan seemed to interest Compton. While promoting pastoral work at home, he was fully aware of his responsibility for jurisdiction overseas, namely the spiritual care of people in places where no bishop had been appointed. Vast as his territory was, Compton had already made up his mind to set to work in promoting the Church of England in the Plantations of America in the late 1670s.<sup>41</sup> Added to this, his contemporary wrote that the bishop 'was never wanting in his endeavour to maintain a brotherly correspondence with the foreign Protestant churches, and to promote in them a good opinion concerning the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England'.<sup>42</sup> Having heard from William Lloyd of the plan for rapprochement among the Protestants, Compton apparently applied to Ken for his help in making contact with the Dutch theologians. However, Ken coolly dismissed the plan in his reply in August 1680:

....I cannot apprehend the judgements of the generality of those Dutch divines, with whom I have conversed, to be worth the asking, or very creditable to urge, should they give it for us, they, for the most part, rather despising than studying ecclesiastical antiquity; and the classical authors which many of them read with most deference are our English nonconformists; so that if the factious party should countermine us in this particular, I am persuaded that more of our divines here would be for them whom they call their brethren, and esteem as the great doctors of the reformed church, than for us whom they censure for at least half papists.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 983 C., fol. 53, quoted in E. H. Plumptre, *The Life of Thomas Ken*, 2 vols (London, 1889), I, pp. 146-147; Cf. J. van den Berg, 'Dutch Calvinism and the Church of England in the Period of the Glorious Revolution', in *The Exchange of Ideas*, eds Groenveld and Wintle, pp. 84-87.

<sup>41</sup> Carpenter, *Protestant Bishop*, p. 251.

<sup>42</sup> Boyer, *The History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne*, p. 62.

<sup>43</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 983 C., fol. 53.



Ken was convinced that the Dutch theologians would respond to nonconformists in England on more favourable terms than to the mainstream Church of England. Moreover he himself was not prepared to make the necessary concessions on ministerial commission and ritual. He feared that they would impose 'their order' on the Church of England. This conviction was rooted in his own experiences as Mary's chaplain, since she was under pressure at the Dutch court to 'come to their sacrament.' Once she accepted this concession, Ken predicted, 'farewell all common prayer here for the future.' In spite of the fact that some of the Dutch theologians had favourable opinions of the Church of England, there was no possibility of securing Ken's co-operation in the matter of a proposed Protestant union.<sup>44</sup> However, Compton was not to be dissuaded from seeking a way to put an end to the separation of the Protestants. Thereafter he started to look towards the French divines.

In the summer of 1680 Samuel de l'Angle, a French minister of the Reformed church at Charenton, near Paris, was puzzled to receive a letter without a signature. He realised the seriousness of its contents only when a fellow minister, Jean Claude, who had received a similar letter from Compton, told him of its authority.<sup>45</sup> He hastened to answer it, as did Claude and Etienne le Moyne, a French Professor of divinity at University of Leiden, who had also received a letter from Compton.<sup>46</sup> Compton seems to have written these letters for the general purpose of reconciling English dissenters and attempting a union among the Protestants at home. More specifically, the letters apparently sought the opinion of the French Reformed church about the Church of England communion, claiming that

<sup>44</sup> van den Berg, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

<sup>45</sup> Samuel de l'Angle, 'The second letter', in Edward Stillingfleet, *The Unreasonableness of Separation* (London, 1681), Appendix, pp. 419-420. See also note 49 below.

<sup>46</sup> Etienne le Moyne, 'A letter from Monsieur le Moyne' in *ibid*; Jean Claude, 'The third letter', in *ibid*.



some English dissenters regarded it as unlawful despite the fact that the growing threat of popery in England made current Protestant divisions both undesirable and dangerous. All three Frenchmen agreed 'in vindicating the Church of England from any errors in its doctrine, or any unlawful impositions in its service and discipline; therefore they did condemn a separation from it, as needless and uncharitable.'<sup>47</sup> De l'Angle, for example, claimed that he would conform to the Church of England if he were in England:

For since the Church of England is a true church of our Lord; since her worship and doctrines are pure, and have nothing in them contrary to the word of God; and since that when the Reformation was there received, it was received together episcopacy, and with the establishment of the liturgy, and ceremonies, which are there in use at this day; it is without doubt the duty of all the reformed of your realm, to keep themselves inseparably united to the Church. And those that do not do this, upon pretence that they should desire more simplicity in that ceremonies, and less of inequality among the ministers, do certainly commit a very great sin. For schism is the most formidable great evil than can befall the Church: and the avoiding of this, Christian charity obliges all good men to bear with their brethren in some things much less tolerable than those, of which the dispute is, ought to seem, even in the eyes of those that have the most aversion for them.<sup>48</sup>

Le Moyne even assured Compton of the orthodoxy of the Church of England as seen by other European Protestants:

Which ought to oblige all good men not to separate from it but to look upon the Church of England, as a very orthodox Church. Thus all the Protestants of France do, those of Geneva, those of Switzerland and Germany, and those of Holland too; for they did themselves a very great honour in having some divines of England in their Synod of Dort, and showed plainly that they had a profound veneration for the Church of England.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Biographia Britannica*, II, 1426.

<sup>48</sup> De l'Angle, op. cit., p.421.

<sup>49</sup> Le Moyne, op. cit., p.407.



Thus, '[the dissenters] should understand that there is nothing but a good re-union, that can prevent the evils with which England is threatened.' Yet Le Moyne cautiously put it that 'one cannot...press an universal union too much. But it ought to be procured by good means'.<sup>50</sup> No doubt a fear of the aggressive Catholic policy of Louis XIV made French Protestants particularly welcome the idea of strengthening Protestant unity. Whatever the reasons for their ready responses, these letters must have encouraged Compton to advance a comprehension policy at home and a 'Protestant union' abroad.<sup>51</sup> It cannot be proved how far he was prepared to make concessions to non-episcopal Protestants, but his decision to consult the judgments of continental divines shows that like Lloyd he adopted a more or less moderate line concerning continental Protestants.

Perhaps it was in pursuit of this rapprochement policy with non-episcopal Protestants that Compton became interested in educating continental students at English universities. There was a precedent for this scheme: with financial assistance from Gilbert Sheldon, then Archbishop of Canterbury, some Vaudois students had studied at Oxford between 1673 and 1677.<sup>52</sup> In 1680, with the co-operation of William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, Compton set up a scholarship for continental Protestants at Oxford. He was responding to an appeal from Adam

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 410.

<sup>51</sup> These letters were published in December 1680 by Edward Stillingfleet (later Bishop of Winchester) as appendix of his book called *The Unreasonableness of Separation* (see note 43 above) in order to underline 'the unlawfulness of separation from the communion of the Church of England'. Supporting comprehension and opposing indulgence ('a general toleration'), Stillingfleet 'endeavoured to bring the dissenters to the sense of the necessity of union among Protestants' in face of the Catholic threat, and condemned the hard-line dissenters who demanded indulgence. Stillingfleet, *Unreasonableness of Separation*, the Preface. Cf. Thomas, pp. 228-229.

<sup>52</sup> Bod., Tanner MSS 40, fols 4, 97, Tanner MS 42, fols 28, 66, 130, 155. Sheldon subscribed £30 a year to maintain the Vaudois students at Oxford.



Samuel Hartman, a senior or bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, who had applied for help for his community in Lissa in Poland.<sup>53</sup> One of the first beneficiaries was twenty year-old Daniel Ernest Jablonski, a grandson of Jan Amos Comenius. His experience at Oxford and acquaintance with Anglican clergy, including Compton, left a lasting impression on young Jablonski and made him an ardent admirer of the Church of England. Yet this scholarship was short-lived, according to Jablonski, because of the political and religious instability of the reign of James II.

....It was promised to the University that three students at most should be maintained at Oxford, of whom each should have £30 sterling a year. This matter began at the end of 1680, in that three students were maintained until 1682, and then it was reduced to two, and finally to one, until in 1685 James II was on the throne, and the state came into confusion, everything stopped...<sup>54</sup>

It should be noted that in the 1680s Compton was far from being isolated from the mainstream Anglican clergy in his eagerness to establish a good relationship with the Protestant churches abroad. Even William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury and the spiritual father of the high church, was not completely indifferent towards them, though he was much less open-handed than Compton: the matter of conformity to the Church of England always seemed to be the archbishop's first consideration, as can be seen in his attitude toward French refugees in the 1680s. Yet for the sake of the Protestant interest he had to consider the relationship with the non-

<sup>53</sup> UA, Correspondence of Christian Sitkovius, NSC-10, Jablonski to Sitkovius, 22 Feb. 1717, 23 March [1717]. Cf. Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien in der Provinz Polen*, pp. 188, 192. Along with Comenius, Hartman was one of the first generation of the Bohemian Brethren in Lissa who were expelled from Bohemia after the battle of the White Mountain (1620) and settled in Poland.

<sup>54</sup> UA, Correspondence of Christian Sitkovius, NSC-10, Jablonski to Sitkovius, 23 March [1717]. Norman Sykes, *Daniel Ernest Jablonski and the Church of England* (London, 1950), p. 7.



episcopal Protestants both at home and abroad. Norman Sykes describes him as 'a warm friend of members of the foreign reformed churches in England and a cordial advocate of comprehension at home.'<sup>55</sup>

In reality there is little evidence to help us decide how far Sancroft was 'a warm friend' of foreign reformed churches. It can be shown that he took good care of the Huguenot refugees who conformed to the Church of England, and was interested in foreign students and scholars, such as Daniel Ernst Jablonski,<sup>56</sup> who would be potential advocates of the episcopal order.<sup>57</sup> In December 1684, in a reply to John Covel, then Mary's chaplain at the Hague, who had revealed to the archbishop his wish for a union of all Protestant interests against encircling popish powers, Sancroft claimed that 'there are not many persons who have a deeper or more tender sentiment than I have of the sad and deplorable state of the Reformed churches in some parts of the continent' facing the Catholic persecution.<sup>58</sup> But he also doubted the feasibility of Covel's 'project', though he did not give up 'the whole Protestant cause as lost and desperate.' He recalled that he was asked by an ambassador from 'one of the Northern crowns' a few years before, why he did not persuade the king [Charles II] 'to put himself in the head of the Protestant League against France.' He answered 'why do not you...persuade your king to adjust all the differences with his neighbouring king? They are brethren of the same confession, worship and discipline, nearest neighbours yet most deadly implacable enemies....'<sup>59</sup> He implied by this that it was an ever harder task to unite all the Protestants of the different confessions,

<sup>55</sup> Norman Sykes, 'Comprehension versus Toleration', *From Sheldon to Secker: Aspects of English Church History 1660-1768* (Cambridge, 1959), p. 82.

<sup>56</sup> Sykes, 'Godly Union and Concord', *ibid.*, p. 135; do, *Daniel Ernst Jablonski*, p. 8.

<sup>57</sup> See Chapter II above; C. R. L. Fletcher, 'Some Troubles of Archbishop Sancroft', *PHS*, 13 (1923-29), 235-240, 248-261; Sykes, 'Comprehension versus Toleration', *From Sheldon to Secker*, pp. 83-85; do, 'Godly Union and Concord', *ibid.*, pp. 133-136.

<sup>58</sup> Bod., Tanner MSS 32, fol. 199.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*



worships and disciplines. His remarks may also have reflected his pessimism with regard to ongoing discussions with dissenters at home. As the Catholic threat advanced, Sancroft had to demonstrate the role of the church as a leader of the Protestant interest. In July 1688 he urged all the bishops in his province to make thoroughly clear to non-episcopal Protestants that the bishops of the Church of England were 'really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries and tyrannies of the church of Rome' and to appeal for 'an universal blessed union of all reformed churches, both at home and abroad'.<sup>60</sup>

Compton may have had different views from Sancroft about the degree of comprehension possible to non-episcopal Protestants, yet both were very eager to achieve it at home. In the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, Sancroft renounced his leadership of the church and created the non-juror schism, while Compton, in common with John Sharp, Archbishop of York, and other bishops, continued to advance a comprehension policy based on Sancroft's proposals.<sup>61</sup> A letter from Compton to Sancroft demonstrates Compton's undiminished eagerness:

....We are now entering upon the Bill of Comprehension, which will be followed by the Bill of Toleration. These are two great works in which the being of our church is concerned, and I hope you will send to the house for copies.

He suggested to the self-exiled Sancroft the importance of retaining control of church affairs in the revolutionary period following the Dutch invasion, by adding that 'For though we are under a conquest, God has given us favour in the eyes of our rulers; and we may keep up the church, if we will.'<sup>62</sup> Yet

<sup>60</sup> Sykes, *The Church of England and Non-episcopal Churches in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, pp. 3-4. Sykes quotes this letter in several of his writings. Cf. Tyacke, "Rise of Puritanism" and the Legalizing of Dissent', pp. 39-40.

<sup>61</sup> Sykes, 'Comprehension versus Toleration', pp. 86-89.

<sup>62</sup> Bod., Tanner MSS 27, fol. 41.



in spite of the great energy he had expended, Compton finally, as is well known, allowed the design to miscarry in the convocation in the face of opposition from clergymen in the lower house in 1690. Boyer implies that Compton renounced the idea of comprehension at home at a certain point, and possibly it was this failure which changed Compton's mind.<sup>63</sup>

Comprehension was dead, yet the design for a Protestant union was continually in the minds of other clergymen of both English and foreign Protestant churches after the revolution; the latter, fearing the Catholic threat, were more than ever willing to bring this matter to the fore. Among continental Protestants, Daniel Ernest Jablonski, a preacher at the court of the Elector of Brandenburg in Berlin (also King in Prussia after 1701), tried throughout his lifetime to approach English clergymen with a view to creating a Protestant union.<sup>64</sup> Having been impressed both by the official formularies of the Church of England and by personal contacts with her clergy, he sought to reconcile the hostile divisions between Lutherans and Calvinists in Brandenburg by introducing the Anglican episcopal order and the Book of Common prayer. William Lloyd, who became Bishop of Worcester in 1699, was interested in Jablonski's proposal and in 1700 recommended to Thomas Tenison, the low church Archbishop of Canterbury, that he should advance this design.<sup>65</sup> Encouraged by their help, Jablonski obtained the

<sup>63</sup> Boyer wrote in 1722 that Compton was one of those who attempted to have the Protestant interest more united 'till he found, that not a sense of true and undissembled religion, but interest and humour were at the bottom; and that there was no comprehension to be proposed, or satisfaction given, but the expensive sacrifice of truth and order.' Boyer, *The History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne*, p. 63.

<sup>64</sup> Sykes, *Daniel Ernest Jablonski*; R. B. Levis, 'The Failure of the Anglican-Prussian Ecumenical Effort of 1710-1714', *Church History*, 47 (1978).

<sup>65</sup> LPL, Lambeth MS 932, fols 80-83, Lambeth MS 1029, fol. 109; Edward Carpenter, *Thomas Tenison: His Life and Times* (London, 1948), pp. 334-344; A. T. Hart, *William Lloyd 1627-1717* (London, 1952), pp. 179, 181. Lloyd's draft of 'the terms of union between Protestants churches and ourselves' which he sent Tenison in 1700 is as follows:



support of the King in Prussia, and negotiations began well. The court of Hanover, especially the Electress Sophia and her philosopher friend Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, also showed interest in the plan. But Tenison seems to have become cautious when it appeared that the high church was more enthusiastic for such union than he himself was. George Every has revealed that leading high churchmen adopted a project of a Protestant union as their policy in the 1700s, contemplating an alliance with continental Protestants to strengthen their position against presbyterians at home, while low churchmen mainly wanted to improve their relationships with continental Protestants and the court of Hanover.<sup>66</sup> Thus, the high church Sharp, Archbishop of York, was also approaching the court of Hanover with 'a design of introducing the liturgy of the Church of England at Hanover'.<sup>67</sup> In order to secure the future of the high church they considered preparing the ground by inviting the Electress Sophia or one of her grandchildren to England. Even Atterbury thought, according to Every, that 'the more Protestant churches and princes were committed to the support of episcopacy, the better were the prospects for the defence of the Church of England, and the restoration of episcopacy in Scotland'.<sup>68</sup> As a

1. That it may pass, there ought to be no other terms than what will be agreed on by all the churches concerned.

2. Care should be taken that they may be such terms as will suffice for the receiving of any person into lay communion in any of those churches. I say only lay communion for more than that we are not to hope for. And that alone will suffice for the ends of this union at present.

3. The things we ought to provide against are chiefly these two: 1 the dividing of us among ourselves by affording such terms to foreign Protestants as will give occasion to them that seek it for the breaking of communion. 2. the laying of a stumbling block in the way of those that are well inclined to come over to us out of the Roman communion.

Tenison added several articles which underlined the necessity of both baptism and communion (the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper). LPL, Lambeth MSS 935, fol. 22. Cf, Carpenter, *Thomas Tenison*, pp. 337-338.

<sup>66</sup> George Every, *The High Church Party 1688-1718* (London, 1956), chap. 5.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 279-280.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.



supporter of episcopacy, Jablonski in Berlin would have found no difficulty in proceeding with the plan in co-operation with high churchmen. However, the excessive interest in union on the part of German courts must have tested the diplomatic ability of Tenison to the limit. He had to pay more attention to the opinions of Hanover, whence would come the future English royal family, than to the opinions of Berlin. Moreover he must have feared that Hanoverian attitudes toward religious matters were somewhat dubious: Sophia was a rationalist and her friend Leibniz was negotiating a union including Roman Catholics. It was an added complication that Queen Anne disliked being involved in too much discussion with Hanover, since it reminded her of the succession that would follow her death.<sup>69</sup> Given these complications, it was doubly worrying that high churchmen gave such unwelcome support for the union, and one can hardly be surprised that Tenison, without offering any excuses, ceased the correspondence with Berlin in 1704.<sup>70</sup>

However, Jablonski attempted to revive the plan in 1710, and renewed negotiations with John Sharp, Archbishop of York. Friedrich I of Prussia and Queen Anne also gave their support. On this occasion the proposed plan for union was pursued mainly by English high churchmen, such as John Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, and George Smalridge. When Frederick Bonet as a Prussian representative met St John, secretary of state, on 16 March 1711 the tory St John happily imputed the failure of the previous negotiation of 1704 to 'the character of the present Archbishop of Canterbury [Tenison]'.<sup>71</sup> Next day Bonet reported some observations concerning the project. It shows how well he grasped the dominant elements in the church during the reign of Queen Anne.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., pp. 113-116, 118-119; Hatton, *George I*, pp. 76-78.

<sup>70</sup> Thomas Sharp, *The Life of John Sharp, D.D. Lord Archbishop of York*, 2 vols (London, 1825), I, 403-406; Carpenter, *Thomas Tenison*, pp. 341-342.

<sup>71</sup> Sharp, *Life of John Sharp*, I, 427.



.... The first is, that a conformity between the Prussian Churches and the Church of England would be received with great joy here. The second is, that the conformity to be wished for beyond the sea relates more to Church government than to any change in the ritual or liturgy. The clergy here are for episcopacy, and look upon it, at least, as of apostolical institution, and are possessed with the opinion, that it has continued in an uninterrupted succession from the Apostles to this present time; and upon this supposition, they allege there can be no true ecclesiastical government but under bishops of this order; nor true ministers of the gospel, but such as have been ordained by bishops; and if there be others that do not go so far, yet they all make a great difference between the ministers that have received imposition of hands by bishops, and those that have been ordained by a synod of presbyters. A third consideration is, that the Church of England would look upon a conformity of this nature as great advantage to herself, and that the clergy, united to the court and the Tories, are a very considerable and powerful body. On the other side, the Whigs, presbyterians, the independents, and all the other non-conformists would look upon this conformity with great concern as weakening and disarming their party. And the Electoral house of Brunswick [Hanover], which depends more upon the latter than the former, may fear least this conformity should have other consequences. But though the Whigs have more money, because they are more concerned in trade, and though their chiefs may have the reputation at present of a superior genius, yet the others have more zeal and constant superiority and interest.<sup>72</sup>

The main negotiators, Sharp and Jablonski, enthusiastically wrestled with the design.<sup>73</sup> Although each side did its best to bring about an agreement, neither was strong enough to overcome the political changes around the end of the War of the Spanish Succession and the successive deaths of both sovereigns. St John was the first to lose interest in the negotiations as he became preoccupied with peace negotiations at Utrecht and party politics at home. For example, greatly to concern of churchmen both in Berlin and in London, for the sake of the peace negotiations St John withdrew able intermediaries such as the British ambassador Lord Raby from Berlin to post him at Utrecht. Yet Jablonski did not lose hope, while Sharp, whose energies

<sup>72</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, 428-429.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 419-438; A. T. Hart, *The Life and Time of John Sharp, Archbishop of York* (London, 1949), pp. 270-274; Sykes, *Daniel Ernst Jablonski*, pp. 15-28; do, 'Godly Union and Concord', pp. 136-137; Levis, *op. cit.*



were declining before his death in 1714, ended the correspondence with Jablonski in 1713.<sup>74</sup>

The attitude of John Sharp himself towards foreign Protestants requires further comment, especially since it offers an insight into the position of Compton after the revolution, though the latter was conspicuously absent from Protestant union negotiations with Prussia. Sharp was, and is, known as a high churchman; he was a staunch opponent of non-conformity, as well as of popery, and supported Henry Sacheverell at his trial in 1710, as did Compton. But, like Compton, Sharp also retained his sympathies towards the persecuted Protestants on the continent. The closeness of their attitudes may give the key to an understanding of Compton's views after the revolution.

In 1699, when Compton and Tenison were busily supervising the collection of contributions for the Vaudois exiles in Switzerland, Sharp was applied to for help from the Protestant church in the Palatinate which had also suffered severely from the Nine Years War and persecution by its Catholic monarch. They had begged for a contribution once before, and in

<sup>74</sup> These negotiations were already threatened in late 1712. William Ayerst, who was a chaplain to the Earl of Strafford who, as Lord Raby, had been the previous British ambassador to Berlin, and a close friend of Jablonki, wrote to the SPCK in November 1712 about the apprehension of Berlin and his intention to serve the Society to contribute to the plan of union. 'That having been for several years past chaplain to the Earl of Strafford at the court of Berlin and the Hague he had constructed an acquaintance with most of the eminent clergy and particularly with that great admirer of our church [the Church of England] and nation Dr Jablonski with whom he was not negligent to promote the interest of our Church upon such schemes as had they been entertained and pursued with equal zeal on the part of the English court he doubts not but our liturgy and perhaps episcopacy too had long ere this been established in the King of [sic] Prussia's dominions. That he will not take upon him to accuse anybody for this fatal neglect. But that he is sure they were much surprised and disgusted at Berlin, [that] the overtures so honourable and advantageous to our Church should be received so coldly and so ill answered from England that he shall be very glad to be instrumental to facilitate the Society's correspondence on that side of the [...]' SPCK, Abstract Letter, Received, no. 3410.



the spring of 1699 they requested help from Sharp again, because the Church of England was a 'well-known patron of indigent ministers and other distressed members of the Church.'<sup>75</sup> However, William III considered that a collection for the Palatines would detract from the relief campaign for the Vaudois, and rejected their application. At the beginning of the Poor Palatines affair in 1709 Sharp thought it was 'the season for doing true service to the foreign Protestants.' He recalled his audience with the queen on 1 May:

In the evening, at the Queen's appointment, I waited on her Majesty....I pressed heartily, that now, in the treaty of peace that is on foot, her Majesty would order her plenipotentiaries to concern themselves about the Protestant religion, both in France, the Palatinate, the Vaudois, Silesia, &c. that we might not be served as we were at the great treaty of Ryswick. She said, over and over again, that she will take care of that matter. I recommended to her, that she should send a minister on purpose, who would be content with a very small salary, and such a one as understood the state of Protestants abroad. And that it should be his business to manage that affair. I prevailed with her, that she would receive a memorial about the state of religion in foreign parts, which Mr. Hales [Robert Hales] is preparing, and which the Bishop of Ely has promised to present; and to solicit the Queen and my Lord Treasurer about that affair.<sup>76</sup>

However, Sharp's sympathetic attitude was not as simple as it seemed. Like Compton, his support for the brief for the Palatines turned out to be lukewarm. In July, while still at the preparatory stage of the issue of the brief, Tenison, the low church Archbishop of Canterbury, observed to Wake that the bishops were 'not....all of a mind in this matter':<sup>77</sup> he soon realised that Sharp was reluctant to recommend the campaign to the bishops in the province of York.<sup>78</sup> The Tories and the high church saw the unexpected

<sup>75</sup> GRO, Lloyd-Baker-Sharp MSS., Box 4, Bundle N.19, the translation from the Latin, quoted in Hart, *The Life and Times of John Sharp*, p. 275.

<sup>76</sup> Sharp, *Life of John Sharp*, I, 401-402.

<sup>77</sup> Christ Church, Wake MSS, Epist. 17, fol. 222.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., fols 230, 233. Cf. Dickinson, 'The Poor Palatines and the Parties', 471-473.



flood of refugees in the summer of 1709 as a direct consequence of the Whig General Naturalisation Act some months earlier, which would naturalise foreign Protestants without enforcing conformity to the Church of England, and the Palatine problem developed rapidly into a dominant issue which divided the two parties. It is likely that Sharp reconsidered the matter of the relief of the Palatine refugees in the light of the pro-dissenter policy of the Whigs and the low church, and that he might otherwise have sympathised with the Protestant refugees.

The Palatine problem was not the first occasion when Archbishop Sharp experienced the dilemma of a high churchman who was also sympathetic to continental Protestants. Around 1704 Claude Grôteste de la Mothe, a naturalised Huguenot minister in London, contemplated a campaign under English leadership for Protestant solidarity against popery. He was convinced that without such solidarity Protestant countries were not strong enough to force Louis XIV to recognise the Protestant religion in France. Therefore he decided to become an advocate for the Anglican establishment abroad and to vindicate the continental Reformed churches to Englishmen.<sup>79</sup> His first enterprise was to publish a collection of the sermons of Anglican bishops preached for the Protestants of Orange. Francis Atterbury wrote to Sharp about La Mothe, who was

collecting passages from the several sermons preached in London on the day when the Orange brief was read, with a design to print them, in order to shew what a fraternal tenderness was on that occasion expressed by the ministers of the Church of England towards those poor Protestant sufferers, and by that means to lessen the prejudice which foreign Churches may be under in relation to our opinion of them and concern for them.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Phyllis Bultmann and William A. Bultmann, 'Claude Grôteste de la Mothe and the Church of England, 1685 to 1713,' *PHS*, 20 (1958-1964), 92.

<sup>80</sup> GRO, MS D3549, 6 1 C4, no. 3.



According to Atterbury, La Mothe considered Sharp's own sermon fit for this purpose and also 'thought it would be of moment to give an account of these words which the Archbishop of York had used in the House of Lords'.<sup>81</sup> Atterbury wrote to Sharp specifying statements the latter had made in the Lords which had aroused La Mothe's particular interest: '[ La Mothe] has heard it seems that your Grace did in the House of Lords say that, if you are abroad, you could willingly communicate with the Protestant churches, where you should happen to be.'<sup>82</sup> Contrary to La Mothe's expectation, the Archbishop declined his request for publication and explained his reasons as follows:

....And truly I spoke my hearty sense, and if what I said was published to all the world, I should not retract it. But if my consent be asked about publishing of it, I must needs say (for reasons you very well know), that I cannot readily give it. And therefore I shall take it kindly of M. de la Mothe, if he mention not my name at all upon this occasion.<sup>83</sup>

Clearly Sharp would have been embarrassed if his support for the occasional communion of Anglicans on the continent with other Protestant denominations had become widely known. Dissenters at home might have used his speech in favour of their practice of occasional conformity, which Sharp had been opposing. His hesitation about printing his sermon for the Orangeois betrays his double standards regarding non-episcopal Protestants abroad and at home. His attitude seems to have been more charitable towards the Orangeois than towards the English dissenters, and his interest in the project of a Protestant union, albeit on Anglican terms, with Berlin and Hanover, may have induced him to make some ecumenical gestures. In any

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. Cf. Hart, *The Life and Time of John Sharp*, p. 263.

<sup>82</sup> GRO, MS D3549, 6 1 C4, no. 3.

<sup>83</sup> Thomas Sharp, *Life of John Sharp*, I, 378.



case his words were meant to be exclusively applied to continental Protestants.

