

## BISHOP WILLIAM LLOYD OF NORWICH AND HIS COMMONPLACE BOOK

by Peter Smith

### SUMMARY

*Study of a Commonplace Book belonging to the Non-Juring Bishop William Lloyd, who occupied the See of Norwich from 1685 until being deprived in 1690/1, has provided important insights into the reasons why he made his stand, and also sheds light upon ongoing spiritual and political dialogues in the turbulent years following the deposition of James II.*

William Lloyd of Norwich is remembered as an Anglican bishop who lost position, wealth and power over a matter of principle, the swearing of an oath of allegiance to William and Mary as the new rulers of England. A Commonplace Book in the British Library reveals much about the attitudes and beliefs that led Bishop Lloyd to take his stand. As a senior bishop and close confidant of Archbishop William Sancroft, Bishop Lloyd was closely involved in the revolutionary events which surrounded the downfall of James II. He became Sancroft's chosen successor as head of the Non-Juring Church of England.<sup>1</sup> Lloyd has been the subject of a biographical article by Amos C. Miller ('William Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, A Very Able and Worthy Pastor') in *Norfolk Archaeology*.<sup>2</sup>

The major sources for information about the life of William Lloyd are the 133 letters written by him to his archbishop and friend, William Sancroft.<sup>3</sup> Lloyd published nothing of his own; there are no manuscript sermons and no original work in his hand.<sup>4</sup> Thus Lloyd's Commonplace Book — which was not referred to by Miller — adds a significant new dimension to our understanding of the man and his concerns.

Almost all the primary sources now available relate to the two decades that cover Lloyd's years in East Anglia and in retirement. The Commonplace Book also covers only this period. It was a time during which the High Church wing of Anglicanism, of which Lloyd was a leader, first experienced power and influence under Charles II, then found that position undermined by the openly Catholic James II before losing it as a result of the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

The context for Lloyd's Commonplace Book, and for his career as a churchman, is brilliantly set by John Spurr in *The Restoration Church of England, 1646–1689* (London, 1991). The Restoration church was seen by many as the alternative to anarchy, with 'schism and sedition' as 'twin-sisters'.<sup>5</sup> The overthrow of the national church with the execution of Laud and abolition of bishops had initiated two decades of confusion, misgovernment and anarchy. Only the full restoration of the church as established under Elizabeth, with its structure of parishes and dioceses and its direct involvement in government through bishops in the House of Lords, could, it was alleged, achieve national peace and stability. For Episcopalian Anglicans, non-conformity — whether of Protestants or Catholics — threatened a return to the political miseries of the interregnum. For Lloyd, it also threatened the unique nature of the Church of England, catholic, apostolic but reformed and national, properties which made it 'the safer path to Heaven'.<sup>6</sup>

A decade of persecution of dissent was to follow the Restoration before the ecclesiological and political nation lurched into another crisis with the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crises. After 1681, however, Anglican, royalist ideology seemed triumphant. Dissent was once again persecuted and the Whigs were excluded from power. Nearly all the Lloyd letters and Commonplace Book entries date to this period. Spurr argues that a by-product of this new surge of

Tory power, was a 'breed of highly politicised and aggressive church men'.<sup>7</sup> Lloyd's triumphalist letters to Sancroft at this date show himself to have been part of this 'new breed'. But Spurr also shows that this 'new breed' were also increasingly concerned with personal piety and with public morality — if their brand of Anglicanism was indeed the 'safer path to Heaven' then this would be reflected in personal behaviour. Lloyd's actions as a Bishop, and his interests as displayed by the Commonplace Book, reveal his concern with such matters.

The Commonplace Book extracts show an abiding interest in the civil war, the constitutional breakdown it engendered and the causes of the conflict. The stance reflected is consistently royalist: there is nowhere any suggestion that issues of equality and religious toleration raised during the period attracted Lloyd in the slightest. He was convinced that England's middle way was the safest way not merely to heaven but to earthly political stability and social cohesion.<sup>8</sup> The non-jurors were, says Spurr, convinced that the Church of England 'was the best constituted church and the safest path to heaven'.<sup>9</sup> Lloyd's Commonplace Book confirms that view in every respect. Indeed, the actual phrase is echoed in the Recantation sermon preached by the Rev. John Gibbs, a sermon which Lloyd helped Gibbs to write. For Lloyd, both clauses of that statement bore equal weight. His 'best constituted church' was headed by a King, who ruled by Divine Right over a nation whose one true church was both catholic — and so part of the universal church — and reformed and which thus offered 'the safest path to heaven'. For Lloyd the Glorious Revolution threatened both foundations of Anglican excellence. He would probably have been content to see William and Mary as regents and to pray for them both, but he was not prepared to swear an oath that implied acceptance of their sovereignty.<sup>10</sup>

Lloyd was strongly supported by his own diocesan clergy. Some 40 or so Norwich diocese ministers refused to swear allegiance to the new monarchs and were ejected. The East Anglian Region — two of the three dioceses of which had been led by Lloyd — provided the largest concentration of non-jurors outside London. They included priests and academics of every standing and quality, and their names are listed in Lloyd's Commonplace Book (folio 74).

For the true church to continue, Sancroft had to arrange for a successor. He chose and appointed Lloyd of Norwich, empowering him, in Latin and in English, to undertake the roles, responsibilities and duties of an Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>11</sup> Those powers included those of ordaining new priests and consecrating new bishops. After Sancroft's death, Lloyd proceeded, discretely and circumspectly, to do both. The ordinations happened easily enough in London, but consecrating bishops was another matter. Under the Anglican code, only the legitimate sovereign, as head of the Church in England, could name bishops. If James was still King, then this was a task for him. This was eventually achieved: after first seeking and gaining papal consent, the exiled James approved a list of likely candidates. The consecrations duly took place and the new bishops became Suffragans. They were named after two of the key towns in Lloyd's now-former diocese, Thetford and Ipswich. The succession was secured. Lloyd henceforth lived a quiet life ministering to his own flock from his home in Hampstead, avoiding confrontation and visited from near and far by non-jurors. The non-juring church outlived Lloyd and all the original rebel clergy. Lloyd's ordinations made the survival of the non-juring church a legitimate possibility. The character of the Church of England, the validity of Anglican orders and the exercise of authority within the church are the dominant issues in the material gathered together by Lloyd in his Commonplace Book. It is to that book that we must now turn.

Bound together with a letter from Sir Eric Maclagan and an anonymous letter to Sir Eric, the Commonplace Book, *British Libr Add MS40.160*, consists of 173 or 174 folios.<sup>12</sup> Sir Eric, son of an Archbishop of York, writes that he received the book — 'a thickish folio manuscript book' — from his father, who had apparently received it from the widow of one of his clergy. It

was, therefore, already bound together as a single book when the text was passed to the British Library but there can be no way of knowing when the text was put together in this form. The British Library acquisition note, signed by G.O. Thomas, ascribes the book to William Lloyd of Norwich, 'one of the seven Bishops' imprisoned by James, thus conflating the two bishops Lloyd who were active in 1688. Lloyd of Norwich was *not* one of the imprisoned bishops, that honour belonging to Bishop William Lloyd of St. Asaphs, but the contents of the book leave no doubt that it belonged to Lloyd of Norwich. The acquisition note confirms this, specifically mentioning two matters referred to in the book: Ashenden's recantation of 1681 and Gibbs's recantation of 1689. Ashenden's dates to Lloyd's time at Peterborough and Gibbs's to his time at Norwich. In fact as will be seen the connection with the latter was even closer than was here implied.

The acquisition note suggests that four notes on items in the book are in Lloyd's handwriting: those prefixed to the *Presbyterian Pater Noster*; the formal document relating to the recantation; and notes on the Gibbs recantation sermon. I would argue that other notes scribbled at the head of folios are also by Lloyd, and particularly that relating to Dr 'Tograi' Smith's contribution. What is frustratingly impossible to determine is how much of the profuse underlining through the book is by Lloyd, or even inserted on his orders. Knowing for certain could make a serious difference to how much one reads into some of the documents concerning Lloyd's interests and views.