The dilemma of Sharp may help to explain why Bishop Compton took no active part in any designs for a Protestant union during the reign of Queen Anne. It is improbable that he remained ignorant of the issue, which would have been known to him both through his connection with Sharp and other high churchmen and through his own keen concern for foreign Protestants. It is much more likely that he deliberately avoided committing himself to such projects from the late 1690s onwards. Nevertheless, continental Protestants continued to regard him as their primary mediator. For example, the Swiss divines also had ambitions for a Protestant union and approached Compton through the membership of the SPCK and a Swiss-born Anglican clergyman, Johann Konrad Werndli, though Compton showed no more than a polite interest.

Swiss Protestants, too, had long been worried about the Counter-Reformation and looked to the Church of England as the head of the Protestant interest and a potential mediator in the conflict between the Lutheran and Reformed churches. As early as 1702 the SPCK seemed to respond to the union project of the Swiss divines.<sup>84</sup> The Society shared an interest in Protestant union<sup>85</sup> and willingly conveyed their plans to Compton. The general meeting ordered 'that Dr Bray and the secretary do wait on the Lord Bishop of London, and do desire his Lordship to acquaint Dr Zeller the Antistes of Zürich, with the religious designs of this society.'<sup>86</sup> One week later they were informed by William Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, that 'he would confer with the Lord Bishop of London about writing to Dr Zeller of

<sup>84</sup> Cf. R. Gretillat, *Jean-Frédéric Ostervald 1663-1747* (Neuchâtel, 1904), chap. 9; Eamon Duffy, "'Correspondence Fraternelle'", pp. 254-259.

<sup>85</sup> See Chapter IV below.

<sup>86</sup> McClure ed., *A Chapter in English Church History: Being the Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Years 1698-1704*, p. 171.



Zürich concerning the designs of this society.<sup>87</sup> However Compton seems not to have taken any further steps with regard to the project. Again in 1706, the Swiss Protestants tried to move Compton to action through Johann Konrad Werndli who was also enthusiastic about the plan.<sup>88</sup> At first Compton seemed interested. His letter of 27 March, the original copy of which is no longer available, was received warmly among the Swiss Reformed Church: Anton Klingler the Antistes of Zürich, Gerlieu, Dean of Neuchâtel, Calandrin, the chief minister of Geneva, Hottingerus [Hottinger], Zeller and Ott at Zürich, and Jean-Frédéric Ostervald, another Dean of Neuchâtel, all sent their replies to Werndli at Berne by 24 April in order to convey their enthusiasm for a Protestant union.<sup>89</sup> Hottingerus at Zürich describes his exalted expectations for the success of such union:

It is impossible that it should not be taken as a favourable omen, that there should be those who have the mark of genuine Christians, who value mutual charity and co-operation with other churches so highly that they had by all means induced their mind to accomplish the work of fostering it. I have learned that there are men of this spirit, and those indeed of the first name, not just

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p. 173.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Carpenter, *Protestant Bishop*, chap. 18; Duffy, "'Correspondence Fraternelle'", pp. 266-271. For the biography of Werndli, see Chapter V below.

<sup>89</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 982 C., fols 47-53. Knowing of the failure of the previous attempts of Zeller and the SPCK in 1702, Klinger the Antistes of Zurich welcomed Compton's reply quite cautiously. 'I am most ready to write to the most illustrious prelates (he [Klinger] meaneth our [English] bishops) upon this grave and momentous affair, and to offer our good offices, sincerely and promptly, for its promotion. Indeed not among the least of the causes for delay was the fear of offending so many gentlemen, whose good will I consider an especial part of my happiness, if I offered us, uninvited, into the fellowship of such a matter; and my spirit has a presentiment, of which I also foresee certain vestiges: for a long time, and to a great extent, our people will deliberate whether they will be acting rightly and correctly, if they lay healing hands to the wounds, unless called by public authority. If this happened, I should not turn my hand to it, if the whole Swiss Reformed church will not give its consent in that behalf, to which the votes of all good British people are directed with unanimous intention etc.' Rawlinson MSS 982C, fols 47-48.



from among your people, but elsewhere. I have a faith so much greater, through the promisions and assertions of others, that you would confirm me to be of a new species. Neither can that be indifferent, of which you include a mention, for there to arise by joyful increments, I say, a reconciliation of those they call Episcopalians with the Presbyterians. That I should not dissimulate anything: those things which have excited so many quarrels between each side and so many men, are seen to be of such a kind altogether, that they do not merit such, and so pertinacious, disagreement. The settlement of this will be to the great grief of our enemies, and the great glory of the whole church and the strengthening of the Anglican church, and will prepare a way so that all other good things will agree together, and will merit the applause and blessings of all.<sup>90</sup>

Overjoyed with these results, Werndli required Compton to send a framework proposal for the union in the name of the Church of England. He also added in the reply 'two chief questions' on the Anglican requirement of episcopal ordination and consequently of re-ordination of non-episcopal Protestants from the Swiss Reformed church, that had 'somewhat puzzled' him.<sup>91</sup> The importance of episcopal ordination was, of course, a question of greatest concern to the high church. In 1705 Claude Grôsteste de la Mothe warned other Huguenots that some clergy in the Church of England could not make a concession as far as the episcopal order was concerned, since they thought that the government of foreign churches was defective: a foreign ministry needed 'to be supported by episcopal ordination in order to come into its fullness.'<sup>92</sup> The Swiss divines, including Werndli, could not understand, or underestimated, this priority of the high church. Indeed Compton did not

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., fol. 48.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., fols 49-50. The questions were (1) In case the Non-conformists were willing to be reunited, whether or not they would be obliged to swear that they believe episcopacy to be absolutely *de jure divino*? (2) Why are such priests, as are ordained by any Roman Catholic bishop, admitted into the sacred offices of the Church of England, when the French and other foreign ministers are not admitted without a re-ordination, though they were ordained by a Protestant synod? Cf. Sykes, *Old Priest and New Presbyterian*, pp. 121-122; Carpenter, *Protestant Bishop*, pp. 350-354.

<sup>92</sup> The original French is printed in Sykes, *Old Priest and New Presbyterian*, pp.122-123.



intend to make any concessions with regard to the Anglican requirement of episcopal ordination. Werndli's reply to Compton of 19 June underlines this point, since it is clear from his letter that Compton had ordered a stop to the union discussions and that Werndli had to obey.<sup>93</sup>

Though he extricated himself from the union projects, Compton still carried on a correspondence with foreign Protestant churches, and 'endeavoured to promote in them a good opinion concerning the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and her moderate sentiments of them.'<sup>94</sup> He even maintained good relations with the Swiss divines. In a letter to the University of Oxford in 1707, they confirmed their willingness to keep up correspondence with Compton;

The assurances we have received from the most illustrious Bishop of London of your affection towards us, hath filled us with the utmost joy. For hearing that we were ill spoken of, and that Geneva was odious amongst you, he hath assured us in your name, that those were old prejudices, and wrong notions not yet laid aside; and that what had been said by some, did not concern us but certain persons, who dissenting from, and railing at, the discipline and liturgy of the Church of England, made use of our name: but he knew us to be quite of another mind.<sup>95</sup>

Compton's importance to continental Protestants was undiminished. The Huguenot emigrés in particular were always attentive to him. In 1706 an event occurred which caused some vexation and embarrassment among

<sup>93</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 982 C, fol. 67. Yet the Swiss divines seem to have been waiting for Compton's reply. On 29 September 1706 (NS) Ostervald wrote to Jean Alphonse Turretini, professor of church history in Geneva: 'The English are of an astonishing laziness and carelessness where writing is concerned, and that is why it is to be feared that the matter will fail [a union with the Church of England], but let us count on [the idea that] if Geneva, Zurich and Basle go well, everything will follow.' Printed in Gretillat, *Jean-Frédéric Ostervald*, p. xvi.

<sup>94</sup> *Biographia Britannica*, II, 1430.

<sup>95</sup> 'A Letter from the most renowned Pastors and Professors of the Church and University of Geneva to the University of Oxford' (Oxford, 1707), quoted in *Biographia Britannica*, II, 1430.



many Huguenots in London. During a period of severe persecution by Louis XIV, considerable numbers of visionaries promising final victory of the Protestants over the Catholics appeared among the distressed Huguenots in France, especially in the Cévennes. They were called the 'French prophets'.<sup>96</sup> When three prophets from the Cevennes came to England in the summer of 1706, a considerable number of English Protestants showed sympathy towards them and some even became their followers. However, the majority reacted to them with curiosity, suspicion and disbelief which only deepened with time.<sup>97</sup> The Huguenot churches in London soon became concerned that the three prophets would undermine the esteem of the Huguenot refugees in English society and discourage English support. Therefore, when Compton inquired after them, the leading Huguenot church immediately held a series of interviews with the French prophets in October 1706. The church authority reported to the bishop its conviction that they were merely pretended prophets and impostors, and in March 1707 excluded them from holy communion.<sup>98</sup>

Compton was also engaged more vigorously than ever in activities relating to his jurisdiction overseas. The propagation of the church of England in the American plantations began to take up much of his time: after 1688 he was aware that the task of protecting Anglican missionaries in the plantations had placed a large additional weight upon his shoulders. He expended great energy in grappling with the individual problems of

<sup>96</sup> For the French Prophets, see Schwarz, op. cit.

<sup>97</sup> For more than a year the French prophets were a conspicuous focus of attention. John Chamberlayne, the first secretary of the SPCK, was curious about them, and went to see them in the summer of 1707. Josiah Woodward, another member of the SPCK, asked White Kennett in July not to write against them until the truth had become clear. Cf. Schwarz, op. cit., pp. 92-94.

<sup>98</sup> 'A Letter written by the Order, and in the Name of the French-Church in Threadneedle Street, to the Lord Bishop of London,' in Richard Kingston, *Enthusiastick Imposters, No Divinely Inspired Prophets*, 2 parts (London, 1707, 1709), II, 197-200.



missionaries, demonstrating the same level of commitment as he had shown to the Huguenot refugees in 1680s.<sup>99</sup> A contemporary said of his efforts:

He often, indeed, declared a noble resolution, which was truly apostolical, to go over himself to settle the Church of Christ in those American parts; but by his persecution in a former reign [the reign of James II], and the mischiefs of a long war ever since, could never bring it to effect. Greater then was his care in sending over good pastors; more constant his attention to their lives, manners, and doctrine; by every conveyance, letters sent of complaints, wants, and requests. And all this carry'd on by himself, against the perverseness of the inhabitants, the power of Satan over the natives, and against the wiles of the Church of Rome, and the subtilties of their Society de Propagandâ Fide. Manag'd, I say, by himself for many years together, 'till of late a Society was elected of right reverend and honourable persons for his assistance; yet himself still consulted, and giving directions in most things.<sup>100</sup>

The 'Society....elected of right reverend and honourable persons for his assistance' refers to the SPG - the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701. One may infer from the passage that Compton's encounter with Thomas Bray, and the subsequent foundation of the SPG, as well as that of the SPCK, came as a great relief to the overworked bishop.

Compton came to know Thomas Bray, the diligent and energetic rector of Sheldon in the diocese of Coventry, perhaps through William Lloyd, then Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.<sup>101</sup> Compton was so impressed by Bray's book, *Catechetical Lectures on the Preliminary Questions and Answers of the Church Catechism*, and by his work as a parish priest, that he chose him as his Commissary for Maryland in 1695. Moreover, Bray shared the anxiety of the bishop about the activities of the Catholic *Congregatio pro propaganda fide*. Thus Compton gave him his full support when Bray suggested plans for

<sup>99</sup> Carpenter, *Protestant Bishop*, chap. 15.

<sup>100</sup> Whitfeld, op. cit., pp.17-18.

<sup>101</sup> Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, pp. 10-14. 36-37; Lowther Clarke, *A History of the S. P. C. K.*, pp. 6-8; Carpenter, *Protestant Bishop*, p. 270, chap. 15.



a counter organisation, 'the intended Congregatio pro propaganda fide et morbus Christianis', which later grew into the SPCK and the SPG. Both societies greatly helped Compton to propagate 'Protestantism' at home and abroad; the SPG in particular officially appropriated many of his duties in the plantations of America.<sup>102</sup>

Compton welcomed this development. Despite his advanced age and fragile health,<sup>103</sup> he remained actively involved in the SPG: when, for example, he could not attend a committee which he had intended to join, he required to have its minutes, and sent instructions and questions by letter. The committee often found it difficult to fulfil all his requirements, as he seemed to be trying to satisfy every need of the missionaries in America. The bishop was often forced to ensure that his requirements were not too costly: in the case of the building of a church at Newbury in Massachusetts, he wrote that 'the queen will help in building the church if the SPG will

<sup>102</sup> As for the difference between the SPCK and the SPG, see Chapter IV below. The SPG obtained a royal charter on 16 June 1701. It states the purpose of the SPG to be as follows: 'Whereas we are credibly informed, that in many of our plantations, colonies and factories beyond the seas, belonging to our kingdom of England, the provision for ministers is very mean; and many others of our said plantations, colonies and factories are wholly destitute, and unprovided of a maintenance for ministers, and the publick worship of God; and for lack of support and maintenance for such, many of our loving subjects do want of learned and orthodox ministers to instruct our said loving subjects in the principles of true religion, divers Romish priests and Jesuits are the more encouraged to pervert and draw over our said loving subjects to popish superstition and idolatry.

'And whereas we think it our duty, as much as in us lies, to promote the glory of God, by the instruction of our people in the Christian religion; and that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing those ends, that a sufficient maintenance bee provided for an orthodox clergy to live amongst them, and that such other provision be made, as may be necessary for the propagation of the gospel in those parts.' Ernest Hawkins, *Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies* (London, 1845), p. 415.

<sup>103</sup> Rhodes House, Oxford, USPG Archive, SPG Calendar, 7A16, 36, 42; William Whitfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 22-23.



provide a clergyman'.<sup>104</sup> The queen was asked for financial help so often that even she in fact, began to complain.

My Lords read the Bishop of London's letters dated 28 Sept. 1710 [desiring the passage money bounty of £20 each for] Williamson [going as] Chaplain to Maryland; Orr [going as] chaplain to the Leeward Islands; Cockburn [going as] chaplain to the Leeward Islands; Dennis [going as] schoolmaster to South Carolina; Maconchi [going as] chaplain to Maryland. Her Majesty thinks these [letters of the Bishop] come very frequently.<sup>105</sup>

Compton also pressed the queen to make a collection for the SPG, which 'have for several years far exceeded their income', in 1711.<sup>106</sup> As for his plan to evangelise the Indian children of Newbury, and his request for support in May 1712,<sup>107</sup> the committee was obviously unenthusiastic and chose to do nothing about it. Compton waited for six months, then ordered his chaplain to demand the reason for the 'unaccountable delay'.<sup>108</sup> In January 1713 he wrote in person to the secretary of the SPG:

It being my unhappiness that I can't attend the society, as I would very gladly do, I once again desire you to give my most humble service and respects to them and acquaint them that it is my earnest wish to them that they would take into their consideration anew what I represented to them from the Governor of Virginia...

He added that 'I should think we could not too greedily lay hold down this occasion, especially when it may be done at so easy an expense'.<sup>109</sup>

The records of the SPG suggest that the interest of Compton in Protestants abroad was increasingly confined to the members of his own church. Thus

<sup>104</sup> USPG, SPG Calendar, 7A16.

<sup>105</sup> *Cal. Tr. Books 1710*, part 2, 579.

<sup>106</sup> Christ Church, Wake MSS, Epist 18, fols 440-441; USPG, SPG Calendar, 6A 62, 63.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 7A38.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 7A40.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 7A42.



the activities of the SPG were firmly limited to the orbit of the Church of England. When it supported the Palatine emigration to New York, Compton made efforts to provide a chaplain who could 'read the common prayer in High Dutch.'<sup>110</sup> He also assisted with a plan to establish Anglican churches in Rotterdam and Amsterdam.<sup>111</sup>

This scheme to found an Anglican church in a Protestant country deserves detailed consideration. Although clergymen of the Church of England had conducted divine service in various cities on the continent, at the end of the seventeenth century the Church of England did not have a purpose-built church building on the continent officially supported by the crown, although there were private chapels for English diplomats, aristocrats, and merchants.<sup>112</sup> It was a well-established tradition that the English travelling abroad attended services at foreign Reformed churches wherever they were.<sup>113</sup> As the above remarks of Archbishop Sharp indicate, even a high churchman was happy to be an 'occasional conformist' in a foreign Reformed church, though many chose to forget this fact in England. Consequently, the Church of England was not especially keen to found an official church building on the continent. La Croze, vicar of Old Windsor, Berkshire, who was contemplating a plan to establish a church in Geneva around 1710, lamented a lack of evangelical enthusiasm among churchmen:

Some people considering the charge and trouble of this establishment [of a church in Geneva] may perhaps imagine that it were better let alone, but they have little zeal for the interest and honour of our church, that can entertain such thoughts. The

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 6A157, 158.

<sup>111</sup> SPG Journal, 1701-07, pp. 91, 93-94, 97; SPG Committee, 1702-10, p. 37; Henry Compton, *Good Brother* (London, 1706) in Christ Church, Wake MSS, Epist 18, fol. 446; Bod., Rawlinson MSS 982 C, fol. 162.

<sup>112</sup> See 'a list of certain allowances and pensions granted by William III and Queen Anne to clergymen in some of the colonies and serving foreign chaplaincies, and to the Vaudois', in Bod., Rawlinson 933 C. fol. 164.

<sup>113</sup> Sykes, *Old Priest and New Presbyter*, pp. 142-145.



heathen themselves could have given them very good lessons upon this subject, who always thought it for the glory of their gods, and advantage of their country, to extend their own worship, so far as they could. But without having recourse to the heathen, we need only look upon the indefatigable industry and vast expense of the Church of Rome to settle their religion in all parts of the world, and if we can not deny but they understand their own interest very well, it must certainly be also for our advantage to endeavour also all we can to extend and enlarge the limits of our church.....<sup>114</sup>

In the seventeenth century there was no purpose built Anglican church building in the Netherlands,<sup>115</sup> despite the fact that there were around forty English-language churches 'almost uniformly Puritan in theology and practice'.<sup>116</sup>

From 1698 onwards the Anglican community in Rotterdam was served by John Cockburn, who had been appointed by Compton. On 3 December 1702, at a meeting of the SPG Committee over which he presided, Compton introduced a memorial by Cockburn 'relating to the setting up the Church of England worship at Amsterdam and Rotterdam.'<sup>117</sup> According to this, Cockburn had been propagating Church of England worship in Rotterdam almost single-handedly and had achieved a tolerable success; now he planned to move to Amsterdam and requested financial assistance from England. Although he had managed to rent a former Roman Catholic chapel, used by the 'Brownist' sect until 1701, from the Reformed church in Amsterdam, Cockburn desired a more suitable place for worship. He asserted the importance of the Church of England in a country 'where all other parties of Christians are tolerated, and have settled congregations', and

<sup>114</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 392 C, fol. 255.

<sup>115</sup> The oldest record of the Anglican congregation in Amsterdam dates back to 1587, when an English hospital was founded for soldiers of the auxiliary troops under Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. H. J. M. Roetemeijer, *Review of the History of Christ Church (English Episcopal Church, 1698-1971)* (Amsterdam, 1971), p. 3.

<sup>116</sup> Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism* (Leiden, 1982), p. ix.

<sup>117</sup> USPG, SPG Journal 1701-1707, fol. 89; SPG Journal Appendix A, fols 170-171.



argued that by founding an Anglican church, 'the prejudice of foreigners against the Church of England may in time be removed, seeing these prejudices are chiefly occasioned by the misrepresentations of enemies, both papists and dissenters'. He also stressed that an official place of worship was important for 'the English youth who are sent thither to learn trade and merchandising, preventing their going astray, and learning such principles as are contrary to the doctrine of the Church, and which may render them ill affected to the constitution of both Church and State'. He concluded that such a foundation was necessary to 'keep up a good understanding between the Dutch and civil state of England'. Compton seems to have pushed Cockburn's case strongly. The SPG decided to consider it in detail, including the possibility of a yearly stipend towards the maintenance of a minister in Amsterdam, not exceeding fifty pounds, at the sub-meeting on 8 December.<sup>118</sup> At a meeting in Tenison's presence on 18 December, the matter gave rise to much discussion; Sharp sent a memorial to support the project and Compton, being absent, also sent a letter to be read. The committee decided to delay further consideration until the next meeting, at the same time applying to potential church benefactors from among the merchants in Amsterdam. At the next meeting on 15 January 1703, which both Tenison and Compton attended, the committee examined the report and agreed 'the sum of £50 per annum for two years be allowed towards the maintenance of a minister for performing divine service according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England in the city of Amsterdam.'<sup>119</sup> Cockburn was nominated to the post, and his appointment was confirmed when Compton assured the Society that Cockburn was sufficiently qualified for the task. The English government also became involved in the scheme. In 1703

<sup>118</sup> SPG, Journal 1701-1707, fol. 89; SPG, Committee, vol. 1, 1702-10, fol. 37.

<sup>119</sup> SPG, Journal 1701-1707, fol. 97. The allowance for Cockburn was soon increased to £60, and he was given an additional allowance of £40 in 1708. *Cal. Tre. Books 1708*, p. 204.



Alexander Stanhope, the English ambassador at Amsterdam, asked the city to let the Anglicans have a new church building, though his request did not bear fruit.<sup>120</sup>

One of the reasons that Cockburn's plan needed strong backing from Compton and Sharp seems to have been that there was opposition to the project from Gilbert Burnet. In December 1703 Cockburn complained to Sharp that Burnet was trying to discredit him in the eyes of the members of the SPG. Burnet seems to have suggested that the presence of Cockburn at Amsterdam would offend Protestants of other denominations. Somewhat hurt, Cockburn claimed that he had 'behaved fairly and peacefully with all English, Dutch and French clergy and laity', and would keep on good terms with 'the presbyterians and Brownists though they will not come to church'.<sup>121</sup> It is likely that Burnet did not attack Cockburn personally but opposed the imposition of the Church of England over other Protestants. Unlike Sharp, he did not mind admitting to being an occasional conformist abroad, especially in view of his support of occasional conformity at home. He took the view that occasional conformity was 'a healing custom' for schism among Protestants.<sup>122</sup> Being a low churchman like Burnet, White Kennett (later Bishop of Peterborough) was opposed to the extension of episcopal order over non-episcopal Protestants abroad.

The Dean [Kennett] ...was of the opinion that Popery was the common enemy to the truths of the gospel, and to the liberties of mankind: That every part of the Reformation, however imperfect, was by many steps nearer to the simplicity of the Christian religion, and to the happiness of society, and the souls of men, than Popery: That nothing could be more fatal than to break and

<sup>120</sup> Roetemeijer, pp. 4-5. The Anglican congregation remained at the same chapel until 1765.

<sup>121</sup> Cockburn was Sharp's personal friend. GRO, D 3549, 6 1 C30, Cockburn to Sharp, 14-25 Dec. 1703. Cf. Hart, *The Life and Times of John Sharp*, pp. 261-262.

<sup>122</sup> Every. op. cit., p. 110.



divide the friendship of Protestant States and Princes, and to raise jealousies and discords in the minds of Protestant brethren: The late notions so industriously propagated by some of our English church-men of the necessity of Episcopal Government to the very being of a church, and the validity of the baptism depending upon the episcopal ordination of the administrator, were as artful engines to play against the whole Reformation, as any that could have been invented in the middle of Rome, and that they were as contrary to the sense of our first Reformers, as they were to any other Protestant divines abroad.<sup>123</sup>

Kennett was clearly critical of the union policy of high churchmen such as Sharp, who were keen to export the episcopacy of the Church of England. In this promotion of English churches and English chapels on the continent, Compton's thinking seems to have been on the same lines as that of Sharp. He was exceedingly attentive to the Anglican Church in Holland almost until the end of his days.

Having settled the question of the church in Amsterdam, Compton gave unflagging help in founding a church in Rotterdam.<sup>124</sup> Although the Dutch government had permitted the Anglican congregation 'the free and unmolested exercise' of Church of England worship (this agreement was confirmed by the English government on 14 November 1702), and the city of Rotterdam had given 'a piece of ground of a considerable value', the congregation still lacked the money to build a church. They managed to attract some interest for their project from the aristocracy, notably the Duke of Marlborough.<sup>125</sup> With the patronage of the queen and the duke, Compton made an effort at fund-raising in his diocese in 1706:

<sup>123</sup> William Newton, *The Life of the Right Reverend Dr White Kennett, late Lord Bishop of Peterborough* (London, 1730), pp. 112-113.

<sup>124</sup> Compton continued to support the Anglican congregation in Amsterdam. He wrote to John Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, in 1712 that 'I can't imagine how poor Amsterdam came to be forgotten.' Bod., Rawlinson MSS 982 C. fol. 162. See also, *ibid.*, fol. 178.

<sup>125</sup> Christ Church, Oxford, Tryalls Pamphlets, *The English Church in Rotterdam*.



I make no question but you have heard of that considerable service done to our Church, by erecting a church at Rotterdam, for the use of our merchants and others that pass that way; towards which our army in Flanders, both officer and soldier, my Lords the bishops here at home, with several of the nobility and gentry, have contributed very freely, besides a bountiful gift of her majesty: But yet it so falls out, that there is a considerable sum still wanting to complete the work. And the reason is, that the States of that City were not only pleased to give us a full liberty and protection, but were also so generous, as to bestow above the value of two thousand pounds toward advancing the work; which made it absolutely necessary to make the building more expensive, in answer to their just expectations from us. And therefore I would entreat you, as occasion offers, to lay this before such of your parish, as you may find able and willing to help towards the accomplishment of this pious design.<sup>126</sup>

It is interesting to note that the fund-raising campaign of 1706 found support from all parties. Judging from the amounts individually donated by the bishops, the contributions of low churchmen were as generous as those of high churchmen.

		£	s	d
Dr Tenison	Canterbury	40:	00:	0
Dr Sharp	York	20:	00:	0
Dr Compton	London	20:	00:	0
Dr Crew	Durham	20:	00:	0
Dr Lloyd	Worcester	10:	00:	0
Dr Sprat	Rochester	5:	7:	6
Dr Gardiner	Lincoln	5:	7:	6
Dr Evans	Bangor	5:	7:	6
Dr Burnet	Salisbury	20:	00:	0
Dr Patrick	Ely	10:	00:	0
Dr Stratford	Chester	5:	7:	6
Dr Hough	Lichfield & Coventry	5:	7:	6
Dr Cumberland	Peterborough	2:	3:	0
Dr Williams	Chichester	2:	3:	0
Dr Talbot	Oxford	2:	3:	0
Dr Beveridge	St Asaph	2:	3:	0
Dr Trelawney	Exeter	5:	7:	6
<hr/>				
		180:	9:	6 <sup>127</sup>

<sup>126</sup> Christ Church, Waks MSS, Epist. 18, fol. 446.

<sup>127</sup> *The English Church in Rotterdam*, Christ Church, Tryalls Pamphlets.



Even Burnet seems to have been persuaded that obtaining the support of the Dutch for the church in Rotterdam would contribute both to interdenominational and international friendship. Moreover the prospect that the church would be for the benefit of English subjects, especially soldiers, gave him another reason to support it. The Queen contributed £500, James Thynne £200 and the Duke of Marlborough £100. The University of Oxford raised £244 14s. and Cambridge £220 6s. 3d.<sup>128</sup> One of the trustees for the church in Rotterdam made an appeal to English regiments and ships and raised £2352 8s. 3d. The church seems to have been built promptly. On 3 October 1711 Compton arranged to entrust the Earl of Strafford, travelling to Holland as ambassador for the peace negotiations,<sup>129</sup> with several tasks regarding the maintenance of the church in Rotterdam aimed at assuring their protection and co-operation.<sup>130</sup>

The church in Rotterdam seems to have achieved success. In the early 1720s, an English traveller recorded his impressions on the way back to England:

The English Church in this city is a very neat and pleasant structure: I observed an appearance of greater devotion here, and in the English chapel at Leghorn, than what is generally seen in our churches in England; which seemed to me as if their zeal were actuated and invigorated by a sort of antiperistasis, of people zealous in a different way surrounding them.<sup>131</sup>

Possibly encouraged by the success of Rotterdam, Compton's circle also became interested in the project of La Croze, vicar of Old Windsor, to establish

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> *The Correspondence 1701-1711 of John Churchill and Anthonie Heinsius*, ed. B. van 't Hoff (The Hague, 1951), pp. 569-570. See also, *Cal. Tre. Books 1710*, part II, p. 200.

<sup>130</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 392 C, fol. 261; PRO, SP 34 16, fol. 171. See also Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Portland MSS*, V, 52.