Two sections of the Commonplace Book raise questions about its homogeneity. First of these is the inclusion of extracts from Gilbert Burnet's *History of his Times*, only printed in 1723. Second, there is a reference to Bishop Gandy — Henry Gandy was not made a non-juring bishop until after Lloyd's death. While Burnet's book was not printed and published until after Lloyd's death, the Commonplace Book text makes it clear that the extracts were taken from selections circulating well within Lloyd's lifetime. Lloyd's texts may have come from a pirated edition circulated by a non-juror, Robert Elliot, published in 1700.<sup>13</sup> The Commonplace Book includes lengthy extracts from papers by Henry Gandy. The reference to him as 'Bp. Gandy' is added to the last sheet of these: the penultimate sheet refers to itself as the last of Mr Gandy's papers. It is reasonable to suppose the 'bishop' sheet was added by a later hand. The pages in the Commonplace Book are written in a variety of hands — and neatly, not in the scrawl Lloyd himself used in his Tanner mss letters. Each 'chapter' is headed by a note possibly by Lloyd, many of which are scarcely legible. A folio by folio catalogue and brief description of most of the contents of the Commonplace Book, which I compiled while researching the document at the British Library, is given in the Appendix.

The texts Lloyd selected for inclusion in his Commonplace Book reveal the Bishop's interests and concerns and, to a very limited extent, the changing nature of those concerns. However, the book begins no earlier than 1679 when Lloyd arrived at Peterborough. It contains nothing from his formative years in Cambridge and Portugal, nothing from his time close to power as chaplain to the Roman Catholic Lord Treasurer Clifford, and nothing from his first bishopric at Llandaff. The date when entries were added to the book are nowhere given but the texts do seem to follow, in the main, a chronological order. They may, just conceivably, reflect the way Lloyd's attitudes developed over a period of roughly 20 years: for example, from a position of conciliation towards presbyterians to a condemnatory line against them as dividers of the true Church. They may also perhaps reflect an increasing interest in foreign policy. However, it is perhaps more likely that the 'foreign' texts — the satire on Louis XIV, the paper on an invasion of France — show his abiding concern for the fate of French Protestants. His letters to Sancroft reveal him using his position as Bishop of Norwich to raise huge sums for the benefit of persecuted French Protestants, both in their home country and in exile in Norwich.

The great divide between documents collected by a serving bishop and those entered by a church leader, as it were, in exile, is marked by the 'Catalogue of the English Clerics and other Schollars who have refused to take the New Oaths' (Commonplace Book folio 74). It is after that watershed that we find most of the papers relating to matters of doctrine: on the nature of the Holy Communion (folio 85), for example, and 'Catholic' issues such as transubstantiation (folio 86), adoration and veneration of the Holy Table (folio 98). To this half also belong papers on the divine right of kings and attacks on 'republicanism' — a term which here seems to include the right of the people to choose their own sovereign and their own religion (for example, see folio 142 on the English Constitution).

Not surprisingly it is in the first section of the Commonplace Book that we find Lloyd predominantly concerned with the exercise of episcopal authority. Indeed the very first item in the book concerns a moment when Lloyd dramatically and very publicly exercised his episcopal power. The Commonplace Book reproduces first the 'Presybyterian Pater Noster, Creed and Ten Commandments' (folio 2), then a printed pamphlet attacking the Pater Noster (folio 5), and finally their author's Recantation (folio 43). Written by the Rev. Thomas Ashenden, the Pater Noster uses parodies of the Pater Noster and Credo to mock Calvin and his followers. Lloyd, who had no love for Calvinists, required Ashenden to recant. Ashenden did so in Peterborough Cathedral in June 1681, where Lloyd was then Bishop, in front of what Lloyd told Saneroff was a great congregation.<sup>13</sup> The pamphlet *A letter to a noble Lord...* (folio 5)<sup>14</sup> hints at one reason why Lloyd might take action against a fellow High Churchman. The Pater Noster, wrote the author, D.M., 'hath scandalized not only our Protestant Non-conformists but even many of the Church of England tho' for two different reasons, the former resenting that they are charged with such blasphemous tenets and doctrines of Divinity. But the latter are offended that the Sacred form of the Lord's Prayer etc should be thus imitated to express such monstrous impieties.' However, it would be in keeping with Lloyd's behaviour during the 1688 crises, if he had shown a firm hand to help keep the peace at another time of crisis.

Perhaps significantly, the document interposed in the Commonplace Book between the Pater Noster itself and the printed attack upon it is a copy of Shaftesbury's attack on James as Duke of York, made at the height of the exclusion crisis, *A Speech made lately by a Noble Peer* (folio 3).<sup>15</sup> These were particularly 'difficult times', when soeial calm needed to be maintained and a diocesan bishop had a particular role in maintaining it. Next to Ashenden's recantation in the Commonplace Book are papers relating to another exercise of episcopal authority and another recantation, that of Gibbs of Gissing, of which more below. Other items in the Commonplace Book relate to pastoral situations encountered by Lloyd as bishop: folio 53, for example, concerns unlawful carnal knowledge, and folio 117 bigamy. These would appear to relate to particular incidents.<sup>16</sup>

The dominant subjects within both sections of the Commonplace Book are the history and theology of the episcopal Church of England. Lloyd saw his church as Catholic as well as Reformed. He was concerned with its history and with precedent, as well as with theology. There are extensive sections about the latter, setting out views on the nature of the sacraments, for example, on which topic Lloyd clearly saw himself as within the Laudian tradition. The papers of Henry Spelman feature large: Spelman was revered as an apologist for Laudian Anglicanism earlier in the 17th century (folio 57).<sup>17</sup> Laud's defence at his trial is also reproduced (folio 27). While such documents reflect Lloyd's view — as confirmed in his actions and his letters to Saneroff — that Protestant dissenters had brought down disaster in the past and threatened to do so again, significant entries relate to Anglican relations with the Roman Catholic Church. Lloyd would insist that the Church of England remained part of the universal — Catholic — church, reformed but epis-

copalian and with bishops and priests clearly within the apostolic succession. But were Anglican orders still valid? The Reformation itself cast one cloud over their validity. If there had been no breach in succession then, had there been since? The inclusion of Spelman's long piece on Archbishop Abbott (folio 32) relates to this issue. Abbott — on the puritan wing of the Church — had accidentally killed a man. Did his conviction for manslaughter invalidate all his consecrations and ordinations? Clearly many thought it did but a royal commission under Charles I decided otherwise, and the facts are meticulously recorded in Lloyd's book.<sup>19</sup>

Validity of Anglican orders was a crucial element in the focal debate of Lloyd's time at Norwich, that with the Rev. Mordaunt Webster of Lynn.<sup>20</sup> The *Commonplace Book* contains the declaration from James II giving Mordaunt Webster and his team the right to missionise East Anglia for the Roman Catholic church together with the right to set up a school in the region. This Royal act of licensing a Roman Catholic mission by one of the most painful thorns in the Anglican church's flesh, must have pushed Lloyd's loyalty to the very edge. Certainly the scribbled comment at the top of this folio (folio 72), illegible as it is, manages to convey his outrage. Webster left his church in Lynn in 1688. That same year, Lloyd lost another of his flock to the Roman Catholic Church — the Rev. Thomas Gibbs of Gissing converted, but only briefly. The *Commonplace Book* reflects the story most movingly. First it reproduces some of the arguments concerned, together with forms for excommunication, then it reproduces Gibbs's sermon of recantation which brought him back into the Anglican fold. Lloyd told Sancroft the good news, adding that Gibbs had found no difficulty in writing the sermon once he had been given a few hints by Lloyd himself. And the sermon pays a tribute to Lloyd: Gibbs says that if only he had consulted with and listened to his Bishop (Lloyd, of course), he would not have gone astray. Gibbs had thought that Catholicism offered 'a safer way to heaven', adding 'Methought there was a great advantage of Piety in the Roman Communion more than other by reason of confession and penance', but now he concluded this was outweighed by disadvantages, for example over the use of Latin, and he concluded that the reformed Church of England was to be preferred.

Lloyd wrote to Sancroft that Gibbs was 'a melancholy pious man'.<sup>21</sup> He was also a loyal one. While his tribute to Lloyd could easily be dismissed as ingratiation, that it was not so was soon to become clear. Gibbs's recantation occurred in November or December 1688 at the very time that James's reign was collapsing around him. As the list of non-juring clergy shows, Gibbs followed his Bishop when the break with the majority of the church occurred.