<sup>131</sup> Edward Wright, *Some Observations made in travelling through France, Italy, &c. In the Years 1720, 1721 and 1722*, 2 vols (London, 1730), II, 508-509.



an Anglican church in Geneva. The political situation in the last three years of Queen Anne's reign must have given additional encouragement to the high church project of the expansion of episcopacy abroad. Through William Ayerst at the Hague and an unnamed 'friend', in early 1712 La Croze obtained a promise of support from John Robinson, the high church Bishop of Bristol and Compton's personal friend.<sup>132</sup> He then went to Geneva to canvass opinions from Swiss Protestants and prepare a memorial to the queen. The welcome he received from the Protestants of Geneva brightened the prospects of an Anglican church there. La Croze wrote to Robinson:

The proposal for this establishment having been received with all the joy and respect imaginable, not only by the natives but also by the French refugees, who make here a very considerable body, and the magistrates and ministers having deliberated upon this matter, in the most solemn manner, and agreed to concur in everything that shall be thought proper to forward so good a design, as soon as the queen hath thought fit to signify her royal pleasure about it, I shall now in obedience to the orders I have received, deliver my thoughts how this business is further to be managed in order to render it perfectly successful.<sup>133</sup>

But fortune did not smile on La Croze. The successive deaths of Compton in 1713 and Sharp in 1714 must have discouraged his supporters. The diminishing role of the high church after the Hanoverian Succession further impeded the plan which involved the expansion of the Anglican order. At first Archbishop Wake seemed to favour the execution of the project, but in the autumn of 1716 he ordered La Croze to abandon it, stating

<sup>132</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 286 A, fol. 76. Ayerst and La Croze soon became members of the SPCK, respectively in October 1712 and in January 1713. SPCK, Miscellaneous Abstracts 1709-1722, fols 57, 58. When La Croze visited Geneva again probably from 1717 to 1719, the SPCK sent him books including '30 each of the sermons and accounts of schools for the last four years' and '25 Common Prayer Books'. SPCK, Miscellaneous Abstracts 1709-1722, fols 190, 192; Minute Book, vol. 8, fols 69, 195-196.

<sup>133</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 392 C, fols 251-257. '



that the English in Geneva should 'with a good conscience join in communion with the Reformed'.<sup>134</sup>

The high and low church also co-operated successfully in a scheme for an Anglican chapel for English merchants in Catholic territory. In 1710 Kennett came to work closely with Compton on the succession of a chaplain for the British 'factory' in Leghorn (Livorno), since his brother Basil Kennett happened to be the first chaplain there after 1706. It seems likely that he regarded a chapel for British merchants in the Catholic Duchy of Tuscany as a proposition altogether distinct from the plan for an Anglican church in a foreign Protestant country. As a free port, Leghorn prospered and attracted international merchants, while the Duchy of Tuscany generally took a slow road to decline in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among various nationalities and religions, the British factory, as the community of British merchants called themselves, had strong Protestant traits; they accepted no Roman Catholic English members and urgently desired to unite themselves against harassment by the authorities at Leghorn.<sup>135</sup> In early 1707, having received letters about 'our preacher at Leghorn', who had arrived there the previous year, and was currently under threat of 'the Inquisition, or the Court of Rome', the third Earl of Sunderland, the secretary of state, immediately commanded the envoy at Florence to inform the Duke of Tuscany that if he were to 'give any disturbance to the preacher';

[the queen] ...shall by her fleet [in the Mediterranean] ...not only demand, but take satisfaction for any such injury; and that

<sup>134</sup> Christ Church, Wake MSS, Epist 28, fol. 79. See also fols 76-78, 80.

<sup>135</sup> J. A. P. Lefroy, 'Anthony Lefroy 1703-1779: Merchant at Leghorn, Collector of Works of Art, Member of the Etrusca Accademis', *PHS*, 23 (1977-1982) 240-243; Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London, 1985), p. 192.



the great duke's envoy here must expect the same treatment towards his priests, or any that shall prevent their chapel.<sup>136</sup>

This threat had the desired result. The preacher in question, Basil Kennett, was able to remain safely in Leghorn until another chaplain arrived. However, it became apparent that the English government was not interested in keeping a chaplain in Leghorn after Basil Kennett, and it showed itself unwilling to send a new one in spite of requests from the merchants there. It is probable that the English authorities thought that the gunboat policy for keeping a chaplain in place was too expensive; moreover sending a new chaplain to such a sensitive area might impair the peace negotiations. In 1710 and 1711 both Compton and White Kennett were badgering the government into giving a commission and letter of protection to Nathaniel Taubman, who had already been appointed as a successor of Basil Kennett at Leghorn.<sup>137</sup> Believing that the matter of Taubman's appointment fell within 'my duty', in September 1710 Compton urged the first Earl of Dartmouth, then secretary of state, to reconsider the government's position by suggesting that it had inflamed the opinion of the City of London: 'for the persons concerned in sending this chaplain over to Leghorn are many of the most considerable merchants in London.'<sup>138</sup> Compton also informed Queen Anne about the matter.<sup>139</sup> The government, however, seems to have been looking equally hard for excuses *not* to send a chaplain. In a letter of January 1711, Compton tried to expedite the appointment by claiming that the government could send Nathaniel Taubman in the same manner as they did Kennett, 'with

<sup>136</sup> SPCK, Papers and Memorials 1715-1729 CP.1, fol. 247. Cf. Newton, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>137</sup> PRO, SP 34 13, fol. 71, SP34 14, fol. 77, SP34 15, fols 108, 114; BL, Lansdowne MSS. 1024, fols 223-87. For Kennett's campaign, cf. Newton, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-101; Bennett, *White Kennett*, pp. 118-120.

<sup>138</sup> PRO, SP 34/ 13, fol. 71.

<sup>139</sup> Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 81.



an advice to the envoy to interpose in case of any disturbance.<sup>140</sup> In another letter of May 1711, he doggedly insisted that since the envoy at Florence was not provided with a proper chaplain, there could be no objection to sending 'poor Mr Taubman' as a chaplain to Florence.<sup>141</sup> White Kennett dared to put an advertisement in the *Post Boy* in order to stir public opinion.

There is ready for the press, The case of a chaplain attending on the British factory at Leghorn, representing the wisdom and glory of Her Majesty's happy administration in asserting that privilege to her subjects the merchants residing in foreign parts, with the honour and necessity of maintaining that law of the nations, and common right of mankind, as allowed in the same free port of Leghorn, to Jews, Mahometans, &c. and not pretended to be denied to any but the Northern Hereticks at this time.<sup>142</sup>

The government finally allowed Taubman to leave for Leghorn in late 1711, and Basil Kennett sailed for England in March 1713. In the late 1720s, when another chaplain left Leghorn, the pattern repeated itself. A letter from Leghorn, written by one Anthony Lefroy in 1729, regretted the absence of an English minister and painted the prospect of chaplaincy there as brightly as he could: the English factory was safe enough to have a new minister since its members were esteemed and treated as 'Cavaliers' by the duke.<sup>143</sup>

Compton also took particular interest in foreign students and scholars. As has been shown, the experience of being a student at Oxford in the reign of

<sup>140</sup> PRO, SP 34 14, fol. 77.

<sup>141</sup> SP 34 15, fol. 114.

<sup>142</sup> *Post Boy*, 15 September 1711.

<sup>143</sup> SPCK, Papers and Memorials 1715-1729 CP.1, fol. 248. The date of the letter is a little uncertain, since it is indicated as being either 1709 or 1729. However, the author claims that 'we have lately had a great loss by the departure of our minister', so it is more likely to be 1729, since Basil Kennett was still in Leghorn in 1709. Added to this, if the author was the same Anthony Lefroy who was an influential merchant of Leghorn, he was born in 1703, so he was aged only six in 1709, according to the family history. See J. A. P. Lefroy, *op. cit.*



Charles II, and the help of Sancroft and Compton, made Jablonski an advocate of the Anglican establishment in Germany until the end of his life. In fact Compton wished to expand the episcopal order outside Britain: increasingly he was inclined to educate foreign students on Anglican lines rather than to negotiate with other denominations as a means of establishing compromise and a union. As early as the 1670s, he attempted to establish a working relationship with the Greek Orthodox church. When the project failed at an early stage, Compton soon switched to instructing Greek students in the doctrines of the Church of England. He seems to have applied the same policy to foreign Protestant students.<sup>144</sup>

Among the foreign Protestants interested in this kind of scheme, the Vaudois made the most conspicuous use of it. After the 'Glorious Return' the synod of the Vaudois was anxious to educate young Vaudois ministers as cadets of the community, but they could not afford to give them a ministerial education. Thus, they repeatedly applied to the Protestant cantons in Switzerland, the Netherlands, Brandenburg and to England.<sup>145</sup> In 1694 Queen Mary decided to revive ten scholarships for the Vaudois students.<sup>146</sup> Until early Hanoverian times, there was a regular presence of Vaudois students either at Oxford or Cambridge. Compton took care of some Vaudois personally: he arranged for travelling expenses to be paid out of the charity fund for the Vaudois when Cyprian and Paul Appia, who had studied at St Edmund Hall, Oxford,<sup>147</sup> returned to Piedmont in the winter of 1706-7. Both were ordained as Anglican clergymen by Compton himself in the autumn of 1705.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>144</sup> Carpenter, *Protestant Bishop*, chap. 19.

<sup>145</sup> *Actes des synodes des eglises vaudoises 1692-1854*, pp.4, 6-8, 11.

<sup>146</sup> Muston, *The Israel of the Alps*, p. 106; Stephens, *The Waldensian Story*, p. 229.

<sup>147</sup> *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, p. 28b.

<sup>148</sup> CLRO, Ex-Guildhall Library MS 352, fols 34, 36 and 40. For Appia, see Chapter VI, and Sugiko Nishikawa, 'The Vaudois Baptism of Henry Cavendish', *PHS*, 26 (1996-1997).



It is clear, in conclusion, that Compton had opted for the propagation of the Church of England rather than Protestant internationalism by the 1700s, though he continued to take a sincere interest in the fate of Protestantism abroad. He remained ambitious to perform good works both at home and abroad in order to achieve a completion of the Protestant Reformation in the face of the Catholic threat. But with the foundation of the SPCK and of the SPG, his evangelistic concerns and energies became confined to matters concerning the Church of England and his concept of Protestant Reformation turned more strictly to a reformation on Anglican lines.

His last new year address to the Earl of Dartmouth in January 1713 reveals his most fundamental interests:

After wishing you many a happy new year, I humbly beg you would let me know, what order Her Majesty has given in relation to Geneva, and in relation to the setting a church in Virginia among the nations; as likewise concerning the settlement of the church at Newberry in New Hampshire, and the Petition to Her Majesty from Barbados concerning the improvement of the church there, as well as the petition for an English chapel and chaplain in Guernsey and concerning Mr Holme's succeeding the consul at Algier lately dead. ....<sup>149</sup>

Compton's efforts were very specifically directed towards imposing Anglican hegemony in Protestant communities both on the continent and in the new world. In short, there is an element of what might be called ecclesiastical imperialism. Viewed in this light, Compton at the end of his career emerges as the same sort of Anglican as he had been in the early stages of his period as Bishop of London in the early 1680s, when he tried to make Protestants

<sup>149</sup> PRO, SP. 34 20, fol.74. Compton appointed George Holme as chaplain to the English consul at Algier in 1707. Members of his congregation consisted of the consul's family and some Dutch slaves. Bod., Rawlinson MSS 984 C, fol. 165; *ibid.*, 985 C, fol. 80. To propagate the Church of England there, Compton encouraged Holme 'to master the Moorish, Arabic, and Turkish languages' and stated that 'he had made considerable progress.' *Cal. Tre. Papers 1714-1719*, p. 21.



more united while pursuing a policy of comprehension. In fact his interest in union with continental Protestants, his evangelistic zeal towards the new world, and his education of foreign Protestants in the Anglican mould, were all initiatives rooted in the aims and policy of the high church. His views regarding the expansion of episcopacy were also broadly consistent. Yet it should be also noted that in the 1680s he sought a way to reconcile the non-episcopal Protestants: he became an uncompromising promoter of the Church of England only after the revolution, as the disintegration of the Church of England into two clerical parties enlarged.

His reception of the Huguenots in the 1680s must be regarded as an example of pragmatism in the face of an international Protestant crisis - an exceptional concession made at a time when the Catholic threat of Louis XIV loomed largest. As such, it was not incompatible with what Ranke called a consciousness of the 'Protestant character' of the Church of England.



## Chapter IV

### The SPCK and its European Perspective

Having felt threatened by Catholic progress both at home and abroad, English Protestants saw the revolution of 1688-89 as a providential event. A contemporary pamphleteer declared it to be the 'wonderful deliverance [of England] from French tyranny and popish oppression performed through almighty God's infinite goodness and mercy.'<sup>1</sup> Sensing the watchful presence of God, some now felt the urgent need to proceed more vigorously with religious reform. In consequence, the projects to combat irreligion and ignorance among the poor and to make them part of a pious Protestant nation, led by not only clergy but the people of 'middling sort', burgeoned. Voluntary societies for 'the reformation for manners' also bloomed. This is what Dudley Bahlman called, in his publication of 1957, 'the moral revolution of 1688.'<sup>2</sup>

Recent years have seen a renewal of interest in the movement for moral reform in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but only a few attempts have so far been made to investigate its European dimension.<sup>3</sup> The emphasis of the present study is on the moral reform movement as a response of Protestants across Europe faced by the growth of a Catholic threat in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Added to the expansionism of Louis XIV, the Catholic counter-reformation and Catholic advance from France to Lithuania highlighted, in the social context, the urgent need to strengthen the sense of Protestant community. Not only in England but also in other Protestant territories, notably in Halle and in the

<sup>1</sup>The British Museum, Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, BMC 1186, printed in *Religion in the Popular Prints 1600-1832*, ed. John Miller (Cambridge, 1986), p. 133.

<sup>2</sup>D. W. R. Bahlman, *The Moral Revolution of 1688* (New Haven, 1957).

<sup>3</sup>See notes 15 to 17 in Introduction above.



Protestant cantons of Switzerland, a great effort was made to tackle plebeian ignorance and loosening Christian morals since they were regarded as a cause of 'the growth of vice and immorality', and were in turn believed to be used by the Catholics to extend their influence. These programmes of moral reform had much in common and inevitably influenced one another. As a result reformers sought alliances with each other to promote the Protestant reformation all over Europe in opposition to Rome.<sup>4</sup>

In this context, the SPCK is rightly claimed to have been not only an epitome of the moral reform movement but also a creation of those seeking to further the Protestant cause. Its central method of promoting this reformation was simple: to provide religious education for the ignorant who were vulnerable, from its point of view, to Catholic superstition. For this purpose it attached great importance to the distribution of Protestant literature at home and abroad, though it also ventured into various other projects to combat the Counter-Reformation. Some may argue that the SPCK's involvement with the Protestants on the continent was sporadic; apart from relief activities, only when some members had opportunities to travel on the continent could they distribute their religious literature there. Though the abilities of the Society may have been limited, its projects, including the relief activities, show that its co-operation with the continental Protestants was more organised and more ambitious than has been suggested. Furthermore, it should be noted that its involvement with persecuted Protestants was greater than appears from the minutes, which only occasionally mention news of the persecutions, particularly in the 1700s and the 1710s. As suggested by the fact that members were indeed engaging in various relief activities outside general meetings, the very occasional mention of the persecutions in the SPCK minutes did not necessarily imply its indifference towards the persecuted. Moreover it may be that the lack of

<sup>4</sup> Note 17 in Introduction.



formal records about its involvement with continental Protestants was intended to disguise the full scale of its activities. The Society certainly took this line as regards its anti-Catholic activities: it actually destroyed at least some of these records.<sup>5</sup> Thus it will be argued here that the international perspective of the SPCK went beyond an *ad hoc* response to current affairs, and that an obsession with combating the counter-reformation was a fundamental characteristic of the Society in the early eighteenth century.

At the outset we need to review the original designs and ideals, and leading membership of the SPCK, in order to understand how the Society, which comprised a wide spectrum of views from Whigs to Tories, and from low churchmen and Halle pietists to high churchmen and non-jurors, was able to work together for relief activities on behalf of continental Protestants. Its relations with other continental Protestants and its anti-Catholic campaigns will then be examined. Finally, we shall demonstrate how the Society lost its European perspective, as a new generation of leading members followed within the Society.

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<sup>5</sup> For example, see the SPCK's minutes of 'the secret committee'. A considerable part of the minutes which was concerned with anti-Catholic activities was destroyed. Added to this, Humphrey Wanley, the second secretary of the Society, was apparently deficient as a record keeper however excellent he was as a scholar. Judging from the sloppy minutes and poor records of other documents during his secretaryship 1702-1708, it is not surprising that John Chamberlayne, who was the first secretary but had to quit the post because of other business commitments, kept complaining about him. (See Cowie, *Henry Newman*, p. 25.) Henry Newman, who became the secretary in 1708, tried to keep the records straight: for example, he started to register the membership from 1709. However the fact that he registered some corresponding members, such as Jablonski at Berlin and Scherer at St Gallen, who should have registered before 1708, underlines how poorly the records were kept before Newman. See SPCK, *Miscellaneous Abstracts*, 1709-1722, fols 61, 62.



On 8 March 1699 the SPCK was founded at a meeting between Dr Thomas Bray, the rector of Sheldon and commissary of the Bishop of London for Maryland, and four friends - a nobleman and three lawyers.<sup>6</sup> After that, its membership rapidly grew through personal networks and on 19 April 1699 the well-known declaration was approved to be signed by all subscribing (residing) members.

Whereas the growth of vice and immorality is greatly owing to gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian religion, we whose names are underwritten do agree to meet together, as often as we can conveniently, to consult (under the conduct of the Divine Providence and assistance) how we may be able by due and lawful methods to promote Christian Knowledge.<sup>7</sup>

By early 1701, 115 men had signed this statement.<sup>8</sup>

In order to understand the ideas of the SPCK, it is helpful to look briefly at the original design of Bray since he was not only the founder but also the leading light of the Society in its very early years. As the previous chapter has attempted to show, Henry Compton felt under a particular obligation to take care of the overseas churches, which had been long neglected during the Civil Wars and their aftermath, and which were now generally assumed to be under his responsibility as part of the Bishop of London's jurisdiction overseas.<sup>9</sup> Especially in order to counter 'the wiles of the Church of Rome, and the subtleties of their Society de Propaganda Fide' in 'American Parts', he considered the possibility of going to the plantations himself,<sup>10</sup> or at least

<sup>6</sup> Francis North, Lord Guilford; Sir Humphrey Mackworth; Justice Hooke and Colonel Maynard Colchester.

<sup>7</sup> *A Chapter in English Church History: Being the Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Years 1698-1704*, ed, McClure, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Lowther Clarke, *The History of the S. P. C. K.*, p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> See note 19 in Chapter I above.

<sup>10</sup> Whitfeld, *A Sermon on the Death of the late Lord Bishop of London, Preach'd Aug. 11. 1713*, p. 17.



sending suitable clergymen there as his commissaries. One of his choices fell on Thomas Bray in 1695 whose recent publication of *Catechetical Lectures on the Preliminary Questions and Answers of the Church Catechism* had secured him the reputation of being tireless in advocating catechetical education.<sup>11</sup> For all the eagerness of Compton and Bray for an improvement in the religious situation in the American plantations, Bray had to wait some years to go there, until the legal obstacles to accepting the judicial office of commissary in Maryland, his appointed place, were overcome in late 1699. While waiting, Bray was energetically engaged in the tasks of recruiting missionaries for America and of providing them with books under Compton's authority, and poured his energy into refining plans for effectively promoting Christian knowledge.<sup>12</sup> He especially had in mind the task of Protestants involved in competition with the well established Catholic missionaries in the new world. In 1697 he unveiled a proposal to Compton and other friends to set up a Protestant version of the Catholic missionary body, the *Congregatio pro Propaganda Fide*.<sup>13</sup>

It is well known that Bray's plan was realised in the form of two sister societies, the SPCK and the Society for Propagation of Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). The SPCK was set up first as a private society in 1699, then, through the effort of the SPCK the SPG was established in 1701 as a chartered

<sup>11</sup> Although Bray was a local rector in Warwickshire, he was not isolated from the moral reform movement of the time. It is noteworthy that Bray's lifelong patron and supporter, William, 5th Baron Digby of Geashill, was already involved in moral reform in and out of Parliament. Cf. Hayton, 'Moral Reform and Country Politics in the late Seventeenth Century House of Commons', pp. 64-66, 77, 90. For Digby, see Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Social Milieu of Alexander Pope: Lives, Example and the poetic Response* (New Haven, 1975), chap. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Anon., *Publick Spirit, illustrated in the Life and Designs of the Reverend Thomas Bray, D. D. Late Minister of St Botolph without Aldgate* (London, 1746), pp. 8-26; Hans Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies: A Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion 1698-1850* (London, 1952) pp. 8-9; Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, pp. 10-25, 114.

<sup>13</sup> Cnattingius, op. cit., pp.9-10; Thompson, op. cit., p. 36.



organisation for sending missionaries to the American plantations, and in effect, an official institution within the Church of England.<sup>14</sup> The roles of the two societies were firstly characterised by the fact that one of them was regulated by its charter and the other not; the SPG's activities were bound by its charter within the English plantations and colonies, while the SPCK, on the other hand, undertook education at home, and at the same time gained a certain liberty to take on various ventures as it decided. It is because of this that the SPCK could embark upon unprecedented ventures like the joint project with the Halle Pietists and the Danish Lutherans of sending missionaries to India.<sup>15</sup>

Furthermore, the SPG elected the Archbishop of Canterbury as its president and all the bishops as vice-presidents (although Compton had undoubtedly the most influential voice among them since he retained responsibility for churches overseas, and diligently attended the meetings)<sup>16</sup> and was put strictly under the control of the prelates and other clergymen, while the SPCK was a lay-oriented society although it had some bishops as members and always showed deference to the prelates. In 1713 John Vaughan, a member living in Carmarthenshire, was so impressed by *Bishop Bull's Life* written by Robert Nelson, himself a member of the Society, that he recommended that the Society reprint the bishop's letter to his clergy from the book and distribute it to every clergyman.<sup>17</sup> The Society discussed this matter with Nelson<sup>18</sup> and concluded:

<sup>14</sup> See note 97 in Chapter III.

<sup>15</sup> Lowther Clarke, *A History of S. P. C. K.*, pp. 59-64; Brunner, 'The Role of Halle Pietists in England (c.1700-c.1740), with special reference to the SPCK', chap. 4.

<sup>16</sup> See the previous chapter. Cf. Carpenter, *Protestant Bishop*, chap. 15.

<sup>17</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, Received, no. 3636. For the *Life of Bull*, see Secretan, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Pious Robert Nelson*, pp. 264-269.

<sup>18</sup> SPCK, Standing Committee Minute, vol. 1. fol. 226; SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 6, fol. 112.



In the debate about it, it was considered that in all likelihood every Bishop in the Kingdom would have Bishop Bull's Life and see this letter in it, and they were inclined to follow his excellent example in advising their clergy &c. .... it would not consist with that caution which the Society have always used not to do anything which might look like assuming to direct their superiors, for them to have any hand in publishing what might be cautioned by some as a reproof to the bishops who should omit giving the advice Bishop Bull did.<sup>19</sup>

The SPCK paid particular attention to the Bishop of London. It always maintained good relations with Compton and kept in touch with him about foreign matters.<sup>20</sup> They also co-operated if there was any problem concerning charity schools in his diocese, such as the '*Timon of Athens* scandal' when a schoolmaster at a charity school in Clerkenwell had children perform the play, arousing rage among its trustees.<sup>21</sup> But, being very much preoccupied with the activities of the SPG, Compton had little time left in which to watch over the week to week business of the SPCK.

For all its deference to the church authorities, the theological position of the Society was still contentious. Thence it was, perhaps, that Archbishop Tenison raised a question about the SPCK's involvement with the mission in India. Though he was a low churchman, he could not overlook the fact that the missionaries were assisted by the SPCK to propagate Lutheran faith. The leading members of the Society therefore collaborated with Anton Wilhelm Böhme, a Pietist chaplain to the German royal chapel at St James's Palace and a member of the SPCK,<sup>22</sup> in instructing the missionaries in India to help

<sup>19</sup> SPCK, Society's Letter, CS 2 3, fols 67-68.

<sup>20</sup> For example, Society's Minute, 5 Mar. 1702, printed in McClure, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>21</sup> SPCK, Society's Letters, CS2 2, fols 39-40, 42-430; SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 5, fols 252, 255, 258.

<sup>22</sup> Bohme was a key person linking the SPCK with the Halle Pietists. For his biography, see Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898*, pp. 231-233; Brunner, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-69; Arno Sames, *Anton Wilhelm Bohme (1673-1722): Studien zum Ökumenischen Denken und Handeln eines Halleschen Pietisten* (Göttingen, 1989), chap. 3.



assuage the doubts of the Archbishop by using a catechism composed under the guidance of the SPCK. The SPCK did not in fact think that the missionaries should, in every respect, conform to the Church of England.<sup>23</sup> Henry Newman, the third secretary of the Society, revealed the view of some members on this delicate matter to John Chamberlayne, a former secretary, in writing that 'it is rather to be connived that the heathen should be Lutheran Christians than no Christians.'<sup>24</sup> This kind of remark would never have been uttered at the SPG which was firmly within the fold of the Church of England. Unlike the SPG, the SPCK was ready to assist Protestant activities if Anglican missionaries were unavailable. The Lutherans in India responded to the SPCK's tolerance, claiming in an open letter that:

As to what relates to party-names, or distinctions, the divine wisdom, which is without partiality, has taught us to abhor them, our scholars [the native students] know not so much as the bare name of Luther or Calvin: But as for the name of popery and papist, it is every where known in India, by reason of the vast number of papists who wander about in this country; being abandoned both to the grossest darkness and ignorance, and to the most scandalous vices and practices.

When we ask our scholars, what religion they are of [...] they answer Tschettiawedakarer, i. e. Christians.....<sup>25</sup>

In this context, needless to say, 'Christians' meant Protestants.

The SPCK's deference to the church authorities was tested again only a few years later. When the Elector of Hanover ascended the British throne, the church authorities pressured the SPCK to demonstrate their loyalty to the new king by instructing charity schools to make prayers for the royal

<sup>23</sup> Brunner, op. cit., pp. 137-139; Sames, op. cit., pp. 124-126.

<sup>24</sup> SPCK, Society's Letters, CS2 3, fols 84-85.

<sup>25</sup> Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernest Gründler to the SPCK, the East-Indies 27 September 1714, printed in *Propagation of the Gospel in the East: Being a Collection of Letters from the Protestant missionaries, and other worthy persons in the East-Indies, &c. Part III. Published by the Direction of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* [ed and trans. Antony William Boehm], (London, 1718), pp. 115-116.



family compulsory. At this time of suspicion of Jacobitism associated with charity schools, Archbishop Wake, although himself a member of the SPCK and generally in sympathy with its aims, strongly felt the need for a loyal testimony of this kind.<sup>26</sup> However, the Society took time to decide to adopt the prayer, because of the reluctance of some members, for all the Archbishop's pressure throughout the summer of 1716.<sup>27</sup> Newman, the secretary, was forced to explain the decision making process of the Society, and reported that a member, whose name Newman did not reveal, showed apprehension:

That the use of such prayers though he could join in them himself carried in them something like a test insinuating as if there were some members that could not pray for the king, which he thought was a treatment that did not become a Society that had hitherto acted in concert for promoting the interests of religion separate from any political considerations. That the Society for Promoting the Gospel had no prayer for the king and therefore it would not look very assuring in this voluntary society to do it, when an incorporated body consisting of so many prelates had not thought fit to do it.<sup>28</sup>

Obviously the Society was conscious that much of its strength lay in a non-partisan position. Moreover some must have been reluctant to purge the Society of its non-juring members even if they did not have any intention of protecting Jacobites. The member, whoever he was, sought to exploit this to ward off interference from the archbishop, while Wake played the role of its protector in clearing charity schools, which were supported by the SPCK, of the suspicion of Jacobitism. Unfortunately for the Society, some

<sup>26</sup> For concerns about Jacobitism at this stage, see Lowther Clarke, *A History of the S. P. C. K.*, pp. 26-27; Rose, 'Politics, Religion and Charity in Augustan London c.1680-1720', pp. 137-154; do, '"Seminaries of Faction and Rebellion": Jacobites, Whigs and the London Charity Schools, 1716-1724', *Historical Journal*, 33 (1991), pp. 838-848.

<sup>27</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, Received., nos. 4883, 4889, 4890, 4898, 4920; Minute Book, vol. 7, fols 167-168, 190, 188-189; SPCK, *A Circular Letter of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Anno 1718* (London, 1718).

<sup>28</sup> SPCK, Society's Letters, CS2 5, fols 86-87.



schoolmasters turned out in fact to be Jacobite supporters.<sup>29</sup> Therefore the Society not only came to accept the prayer but also strongly recommended the schoolmasters to swear an oath of allegiance to 'his Majesty King George'.<sup>30</sup> Wake, after the matter was settled, ended up by reiterating that the Society should not mix party politics with its religious ecumenism, and keep firmly to its non-partisan position in secular politics.

if party and politicks get once into the management of them [directors of the charity schools], they can never flourish but may (even by publick authority) be destroyed, as the most dangerous foundation of lasting disorders among us.<sup>31</sup>

Indeed, the Society was aware of this point. The fact that it called the mission in India the 'Protestant Mission' and publicised it as such,<sup>32</sup> makes clear the importance for the Society of avoiding controversy. Leading members also took pride in doing work not open to the Church-led SPG. In 1716 in a letter to a corresponding member in Leipzig, the Society openly hailed the ecumenical efforts of the 'Christians' in Europe, while remarking on its own contribution.

Though parties of all denominations among Christians have been ever pestered with some rigid men yet the goodness of providence is very conspicuous in that here have been always friends to temper and moderation in every party (unless you will except those of the Romish communion) who notwithstanding their difference in some opinion, have by a mutual forbearance, so far cultivated a good understanding as to gain many votaries to the like moderation.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The SPCK received reports about some schoolmasters' anti-Hanoverian conduct, including a toast to the pretender. SPCK. Minute Book, vol. 7, fols 167-168.

<sup>30</sup> SPCK, *A Circular Letter of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Anno, 1718*.

<sup>31</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, Received, no. 4977.

<sup>32</sup> From 1709 The Society's Annual Report always reported the progress of the mission in India. SPCK, *Society's Report* (London, 1704- )

<sup>33</sup> SPCK, Special Letters CS3 2, fols 140-141.



As has been seen in the case of the church brief for Polish and Transylvanian Protestants in 1716, when many churchmen increasingly stressed the importance of episcopal government, the SPCK's attitude was more independent. Although almost all members of the SPCK were pious lay Anglicans and many of them were also members of the SPG, it kept a certain distance from the church authorities.<sup>34</sup>

Dr Bray's designs offered a framework for the SPCK, the main purpose of which was to provide those engaged in education with religious books, contributing in all sort of ways to the Christian education of society. This included acting as a co-ordinator of charity schools and workhouses, and supporting Protestant missions in areas other than the American plantations. Such were the tasks of the Protestant *Congregatio pro Propaganda Fide*, namely the SPCK. While attempting various projects, the Society developed out of an institution within the Church of England: it responded pragmatically to the circumstances of Christian education in various areas. There is therefore considerable validity to the argument that Bray's writings are essential to an understanding of the SPCK's purpose. Craig Rose, for example, has criticised studies of the SPCK that were mainly based on its copious records, and has insisted on the importance of analysing the theological works of its leading members, particularly Thomas Bray and Robert Nelson.<sup>35</sup> However, this argument should not be pushed too far. There was a distinct gap between Bray's theological position as a churchman and some of the Society's projects which show a degree of independence. More significantly, Bray apparently ceased to be at the very centre of the SPCK

<sup>34</sup> According to the study of W. A. and P. W. Bulmann, by 1715, 101 of the 186 residing members of the SPCK, i.e. London resident members who were expected to attend meetings, were also members of the SPG, and by 1720, 115 of the total 232 SPCK memberships, were listed in the SPG. See Bulmann, *op. cit.* p. 23.

<sup>35</sup> Rose, 'Politics, Religion and Charity', pp. 15, 66; *do.*, 'The Origins and Ideals of the SPCK 1699-1716', 172.

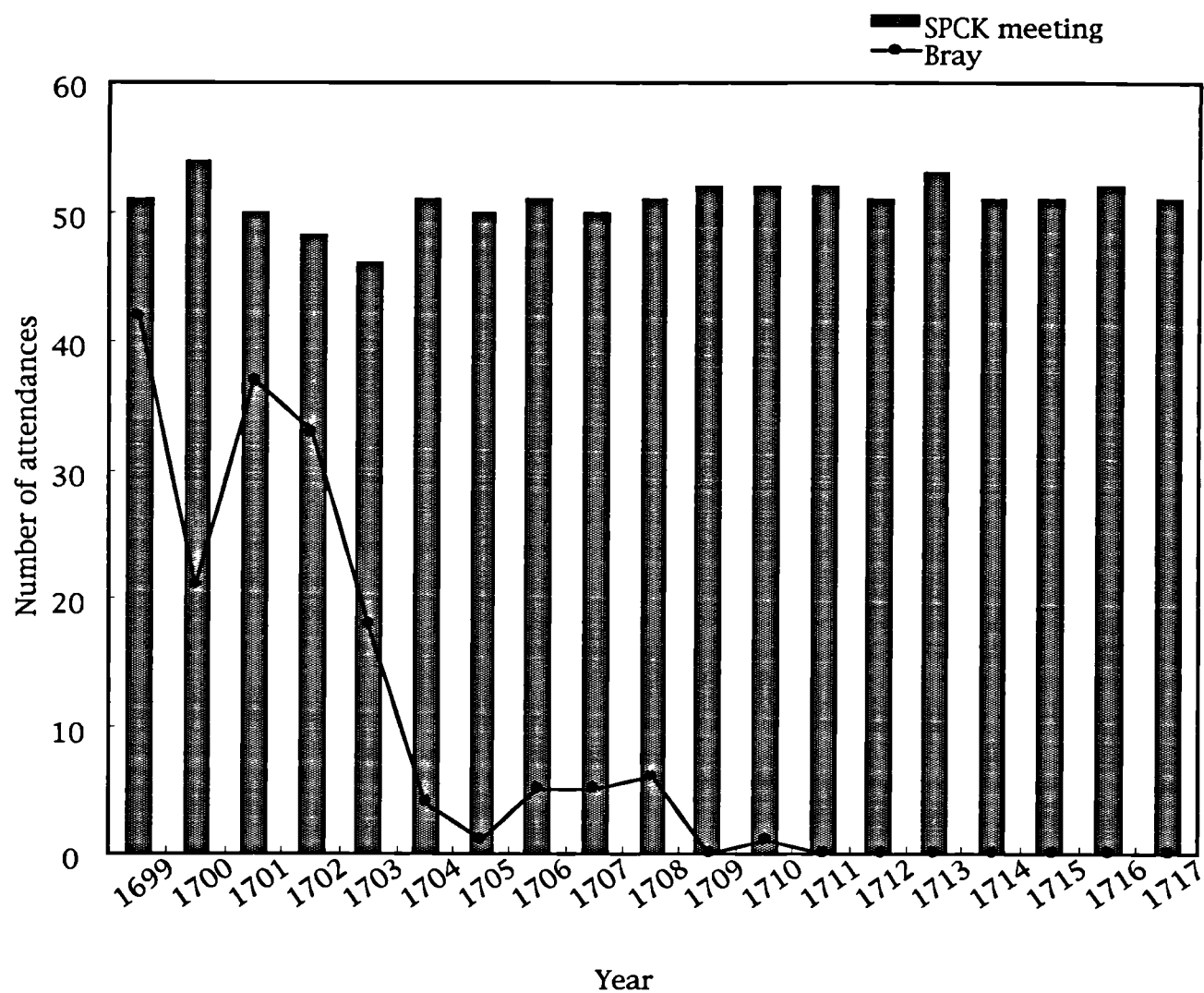


after setting up the two societies. His rectory was at Sheldon in Warwickshire, many miles from London, and he returned there in the winter 1703/4. But he did not regularly attend the Society after he settled in the rectory in St Botolph Aldgate in London in spring 1707. His appearances at the general meetings, as well as at standing committees, were in fact curiously rare. In the SPCK the main issues were discussed at the general meetings, which were held once a week, and detailed matters were normally examined in standing committees according to the instructions of the general meetings. For example, in 1708 Bray attended 6 out of the 53 general meetings but none of the standing committees; in 1709 none at all of the 52 general meetings, and only one standing committee, on 19 May; in 1710 one of the 52 general meetings, on 14 September, and no standing committees; in 1711 neither meetings nor committees; in 1712 no general meetings, although he attended two standing committees on 14 and 21 July (see Figure 4 below).<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vols. 2-6; SPCK, Standing Committee Minute, vol. 1.



**Fig.4 Bray's annual attendances at general meetings 1699-1717**



Note : the Society was founded on 8 March 1699. Bray visited Maryland from December 1699 to the early summer of 1700. He lived at Sheldon from the winter of 1703-4 to the spring of 1708.



Table 4 Individual attendances at meetings of trustees of parochial libraries by year

name year	Total number of meetings	Bray	Mackworth	Nelson	Brewster	H.Hoare	Skeate	Fox	Gardner	R.Hoare	Smalridge	Clarke	Jennings
1705	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1706	13	6	9	12	6	11	3	2	0	0	0	0	0
1707	19	7	5	15	7	15	15	14	5	0	0	0	0
1708	17	11	1	15	6	13	14	9	6	2	0	0	0
1709	24	12	0	17	6	16	12	5	3	20	15	5	3
1710	11	4	0	11	5	5	7	1	3	6	8	2	7
1711	5	2	0	5	1	6	5	1	1	0	3	0	0
1712	4	3	0	3	0	3	3	1	1	1	3	1	4
1713	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1714	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1715	1	0	0	-	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
1716	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1717	2	2	0	-	0	2	1	1	1	2	0	0	2
1718	2	0	0	-	0	2	0	2	1	0	2	0	2
1719	1	0	0	-	0	1	1	0	1	0	-	0	1
1720	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0
1721	1	0	0	-	0	1	1	0	1	-	-	0	1
1722	1	1	0	-	0	1	1	0	0	-	-	0	0
1723	2	2	0	-	0	2	0	0	0	-	-	0	0
1724	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	0	0
1725	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	0	0
1726	0	0	0	-	0	-	0	0	0	-	-	0	0
1727	3	3	-	-	0	-	0	2	3	-	-	1	0
1728	1	1	-	-	0	-	0	1	1	-	-	0	0
1729	1	1	-	-	0	-	0	1	1	-	-	0	0
1730	1	-	-	-	0	-	0	1	1	-	-	-	0

Note: a dash (-) in the table indicates that the member had died.



On the other hand, he often came to the meetings of 'the trustees for erecting parochial libraries throughout the kingdom', who were appointed in July 1705 within the SPCK and met occasionally. Bray obviously paid special attention to the project of the parochial libraries; even compared with other trustees, his attendances at these meetings were frequent and consistent (see Table 4 above).<sup>37</sup> This rather underlines his retirement from the SPCK's main meeting. It would appear that, except for the parochial libraries, Bray left the oversight of many of the activities of the SPCK in the charge of its other members. The influence of Robert Nelson should have been conditional, too, since he became ill in 1714 and died in January 1715. Therefore, the aims of the various projects undertaken by the SPCK require further explanation in relation to other leading members.

The Society developed through a personal network and in order to join it the recommendation of a member was required. There were two types of member: a person who lived in and around London and donated a certain amount of money every year became a subscribing member, sometimes called a residing member, the other was a corresponding member, who was expected to contribute to the Society in the country by distributing its literature there; his membership was free, but he did not have a vote at the general meetings, although he was allowed to attend the meetings as an observer. In other words, the final decisions of the Society were taken only by the subscribing members at the general meetings.

The minute books in the SPCK archives shed light on the decision-making process of the SPCK in practice. Although personal views expressed during discussions were not entered in its records and the decisions were regarded as representing the Society's opinion, the minute books make clear at once that in the first two decades after Bray left for Sheldon in 1703 4 the

<sup>37</sup> SPCK, The Proceedings of the Trustees for Erecting Parochial Libraries and Promoting other Charitable Designs 1705-1729 30.



number of residing members at each meeting was usually small, often fewer than ten, and moreover the attendance tended to be confined to the same individuals.<sup>38</sup> It is necessary to analyse these frequent attenders in order to determine the leadership of the first generation of the SPCK, apart from Bray and the four founder members. The study by William A. and Phyllis W. Bultman estimates that there were nineteen key members of the SPCK and the SPG from the viewpoint of constant attendance at both societies between 1699 and 1720 although they name some who mainly appear at only one of them, and omit members like Henry Newman who belonged only to the SPCK.<sup>39</sup> Brunner names as the most active members of the SPCK five laymen and five clergymen including Thomas Bray.<sup>40</sup>

With these studies in mind, I have calculated the attendance of some members whose names appear in the records very often between 1708 and 1717 in order to ascertain those who were particularly committed.<sup>41</sup> The period 1708-1717 covering the final years of Queen Anne and the Jacobite invasion was when the Society came to the first time of trial in its formative period. It also covered the episode of the Poor Palatines, the foundation of the East India project, and the brief of 1716 for the Polish and Transylvanian

<sup>38</sup> General meetings were occasionally postponed because of 'want of a quorum' if the number of attenders was less than three. A standing committee was usually held with fewer attenders than a general meeting. The quorum for a standing committee was two. This rule had its exception: Sir John Philipps once was the only attender at a standing committee on 7 August 1710, nevertheless he proceeded. This might have been allowed because he was one of the most active key members. For examples, see SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 5, 11 Aug., 12 Sept. 1709, 19 Jan. 1710, 23 Aug., 20 and 27 Sep. 1711.

<sup>39</sup> Bultman, *op. cit.*, pp.42-44.

<sup>40</sup> Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 25f. Five laymen, i.e., John Chamberlayne, Sir John Philipps, Frederick Slare, Robert Nelson and Henry Newman, and five clergymen Thomas Bray, Richard Mayo, Henry Shute, White Kennett and Josiah Woodward.

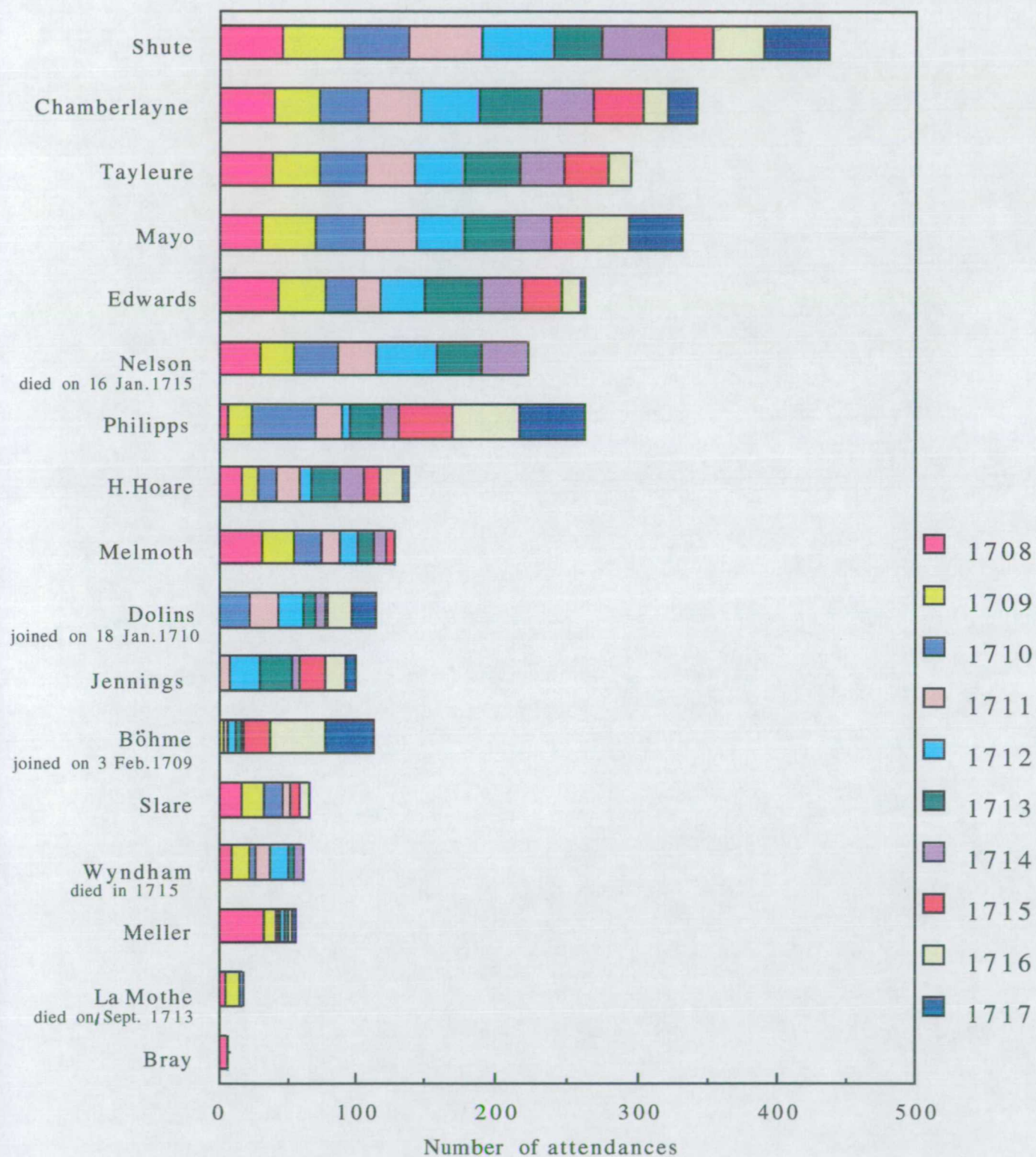
<sup>41</sup> The number of general meetings included the occasions on which there was 'want of a quorum' and consequent postponement, since the secretary wrote down the names of those who appeared at the meeting place.



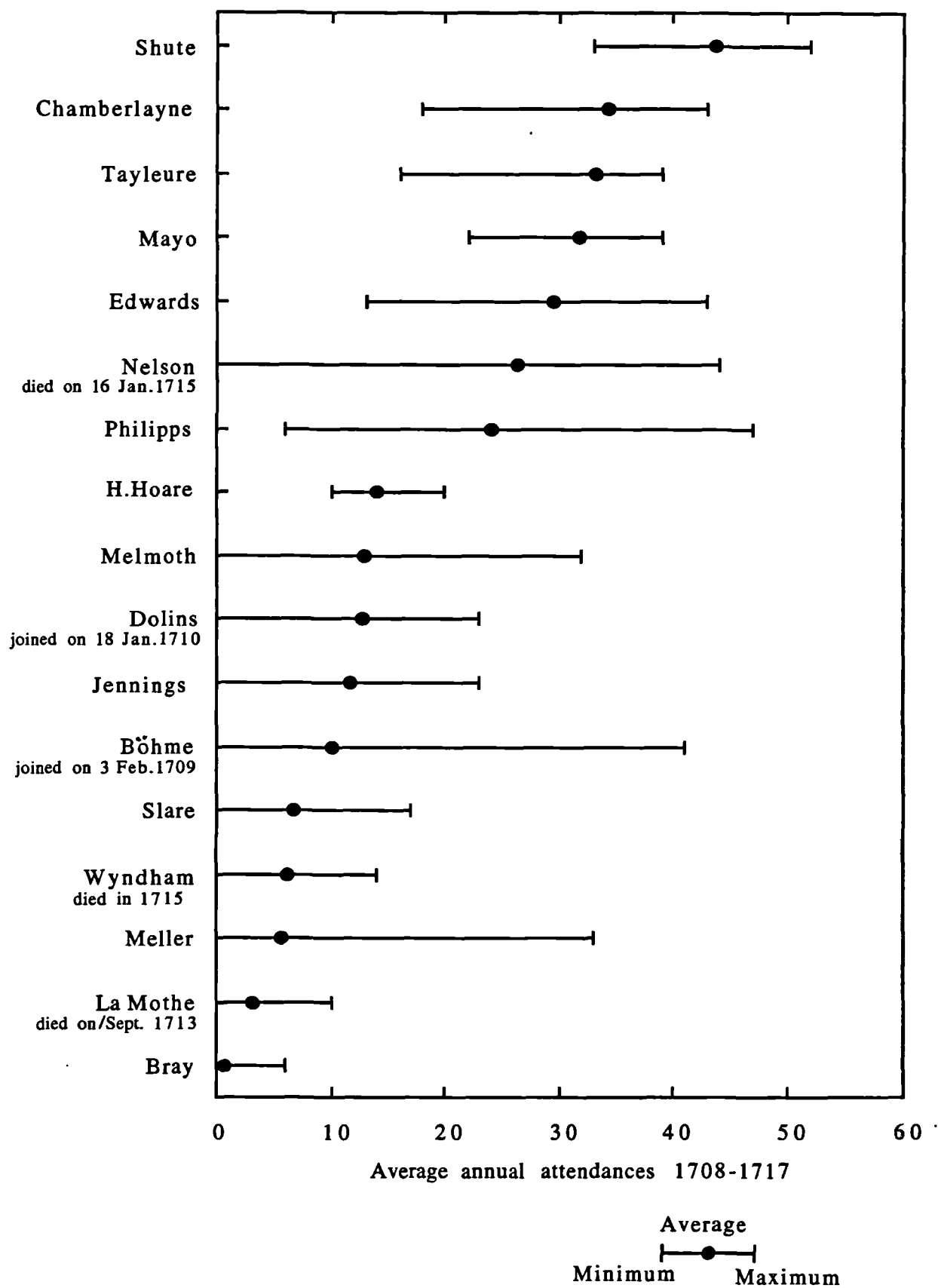
Protestants; hence it suggests who were likely to have been the promoters of the SPCK's involvements with the continental Protestants. Figure 5 shows the individuals attendances by year at general meetings, and Figure 6 deals with their average attendances. Since Henry Newman the secretary from 1708 usually did not write his name on the list of attendances, his name is not in the Figures, though he could claim to have been one of the most committed members: he certainly attended almost all meetings and many of the committees.



**Fig.5 Individual attendances at general meetings by year 1708-1717**





**Fig.6 Average annual attendances at general meetings 1708-1717**



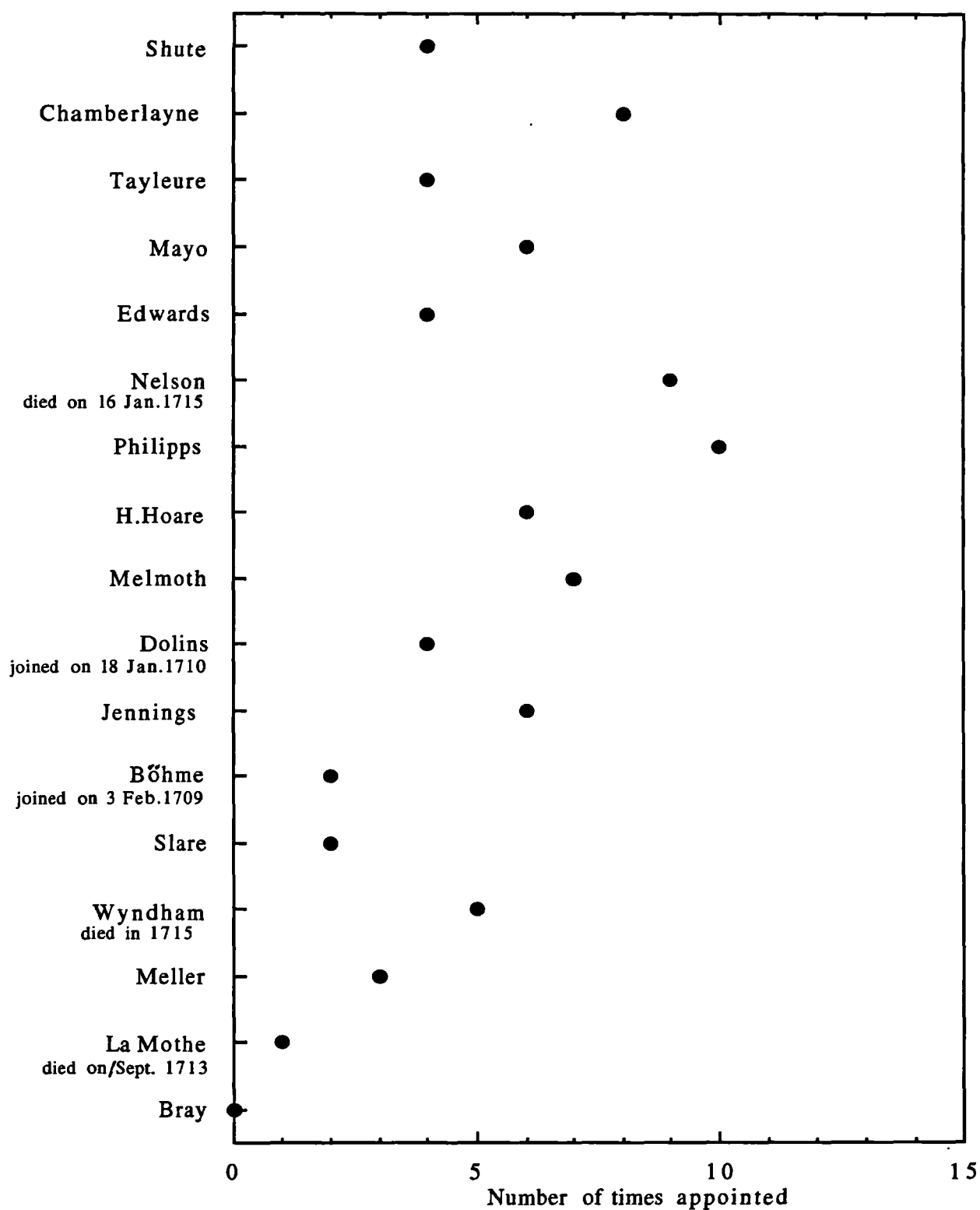
Here preliminary caveat is necessary. It is not surprising that Reverend Henry Shute comes out as the leading attender: it reflects the fact that he held the office of treasurer of the SPCK from its beginning until his death in 1722, and general meetings were held at his house in Bartlett's Buildings, Holborn, from 1704 to 1714, after which the meeting place was moved to Lincoln's Inn. He was a lecturer of St Mary's, Whitechapel and the minister of St Andrew's, Holborn. He was liked and trusted by the other key members, but it seems unlikely that he influenced the Society more than anyone else. He apparently lived a fairly humble life and did not have powerful connections.<sup>42</sup>

Figure 7 below demonstrates the number of times the top fifteen members were appointed as chairman (plus La Mothe the Huguenot member and Bray for referential purposes). Taken together with Figures 5 and 6, Figure 7 indicates who may have been the most influential figures than others: the top three are John Chamberlayne, Sir John Philipps and Robert Nelson.

<sup>42</sup> Later in his life, he sought advancement through the other members of the SPCK. SPCK, Newman's Private Letters, CN4 2, 6 May 1721.



**Fig.7 Numbers of times appointed chairman 1708-1717**  
(see note)



Note: the general meetings were held weekly, and the chairman was appointed for a calendar month at a time. Thus the total number of times that a member held the chair over 9 year period, as shown in the graph, should be multiplied by 4 (or 5 in some months) to arrive at a rough total for that member.



Robert Nelson was clearly one of the most dedicated members until his death in early 1715. It is an interesting question whether, if he had lived longer, the Society would have developed differently. He was a renowned theologian of the day but also was a non-juror, until 1710, and a Jacobite.<sup>43</sup> Although some of his writings would not necessarily be regarded as suitable for the SPCK, averse as it was to controversy, he still followed the Society's line rather than compromise its unity. As has been mentioned, when the Society rejected a proposal to reprint an extract from one of his books, as a corresponding member had suggested, it emphasised that the decision had been made with Nelson's approval. In a reply to the member, the secretary added a few words regarding Nelson:

Mr Nelson was present at the making of this report, and sincerely concurred therein. I gave him your esteem and service and he returned his to you.<sup>44</sup>

The approval of Nelson indicates how the leading members being sensitive about religious divisions, made efforts to maintain unity in the Society's activities. In February 1713, at the height of political and religious conflicts, the Society confirmed its non-partisan position by making a decision that 'they do not meddle' with distributing controversial books.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, the death of Nelson, along with Bray's retirement, may have given a stronger voice to the members who were engaged in projects with non-episcopal foreign Protestants.

<sup>43</sup> Secretan, *op.cit.*; Allen and McClure, *op. cit.*, p. 20. He was received into the Church of England by Sharp, Archbishop of York although he remained a Jacobite. See Secretan, pp. 78-83.

<sup>44</sup> SPCK, Society's Letter, CS 2 3, fol. 68. For this book, see Secretan, *ibid.*, pp. 264-269.