The break with power having occurred, the *Commonplace Book* concentrates on theory and polemic. Page after page sets out the non-jurors' position by the key apologists for the movement: Dr Thomas 'Tograi' Smith — a much-persecuted non-juring Oxford don — and Henry Gandy, who shortly after Lloyd's death was to become a non-juring bishop (folio 123 and folio 142). These key non-juror texts, neither of which seem to have been published in their *Commonplace Book* form, frequently refer to the Divine Right of Kings but rarely if at all to individual conscience. Only one text — *An Account of the New Sheriffs*, which appeared in print in 1680 (folio 9) — mentions such issues specifically.<sup>22</sup>

*New Sheriffs* explores ways in which it is legitimate to try to bring about change within the church, considers legitimate and illegitimate ways to express dissent, and the binding nature of legislation approved collectively by Commons, Lords and King. It expressly denies the right to take up arms to achieve ends. Lloyd's amanuensis reproduces meticulously the complex layout of the printed text. The note at the top reads 'This was done by Humphrey ye Presbyterrean Minister'. In 1680, when the text was printed, Lloyd was at the height of his controversies with non-conformists and was probably mainly concerned with how the new Sheriffs might come to terms with the legal requirement to swear oaths of conformity. A decade later the text might well

have had very different implications for Lloyd but it would be wrong in this instance to assume the text reflects Lloyd's views in 1689, despite the temptation to do so on reading such extracts as: 'Suppose a Prince should go abroad to alienate his Kingdom or ruin his country or the like. We answer that we are not for all that to return violence upon his person.' Nevertheless, Lloyd notes 'Try to get this book ... a peaceable resolution of conscience', and passages using such phrases are underlined in the text. Underlining in the *Commonplace Book* is always problematic: who did it, and when? Fading of ink on these pages could suggest that the book was left lying open here more often than elsewhere but it cannot tell us at what period the text received such close scrutiny.

A similar problem over timing applies to 'North on Praemunire' (folio 17). On the surface, the concern over the impact of oaths of allegiance and supremacy on the validity or otherwise of the consecrations of bishops is a post-1688 text. However, its position in the *Commonplace Book* suggests otherwise. Its inclusion might date from a pre-revolution moment, when there was increasing turmoil over ecclesiastical appointments made by a King at odds with the Church of which he was Supreme Head, or even from the Exclusion crisis period. The issues tackled are challenging:

Whether consecrations of Bps in any other forme than that of ye Liturgy (and [?] omitting ye oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy) will be legally valid or not.

Whether ye omission of ye Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy which this rubric requires, invalidates ye consecration, or not? — I think it doth not.

Having reviewed general laws and precedents, the Opinion turns to problems relating to the consecration of Bishops. Is it legal to refuse to consecrate someone signified by the King? Are consecrations legal that omit the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy? Does a Royal Dispensation alter the case? Could a dean and chapter refuse to meet to consecrate a Bishop? On the last point, the text is less legalistically ambivalent than on the other questions: the Dean and Chapter could indeed refuse to meet, but the necessity for it to do so could be 'dispensed with'. North concludes: 'It is better to avoid the occasion of such perillous questions by an Election according to Law.'

Authorship of the piece is problematic. The Lord North who was Lord Chancellor in 1682 was the eminent judge Francis North, a Norfolk MP (for Lynn); as Baron Guilford he took part in James's coronation. Roger North, also with East Anglian connections (MP for Dunwich) was first solicitor-general to James as Duke of York then Attorney-General to James's Queen; he quit public affairs at the revolution. Thus, even a text that seems without doubt to refer to non-juror dilemmas may well have been something very different. In the absence of clarity over authorship and entry, the truth cannot be easily resolved. The message from both these texts — *New Sheriffs* and *Praemunire* — is, however, clear: Lloyd, the pastoral bishop, was a man concerned with finding solutions, of discovering 'peaceable resolutions' of legal and ethical dilemmas.

When the theme of loyalty to princes is raised by Dr Smith later in the *Commonplace Book* (folio 123), it is safer to assume that Lloyd felt the text expressed his own views. Passages underlined in the *Commonplace Book* include: 'Christian doctrine of Obedience due to lawfull and Rightfull Kings of what religion or persuasion ... [is] ... a distinguishing character and badge of honour above all the Churches of the Reformation.' And later: 'It is his [James's] misfortune as well as ours that he is of a contrary religion.' The text expressly disputes 'Hobbs' (sic) view 'that a subject is no longer bound to obey and pay allegiance, than a Prince is able to protect ... Kings ... are in no way accountable to the People in case of mal administration.' Smith argues that loyalty is as much Church of England doctrine as the 39 Articles, without which 'she cannot be esteemed the true, reformed, Catholick, Christian Church of England'.