<sup>45</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 6, fols 52, 54; 'Any books relating to popery' were decided on as an exception, and should be included in distributions.



After Nelson's death in January 1715, it seems reasonable to conclude that Sir John Philipps and John Chamberlayne formed the core of the Society among the active members. Chamberlayne was the first secretary of the Society for the short period after its foundation until March 1702, but apparently kept an eye on the secretaries of the SPCK, who succeeded him. It was he who repeatedly criticised the suitability of the second secretary, the bookworm and seemingly impractical Humphrey Wanley, and finally drove him to Oxford in 1708.<sup>46</sup> In Henry Newman's case, it is likely that Chamberlayne remained unconvinced about the ability of this third secretary in the latter's early years at the SPCK. When Newman failed to provide Chamberlayne immediately with the Society's records as he had requested in 1712, Chamberlayne was offended and declared that he desired 'no longer to look upon him [Newman] as a member of the Society' unless he would give him the records instantly.<sup>47</sup> Newman apparently did so at once. Soon afterwards Chamberlayne invited him to his home.<sup>48</sup> Thereafter there was good communication between them. When Newman wrote to him concerning the East India project that 'it is rather to be connived that the heathen should be Lutheran Xtians than no Xtians,' the secretary was sure that Chamberlayne was of the same opinion.<sup>49</sup> Chamberlayne also acted as an intermediary for the Society with the court and the church authorities.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26; Bultmann, *op. cit.*, p 31f. For Wanley, see D. C. Douglas, *English Scholars* (London, 1939), pp. 120-127.

<sup>47</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 933C, fol. 77.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 78.

<sup>49</sup> SPCK, Society's Letters, CS2 3, fols 84-85.

<sup>50</sup> Allen and McClure, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Hayton, 'Moral Reform and Country Politics', p. 67, note 70. He was an active JP in Middlesex, as well as a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Queen Anne and afterwards to George I. Added to this, he was also chosen as the first secretary of the SPG in 1701. It is no wonder that he retired as the secretary of the SPCK in March 1702 because of 'many different business wh ch lye heavy upon him.' He also took over, on his father's death in 1703, the publication of *Angliae Notitiae, or the*



When the Society's deference to the authorities was in doubt in 1716, since it was thought to have defended Jacobite suspects at some charity schools, as has been seen above, Chamberlayne sensing the danger to the Society acted as a go-between for Archbishop Wake and the other members of the Society.<sup>51</sup> On this occasion he apparently disclosed to Newman his annoyance at the rising tide of party conflict. Newman again made a candid reply to him.

By what I have observed and heard I don't think I wrong them by saying I believe the far greater part [of the schoolmasters at charity schools] are what you call H[igh] churchmen, and therefore a clamour with or without ground by L[ow] Churchmen comes before them, You are to suppose their enquiries will of course be made with great implausibility.

The best thing that, I think, can be said to extenuate the misguided zeal of some, is that during an epidemical madness they had their share of it involuntarily, and if they are used with candour perhaps they will sooner come to their senses at least as far as some of their neighbours.<sup>52</sup>

Due to his connections with the continental Protestants, Chamberlayne was keen to build up the network of foreign correspondents of the SPCK. In fact, he took much of the foreign correspondence of the SPCK on himself. Added to this, he translated the works of European reformers, such as Samuel Puffendorf's *History of Popedom* (1691) and J. F. Ostervald's writings.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, he was a respected member of the republic of letters in his own right, admitted to be so by intellectual celebrities of the day.<sup>54</sup> The

*Present State of England*, the widely circulated general reference annals concerning English society.

<sup>51</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letters, Received, nos. 4883, 4889, 4890, 4898. 4977.

<sup>52</sup> SPCK, Society's Letters, CS2 6, fols 12-13.

<sup>53</sup> Having studied at Oxford and Leiden, he was known to be a naturally good linguist, corresponding in sixteen languages.

<sup>54</sup> For the republic of letters, see Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680-1750*. She mentions the 'Gabillon affair', in which



*Bibliothèque angloise*, which introduced English publications to readers on the continent, praised his translation of a book from Dutch into English while mentioning his hospitable character.<sup>55</sup>

For a long time I have been greatly wishing for a translation of the excellent *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries* written by Gerrard Brandt, a skilful Remonstrant minister. We are finally indebted for this translation to Mr Chamberlayne, an English gentleman known to a large number of foreigners for the obliging way in which he entertains at his home. He still offers a warm welcome to scholars who are travelling in England and is always ready to render them any kind of service.

It is unclear how far he engaged in relief activities for continental Protestants outside the SPCK. Nevertheless he was a commissioner for the Palatine brief of 1709 and a member of the English Commission for the relief for poor French refugees. With Archbishop Wake and others including the Huguenots and fellow leading members of the SPCK, he also helped to found the commission for the relief of proselytes in 1717 which was an attempt to entice the Roman Catholics to convert to Protestantism.<sup>56</sup> After his death in 1723, he must have been greatly missed by the continental Protestants. When a payment of expenses concerning the English pension was delayed, a Vaudois pastor at one of the Vaudois colonies in Germany lamented the loss of a powerful friend in England. 'If he had lived....I should already have been paid, especially as [he was witness] of my trouble and care.'<sup>57</sup>

Sir John Philipps, baronet, of Picton Castle, was also well known for his commitment to the Europe-wide charity school movements. As a reformer in

Chamberlayne reported to Jean Le Clerc in the Netherlands as a friend about Le Clerc's enemy Frédéric-Auguste Gabillon in England. See *ibid.*, pp. 164-166.

<sup>55</sup> *Bibliothèque angloise, ou Histoire littéraire de la Grande Bretagne* (Amsterdam, 1717-27 ), vol. 5 (1719), pp. 431-433. Cf. Goldgar, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>56</sup> R. A. Austen-Leigh, 'The Commission for the Relief of Poor Proselytes 1717-1730', *PHS*, 15 (1936), pp. 4-9; Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-137. The Commission was a semi-official body of the SPCK. Its records are kept at the SPCK archives.

<sup>57</sup> *Società di Studi Valdese, Torre Pellice, Coutte Germania*, fol. 8.



Parliament, he had been striving for legislation against immorality before the foundation of the SPCK.<sup>58</sup> He diligently attended the meetings as well as the committees of the Society when he was in London, while in Wales he poured his energy and money into the charity school movement: he helped to establish 95 charity schools there.<sup>59</sup> He was an admirer and supporter of August Hermann Francke, a leader of Pietism of the day, and of his educational institutions at Halle in Germany: he even visited Francke in Halle with his two sons in 1719.<sup>60</sup>

Among other key members, Dr Frederick Slare, a physician and member of the Royal Society, and Henry Hoare, an influential city banker, were also Francke's friends and patrons. Regarding Francke's institutions as the model for a charity school in England, they not only kept up correspondence with him but also sent English boys to Halle for their education.<sup>61</sup> Not only did Hoare become the treasurer of the East India project but his family bank was also involved in the financial aspects of the Society's wider activities especially concerning the relief for the continental Protestants.<sup>62</sup> Other members of the Hoare family supported these relief activities: his elder brother Richard was also an active member of some committees of the Society (see Tables 4 above and 5 below), and his younger brother Benjamin also

<sup>58</sup> He was a MP for Pembroke borough (1695-1702) and Haverfordwest (1718-22).

<sup>59</sup> Hayton, 'Moral Reform and Country Politics', pp. 55, 58-59; Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 289-290.

<sup>60</sup> Brunner, pp. 99-103, 245-246.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 3; SPCK, *A Circular Letter of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London, 1725).

<sup>62</sup> Hoare's Museum, Hoare's Bank, Ledger vol. 22, fol. 60, vol. 23, fol. 226. Hoare opened on behalf of the SPCK an account for their activities involving the matters abroad, and named 'The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in Foreign Parts.' Newman and Bohme were main users of this account.



worked on the projects for distressed continental Protestants as treasurer, and so did Henry's son, another Henry.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., vol. 32, fol. 71; Hoare's, Lr. W 376, fols 376-377, 386. SPCK, *Circular Letter of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (1725).



Table 5 Individual attendances at Malabar Committee

name year	Total number of meetings	Böhme	H. Hoare	Shute	Philipps	Dolins	Chamberlayne	Mayo	Bray	Ludolf	Nelson
1710	15	14	14	5	15	13	1	5	4	9	0
1711	38	34	34	15	25	15	2	5	9	12	2
1712	20	16	17	15	2	11	13	6	10	-	4
1713	35	21	30	17	17	17	11	12	6	-	1
1714	24	18	15	22	7	1	12	3	0	-	2
1715	24	20	6	14	19	2	9	3	1	-	-
1716	32	28	12	27	19	11	13	15	4	-	-
1717	24	22	9	22	16	7	10	4	3	-	-

Note: a dash (-) in the table indicates that the member had died.



From Figure 5 above (Individual attendances at general meetings by year 1708-1717) it is apparent that Anton Wilhelm Böhme, Pietist chaplain to the royal chapel at St James's Palace, rapidly deepened his involvement with the SPCK. This underlines the increase of influence from Halle in the Society, since he was a faithful protégé of August Hermann Francke, the leader of the moral reform movement in Halle. Table 5 above (Individual attendances at the Malabar Committee<sup>64</sup>) also suggests how deeply Böhme was involved with the committee for the East India project — this co-project with Halle was moreover the biggest project of the Society.

Another characteristic of the SPCK noted in these figure, is that there were only a few Church of England clergymen among the key members. Apart from Shute, there was only Richard Mayo, rector of St Michael's, Crooked Lane, who attended the Society regularly. He later became the second treasurer after the death of Shute. Though Claude Grôteste, Sieur de la Mothe was also a clergyman who conformed to the Church of England, he was basically a Huguenot minister in London, hence his presence was rather evidence of the ecumenical inclination of the SPCK. Böhme never conformed to the Church of England. It is often said that White Kennett (Bishop of Peterbrough from 1718) and George Smalridge (Bishop of Bristol from 1714) were active members: on the contrary, Kennett never attended any meetings of the Society during this period and Smalridge appeared at a only few general meetings a year. In striking contrast, lawyers formed a dominant group: among key members in Figure 5 above, there were John Tayleure, Vigerus Edwards, William Melmoth, Edward Jennings, and John Meller.

Henry Newman also needs further consideration. Although his name rarely appeared in the minutes of general meetings, he was there at almost all the meetings taking records. Despite his American origins, and education

<sup>64</sup> The committee for the East India project was called the 'Malabar Committee'.



at Harvard College,<sup>65</sup> he completely identified himself with the Society until his death in 1743. He regarded the other members as his masters, yet he gradually came to play an active role as he gained their confidence as well as that of Archbishop Wake.<sup>66</sup> As time went by, he became the last survivor of the first generation of leading members. As Brunner shows, Newman even tried to solve some difficulties in the mission in India on his own in 1733,<sup>67</sup> when he and Sir John Philipps were the only surviving leading members of the first generation. In the case of the persecution of the Protestants by the Archbishop of Salzburg in the first half of the 1730s, the huge correspondence of Newman with German Protestants reveals that his great efforts to save the Salzburgers were more than just those of a secretary.<sup>68</sup>

As has been seen, the leading members running the SPCK in London, with the help of information gathered by corresponding members, were a small group of individuals.<sup>69</sup> On one occasion, Newman described the

<sup>65</sup> He had become an Anglican by the time he joined the Society in 1703. Lowther Clarke, *A History of the S. P. C. K.*, p. 16.

<sup>66</sup> The correspondence between Wake and Newman shows warm friendship between them. At least once, Wake entrusted to Newman the communication of confidential materials. 'The enclosed being an account of what I did with the petition put into my hands from the directors of the Charity Schools, and containing some other matters only proper for their own perusal; and of my writing which no body living yet knows any thing of; I intreat you to take the first convenient opportunity to communicate it to them, with the very affectionate service of Sir, Your faithful Friend & Servant.' SPCK, Original Letters, CR2 2. no. 4810, William Wake to Newman, 6 June 1716.

<sup>67</sup> Brunner, op. cit., pp. 152-154.

<sup>68</sup> His correspondence with Samuel Urlsperger a Pietist in Augsburg and others in Germany on this occasion have been published: *Henry Newman's Salzburger Letterbooks*, ed. Jones.

<sup>69</sup> It should also be added here that they could obtain information on the proceedings of general meetings even though they did not attend. Apart from frequent correspondence between them, they apparently often met outside the Society, at places like coffee houses, chambers in the Inns of Court, or Westminster, where they exchanged information gathered as part of their involvement in the close-knit city life of London.



Society's work as 'the labours of a few good men for preventing this kingdom from becoming another Sodom.'<sup>70</sup> It seems reasonable to say that the leading members — lawyers, an MP, a courtier, well-established men of letters and a few clergymen in London — could be called a cross-section of the upper middling sort, but what seems exceptional is that some of them also had strong European connections and an ecumenical bent. They also gave the Society an increasingly secular character, so that the theological positions of their continental friends mattered less and less, so long as they were Protestants.

It may be that Bray felt he could safely entrust the main tasks of the Society to those key members who had wider connections than his, and himself concentrate on more down to earth projects like parochial libraries. On the other hand he may have found it uncomfortable that the SPCK took a somewhat independent line from the Church of England. As has been seen in the case of the Poor Palatines, Bray increasingly followed the reactionary trend of the Church of England, and attached more importance to conformity to the Church.<sup>71</sup> In the later years of the reign of Queen Anne he became increasingly alarmed at the Jacobite and Catholic threat, and hence he ardently supported some of the anti-Catholic and anti-Jacobite campaigns of the Society.<sup>72</sup> But it is misleading to make assumptions about the nature of

<sup>70</sup> SPCK, Special Letters CS3 2, fol. 72.

<sup>71</sup> Chapter II above.

<sup>72</sup> Added to his participation in the 'secret committee' (see below), Bray submitted to Archbishop Wake in September 1716 and March 1717, memorials giving some account of the meetings of Jacobites and Roman Catholics. Christ Church, Oxford, Wake MSS, fols. 164-185. Bray was also known as an ardent supporter of the Hanoverians during the last years of the reign of Queen Anne. He once said that 'how happy and religious our nation would be, when the house of Hanover came.' Some years after 1714 he allowed himself 'to alter his mind' and to become disappointed about the religious attitude of the Hanoverians. William Whiston, *Memoir of the Life and Writings of Mr William Whiston*, 2nd ed (London, 1753), p. 134. See also Bod., Rawlinson MSS 743 C., fol. 29.



the Society in the early decades as an institution firmly within the Church of England on the basis of Bray's theological position, which was more towards exporting the practices of the Church of England. Nevertheless Bray occupied an honorary status at the Society as a father figure. On 24 March 1709 when John Dent, one of its members, was accidentally killed by three soldiers, 'members of the Society were generally invited' to the victim's funeral and many attended. It was Bray who preached the funeral sermon at St Clements Church as representative of the Society.<sup>73</sup>

\* \* \*

In this chapter the main stress falls on that aspect of the SPCK reflecting the response of Protestants who felt threatened by the Catholic advance in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Especially as a result of the 'Glorious Revolution', the Catholic threat, being almost equal to the Franco-Jacobite threat, had a great political influence in Britain. Thus it was a logical consequence that, even if they were neither theologians nor clergymen, pious citizens felt the need to uphold England's prominence within the Protestant community, and to further the Protestant interest against encircling popery. As indicated in the original concept of a Protestant version of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, the SPCK's activities had more or less the aspect of an anti-Catholic campaign from its beginning.

For those who believed that reformation and combating Roman Catholics were inseparably linked, a Protestant collaboration was a natural aim. The Wanley manuscripts among the SPCK archives contain some evidence of a desire for a Protestant 'union'. They are a collection of letters which were written in the very early years of the Society to explain its intentions to

<sup>73</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 2-4, fols 158-159.



various correspondents.<sup>74</sup> The purpose of retaining these manuscripts was probably for reference by the leading members. Among these letters Wanley (the secretary 1702-1708) copied a memorial entitled 'concerning the preservation of religion', composed in April 1698, a year after the treaty of Rijswijk.<sup>75</sup> The document revealed a programme for creating a Protestant 'union' in Europe. The author firstly reviews the deteriorating situation of the Protestants, comparing it to the 'progress of popery' which it appeared 'little by little ruins the Reformed Religion all over Europe'.

First by the diligences [*sic*] of the Church of Rome, which loses no opportunity of keeping united, all the potentates of her communion, in the design of propagating that religion, even when they are in war among themselves, which..... does sufficiently stop the current of such new sects as spring up in her bosom, & might weaken her by separating from it.

Secondly by the little regard the Protestants have for their own defence, since they have neither the common benefit of union in affairs nor mutual correspondence against the common enemy, nor care sufficient to hinder the sectaries from increasing to the decrement of the truth.

While the treaty of Rijswijk resulted in the recognition of William III by Louis XIV, the demand for religious tolerance in France was abandoned by the allies, and the persecution of Protestants continued within Louis XIV's sphere of influence. The Protestant interest was weakening after the treaty from the author's point of view, and this opinion was shared by other contemporaries.<sup>76</sup> Thus, there was the call for a union of Protestants against 'Catholic progress'. In this memorial the author urged on William III the need to unite the Protestants and submitted three countermeasures against the Roman Catholics:

<sup>74</sup> SPCK, Wanley MS, CS3. These letters were copied by the hand of Humphrey Wanley the second secretary.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, fols 137-140.

<sup>76</sup> See Introduction.



First in sending out a method towards an union.  
 Secondly in forming the correspondence which may endure  
 whatever happens.  
 Thirdly in suppressing all novelties without persecution &  
 violence.

For achieving a Protestant 'union', the memorial suggests going as far as forming a council consisting of 'some fit person in every Protestant dominion' with the co-operation of the sovereigns. Here might have been the inspiration for the SPCK. Whoever the author was, the SPCK undoubtedly took hold of these ideas and soon set out, as a first step, on the project of setting up correspondence with continental Protestants.

The SPCK correspondence network began with the Halle Pietists and the Swiss divines, who were already well known in connection with moral reform and religious education. In the 1690s news of the orphanage lately established by August Hermann Francke at Glaucha near Halle, had already spread to London.<sup>77</sup> The interest in Halle education was so great that at the request of Archbishop Tenison two of Francke's students came to London and demonstrated their teaching methods based on the ideas of Halle.<sup>78</sup> On 11 May 1699, only two months after its foundation, the newly born SPCK invited the two students to its general meeting to give 'an account of the school erected at Hall [Halle], in Saxony, by Professor Frank.' At this meeting Francke was chosen as the first foreign corresponding member of the Society.<sup>79</sup>

Meanwhile the Swiss reformers eagerly awaited an opportunity to make an alliance with English Protestants, since they regarded England as the guardian of the Protestant interest in Europe.<sup>80</sup> In Switzerland around the

<sup>77</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Brunner, *op. cit.*, chap. 3.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 91-99.

<sup>79</sup> Society' Minute, 11 May 1699, printed in McClure, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>80</sup> Duffy, "Correspondence fraternelle"; Pierre Barthel, 'La «Religion de Neuchâtel» au petit matin du XVIIIe siècle, un phénomène unique en Europe!', *Musée Neuchâtelois*, 1987, 41-50;



turn of the century, the reform movements began to flower. Swiss divines had a particular reason to strive to strengthen their Protestant community. Placed in an awkward position by pressure from the Catholic powers, backed by Louis XIV, they felt very vulnerable. When Robert Hales, a younger son of a gentleman, who was eager to further the Protestant interest in Europe, travelled in Switzerland in the early 1700s, he found ready approval of the designs of the SPCK among Swiss divines. Excited by their reactions, Hales expressed his intention to devote himself to the SPCK's service on the continent.<sup>81</sup> Afterwards he worked apparently in the capacity of an official representative of the SPCK on the continent.<sup>82</sup> With Hales's effort to make 'the Society ... enter into a correspondence with the whole body of the Helvetic divines' in order to 'promote Reformation',<sup>83</sup> prominent Swiss divines — Jean-Frédéric Ostervald in Neuchâtel, Louis Tronchin and Jean-Alphonse Turretini in Geneva, Samuel Werenfels in Basle, Anton Klingler the Antistes of Zürich, and Johann Jacob Scherer in St Gallen — joined in the correspondence with the SPCK.

In December 1700, deploring 'the low ebb to which the Protestant interest is now reduced all over Europe', John Chamberlayne nevertheless derived great hopes from the response of foreign correspondents.

It is a truly great and glorious scheme which you have laid of forming committees like ours [the SPCK] in London in all the Protestant States throughout Europe in such a manner that these

<sup>81</sup> SPCK, Wanley MS, CS 3, fols. 67-69, 71-73; SPCK, Abstract Letter, Received, no. 239, printed in McClure, op. cit., pp. 316-317. For Hales' biography, see Duffy, "Correspondence fraternelle", p. 254f. After the Hanoverian Succession he became one of the clerks of the privy council. SPCK, Society Letters CS3 2, fol. 142.

<sup>82</sup> Since Hales was on the continent, his membership remained as a corresponding member until 1708 when he appeared at the Society and signed its declaration of 1699. Once he became a residing member in October 1708, he was honoured with the appointment of the chairman for the next month. SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 2-4, fols 22, 95, 102, 122.

<sup>83</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letter, no. 283, printed in McClure, op. cit., p. 330.



may correspond with ours here in London, from whence in time uncommon effects may ensue, to the Union, Support, or Comforts of Protestants. And as, till it shall please God to inspire Protestant princes and states to favour such a design, one would think, as you say, nothing should hinder in such great extremitities of the Reformation, private men from meeting and correspondence without noise, so the best way to render our superiors respectively sensible of the advantages of such councils of religion as you propose will be hasten, as soon as possible, the forming of such committees, and doing thereby all the good that shall be in our power.<sup>84</sup>

This passage suggests at once that the Society harboured, through the building up of the Protestant network of communications, a hope for a Protestant union, of which the blue-print was written in the memorial in 1698. The Society was firstly to form a group of individual reformers, secondly, to create correspondence between societies, and finally to obtain the approval and protection of sovereigns, so that a 'union' would be achieved. The Society pursued this line, optimistic as it was. In its vision of the struggle for a thorough reformation against the Catholic arch-enemy, it eagerly sought ways to obtain the best security possible for the Protestant community.

It should be noted that behind the idea of a Protestant union there was a quest for the unity of all the Protestant churches as 'the universal church', or the Catholic church, an idea which also challenged Roman Catholic claims. The members of the SPCK, as well as their foreign corresponding members, being conscious of this, made efforts to be worthy of the title of Catholic. Later in 1712 when the SPCK and Halle joint venture of 'propagating Christian knowledge [among] Malabarian heathens in the East Indies' was underway, August Hermann Francke congratulated them in a letter to the Society:

Posterity shall learn by it, how one nation can help the other  
in the common cause of propagating the Christian religion,

<sup>84</sup> SPCK, Wanley MS, CS.3, fols 75-77.



finding, that the German nation assisted therein the Danes, as the English do both.

He then acknowledged his previous initial reluctance to launch the venture, which might have threatened his own enterprises in Halle. Without the conviction that the SPCK had worked in the same spirit, the Halle Pietists would not have dared to embark upon it. Thus, it had been fortunate that the Society had also found that:

the undertaking of converting the Malabarians heathen to the Christian religion was a Catholick work, worthy to be promoted by all charitable publick spirited Christians.<sup>85</sup>

The SPCK received his letter as a pleasing compliment, agreeing as it did, with the ideal of the SPCK's catholicity. This ideal was expressed in a letter to a corresponding member:

The catholic church is the body of Christ, and it is by a reciprocal correspondence of its members that the gifts of each respectively become useful for the common good; No diversity of nations or opinions, ought to sever the members of this body in their affections to each other, any more than diversity of complexions, or the variety of features in an human face, much less to restrain us from communicating to one another such helps as may prove conducive to build us up in the substantial parts of religion wherein all parties are agreed.<sup>86</sup>

It may be assumed that the quest for catholicity, or at least an alliance of Protestants, had been laid as the foundation of the project for building up correspondence with continental Protestants.

Throughout the reign of Queen Anne, Robert Hales travelled around middle and northern Europe serving as a conduit between the SPCK and

<sup>85</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letters, Received, no. 3465. Cf. Schmidt, 'Ecumenical Activity on the Continent of Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', p. 74.

<sup>86</sup> SPCK, Special Letters C3/2, fol. 140.



continental Protestants. His action was also supported by the SPG.<sup>87</sup> In 1704 he came to the court of Copenhagen. While distributing the tracts of the Society, such as the *Soldier Monitor*, and propagating the intentions of the SPCK and the SPG, he met as the agent of the two societies not only Prussian courtiers but also representatives and nobles from Russia, Saxe-Gotha, Lüneburg and Lithuania. In August he reported of a reception of the *Soldier Monitor* in northern Europe.

[Hales] certifies his presenting the *Soldier Monitor* to the Queen of Poland and the Duke of Saxe-Gotha who received it very favourably...at Cassel there are 4000 *Soldier Monitor* and as many of the papers against swearing, already printed in order to dispersed amongst the Landgrave's soldiers...a Livonian divine has promised to turn some of our little tracts into Livonian, and Saxon divines [turn] some other [tracts] into Wenden [Lusatian language]...[Hales] hopes Dr Brink will turn the *Soldier Monitor* into Danish.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>87</sup> In the first couple of years after the foundation of the SPG in 1701, there was confusion concerning the roles and the functions of the SPCK and the SPG since the latter was designed by the members of the former. In May 1702, the secretary of the SPCK explained the relation of the two societies to a puzzled continental correspondent: '[the SPCK thinks] it not amiss to acquaint you that the Society for Propagating [*sic*] the Gospel in Foreign Parts established by the Royal Charter of the King William, was originally projected by this Society for Propagating [*sic*] Christian Knowledge whose members are all included in that and consequently, you having a copy of his late Majesty's Charter transmitted to you may find therein the names of those particular persons who compose this design of that most reverend and honourable body as to propagate the gospel in foreign parts, by which is chiefly understood, the English Colonies in America.' (The SPCK, Wanley MS, CS3, fol. 196.) Nevertheless the differentiation was still unclear: in 1702 both societies sent together an instruction to Hales in Berlin (*ibid.*, fol. 105); and some continental Protestants addressed correspondence not only to the SPCK but also to the SPG throughout the 1700s. Throughout the reign of Queen Anne Hales mainly spent his time on the continent: in England he appeared at eight general meetings of the SPCK between 24 June 1708 and 3 November 1709. SPCK, Minute Book, vols 2-4, 5.

<sup>88</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 1, fol. 302.



Backed by members including the Archbishop of Canterbury, he also had some anti-popery tracts translated into the 'Bohemian tongue' and possibly into Russian as well.<sup>89</sup> Hales was also welcomed in Berlin. He was even asked to recommend 'some good books' to the Czar's son.<sup>90</sup> In 1705 an observer wrote that the books distributed by Hales were exceedingly well received at the court of Berlin. The courtiers and kings of Prussia and Sweden vied with each other in praising the SPCK tracts.

[The Prince of Prussia] pulled out of his pocket one of the *Soldier monitors* [distributed by Hales] in this great council, and told that he had read it over with great satisfaction. The Baron Fuserus did also express his being affected by it, & the King ordered that every one of his soldiers should have one given him, & his Majesty is pleased to take one with him in all his expeditions. The King of Sweden has done the same, with the addition of the *Caution of Swears* at the end of it.<sup>91</sup>

Perhaps these co-operative attitudes on the part of the northern princes were not entirely due to their sympathy with moral reform, but were in part also the result of the political importance of England. As well as that, the Swiss divines expected to benefit from alliance with English reformers who were potential pipelines to the English government in case of emergency in Switzerland, so they perhaps wanted to strengthen the link with both the SPCK and the SPG. Added to this, the court of Berlin seriously took up the idea of a Protestant union based on the Church of England.<sup>92</sup> Encouraged by this reaction, the leading members in London responded swiftly to reports and requests from Berlin and arranged facilities for Hales.<sup>93</sup> Whatever the real intentions of the associates, the Society's network of correspondent members extended within a few years from Danzig to the Vaudois valleys near Turin.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., vol. 2-4, fol. 61.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., vol. 1, fols 288, 289.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., fol. 323.

<sup>92</sup> See Chapter III.

<sup>93</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 1, fols 287, 288, 289, 290.