Two other Commonplace texts add further to our understanding of Lloyd the man. One, folio 139, is a simple epitaph to Thomas Coull of Debden Hall — Lloyd was clearly moved by this gentleman's generosity to the suddenly impoverished non-jurors, of which Coull's local clergyman was one. The other text is *A Private Prayer to be said In Difficult Times* (Folio 13).<sup>23</sup> One suspects that it was a prayer Lloyd used, in spirit, frequently.

Study of the Commonplace Book has extended awareness of Lloyd as a complex person at the centre of events involving the Church of England during a series of critical moments in its development. For Lloyd and Sancroft, those who swore the oaths to William and Mary were defying their episcopal authority: the oath-takers were schismatics, while they — Sancroft and his loyal bishops — were the true authority within the church and could no more be dispossessed by 'the people' than could their rightful sovereign, James.

The Church of England restored in 1660 was hierarchical: authority derived from a divinely appointed monarch as head of the church downwards through the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, through the bishops to the clergy and lesser officers of the church. Lloyd was, and knew himself to be, a senior bishop. He was deeply loyal to his one superior within the church, Archbishop Sancroft; and Sancroft had left him in no doubt that Lloyd was his chosen successor. If anyone had authority to decide what could and should be done by bishops and clergy, it was Sancroft and Lloyd, together with their senior colleagues. Texts collected by Lloyd and copied into his Commonplace Book attacked the idea that the people, through parliament, had a right to choose their monarchs and direct the national church. Such views had been the cause of all religious, social and political ills in the past: the episcopal Church of England had been abolished and James twice driven into exile. However, the Church and its bishops had been restored and James had twice returned to his rightful place. The events of 1688/9 had resulted in a shift in location of power in the land but Lloyd and his colleagues had no reason to believe that that shift was permanent. They had a burning conviction that their own orthodoxy must be kept alive ready for the backward swing of the pendulum of power. Dr Smith<sup>24</sup> writes in the Commonplace Book (at folio 137 reverse):

God be thanked their (sic) is a Remnant left of regular, pious, learned and orthodox Bishops and Presbyters, with an excellent Archbishop in the head of them who keep up and maintain the true glory of it ...

Underlying all the 'politics', however, was a deep conviction concerning the spiritual importance of the church. It was not just a temporal, political affair: it was concerned with relationships with God and had consequences that far outlasted mortal life. For Lloyd, the Church of England — loyalty, Articles and all — was a matter of eternal life and death; for him it was above all else 'A safer way to heaven'. This is why he struggled to keep Gibbs within the Church of England and ultimately it was why he held firm to his principles in 1689.

*December 2003*

#### **Appendix: The contents of William Lloyd's Commonplace Book**

*Folio 2.* Lloyd's Commonplace Book opens with parodies of the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments written by the Rev. Thomas Ashenden, 'whom I obliged to recant' at Peterborough Cathedral. The parodies are an attack on John Calvin and Calvinist Protestants. (see below).

*Folio 3 verso.* Copy of pamphlet printed 1681: *A Speech made lately by a Noble*, by Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury. Printed for FS, 1681 (Wing/S2901); Shaftesbury's attack on James, then Duke of York.

*Folio 5 verso.* Copy of pamphlet printed 1681: *A letter to a noble Lord concerning a profane pamphlet entitled The Presbyterian Pater Nostra. Creed and Ten Commandments* by DM. Printed London: s.n., 1681 (Wing/M13).

*Folio 9.* Copy of pamphlet printed 1680: *An account of new sheriffs of London*. Printed by Thomas Snowden, London,

1680 (Wing/A333). Note by Lloyd reads, 'This was done by Humphrey ye Presbyterean Minister.'

*Folio 12.* Copy of pamphlet printed 1679: *Judges opinions concerning Petitions to the King on Publick Matters*. Published by Thomas Burrell of Fleet Street, 1679.