By 1712, the High Dutch [German] versions of the Society's annual report were dispersed 'not only through a great part of Germany but have been sent as far as Moscow.... where some had read the Account of Charity Schools in England.' Accordingly a Pietist in Moscow 'received as much money as did amount to two pound sterling. Half of which was to be paid to the hospital in Halle, and the other half to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge at London.' <sup>94</sup>

Hales and the other continental members also gathered information on Protestantism where it was in the front line against the Catholic powers. Not all of the reports have been kept, but the surviving evidence demonstrates that they constantly monitored the situation of Protestants throughout Europe. For example news of persecutions in Lithuania and Savoy were delivered to the Society.<sup>95</sup> In 1706 Hales was informed in Dresden that 'the Roman Catholics seduce many Muscovites to popery, upon pretence, that the difference between the Greek & Latin churches is not essential.' Thus, in order to save Muscovites from the hands of Popery, he immediately requested the Society to send 'a small treatise demonstrating the errors of the Roman Church, with regard to the Greeks'.<sup>96</sup> It was believed in foreign countries that the distribution of the books would have the effect of preventing the spread of Catholic activities. The Society and its foreign associates therefore combined in their efforts to distribute the publications of the Society over Europe. In 1708 Hales reported from Celle on the current progress of several translations he was involved with.

A letter was read from Mr Hales.....reporting that Mr [Heinrich Ludolph] Benthem superintendent [of the Lutheran church] at Uelzen a little city about six German miles from Celle has almost finished his German version of Mr [Robert] Nelson's *Festivals and*

<sup>94</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letter, Received, no. 3061.

<sup>95</sup> For example, SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 1, fol. 288; vol. 5, fols 116-117; vol. 6, fol. 228; Abstract Letter, Received, nos. 4039, 4221.

<sup>96</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 1, fol. 399.



*Fasts*, which he will cause to be printed, tho' he has received another translation of it from Mr Scherer. And that if he had had one of these books when it was first published, he would have caused it to have been translated into French by this time. That *the Great Duty of Frequenting the Christian Sacrifice* being translated into German by Mr Scherer junior, is now in the press, as also the Account of the Corporation Society [SPG]. *The Christian Sacrifice* he printed at Dresden the last summer, with a tract of Dr Woodward's in the Bohemian tongue, the number of Protestants there being still very great. That he has conferred with Mr Benthem about translating *the Preservative against Popery* into German which treatise they both approve of. He thinks to get it translated and published first in Russian, and then in the German, for several reasons, tho' it will be difficult to find a translator, the person who turned Dr Woodward's *Soldiers Monitor* into the Muscovite language being dead. That Mr Benthem has solemnly abjured the Roman Catholic religion, which for several years he had most zealously defended; that his recantation sermon has been printed and that he has now in the press a large treatise wherein he gives invincible proofs of the errors of the Romish Faith out of their received authors.<sup>97</sup>

This report exhibits well how extensively the Society gave attention to the state of Protestantism across Europe. As has been seen in his letter from Dresden, the object of these translations was partly to oppose Catholic activities.

The Society pushed its name and objects to the very centre of the republic of letters. When the Society chose to distribute the anniversary sermon of the charity schools in 1710, *the Royal Benefactress* by George Smalridge,<sup>98</sup> as it would also be suitable 'to be printed for the use of foreigners', Hales looked for a person to write a preface to recommend it. This sermon mainly praised the charity of Queen Anne by comparing her with the pharaoh's daughter who rescued Moses, and claimed, in a moderate

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., vol. 2-4, fol. 61. For Heinrich Ludolph Benthem, see Heinrich Wilhelm Rotermund, *Das gelehrte Hannover* (Bremen, 1823), pp. 145-146; Die Historische Commission bei der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bayern, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (1975; repr. Berlin, 1967), II, 342-343.

<sup>98</sup> George Smalridge, 'the Royal Benefactress: A Sermon Preach'd in the Parish Church of St Sepulchre (1710),' in SPCK, *Twenty Five Sermons Preach'd at the Anniversary Meetings (1704-1728)* (London, 1729), pp. 145-174.



tone, the importance of the Society's charitable purpose of propagating Christian knowledge amongst 'the ignorant at home' as well as amongst 'infidels abroad'. It thus implied that it would be acceptable to all Protestant denominations though the decision to distribute it was influenced by Robert Nelson.<sup>99</sup> Approached by Hales, Jacques Basnage, who was one of the most influential ministers among the Huguenot community in Holland, accepted the task of writing a recommendation for the sermon.<sup>100</sup> The 300 copies of the sermon were printed in Holland and entrusted to Hales for their distribution on the continent; the Society reserving only a dozen copies for itself.<sup>101</sup> Basnage apparently not only recommended the sermon but also promised to publicise the Society's work itself among the Huguenot refugees in Holland. Hales asked for an extra 300 or 400 copies for the use of Basnage.

Mons. Basnage has put a fine advertisement to the translation which will much recommend it, he being esteemed as a Patriarch among the clergy of that country.....the meeting of the Synod of Rotterdam when it was published, gave him a very fair opportunity of making it well known which he has fully improved, and if he had the remainder of the impression or even 3 or 400 more he could make a good use of them by distributing them in the Imperial towns and other provinces of Europe, where the knowledge of it would tend much to the honour of the Church and nation of England, and of the Society in particular. <sup>102</sup>

Basnage's recommendation meant that the Society was internationally recognised for its importance. Much flattered, Henry Newman the secretary replied to Hales:

I am now by order to request that you would in the name of the Society be pleased to thank the Rev. Mr Basnage for his excellent

<sup>99</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 5, fol. 156, vol. 6, fol. 16.

<sup>100</sup> For biography of Jacques Basnage, see Gerald Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters at the Crossroads of European Civilization: Jacques Basnage and the Baylean Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic* (1987, Dordrecht).

<sup>101</sup> SPCK, Society's Letters, vol. 2, CS2 2, fols 55-56; Abstract Letter Book, Received, no. 3255.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.



advertisement by way of preface to the sermon &c which has no doubt contributed very much to recommend the several designs therein touched upon. I am only afraid that foreigners that come to see England will not find that zeal for piety and virtue as Mons. Basnage is pleased to compliment the nation with.<sup>103</sup>

Indeed, the foreign corresponding members of the Society came to regard membership as conferring on them the distinction of being recognised as a Protestant reformer. Some members, such as Benthem and Ostervald, inscribed their membership on the front pages of their writings along with their other titles, as if membership of the SPCK were a doctorate or professorship. One continental Protestant even recommended himself as a member of the Society.<sup>104</sup>

The Society also undertook the joint ventures of publishing books with the Halle Pietists, the Protestant community in Holland and the Swiss divines. Francke's *Pietas Hallensis*, Ostervald's *Catechism* and *Neufchatel Liturgy*, and various other publications were the outcome of those efforts. In fact, the Halle Pietists and the Swiss Divines were not on good terms with each other: in response to the Halle Pietists' deliberate indifference to the Swiss divines' books sent by the SPCK, the Swiss divines wrote critical letters about Pietism to the SPCK. Ostervald in Neuchâtel regarded Pietism as an abominable schism. He reported:

that the sect of Pietists in Switzerland are still increasing, and some of 'em came even into the Principality of Neufchatel so that at Yverdun a town within seven leagues off Neufchatel a 1/4 of the church begin to make a schism. That those people are very unreasonable, but that the stone at which they have stumbled ought also to be put away from among us by exercising a good discipline in our churches and not suffering those that live scandalously to come to the Holy Communion.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>103</sup> SPCK. Special Letters CS3 2, fol. 72; Minute Book, vol. 6, fol. 16.

<sup>104</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, Received., no, 2777.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., no. 2097. See also another Ostervald's letter printed in McClure, op. cit., p. 335.



However, the Society was happy to send Ostervald's books to Pietists.<sup>106</sup> The Society's attitude is indirectly exhibited in the secretary's letter in 1716 to a reformer, possibly a Pietist, at Leipzig: In this letter the secretary emphasised that 'all denominations among Christians', of course 'except those of the Romish Communion', were united in 'the common good'; 'some gentlemen of Geneva' avoided involving controversies, and the Halle Pietists made efforts 'toward a thorough reformation by educating the youth in piety' and promised 'a more universal harmony'.<sup>107</sup> From the Society's point of view, belief in the need for moral reformation served to unite Protestants of all denominations.

Another important aspect of the SPCK's anti-popish activities was the so-called secret committee. The surviving evidence at the SPCK archive shows that its campaign against Catholicism was more organised and had a wider scope than has been thought. The most suggestive documents are the partly surviving minutes of the secret committee serving from around 1711 to 1715 and the reports from agents, obviously hired by the committee, in Catholic territories.<sup>108</sup> Though the greater part of the minutes are lost or

<sup>106</sup> SPCK, Miscellaneous Abstracts 1709 to 1722, fols.145-160. There seem to have been no reply from Francke concerning Ostervald's writings but other Lutherans, such as, Benthem in Celle and Jablonski in Berlin, welcomed them. SPCK, Abstracts Letters, Received, nos. 3165, 3381.

<sup>107</sup> SPCK, Special Letters CS3/2 1708-1732, fols 140-142.

<sup>108</sup> SPCK, Secret Committee on Popery; SPCK, French Protestant 2: Letters received 1713-1715. The surviving part of the minutes is only after 1713, nevertheless the committee started its activities around 1711, since their content suggests the SPCK's involvement with the Bill against further Growth of Popery in 1711. Newman the secretary also admitted in 1718 that his friends 'used to meet' in the reign of Queen Anne in connection with the bill. SPCK, Newman's Private Letters, vol. 1, CN4 1, fol. 45. See also SPCK, Papers and Memorials 1715-1729, CP1, fols 3-22. Little attention has been paid to this committee, the MA dissertation of Glenice Siddall being the only one to examine it even briefly. See Siddall, op. cit, pp. 79-84. Colin Haydon also has pointed



destroyed by contemporaries, and most of the names of the attenders remained anonymous, they substantiate the point that the SPCK's activities developed in scope. The secrecy might have been partly due to the worry about the Jacobite connections of some members.<sup>109</sup> Another reason could have been their fear of Catholic conspirators. Certainly, the members of the committee believed in the existence of popish assassins. In 1712 Dr Thomas Bray did not reveal his authorship of a Protestant martyrology<sup>110</sup> because he feared that the fate of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, an alleged Protestant martyr at the time of the Popish Plot in 1678-9, would fall on him.<sup>111</sup> Apparently the members of the committee believed themselves to be living in an era riven by murderous ideological divisions. Some may argue that the committee was 'a symptom of temporary fears about the Catholics in the late stage of the reign of Queen Anne', as Craig Rose has claimed. However, it also has been

out the anti-Catholic aspect of the SPCK. See, Haydon, 'The Anti-Catholic Activity of the S. P. C. K. c. 1698-1740', *Recusant History* 18 (1987), 418-421.

<sup>109</sup> In most of the minutes the names of the attenders are blacked out. However, the names of some correspondents are named in 1713 and some members reveal their identities after August 1715 in the latter parts of the minutes. From this evidence at least the following persons kept in touch with the committee and were also attenders: Henry Newman, Thomas Bray, John Chamberlayne, Sir John Phillips, Henry Shute, Richard Mayo, S. Woodcock, John Gunston, and T. Blunden.

<sup>110</sup> [Thomas Bray], *Papal Usurpation and Persecution, As it has been exercised in ancient and modern Times With respect both to Princes & People; A fair Warning to all Protestants, to guard themselves with the utmost Caution against the Encroachments & Invasions of Popery; As they value their Estates, Lives, and Liberties, but above all, as they would preserve their Consciences free from the forest of all Tyrannies and Oppression. The whole divided into two tomes, answerable to the subject matter, as it relates both to Princes and People; And designed as supplemental to the Book of Martyrs, as well in the several ages antecedent to the Reformation, where that is found defective; As by continuing the same most useful part of ecclesiastical History, MARTYROLOGY, down to these present times. By a sincere Lover of our Protestant Establishment both in Church and State. The Heart of the Wise is in the House of Mourning; But the Heart of Fools is in the House of Mirth, Eccles. V. 4.* (London, 1712).

<sup>111</sup> SPCK, Society's Letters, CS2 2, fol. 3.



shown how much information about Catholic activities could be gathered by the committee through the other members of the SPCK without letting them know of its existence, and accordingly how far SPCK members were generally conscious of a Catholic threat.<sup>112</sup> The scale and scope of information amassed by the committee was considerable: it could not have been gathered without constant monitoring of Catholic activities.

Information on Catholic activities came to the SPCK from all over Britain. The first surviving folio of the minutes is about the discussions in late 1712 or early 1713 concerning a poor 15 year old girl in St Martin's parish, London, called Anne Millington, and a report about a papist called Mrs Simon Digby from Charles Tiltley at South Luffenham in Rutland.<sup>113</sup> According to the report to the SPCK, the girl, trying to escape from her popish mother, asked for help.

.....a popish priest has been often to visit the daughter to instruct her, but the girl will not hearken to him. Her mother has frequently compelled her to go to Mass with her, but the girl takes all occasions to give her the slip and go to the Church of England, for which she is beaten when she comes home under the pretence that she goes thither, not for the sake of religion, but to fall into ill company. By this means the girl lives a dog's life and would go into any service to be out of reach of her mother.

The committee seriously considered arranging for the adoption of Millington and looked for 'Protestant guardians' for her.<sup>114</sup> She was apparently put in the care of a 'charitable lady'.<sup>115</sup> The children of 'Mrs Digby at Luffenham', also became a matter for consideration. This case alarmed the committee more seriously because Mrs Digby was assumed to be under the influence of a Catholic priest called 'Porter'. The committee traced Porter through members

<sup>112</sup> Rose, 'The Origins and Ideals of the SPCK,' p. 186. Rose's information on the secret committee relied on the studies of Siddall.

<sup>113</sup> SPCK, Secret Committee, fol.1.

<sup>114</sup> SPCK, Society's Letter, vol. 3, CS2 3, fols 2-3.

<sup>115</sup> SPCK, Secret Committee, fol. 4.



of the SPCK concerned with Rutland while distributing extra publications against popery in the area as well as attempting to have Mrs Digby's children adopted.<sup>116</sup> Dr Stanley, Dean of St Asaph, was surprised to be inquired of by the SPCK about his inclinations regarding 'being guardian to the children of Mrs Digby at Luffenham.' He had to make excuses:

That he does not know that he is related to Mrs Digby. But notwithstanding he should not decline to do such an act of charity as is proposed if it were in his power, he being at present engaged in another charitable affair which will take up his thought.<sup>117</sup>

The report from John Disney at Lincoln about Catholic practices under the patronage of the Widdrington family constituted another matter for concern,<sup>118</sup> and the opening of a 'Mass house' in York was diligently reported to the committee.<sup>119</sup> In reply to a request by Newman, Samuel Peploe at Preston in Lancashire, sent the Society detailed letters concerning the popish activities in his neighbourhood.<sup>120</sup> Captain Thomas Morris, a corresponding member of the SPCK in Carlisle, was asked to investigate the activities of popish priests in the Highlands.<sup>121</sup> Furthermore the committee

<sup>116</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letters, Received, nos. 3445, 3507. SPCK, Society's Letter, CS2/3, fol. 8; SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 6, fols 37, 53, 55, 59.

<sup>117</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letters, Received. no. 3415.

<sup>118</sup> SPCK, Secret Committee, fols 5, 7, 9. Also, see SPCK, Abstract Letters, Received, nos. 3474, 3497. William, the 4th Baron Widdrington was an active participant in the Jacobite rebellion. For the Widdringtons, see L. Gooch, "'Incarnate Rogues and vile Jacobites": Silvertop v. Cotesworth, 1718-1723,' *Recusant History*, 18 (1986-1932), 277-288.

<sup>119</sup> SPCK, Secret Committee, fols 3, 6.

<sup>120</sup> SPCK, Papers and Materials 1715-1729, CP1, fols. 139-142, 146-147.

<sup>121</sup> SPCK, Secret Committee, fol. 11. See also SPCK, Society's Letters, CS2 3, fols 72-73. For the Catholics in Lancashire around 1715, see Colin Haydon, 'Samuel Peploe and Catholicism in Preston, 1714,' *Recusant History*, 20 (1990), 76-80; B. G. Blackwood, 'Lancashire Catholics, Protestants and Jacobites during the 1715 rebellion,' *ibid*, 22 (1994-1995), 41-59.



enquired of their 'friends in London and Westminster of the number of popish chapels and the people that resort to them', and made a list of them.<sup>122</sup> The committee also keenly monitored the Petre family in Essex.

Mr M--o [Mayo] reported that he had received a letter from a friend in Essex wherein he is informed that the Lord Petre's seat is 10 miles from Chelmsford and that there is a great resort of papists about his Lordship's seat and that he keeps 200 horses in his stable.<sup>123</sup>

...they had been informed from Stanford Rivers near Ongar in Essex that my Lord Petre is Lord of the manor there [and] that the papists have perverted the wife of the clerk of the parish to popery, and the clerk himself is in wavering condition, and often goes to Mass at Lord Petre's, that at Kelvedon about a mile from Ongar Mr Wright a papist is Lord of the manor whose house adjoins to the church.<sup>124</sup>

The information gathered was not confined to Britain. From the continent, Ostervald, Basnage and other Protestants sent news of Catholic activities. In 1712 the committee also hired an agent, called Wilkins, to investigate the Protestants and the religious situation generally in France.<sup>125</sup> Wilkins picked up the news of the Protestant galley slaves, who had moved from Dunkirk to Marseilles in late autumn 1712, and spied on the Jacobites and English Catholics. He reported to Chamberlayne in April 1713:

For to find out what detachments they [the English Catholics in France] make yearly to England, and what revenues they draw from France, is impossible: they have it sub sigillo confessionis never to speak of it, and it is not known but to the treasurer and the prior of every convent; yet as much as I can find by other gentlemen discoursing of it, they cannot have any annual

<sup>122</sup> SPCK, Secret Committee, fol. 10; Papers and Memorials 1715-1729, CP. 1, fol. 76.

<sup>123</sup> SPCK, Secret Committee, fol. 4.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., fol. 6. For the Catholics in Essex, see E. S. Worrall, 'Eighteenth Century Jesuit Priests in Essex', *Essex Recusant*, 4 (1962), 116-122; J. G. O'Leary, 'Papist Estates', *Essex Recusant*, 2 (1964), 49-56; do., 'Stanford Rivers, the Bellhouse and the Petre Family', *Essex Recusant*, 16 (1974), 107-111.

<sup>125</sup> SPCK, Secret Committee, fols 4, 6, 10; SPCK, French Protestant 2, Letter Received 1713-1715.



revenues from England except what some young gentlemen and nuns that are in for some few years in such places have allowed them by their relations. The monks and priests themselves live upon the foundation, & if a gentleman of an estate consecrates himself to a certain order after his years of noviciatus, all what he can get returned to that convent falls to the common stock. The same as it is with the nuns in this case. Abundance of English youth live at Nanterre two leagues of Paris in a sort of colledge, most of them Yorkshire [...] people for to be instructed in the popish religion and some sciences....<sup>126</sup>

It is likely that Wilkins, or the SPCK through some other route, communicated with other Protestant agents as well, since the Society even had a list of the numbers of the English Catholic students abroad, from France to Italy.<sup>127</sup>

As a consequence of those reports, the secret committee was convinced that Protestant England was in serious danger in the early 1710s. Already in November 1712 Henry Newman wrote to Robert Hales in the Hague that 'Popish priests come daily over to us from Dunkirk to pave the way for some design which they seem to be big of, and there are already many instances of perversion to their bloody religion, which show that they are not idle..'<sup>128</sup> In 1713 the secret committee was informed:

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., fol. 15.

<sup>127</sup> SPCK, Papers and Materials 1715-1729, CP1, fols. 47-53. The purpose of the list is to show how the Catholic powers were preparing to take over the ecclesiastical government in England. 'By this list you see the number of the religious houses & seminaries abroad, and the numbers of persons therein may be easily concluded as full as many if not more than are educated in the universities of England, Scotland and Ireland: for tho the Protestant clergy of those kingdoms are de facto in position of the ecclesiastical benefices, yet the popish clergy affirm themselves to be the true bishops of all the dioceses and churches in her Majesty's dominions, and so beyond sea keep a form of church government in England by making and appointing bishops and priests for every bishopric and living in England and these they account to be the lawful clergymen because they are admitted by the authority of the Pope, whom they own to be the head of the Church of England...'

<sup>128</sup> SPCK, Society's Letters, CS2/2, fol. 91. In May 1713, Newman asked Henry Austen at the King's Head in Dover, who was introduced to the committee by Wilkins, to send the



that from good hands within one year past 400 Jesuits and popish ecclesiastics were embarked for England to carry on their harvests, that they imagine to be so great in their parts that the Society *de Propaganda fide* [sic] have ordered all those of the three kingdoms that are abroad and capable to propagate Christianity to return to those respective countries: That these orders are to be punctually obeyed so that there are not enough left to say mass and some cloisters are entirely deserted by the Britains [sic] , and in particular that at Liege &c.<sup>129</sup>

Although, some figures in their information were very much exaggerated, the fear of the committee was not simply paranoid fantasy. For instance, the Petre family, the secret committee's prime target, indeed, offered a sanctuary for Catholic missionaries: the chaplaincy at Ingatestone, on the family estate in Essex, was filled by Robert Manning 'one of the foremost Catholic figures of the age.' According to the author of *The Catholic Church in Ingatestone*, 'without the presence and support of the Petres, the Catholic Church in Ingatestone, in Essex, and perhaps in other parts of southern England, too, would have all but died out.'<sup>130</sup> The family was connected with both the English Catholic schools abroad and also with Jacobites. Benjamin Petre was a chaplain and tutor to James Radcliffe, the 3rd earl of Derwentwater, a leader of the Jacobite uprising in 1715. Derwentwater's only daughter was in 1732 married to the 8th Baron Petre.<sup>131</sup>

SPCK a report 'concerning such popish priests or emissaries as come into England through your town.' Society's Letters, CS2 3, fol. 25.

<sup>129</sup> SPCK, Secret Committee, fol. 6. The peak number of the English Jesuits was reached in 1710. According to Geoffrey Holt, the total number of English Jesuits was 353 in 1710; the number of missionaries in England and Wales was 127, in 1710. Holt, *The English Jesuits in the Age of Reason* (Tunbridge Wells, Kent, 1993), p. 3.

<sup>130</sup> Stewart Foster, *The Catholic Church in Ingatestone from the Reformation to the Present Day* (Great Wakering, Essex, 1982), p. 17.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 42; J. G. O'Leary, 'The Disturbances of 1715 and Catholic Recusants', *12 Essex Recusant* (1970), 68-69.



There is limited information on how the Society used this information to counter Catholic activities, apart from distributing 'Christian literature' in those suspicious areas. Certainly it passed on information to the prelates. It was also behind the bill against the further growth of popery in 1711<sup>132</sup> and the release of Protestant galley slaves in Marseilles.<sup>133</sup> After the accession of George I and the defeat of the Jacobites, there was a considerable sense of relief among the members of the committee.<sup>134</sup> Newman proudly reported its efforts to the Archbishop:

A number of gentlemen, both of clergy and laity, of honour as well as fortune in Great Britain and Ireland, did dare to associate themselves in the three last years of Queen Anne's reign to watch the advances to popery, and to meet weekly, to communicate to one another such intelligence as came to their knowledge, and to consider of the best means to countermine the device of the enemies to the Protestant Succession on which all that was dear to them depended.....several of these gentlemen...shew'd a zeal worthy of men that were resolved to be martyrs in the cause....<sup>135</sup>

<sup>132</sup> SPCK, Papers and Memorials 1715-1729, CP. 1, fols. 3-22; *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1711-1714, vol. 17, pp. 112, 131, 165, 176.

<sup>133</sup> SPCK, French Protestants 2, MPP/ C/2 et al. See note 119, Chapter II.

<sup>134</sup> Members of the secret committee were apparently strong supporters of the Hanoverians. For example, see SPCK, Society's Letters, CS2/4, fols 60-62. Newman to Robert Hales at Hanover, 27 August 1714. 'I did congratulate you by a hasty letter wrote on the day King George was proclaimed and sent by the hand of our friend Mr Hodges who is gone to assist in the train of those that meet his Majesty but I can't help repeating my congratulations for the happy turn that things do seem to have taken in so short a time as his Majesty has reigned. It is not be imagined what a silence has overspread our party prize fighters so that whereas about a month since a pamphlet war raged with that vehemence that some even dared to give odious insinuations of the most august family of Hanover, we are now in such a profound tranquillity as one would have thought impossible could have succeeded so soon the unnatural ferment we were in...'. The books which Hales received in Hanover to distribute at the Hanoverian court were anti-Catholic literature: '*Bp Tillotson's sermon against Popery, Mr Marolle's sufferings, Marq. de Langalerie's Reason's &c.* [for renouncing the popish religion], *Bp Clogher's sermons &c.*, *Account of the Inquisition in Portugal, Monssr. Le Fevre's sufferings &c*, *Bp William's Popish Cat. with a reply, Art of Restoring &c.*'

<sup>135</sup> Christ Church, Wake MSS., Epist 15. fol. 442.



Yet, a few years later, the Society again rallied against the Catholics. In 1718 some of the members 'resumed the consideration of the materials they [had] collected for a Bill to prevent the Growth of Popery' as a means for strengthening the Protestant interest.<sup>136</sup> There was no longer a secret committee, but some active members of the Society joined with the Archbishop of Canterbury and others in 1717 to found the commission for the relief of proselytes.<sup>137</sup> Moreover, anti-Catholic literature always occupied a certain amount space in its distribution list and this continued into the present century [See Figure 8 below].<sup>138</sup> The secret committee was

<sup>136</sup> SPCK, Newman's Private Letters, CN4/1, fol. 45.

<sup>137</sup> See note 56 above.

<sup>138</sup> Based on the list of the SPCK's publications, which first appeared in 1733, in *An Account of the Origins and Designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London, 1733). Joseph Downing, the Society's publisher, put an advertisement in 1714 in several publications naming the titles of books against popery. Later in 1735 his widow again published an advertisement of several small tracts against popery in various daily papers by order of the Society. SPCK, Minute book, vol. 16, fols. 96, 101. The books in the advertisement of 1714 are as follows: (1) Anon., *Popery display'd: Or, the Church of Rome described in its true colours. Being a faithful Description of the Romish Religion, and Companion of it with the Reformed: Shewing the Protestant Religion to be the safe Way to Heaven, and that of Rome, the most Unsafe and Dangerous. For a Warning to those who would be saved, to separate themselves from that Corrupted Church*; (2) Anon., *The Maxims of the Popish Polity in England; with the Means to stop its Progress. To which is added, an Abstract of several letters written by the Reverend Dr Talbot, in which many of the articles used by the Popish Missionaries are detected*; (3) Anon., *The History of the Inquisition, with an Account of the Cruelties executed therein. Written by one of the Secretaries to the Inquisition*; (4) Anon., *A Faithful Account of the Cruelties done to the Protestants on Board the French King's Galleys, on the Account of the Reformed Religion*; (5) Anon., *A Specimen of Papal and French Persecution; as also of the Faith and Patience of the late French Confessors and Martyrs*; (6) Anon., *The Marquis de Langalerie's Reasons for Renouncing the Popish Religion: With the Discourse addressed to him in the French Church of Frankfort upon Oder, at his publick abjuration of the errors thereof*; (7) Anon., *An Abstract of the History of the cruel Sufferings of the blessed French Martyr Louis de Marolles, from his condemnation*

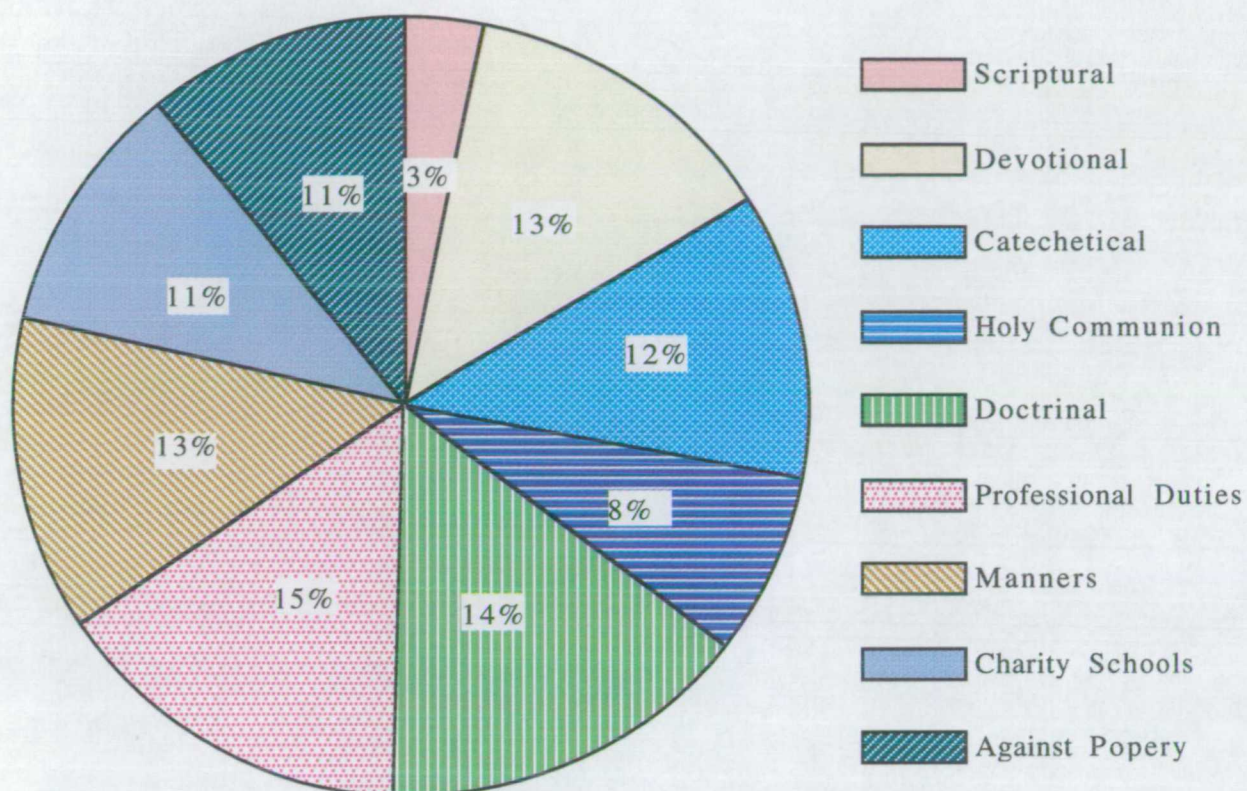


an instance of how under the intense fear of Catholicism the Society became almost militantly committed to the Protestant cause. With the political stability of the Hanoverians, the Society returned to more modest anti-Catholic activities: relief for persecuted Protestants, co-operation with Protestant missionaries outside Europe, and distribution of Protestant literature.

*to the Gallies, to his Death in the Dungeon. Translated from the French. To which is added, a Reason of the Barbarities lately exercised toward several eminent persons at Montaubon, in a letter dated Jan. 29, 1713; (8) Anon., An Account of the Sufferings and Death of the faithful Martyr Mr Isaac le Fevre, an Advocate of Parliament, who, after 18 years imprisonment, died a slave in the French King's Gallies. 'The advertisement of Joseph Downing in Bartholomew-Close', in anon., An Account of the Conversion of Fran. de Chalus, Sieur de la Motte, And all his Family to the Reformed Religion (London, 1714), n. pag.*



**Fig. 8 Publications of the SPCK analysed by type for the year 1733**  
( total:93 )





The Society was not zealous to convert Catholics generally, though some members joined the commission for the relief of proselytes. Its efforts focused on the reinforcement of the Protestant community, by turning irreligious people into committed Protestants through the distribution of Protestant literature. As regards Ireland, the SPCK grasped the difficulties of the task from its beginning, although it came to feel the need to try to convert the population to Protestantism. Yet the question of the Protestant reformation in Ireland required the consideration of other factors, it is worth a brief mention here.

In December 1700, Chamberlayne replied to a correspondent who suggested a plan for the conversion of the Irish.

What you say of the ignorance and barbarity of the Irish is certainly too true; but hitherto all means of instructing those people have proved so ineffectual, that we have little reason to hope of success in any attempts we can make to give them Christian knowledge.<sup>139</sup>

Not only the SPCK, but other reformers too, chose to reinforce the Protestant establishment first, and deferred the question of the Catholic conversion. Thus, the Society supported mainly the promotion of charity schools for Protestant children in Ireland. However, in defiance of all opposition, John Richardson, a corresponding member of the SPCK, shouldered the conversion of the Irish as a self-imposed task. Being a zealot of Gaelic culture except for 'the Popish religion' he battled to propagate 'Christian Knowledge' among the Irish, while running up a huge debt, and failing to obtain official support.<sup>140</sup> The SPCK at last ventured to rescue Richardson in 1711. Recognising that his undertaking was already 'very expensive', the Society

<sup>139</sup> Wanley MS, CS.3, Chamberlayne to Deberinghen, 3 December 1700, fols 75-77.

<sup>140</sup> Peter Brock, 'Daniel Ernst Jablonski and Education in Lower Lusatia', *The Slavonic & East European Review*, XLIV (1996), 444-446.



decided to help the publication of Common Prayer Books in Irish and the distribution of his books and a pamphlet entitled *A Proposal for the Conversion of the Popish Natives of Ireland, to the Establish'd Church*.<sup>141</sup> It also raised subscriptions among its members for this project.<sup>142</sup> Encouragement came from an unexpected quarter: Berlin. From there, Daniel Ernest Jablonski, the chaplain to the King in Prussia and an SPCK corresponding member, praised Richardson's scheme, mainly because he found it to be the equivalent of his own task of converting the Lusatian Serbs [the Wenden in Lausitz] by using their vernacular language.<sup>143</sup> To justify its support for Richardson, the SPCK published Jablonski's letter on this matter, but, alas, did not impress other corresponding members. The general opinion was that if the charity schools movement were to succeed better, the Irish would realise the advantage of the education forwarded and send their children to school willingly, especially since many Irish diligently learned English.<sup>144</sup>

Anyone who has considered the SPCK's relations with the foreign Protestants throughout the eighteenth century cannot help noticing that the Society withdrew from co-operation with foreign Protestants by the middle of the eighteenth century. There may have been at least twenty corresponding members on the continent in the 1710s and 1720s but their number remains unknown since there is no list existing concerning the foreign corresponding members of the first half of the century. By 1770, when a list of foreign correspondents was first published, their number had been reduced to two. Moreover the list neglected some existing foreign

<sup>141</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 6, fols 1, 54; Standing Committee Minute, vol. 1, fols 198-199.

<sup>142</sup> SPCK, Miscellaneous Abstracts 1709 to 1722, fol. 76.

<sup>143</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, Received no. 4068. See, Peter Brock, op. cit., 446-448.

<sup>144</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, Received, no. 5298.



members.<sup>145</sup> When Johann August Urlsperger, a Pietist in Augsburg, visited England in 1779, with hopes of forging an alliance of the Protestant communities in Europe,<sup>146</sup> he was received coolly by the Society. Urlsperger's father Samuel was a close friend of Henry Newman and both of them did their best to transport the persecuted Salzburgers to America in the 1730s, so Urlsperger himself had counted on the Society's co-operation. However the Society did not show any interest in him: it did not even bother to distribute copies of his speech to the Society's meeting.<sup>147</sup>

The first and decisive cause of the SPCK's detachment from the continental Protestants was the deaths of the leading members of its first generation, of which the last was Newman in 1743.<sup>148</sup> It is also reasonable to say that the mainstream of the Church of England had become introverted and that the Society reflected this trend.

As has been seen in Chapter II, when the Protestants in Kieydan and Salzburg asked for help from England in the early 1730s, briefs were not issued even though the former were assumed to be English (or Scottish) by origin.<sup>149</sup> Therefore the SPCK started campaigns to raise subscriptions while

<sup>145</sup> Society's Report, 1770, p.36. The next year they added Samuel and J. A Urlsperger to the list. In fact, the former had joined the Society in 1727 and the latter did so in 1764. Ibid., 1771, p. 57.

<sup>146</sup> For his ecumenical activity, see Schmidt, 'Ecumenical Activity on the Continent of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', 117-119.

<sup>147</sup> See Duffy, 'The Society of [sic] Promoting Christian Knowledge and Europe,' 28. For Urlsperger senior's relationship with the SPCK, see Gordon Huelin, 'The Relationship of Samuel Urlsperger to the 'Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,' in *Samuel Urlsperger (1685-1772) Augsburger Pietismus zwischen Außenwirkungen und Binnenwelt*, ed, Reinhard Schwarz (Berlin, 1996)

<sup>148</sup> See, Duffy, 'The Society of [sic] Promoting Christian Knowledge and Europe,' 41; Brunner, op. cit., pp. 258-260; Huelin, op. cit., 158.

<sup>149</sup> Anon., *The City of Kieydan, the metropolis of the Dutchy of Smamogitia*.



some bankers who were members of the SPCK took charge of the money.<sup>150</sup> Sir John Philipps and Newman, the survivors of the first generation, did their best to make the campaigns a success.<sup>151</sup>

The new generation felt awkward about a role which went beyond that of secretary, and Newman made the mistake of dealing personally with some conflicts among missionaries in India without first consulting a general meeting. Schultze, one of the missionaries, lacked the ability to work with others, excluded fellow missionaries from decision-making in the mission, and caused the resentment of others.<sup>152</sup> Newman tried to keep the problem as quiet as possible. When the leading members of the SPCK learned of the fact, they could not overlook the secretary's action.<sup>153</sup> Accordingly, in 1735 a decision was taken at a meeting which clearly put restrictions on Newman's activities and consequently upset him:

That the Secretary of this society do not open any letter directed to him as their secretary, but at some meeting of the Society, or of their committee, nor communicate such letters to any one, but by their consent first obtained nor act in any matter relating to this society but by their direction.<sup>154</sup>

Mortified, Newman begged forgiveness from the leading members of the day,<sup>155</sup> and Sir John Philipps, Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, a Halle

<sup>150</sup> *The City of Kieydan, the metropolis of the Dutchy of Smamogitia*; Newman to Samuel Urlsperger, 25 July 1732, printed in Jones, op. cit., p. 23. In either case, the Hoare family held the money.

<sup>151</sup> See Chapter II above.

<sup>152</sup> For difficulties among missionaries caused by Schultze, see Brunner, op. cit., pp. 146-153.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 152.

<sup>154</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 16, fol. 47. See also, fols 44, 46, 48-50.

<sup>155</sup> SPCK. Newman's Private Letters, CN4 6, vol. 6, fols 11-15.



Pietist, and other friends rallied to modify the above order.<sup>156</sup> Nevertheless it caused Newman to retreat from the front line. Leonard Cowie, the modern biographer of Newman, has commented on the Society's cool reception of the news of Newman's death in 1743. In the official records there was no expression of regret or grief but just an announcement of its secretary's death. Cowie has suggested that 'formal expressions of regret were not the custom, and Newman left no relations in England. The members of the Society perhaps acted in the most fitting way.'<sup>157</sup> Another possibility is that this indicates an indication of Newman's alienation from the others because of his activities on behalf of foreign Protestants, as the Society was apparently losing interest in the continental Protestant community. This was also the time that the SPCK came more under the control of the Church of England and also became more insular. The death of Sir John Philipps in 1737, followed by Newman's in 1743, must have added to the process of cooling towards foreign Protestants.<sup>158</sup>

A complete reformation in Europe was a central concern of the SPCK during the first few decades after its foundation. This was partly due to the Catholic threat, both at home and abroad, so that the generation which had had the experience of feeling threatened by James II and Louis XIV, could identify its possible fate with that of continental Protestants. The perception of the next generation was different and, to some extent, more Anglocentric.

<sup>156</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 16, fols 52, 54. On 21 January the general meeting agreed that the order relating to the secretary be amended. The amendment was as follows: 'That no foreign letter directed to the secretary of this society be opened by him, but in the presence of the Society, a committee, or of one subscribing member at the least.' Ibid., fol. 54.

<sup>157</sup> Cowie, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

<sup>158</sup> Eamon Duffy and Daniel Brunner have arrived at a similar conclusion by a different route. Duffy, 'The Society of [*sic*] Promoting Christian Knowledge and Europe,' 39-40; Brunner, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-260.



As the eminent Catholic threat faded away, the SPCK forgot its origin as the creation of a Europe-wide reformation movement.



## Chapter V

### Anglican Supporters on the Continent

Two Vaudois gentlemen (Appia by name) arrived at Zürich some weeks ago, with a letter from your Lordship [Bishop Compton] to the Antistes [Anton Klingler], who treated them handsomely during their stay at Zürich, and when they left that place, he was pleased to give them 30 crowns toward their journey into their own country. Last Wednesday they came to Bern, recommended to me by the Antistes. And this day I brought them to some charitable friends here, who I hope will have some considerations for them. I design to recommend them to our reverend brethren at Neuchâtel, and Geneva, that being in their way homeward. You may be sure, my lord, that the Antistes of Zürich will do any possible service to such as have the honour of a letter from your Lordship to him: and I hope your Lordship, does not trouble, if I shall be always ready to do a kindness to those that may have the real mark from your Lordship.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, on 13 November 1706 Johann Conrad Werndli, Anglicised as John Conrad Werndly, the Zürich-born chaplain and secretary to the English envoy to the Swiss confederation, wrote from Bern to Henry Compton about the arrival of Cyprian and Paul Appia, two Vaudois brothers and the bishop's protégés. The brothers had finished their education at Oxford and been ordained by Compton, and were on their way home to the Vaudois valleys in Piedmont.<sup>2</sup> Werndli and the leading Swiss theologians offered them great hospitality. A week later Werndli sent another report to the bishop:

The two brothers, Messieurs Appia, are still here in the town of Bern. I have recommended them to my good friends here, who have made them a present of 46 'white' crowns, in addition to which they have treated them, and are still treating them, in the hostelry, so that they do not need to spend money as long as they remain here. I should be happy to meet this opportunity to show your Lordship the respect and the deference which I have for those who have the honour of being recommended by your Lordship.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 982 C, fol. 100.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter III.

<sup>3</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 982 C, fol. 102.



Well contented with 'Werndli's service' in Bern,<sup>4</sup> the brothers then visited Neuchâtel, Lausanne, and Geneva, and it was nearly the end of December before they returned to their native valleys. Werndli implied that one of the reasons for the Swiss hospitality was that the Swiss divines desired to restore good relations with Henry Compton, the patron of the Vaudois brothers.

Only a few months earlier, Compton had suddenly abandoned negotiations for a Protestant union, which had seemed, especially to Werndli, to be hopeful of success at the outset, and since the summer of 1706 the Swiss divines had been anxious to make contact with Compton.<sup>5</sup> Although such negotiations never entered into points of ecclesiastical detail, the overarching idea of a 'Protestant union' was harboured by many Protestant intellectuals and played an important role in keeping them in mutual contact at the time of Counter-Reformation. Just as Jablonski in Berlin did not doubt the validity of his Bohemian ordination and consequently his ability to win over the scepticism of Anglican churchmen, so leading Swiss theologians did not easily give up the project of union, although they were perplexed by the attitude of Compton, cooling somewhat in the 1700s. In Neuchâtel, Jean Frédéric Ostervald was prepared to accept the Anglican liturgy as a way to heal divisions among Protestants: his writings, arguing for 'reasonable orthodoxy' and opposing the rigid Calvinist orthodoxy, were well publicised by the SPCK.<sup>6</sup> He also had support from leading Swiss theologians such as Jean Alphonse Turretini in Geneva and Samuel Welenfels in Basel. In the light of these considerations, their expectations must have been raised by the

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., fol. 96.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter III, particularly notes 88, 90.

<sup>6</sup> Gretillat, *Jean-Frédéric Ostervald 1663-1747*, chap. 9; J. D. Burger, 'Ostervald et la réunion des protestants', *Musée Neuchatelois*, no. 5 (1947); Pierre Barthel, 'La « Religion de Neuchâtel » au petit matin du XVIIIe siècle, un phénomène unique en Europe!', *Musée Neuchatelois*, no. 2 (1987).



knowledge that Compton's Vaudois protégés, for example, had designs to 'introduce the rites, ceremonies and prayers of the Church of England into their country after the religion is re-established there [the Vaudois valleys]'.<sup>7</sup> On 25 December Werndli wrote:

Messieurs Appia, after staying some time at Neuchâtel and Lausanne, have at last arrived safely in Geneva, from where the elder of them has sent me the enclosures for your Grace. It appears that the elder (Monsieur Cyprian) will be called by the church of St Jean in the valley of Lucerne [Luserna San Giovanni in Piedmont], to which I have contributed everything that I have been able, and as these young gentlemen are very keen for the honour of the Church of England, I find it is all the more my duty to render them all the services which will be possible for me, above all having been recommended by your Lordship to the Antistes of Zürich, and by him to me. They will try to establish (in the valleys of Piedmont) our English liturgy, if they get the backing that they should. The gentlemen of Neuchâtel (particularly the worthy Monsieur Ostervald), and those of Geneva, above all Monsieur Turretini, as well as our good Antistes of Zürich, will not fail to contribute to it in their turn, and everyone is persuaded that your Lordship will not neglect anything that can be of use for the advancement of the glory of God and honour of the Church of England.<sup>8</sup>

In fact Bishop Compton had lost none of his zeal in strengthening Protestant interests against Catholic oppression: but for him this involved the uncompromising imposition of the Anglican order. Contrary to Swiss expectations, he no longer intended to become involved with negotiations for union. His chosen protégés, like the Appias, were promoters of the Church of England as it stood, not men like Werndli who were ambivalently poised between the Swiss Reformed Church and the Anglican Church. Werndli had been favoured by the internationalist Compton; Cyprian and Paul Appia were favoured by the High Church Compton.

<sup>7</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS 982 C, fol. 102.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., fol. 106.



Johann Conrad Werndli was born at Zürich in 1656. After travelling in France and Flanders, he was ordained by the synod of Breda and worked as a minister for the French and Dutch congregation of Sandtoft in Lincolnshire from 1681. This Calvinist community ceased to exist in 1685, partly due to poverty, partly due to diminishing membership following assimilation into the surrounding English society. Accordingly, Werndli chose to return to Zürich to be ordained as a minister there.<sup>9</sup> Apparently there was no vacant post for him in his home town. He then returned to England and was ordained in the Church of England on 27 April 1690 by Compton,<sup>10</sup> becoming a vicar of Wraisbury cum Langley in Buckinghamshire before 1692.<sup>11</sup> Possibly Compton saw in him a suitable intermediary with the divines in Zürich. While living as a parish priest, Werndli began translating German writings in order to make the Swiss churches more comprehensible to English readers. He explained the significance of his translation of a prayer book by Anton Klingler, the Antistes of Zürich, in the following terms:

I beseech almighty God that this treatise may not only serve to satisfy the curiosity of some people, but also to produce some effects of love and concord, and unity, and uniformity, in such as think they do well in separating from the Church of England, which everywhere beyond the seas among all good Protestants (especially among the Protestant Helvetians) is looked upon as a

<sup>9</sup> My thanks are due to Dr Robert Dunki for his information on Werndli. For Werndli in the 1680s, see E. Jaccard, 'Johann Conrad Werndli; ein Exspectant im XVII. Jahrhundert', *Zürcher Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1884*, n. ser., 7 (1884). PRO, SP. 34 6, fol. 78. On 3 July 1705 Werndli claimed that 'I have these 19 years done several wonderful services both to the Church and to the Crown, by keeping up a continental correspondence between the Church of England and Switzerland'. For the history of the Sandtoft community, see William Minet, 'The Ministers of the Church of Sandtoft', 13 *PHS*(1923-1929); Gwynn, 'The Distribution of Huguenot Refugees in England', pp. 424-423.

<sup>10</sup> GL, Guildhall Library MS 9535 3, fol. 62.

<sup>11</sup> Antonius Klinglerus, *Liturgia Tigurina or the Book of Common Prayers, and Administration of the Sacraments*, trans. John Conrad Werndly (London, 1693), front page.



Glorious Sanctuary of the most high, as a true temple of the Lord of a Hosts...<sup>12</sup>

This work was approved by Compton and five other bishops (William Lloyd, Humphrey Humphries, John More, Robert Grove and Richard Cumberland), as being 'of very good satisfaction and use'. He also translated Ostervald's Catechism at the request of the SPCK in 1703.<sup>13</sup> During 1705 Werndli was allowed to accompany Abraham Stanyan, the envoy to the Swiss Confederation, as his chaplain and interpreter, presumably with the support of Compton.<sup>14</sup> Werndli had allegedly suffered losses in a 'recent hurricane' and was reduced to extreme poverty: the appointment could have been a way to clear his growing debts. Werndli not only claimed that he would be useful as an intermediary between England and Switzerland, but also stated his design to prevent the advance of Catholic powers in Switzerland.

....nothing shall be more dear and precious to me than to employ my talent for the honour of her Majesty and of the Church of England against frenchified priests and Jesuits, who are very turbulent in those parts of Europe....<sup>15</sup>

Returning to Zürich from England, he continued to correspond with Compton on various issues,<sup>16</sup> while forwarding the project of a Protestant union which Swiss divines were then embracing.<sup>17</sup> In 1705-6 they came to

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., Translator's preface to the English Reader.

<sup>13</sup> The Society seems to have used Werndli to prepare a draft of the translation and afterwards revised it by itself. Not only did Werndli claim his responsibility but also Ostervald admitted that he was the translator of his Catechism. Society's Minute, 11 March, 8, 15, 29 April, 6 May 1703, printed in McClure, op. cit., pp. 218, 223, 224, 226, 227, 228; Ostervald to Turretini, 17 July 1706 (NS), printed in Gretillat, op. cit., p. xiii; Christ Church, Arch. W. Epist 18, fol. 434.

<sup>14</sup> PRO, SP. 34 6. fols 71-73, 78.

<sup>15</sup> SP. 34 6. fol. 78.

<sup>16</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS, C 982, fols 45-141.

<sup>17</sup> See Chapter III.



regard Werndli as an ardent promoter of union and a valuable link with the Church of England. On 25 April 1706 (NS) Ostervald wrote to Turretini in Geneva:

Monsieur Werndli was seeking to 'bring about the reunion of the English presbyterians with the Church of England', and he would wish the churches of these regions to exhort the nonconformists to this...<sup>18</sup>

Ostervald had a particular reason to stress Werndli's importance: though he was not a member, Werndli was using his own connection with the SPCK, to keep Ostervald informed of English attitudes towards his writings.

I am notified that the people whom the Society [SPCK] has commissioned to translate our liturgy, and particularly Monsieur Werndli, translator of my Catechism, are so pleased with this form of worship that it is passionately wished that I should consent to the printing of the English translation. They find it finer and finer; everyone asks to see it, the English who do not understand French show great haste, and it is thought that it will produce an admirable effect in that country. the English esteem nothing so highly, after the episcopate, as a well made liturgy. In fact I am being greatly pressed on the matter. What do you think, is it necessary to consent to printing?<sup>19</sup>

Compton remained aloof from the union plan promoted by foreign Protestants, even though they showed willingness to accept the liturgy of the Church of England. Yet one cannot help wondering if Werndli was more enthusiastic about the project than other Swiss theologians, however much they hoped for success. It is clear from Ostervald's letter to Turretini of August 1706 that after Compton's rejection of the project in July, Werndli tried to rally leading Swiss theologians to press the English envoy into reviving negotiations.

<sup>18</sup> Gretillat, op. cit., p. xii.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. xiii.



I am spoken to a great deal about Monsieur Werndli's plan which is regarded as having failed. It is proposed that Messieurs the Antistes of Zürich, and the Antistes of Basle, you and I should write to Monsieur Stanyan at Bern to tell him that our churches would like to be in unity and correspondence with those of England and that some considerable personage should be nominated for that [purpose] in that country.

Ostervald was satisfied with the correspondence with the SPCK and hoped that this would help effect a Protestant solidarity.

I should much rather that clergy should write directly to the clergy.<sup>20</sup> These gentlemen are struggling with great success. One need only keep up the correspondence proposed by the Society.<sup>21</sup>

Without Werndli's passion for the project of Protestant union, the Swiss divines might not have had the idea of negotiating with Compton in 1706. Yet the Protestants in Zürich supported Werndli faithfully. They valued him, even after Werndli had to return to England disappointed. Anton Kingler, the Antistes of Zürich, recommended Werndli for preferment in the Church of England as a 'speedy reward' for his past service.<sup>22</sup> Another petition, possibly from Zürich, also begged for his preferment while extolling his contribution during his three years' stay in Switzerland.

Soon after the late Duchess of Namurs, Princess of Neuchâtel departed this life, Mr Werndli had the honour to wait upon Mr Stanyan at Neuchâtel during that famous dispute between the King of [sic] Prussia and the French and other pretenders<sup>23</sup>; where he had several conferences with the reverend Mr Ostervald and his

<sup>20</sup> Ostervald seems to have been confused by the difference between the SPCK and the SPG.

<sup>21</sup> Gretillat, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.

<sup>22</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS C 982, fol. 145.

<sup>23</sup> Werndli's stay in Switzerland coincided with the dispute of 1706-7 between the Swiss Confederation and France. This was caused by the French claim to the inheritance of Neuchâtel. The Protestant cantons supported the Prussian king's claim to inherit over that of a Catholic member of the French royal family, and England also supported Prussia.



colleagues, and kept a regular correspondence with his friends at Zürich, Bern, London &c. to give them on account of the chief transactions, as long as that dispute continued.

He did not only preach and read prayers every Sunday in English, according to the laudable rites and ceremonies of the Church of England established by law, to Mr Stanyan and his family, so long as he was in his service, but showed himself always willing and ready to do cheerfully anything else that Mr Stanyan was pleased (upon all occasions) to command him for her Majesty's service; he translated High-German letters and memoirs writ into English, French and vice versa...

.....many good people among the Swiss and Grison Protestants will be sorry to see themselves frustrated of the expected services of a person, who being their countryman and his zeal for the Protestant religion so well known to them, they thought he might in some measure contribute to keep up the good correspondence between Great Britain and those parts, and support her Majesty's interest among the Protestants of Switzerland and the Grisons &c.<sup>24</sup>

However, no preferment was given and he had to remain in his vicarage at Wraisbury, from which he claimed he could not obtain a proper income.<sup>25</sup> He was asked to work for the poor Palatines in 1709 and often called upon to translate German documents,<sup>26</sup> but nothing more was offered.<sup>27</sup> By 1717 his

<sup>24</sup> Christ Church, Arch W. Epist. 18, fols 432-433.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., fol. 438.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., fol. 434; Bod., Rawlinson MSS 391 C, fol. 24; The SPCK, Secret Committee Minutes, fol. 10. His name, Conradus Wernley, was on the list of the trustees for the brief of 1709 for the Poor Palatines.

<sup>27</sup> In fact, his former employer Stanyan the envoy did not value Werndli. When Sunderland, secretary of state, asked Stanyan about the project of union in the autumn of 1707, the envoy criticised him. 'He is a vengefully [*sic*] fellow, and he has a great ambition to be a Prebend for he thought nothing was more likely to recommend him to the favour of the bishops than the procuring a declaration of the Protestant Churches abroad against the separating principles of our Presbyterians; in order to it, upon his first coming he wrote (unknown to me) circular letters to the clergy in those parts and did insinuate as if it were done by my directions, when I heard of it I endeavoured to laugh him out of his project, not thinking fit to oppose it openly for fear he should misrepresent me as a dissenter to the Bishop of London and others with whom he keeps a correspondence, which I being sufficiently under their displeasure already, was willing to avoid. Therefore he went on in writing his letters, and received answers in general terms only, signifying their wishes that all the Protestants in England were united. After that his design was at an end, and he has not thought of it any more for these



career seems to have been in decline, many prelates in the Church of England having rapidly lost interest in Protestant churches on the continent. Bitterly resentful, he again tried to press Archbishop Wake:

It was high time for them [the Swiss theologians] to break the ice in order to re-establish and continue that sacred correspondence which by our late reformers was so worthily cultivated between the Anglican and Tigurine churches; that several of our late bishops here and the late famous Dr Klingler then Antistes of Zürich (besides Mr Ostervald of Neuchâtel, Mr Turretini of Geneva, Mr Scherer of St Gallen) did regularly correspond; but especially the former by the means of my industry, when I left no stone turned for above these 30 years to keep up so good a work; that as nothing could be more laudable nor more advantageous to the Protestant interest than such a correspondence...<sup>28</sup>

Whilst he had not forgotten the dream of Protestant union, Werndli apparently did lose the opportunity to advance himself by working for the solidarity of the Protestant community in Europe. With the possible exception of Archbishop Wake, no Anglican prelates would renew their commitment to Protestant internationalism. Unable even to return to Zürich ('I might have been so honourably preferred at home for my 30 years loyal services to this church and state'<sup>29</sup>), Werndli languished in Wraisbury and died in September 1727.

Cyprian and Paul Appia, the Vaudois brothers who met Werndli in Bern in 1706, took a very different course. The Vaudois in the valleys of Piedmont may have been surprised that their sons had returned home as propagandists of the Church of England; nevertheless they needed the

twelve months, nor I dare say will you ever hear more of it; for besides that those people understand that he acted of his own head, everybody that talks with him soon finds him out to be very silly, and no body minds what he says; he is a Swiss of Zurich and I'll promise you is no prophet in his own country, nor is he capable of managing any design so that no body need apprehend any harm from him. I have burnt your letter and desire you would do so by my answer.' PRO, SP34/9 45. fols 67-68.

<sup>28</sup> Christ Church, Arch W. Epist. 28, fol.169.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.



support of strong Protestant powers. Although England and the Netherlands had undertaken responsibility for the security of the Vaudois since the treaty of 1690, Vittorio Amedeo saw them as what Geoffrey Symcox called 'hostages to extract concessions and subsidies' from two rich Protestant countries,<sup>30</sup> and his harassment continued to the extent that the Vaudois often needed English and Dutch interventions on their behalf.<sup>31</sup>

The Vaudois scholarships from which the Appia brothers benefited dated back to Restoration England,<sup>32</sup> and had been revived in 1694 by Queen Mary II, had at first not necessarily been intended to propagate the Church of England. After 1689 the Vaudois refugees in Germany and Switzerland gradually returned to their devastated houses and fields in the valleys under the leadership of their synod. During this period of reconstruction, Vaudois intellectuals were alarmed at the widespread ignorance of their religion.

...their most grievous and afflicting circumstance is that poor people having been many years without ministers and exercise of religion, without any discipline and instruction, and used to the disorders and violence of war, during which they had no other means to subsist than the booty they got in their excursions, they fell into such a corruption of manners, and such an ignorance as to religion, that most of them know nothing of it except that they are not Papists, and hate them without knowing what.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Symcox, 'The Waldensians in the Absolutist State of Victor Amadeus II', 245. Cf. Robert Oresko, 'The Glorious Revolution of 1688-9 and the House of Savoy', ed. J. I. Israel, *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its World Impact* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 380-381.

<sup>31</sup> A newly appointed English envoy was instructed to protect the Vaudois. For example, instructions to John Chetwynd in August 1706 included the following: 'You are to give your best assistance to the Vaudois and other Protestants yet remaining within the dominions of that Duke, and to let them know your readiness to intercede for them, and obtain in their behalf such ease and favour as they shall reasonably desire. ' SRO, D649 8 1.

<sup>32</sup> Chapter III.

<sup>33</sup> Christ Church, Arch W. Epist 18, fol. 424. This manuscript has no date. It was probably written between 1705 and 1714.



It is unsurprising, therefore, that the synod of the valleys gave the utmost priority to education, which was deemed to be an essential part of the process of re-establishing the Vaudois community. In September 1693 they decided that

There is great ignorance in the churches, concerning the mysteries of the Gospel, and it has been resolved that there should be weekly catechism on Sunday evenings at the time when there are two services, in which children and people of advanced age will be questioned: and the fathers of families are exhorted to acquire Monsieur Drelincourt's catechisms for the children.<sup>34</sup>

In such circumstances, the training of the young pastors and schoolmasters as the cadets of the community was a matter of paramount importance. Responding to the appeal of the synod in 1694,<sup>35</sup> foreign Protestant powers including the Swiss cantons and the Netherlands offered to maintain the Vaudois students. Queen Mary, persuaded by the Earl of Galway, then English envoy to Turin, also restored the system of scholarships for the Vaudois.<sup>36</sup> Constance Appia, the widowed mother of Cyprian and Paul,<sup>37</sup> eagerly seized her opportunity. In April 1697, she begged the synod to help her.

Constance Appia, a Vaudois widow of La Tour [Torre Pellice], having represented to this assembly that she had two children whom she was maintaining studying at Lausanne and that she

<sup>34</sup> *Actes des synodes des eglises vaudoises 1692-1854*, p. 8.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>36</sup> SPCK, Society's Letters, CS2/13, fol. 43.

<sup>37</sup> Cyprian and Paul Appia were the last two of the three sons of Daniel and Constance Appia, born respectively in 1680 or 1682, and 1683. There were two elder sisters. The whole family was captured by the Savoyard army in 1686. When the prisons were opened in 1687, Cyprian, Paul and their sisters were, with their parents, among some 3000 Vaudois who survived the duke's persecution and were expelled to Switzerland. Their eldest brother was taken away and converted. After Daniel's death in Switzerland, Constance returned to the valleys and struggled to educate her remaining sons for the clergy. Beatrice Appia, 'Une famille vaudoise du Piémont du X<sup>IV</sup>e au X<sup>IX</sup>e siècle', *Bolletino della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 126 (1969), 59; *ibid.*, 127 (1970), 4-6.



was already very much exhausted by the great expense that was necessary for their maintenance: to comfort and support her in her just plan of encouraging them to study.<sup>38</sup>

The synod resolved to make an effort to ask people in Lausanne, Schaffhausen and St Gallen to 'procure some means of relieving her and maintaining her children who we hope will one day serve our churches.'<sup>39</sup> In 1699 or 1700 Cyprian and Paul received an offer from England to study there, and with the help of Henry Compton, and probably of William Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, they went to St Edmund Hall, Oxford.<sup>40</sup>

Little is known about their life in Oxford, except that they seem to have adapted to it sufficiently well that they sent a younger member of the family to England to study around 1712.<sup>41</sup> Later in life, in the 1730s, reflecting on his own education, Cyprian commented of other Vaudois pastors that

One studies badly in Holland...it is enough to know how to mount the pulpit to be received as a pastor there.<sup>42</sup>

On 23 September 1705 the Appias were ordained by Compton, with John Mill and John Musson, respectively the principal and the vice-principal of St Edmund Hall, as guarantors, to serve in the Bishop of London's jurisdiction overseas, which apparently included the valleys.<sup>43</sup> During the early spring of 1706, the brothers were preparing to return to the valleys to propagate the gospel there. Both had been foreign corresponding members of the SPCK

<sup>38</sup> *Actes des synodes des eglises vaudoises*, 22.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> CLRO, EX-Guildhall Library MS 352, fos. 34, 36, 74-76; USPG, SPG Journal Appendix A Documents 1701-1810, pp. 454-455; Bod., *Alumini Oxonienses 1500-1714*, p. 28b.

<sup>41</sup> *Cal. Tre. Books* 1713, part 2, p. 154.

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in J. Arnal, 'Le Comité Vaudois de 1735 a 1835', *Bulletin de la commission de l'histoire des églises wallonnes*, 5 ser., 9 (1937), 15.

<sup>43</sup> GL, Guildhall Library MS 9535 3, p. 119; *ibid.*, 9540 7; *ibid.*, 10326 35.



since the previous year, and on 14 March they appeared at its general meeting and their achievements in England were recounted by Henry Shute. They must have impressed the Society's members, since they were presented with religious tracts 'as a testimony of the respect of the society.'<sup>44</sup> They also asked the SPG to furnish them with some English books through the influence of Compton. The SPG then asked 'Mr Shute and Mr Hodges to choose out of the society's catalogue of the missionaries library ten pounds worth of books.'<sup>45</sup> Compton provided them with a further £30 to cover the cost of the journey to Piedmont in April 1706.<sup>46</sup> On the way home under Compton's protection, the brothers seem to have been welcomed everywhere in Switzerland, as Werndli's report to the bishop testifies.

People in the valleys were certainly looking forward to their return. No sooner had he learned of the ordination of the brothers than Bernard Jahier, the moderator of the valleys of Piedmont, wrote a letter of thanks to a bishop in England, probably Compton.

As soon as our churches learned that Messieurs Appia by your Lordship's rare charity, had been happily inaugurated into the holy ministry of the gospel of the son of God, they deemed it their indispensable duty to bear to your Lordship's feet their most humble thanks, considering what your Lordship has done for those young plants as done for themselves, since it is to their service they are to be peculiarly devoted.<sup>47</sup>

However, the question remained as to whether the Vaudois Protestants would accept them as Anglican priests. Cyprian and Paul confronted this question

<sup>44</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 2-4, fol. 375. See also fol. 340. They became members on 30 August 1705.

<sup>45</sup> USPG, SPG Journal Appendix A Documents 1701-1810. pp. 454-455; SPG Journal 1701-1707, p. 227; SPG Committee, vol. 1, 18 March 1705 6, 25 March 1706. John Hodges was also a member of the SPCK.

<sup>46</sup> CLRO, EX-Guildhall Library MS 352 40.

<sup>47</sup> *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the Right Hon. Richard Hill*, II, 832, 970.



immediately after their arrival in the valleys. Cyprian explained their problem to Compton a year later:

My reverend brethren would by no means incorporate me as a member of their synod, nor induct me in the church where I had been called till I had taken and explained a text of scripture which they would give me. I at first refused to take it and desired them to permit me to preach till the next synod and that in the meanwhile I would consider the matter and give them an answer.<sup>48</sup>

The synod was held on 4 January 1707, probably immediately after their arrival, and it insisted that the brothers should obey the rule of pastoral examination 'to know if they have any complaints against their flocks, and the church if they have any against their pastors.'<sup>49</sup> The Vaudois were proud of their faith. From their point of view, the 'English service', of which Cyprian spoke with zeal, was 'very likely popery'.<sup>50</sup> Knowing the brothers' reluctance to obey the synod, they ordered:

all the students from the valleys to receive laying on of hands in the valleys and undergo examination in the synod and not elsewhere, and those who contravene this rule will not make difficulties about receiving the text from Monsieur the moderator, so that one may have some knowledge of their capability.<sup>51</sup>

Cyprian considered this an insult to his ordination. However, Werndli and John Chetwynd, the English envoy to Turin, advised the brothers to obey the order 'for preserving the authority of their synod and for formality's sake'. Werndli admitted that 'almost the same thing happened to him at Zürich' and assured them that they 'could take the text without any scruple of conscience'.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, the brothers were not admitted to the ministry

<sup>48</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS, C 983, fol. 162.

<sup>49</sup> *Actes des synodes des eglises vaudoises*, p. 51.

<sup>50</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MSS, C983, fol. 162.

<sup>51</sup> *Actes des synodes des eglises vaudoises*, p. 52.

<sup>52</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MS, C983, fol.162.



for a year. However Cyprian started to work for his allocated church in St Jean in 1707.<sup>53</sup> Chetwynd offered them a chaplainship at the official lodging of the English envoy in Turin from his own pocket.<sup>54</sup> Cyprian and Paul probably kept this post until the Earl of Essex (envoy to Turin 1731-1736) decided not to maintain a chaplain.<sup>55</sup>

[Chetwynd] has been pleased to take us for his chaplains, we come down to Turin each of us once a month to preach and administer the sacrament and perform all the divine service as the law has established in the Church of England. I wish I could do the same thing in the valleys but I dare not yet undertake anything there.<sup>56</sup>

The brothers decided to obey the order of the synod the following year and were immediately accepted as members. At the next assembly in February 1708, the preaching at the synod was assigned to Cyprian and, failing him, to Paul.<sup>57</sup> However they did not abandon the task of Anglicanising people in Piedmont and they began to communicate with the SPCK. In July 1709 they asked the Society to send 'some of the society's little books translated into French'.<sup>58</sup> In response, the SPCK resolved speedily to 'furnish the Vaudois and the Protestants in the valleys of Lucerne with French books for promoting Christian Knowledge.' Bishop Compton gladly helped the SPCK to

<sup>53</sup> The church record of St Jean starts in Cyprian's hand in 1707. His obituary act says that he served the church in 1706, and Beatrice Appia seems to follow this (B. Appia, op. cit., vol. 127, 5). However, the news of their arrival in Geneva, which reached Bern on 25 December, suggests it is unlikely.

<sup>54</sup> Chetwynd wrote to Stepney, a British envoy in Switzerland, on 18 January 1707: 'I must tell you that it is to encourage our poor Vaudois Protestants which are in this service, where they cannot worship God their own way. I wish this could engage my Lord Treasurer to make me an allowance for my man of God, but it is what I dare not ask.' (SRO, D649/15)

<sup>55</sup> Whiston, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr William Whiston*, p. 272.

<sup>56</sup> Bod., Rawlinson MS, C983, fo. 162.

<sup>57</sup> *Actes des synodes des eglises vaudoises*, pp. 53, 56.

<sup>58</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, Received, no. 1697.



procure money for these books.<sup>59</sup> After that they reported diligently on the situation of the Protestants in Piedmont. The SPCK became increasingly interested in the Vaudois and tried to fulfil the brothers' wishes. Apart from asking for books, the Appias asked the SPCK to put pressure on the English government against the Duke of Savoy.<sup>60</sup> They also seem to have used the SPCK to send Jean Signoret, their nephew, to England to study for the priesthood.<sup>61</sup> Both Signoret and Cyprian's son, Daniel Isaac Appia, were eventually ordained as Anglican priests.<sup>62</sup>

Knowing their oppressed situation, the members of the SPCK also gave help to other Vaudois students. The SPCK was probably able to influence the grant of Queen Mary's scholarships. It seems that there was a regular presence of the Vaudois students at English universities in the 1700s and 1710s, assisted by the SPCK and its connections.<sup>63</sup> Not all Vaudois students were as diligent as the Appias. In the late 1710s, Henry Newman was troubled by an idle Vaudois student at Clare Hall, Cambridge called Gaspard Manuel.<sup>64</sup> After putting pressure on him to graduate in 1720, Newman discussed with John Robinson, Bishop of London, the use of scholarship money for other

<sup>59</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 5, fols 14, 17, 22, 26, 46, 68; GRO, D 3649, 2/3/5. For example, the SPCK sent 25 copies of 'La Mothe's Treatise on Humanity' in French and a set of Bishop Beveridge's posthumous works in 1710, and 'some sermons' in 1718.

<sup>60</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, Received, no. 1705; SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 5, pp. 116-118, 120-121; Ibid, vol. 6, p. 180; SPCK, Paper and Memorials. 1 Feb. 1711/12.

<sup>61</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, Received, no. 1705.

<sup>62</sup> GL, Guildhall Library MS 9535 3, fols 185, 258, 261. Signoret was ordained in 1716 and Daniel Isaac Appia in 1735.

<sup>63</sup> After the Appias, the Vaudois students studied at Cambridge. Guillaume Henri Giraud and Jean Giraud at Cambridge, with help of Compton (Bod., Rawlinson MSS C. 743, fol. 30; *Cal. Tre. Books 1711*, II, 398); Gaspard Manuel at Clare Hall, Cambridge, with help of Rochguide, Newman, and others (Rawlinson MSS C. 933, fols 114, 116-120, 133); Jean Signoret at Peterhouse, Cambridge, with help of Richard Hill and the SPCK (*Cal. Tre. Books 1713*, II, 154; GL, Guildhall Library MS 9535 3, fol. 185).

<sup>64</sup> Cowie, *Henry Newman: an American in London 1708-43*, pp. 132-135.



purposes such as the propagation of Protestantism in Minorca.<sup>65</sup> It was increasingly difficult to find a suitable candidate for the scholarship from the valley, since England was, after all, far from Piedmont. Moreover, after being ordained as Anglican clergy, some Vaudois chose to stay in England. Guillaume Henri Giraud remained in England<sup>66</sup> and Manuel, having shown open reluctance to go to the valleys, seems to have managed to stay on in England as a clergyman.<sup>67</sup> At the request of Bishop Robinson, Newman prepared the following memorial.

The Bishops of London for several years past have been entrusted by his Majesty as his royal protectors towards the support of two young men from the valleys of Piedmont at the university of Cambridge, in order to qualify them for the service of the Protestant churches in those parts, where the Popish clergy have obtained an order that only natives shall be permitted to officiate as ministers among the Protestants.

In the execution of this trust, the Bishops of London have with difficulty found young gentlemen qualified to accept of his Majesty's bounty for this service.

When such have been found out and they have finished their studies at Cambridge, there has been either no vacancy in the churches of Piedmont to receive them as ministers, or they have gone to Geneva, and preferred a settlement there to going where persecution was to be expected.

The Protestants of those countries are for the most part constrained to send their children to be educated for the ministry in places nearer to them, by reason of the great charge that attends their travelling to and from London.

Upon all which accounts, it is submitted to consideration whether it would not be more for the service of religion, as well as better answer the pious design of the Royal Bounty, to transfer it from the use it is now put, to support one or more schools in his Majesty's Island of Minorca, as the Bishop of London for the time being shall direct.

Some foundation for a religious education and for preventing his Majesty's Protestant subjects in that island going over to the Church of Rome, is not only earnestly desired by the present Governor of it, but seems also lately necessary considering the great number of Popish clergy residing there, and that his

<sup>65</sup> SPCK, Society's Letters CS2/11, fol. 31; *ibid.*, CS2/12, fols 26-28; CS2/13, fol. 43.

<sup>66</sup> *Actes des synodes des eglises vaudoises*, p. 301.

<sup>67</sup> Cowie, *op. cit.*, p. 135.



Majesty's troops who make the greatest part of the Protestant inhabitants of Minorca are not in a condition to invite or support Protestant schoolmasters to instruct their children; And there is reason to believe that if once due encouragement were given to such a foundation, many of the natives of course would embrace our religion, and their alliance to the British crown be better depended on.<sup>68</sup>

It was perhaps as a result of this memorial that the Vaudois scholarships seem to have ceased. Daniel Isaac Appia was ordained as an Anglican priest as late as 1735, but the documentary record of his study in England has not so far been found.

Under the Catholic Duke of Savoy the safety of Protestants was far from secure, even though English diplomats in Turin tried to protect them. In 1708 Vittorio Amedeo conquered the small French territory, a part of the valleys of the Vaudois, called Pragela [Pragelato]. Britain and the Netherlands repeatedly required the duke to apply to Pragela the terms of the treaty regarding the Vaudois' religious status. At first the Vaudois were inclined to take comfort from the pressure from Protestant countries on the duke and believed that 'liberty of conscience' in the valley had been restored.<sup>69</sup> Since there were no pastors in the valley of Pragela, the ministerial care of some 2,000 inhabitants fell on the shoulders of pastors outside Pragela, including the Appia brothers. They went 'by turn to preach to them and administer the sacraments.'<sup>70</sup> However, the duke had no intention to enlarge the area of Protestant practice and utterly prohibited their public worship. In 1710 Paul Appia, 'being gone to the Upper Pragela to christen some children', was imprisoned. Thanks to the intervention of Chetwynd he was released after

<sup>68</sup> SPCK, Society's Letters CS2/13, fols 44-45, 'A Memorial concerning the Pension of Sixty Pounds annually granted by the Crown in Favour of the Protestants in Piedmont.'

<sup>69</sup> *Actes des synodes des eglises vaudoises*, pp. 62-63: SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, Received. no. 1705, no. 2151; SPCK, Paper and Memorials, 1 Feb. 1711 12.

<sup>70</sup> SPCK, Abstract Letter Book, Received. no. 2151.



fourteen days.<sup>71</sup> After the War of the Spanish Succession, the duke increased restrictions on the Vaudois and their liberty became even more circumscribed.<sup>72</sup>

During the oppression of the 1720s and 1730s, Cyprian and Paul Appia seemed to improve their standing among the Vaudois. In addition to the chaplainship in Turin and personal connections with the SPCK and Swiss pastors, they repeatedly occupied important posts in the synod. They were able to give their children good educations in Holland, Switzerland or England and in the course of the eighteenth century there developed a dynasty of Appia pastors. When Cyprian was prosecuted for having baptised a child in Pragela and condemned to exile in 1726,<sup>73</sup> the English ambassador at Turin rescued him. Vittorio Amedeo said at this time:

I wish it to be particularly understood that it is not at all out of the regard for the Vaudois, but from personal respect for the ambassador, that this pardon was granted.<sup>74</sup>

However, some members of the synod were displeased with the Appias' dominance. They suspected that the Appias took advantage of other members of community by exploiting their connections with people of influence. Before the synod of October 1727 some of them circulated a rumour which spread as far as Switzerland and England that the Appias were drawing

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., no. 2450; SPCK, Paper and Memorials, 1 Feb. 1711 12.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., fols 148-150. See Geoffrey Symcox, 'The Waldensians in the Absolutist State of Victor Amadeus II', 245-250.

<sup>73</sup> Societa di Studi Valdesi, *The Correspondence of Cyprian Appia*, 23 April 1728; Beatrice Appia, op. cit., vol. 127, p.6.

<sup>74</sup> Quoted in Alexis Muston, *The Israel of the Alps: A complete History of the Waldenses and their Colonies*, p. 248.



interest on the pensions from England.<sup>75</sup> Cyprian contradicted the rumour at the synod,<sup>76</sup> yet it spread in spite of his denials.

[they were] saying everywhere that we were delaying the pensions from England, that we had an understanding with the merchants in Turin, and they with Mr Chetwynd, and that we were thus profiting from the interest....It is necessary to beware lest the race of Appia should have too much authority, that it does not extend itself too much, the man in Saint Jean [i.e. Cyprian] is a Pope, the one in Villar [i.e. Paul] is a Jesuit, Seigneurat is an Appia, my cousin Leger is an Appia: these are the terms of Reinaudin [a fellow pastor in the valleys] the son, at a fair. 'They have got to be thrown down', says another. They cannot suffer anyone to speak well of us.<sup>77</sup>

From England John Chetwynd made an effort to clear them, yet the scandal did not abate. By 1729 Cyprian indeed found that his principal opponent was an influential fellow pastor, Paul Reinaudin [senior].

On 18 November, being at Prarustin at a wedding where there were a lot of people, he [Reinaudin] admitted that he had written against us to Geneva, that we had been depicted there as it ought to be, that we had done nothing but put division in the valleys since we had been there, and after having said a thousand shabby things against the clergy of England, he concluded that the three men who studied there ought to be banished from the country.<sup>78</sup>

The especially significant point is that Paul Reinaudin criticised the Appias' Anglican background, which Cyprian had never sought to hide. This may suggest that the Appia brothers were still involved with the project of propagating the Church of England in Piedmont, although information about their efforts in this direction is limited. Their lifelong loyalty to the Church of England is underlined by the fact that Cyprian's obituary in 1744, written

<sup>75</sup> SSV, the Correspondence of Cyprian Appia, 5 April 1728, 20 June 1728, 9 January 1729

<sup>76</sup> *Actes des synodes des eglises vaudoises*, p.104.

<sup>77</sup> SSV, the Correspondence of Cyprian Appia, 9 January 1729.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, ? February 1729.



by his nephew, pastor Daniel Joseph Appia, starts by referring to 'Monsieur Cyprian Appia, Anglican Priest...'<sup>79</sup>

It is unlikely that the evangelization of the Vaudois on Anglican lines would have succeeded. Yet the memory of the Anglican Vaudois continued among the valleys into the nineteenth century. After the Napoleonic Wars the SPCK members were surprised to receive a letter in May 1818 from the Vaudois valleys asking for some French religious tracts and financial aid.<sup>80</sup> Since the SPCK had long since lost its European perspective, the very existence of the Vaudois was news to the members. Moreover the Vaudois showed their continuing deference to the Church of England and their wish to have episcopacy.<sup>81</sup> In consequence, William Gilly started a campaign for the relief for the distressed Vaudois which spread throughout the country backed by the energetic evangelism of the nineteenth century.<sup>82</sup> He saw in the Vaudois valleys a potential fortress of the Church of England at the centre of the popish power. The work of Cyprian and Paul Appia may have prepared the Protestant minority in Savoy for the ready acceptance of the strong evangelical mission of the English a century later.

<sup>79</sup> Quoted in Beatrice Appia, op. cit., vol. 127, 6.

<sup>80</sup> SPCK, Minute Book, vol. 38, fols 226-227.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., fol. 261. 'Our ancestors had preserved their episcopacy from the time of the apostles to the sixteenth century. But the neighborhood of Geneva, and of the Protestant Swiss cantons, having brought us into connection with Calvin, Beza, Farel and Viret, episcopacy was lost from the midst of us. We envy the happiness of the Church of England which has been able to preserve it; and all our wishes would be to have the power of renewing it amongst us; if there did not exist a kind of physical impossibility of doing so, seeing the distance at which we are from Great Britain; we feel all its advantages; we know how to appreciate them, and make our prayers that may please the divine providence to bring back amongst us this truly paternal government, which descends from the apostles and for which we entertain the highest respect.'

<sup>82</sup> Randolph Vigne, "'The Sower will again cast his seed". Vaudois and British interaction in the 19th century', *Collana della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 11 (1990); W. S. F. Pickering, *What the British Found When They Discovered the French Vaudois in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1995); Stephens, *The Waldensian Story*, chaps 25, 26.



## Conclusion

In an era as deeply riven by ideological division as that of the Cold War in our own century, church briefs came to play a major role in promoting a sense of general Protestant crisis. Aware of this, James II was reluctant to resort to briefs as a fund-raising device in England at the climax of the Huguenot persecution in the 1680s, while William III consciously exploited them to stoke anti-popish feeling. Thereafter in the long struggle against the Catholic powers, embodied by Louis XIV and the Jacobites, church briefs sometimes helped to confirm that, though some of her allies were Catholic, England's role was that of leader of Protestantism against popery. Thus, succeeding monarchs were expected to issue church briefs in their capacity as the champions of Protestant Europe. The English responded to them willingly, and judging from the amount of donations, it seems reasonable to conclude that the sympathy of the population at large towards persecuted Protestants on the continent never flagged throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Monarchs were not necessarily the central figures in these fund-raising campaigns driven by strong Protestant propaganda. As this study has demonstrated, certain individuals served as a bridge between successive English sovereigns and continental Protestants and, furthermore, repeatedly engaged in fund-raising campaigns on behalf of continental Protestants. It seems surprising that these activists included Henry Compton and other high churchmen such as John Sharp, John Robinson and John Smalridge. Even more surprising is the close involvement of the SPCK in relief activities until the mid-eighteenth century.

For high church bishops the underlying agenda was the expansion of the episcopal order to which low church bishops, such as Thomas Tenison and Gilbert Burnet, were opposed. When they confronted issues that were



politically divisive at home, such as the affair of the Poor Palatines in 1709, these high churchmen became conspicuously reluctant to participate in relief activities. Yet, as the case of Compton has shown, they generally kept up correspondence with leading Protestant clergy on the continent and were well informed about continental affairs: accordingly, during the event of an international Protestant crisis they would respond swiftly. The most significant example of such a response can be seen in Compton's actions in the events surrounding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the 1680s. The diminishing role of high churchmen partly explains why the Church of England became insular and less concerned about the welfare of the continental Protestants after the Hanoverian Succession. Added to the deaths in the 1710s of those high church bishops who had been the main correspondents with foreign Protestants, such as Daniel Ernst Jablonski in Berlin, the ascendancy of the low church under the Hanoverian kings led to a loss of interest within the Church of England in the fate of continental Protestants. In spite of the fact that Archbishop Wake was a keen promoter of the alliance of Protestants, he found no bishop to share his sense of responsibility for continental brethren.

The SPCK kept up its network of relations with continental Protestants rather longer. Although these communications were couched in strongly Protestant language, they were not entirely ecclesiastical, but rather an expression both of the moral reform movement and the international crisis of Protestantism. Although the Society's foundation in 1699 may have been a belated reaction to the mounting Protestant crisis of the 1680s, it remained alert to developments in the Counter-Reformation and maintained its network of watchdogs over Catholics at home and abroad. In particular, the Jacobite threat in the final years of the reign of Queen Anne seriously worried the leading members of the SPCK and they formed a special committee to oversee anti-popish activities. It is hardly surprising that as the



Church of England became less concerned with them, continental Protestants increasingly asked for help from the Society.

Since the SPCK was governed by a few leading members, its personal connections were of vital importance. The first generation had strong European connections and an ecumenical bent, and was sufficiently worried by the international Catholic threat to identify itself as a member of the Protestant vanguard; the generation that followed was more insular. Whereas it maintained its anti-popish activities beyond the period of this study, increasingly it cared more about national problems and ecclesiastical issues, and does not seem to have regarded the Catholic threat as the urgent, uppermost danger to Protestantism. The memory of the Protestant crisis at the time of Louis XIV was fading by now, and the SPCK was losing its European perspective: the death of Henry Newman in 1743 was probably crucial in this respect.

Church briefs were still being issued in the first decade of the reign of George III. They were fundamentally different from the ones which had been issued during the general crisis of Protestantism. They were more focused on the ecclesiastical needs of impoverished Protestants, and the solutions they offered were on a minor scale. By the middle of the eighteenth century the era of religious war was already seen as belonging to history and the Catholic persecutions were looked upon in England as distant afflictions no longer accessible to experience.



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