*Folio 13.* Copy of pamphlet printed 1687: *A Private Prayer to be used in Difficult Times*. Printed for Ric. Chiswell, 1687. (Wing/p834) Ascribed to Simon Patrick (1626–1707), but Lloyd ascribes it to 'Dr. Hallicole, Minister then at Covent Garden, Parish of Westminster'.

*Folio 14.* A Latin text in the form of question and response headed by Lloyd, 'This is ye opinion of ye bishops.'

*Folio 17.* A legal Opinion on Premunire ascribed to Mr North. Gives precedents back to Richard II and Edward III. Goes on to set out opinions on other issues such as oaths of loyalty and the consecration of bishops.

*Folio 26.* Epitaphium to Louis XIII I Galliarum Regis.

*Folio 27.* Copy of the defence of William Laud before the House of Lords. The text of John Home's defence on behalf of the Archbishop at his trial.

*Folio 32.* Transcript of a treatise by Sir Henry Spelman on 'Archbishop Abbott's irregularities', originally dated 1621. A note on this folio reads: 'The author of this Treatise is Sir Henry Spelman and I caused it to be transcribed from the original manuscript writ with his own hand which I had from his Grandchild Mr Henry Spelman.'

*Folio 43.* Ashenden's recantation in Latin.

*Folio 45.* Notes relating to excommunication and recantation, with a note: 'Mr Gibbs of Gissing in Suffolk is ye person concerned.'

*Folio 49.* Note reads: 'Mr. Gibbs his Recantation sermon preached by my order at his parish church of Gissing.' The sermon is on the theme of St. Peter's denial of His Lord, a text suggested by Lloyd.

*Folio 53.* Form of confession for unlawful carnal knowledge.

*Folio 54.* Statutes and ordinances relating to schools at Uppingham and Oakham.

*Folio 57.* Papers of Sir Henry Spelman. A note adds: 'Sir Henry Spelman's papers found among ye papers of his amanuensis Mr Stephens of Northamptonshire.' The papers include a history of the reformation expressing distress at the work of the iconoclasts and at the dissolution of the monasteries.

*Folio 72.* Reproduces a declaration from James II to Mordaunt Webster.

*Folio 74.* 'The Catalogue of the English Clerics and other Schollars who have refused to take the New Oaths' — this list includes 39 from Norwich diocese.

*Folio 79.* Reproduces a series of arguments concerning the ethics of an invasion of France by a Confederation of England and the United Provinces. References in the text to 'the new proclaimed King of England' and also to 'William of Nassau' mean the text could either relate to early in James's reign or to shortly after the Glorious Revolution.

*Folio 85.* A letter on the nature of the Holy Communion, signed 'AB' but with a scribbled note ascribing it to Bram Hicks. Followed by an ornate and complex paper of 'A prodicamentall Table of a Sacrifice', the English text of which also includes Greek and Hebrew.

*Folio 86.* Long treatise on Sacrifice and Transubstantiation. Ascribed in a scarcely legible note to 'Mr. Guist required by Dr. Bishley'. The text is, uniquely, marked with large red symbols — a circle crossed through by a vertical line — at key points which seem to justify 'high church' approaches to sacraments and rituals.

*Folio 98.* Similar to the above, including justification of Adoration, Veneration of the Holy Table.

*Folio 117.* In a different hand, a piece concerning bigamy; changes hand and ink on third folio.

*Folios 123–38.* Note 'By Dr. Smith' (Tograi)<sup>25</sup>: *A Just Complaint against the Degenerous Clergie of the Church of England*, dated April 1690. Does not appear in the English short title catalogue but is clearly a key non-juror text. Many passages are underlined, for example, on 'obedience due to lawfull and rightfull kings of what religion or persuasion'.

*Folio 139.* Inscription for a gravestone: To the Memory of Thomas Coull, esquire of Debden Hall, died October 1698. William Norrington, curate of Debden, was a non-juror.

*Folio 140.* Extracts from Bishop Burnet's *History of His Time*. Burnet died in 1715, but his *History* was not published until 1723. H.C. Foxcroft in 1902 showed how Burnet had acknowledged the existence of a 'secret history' long before that time and how versions of this had reached the Robert Harley collection. She also postulated the deliberate pirating of extracts through a non-juring source. The Commonplace Book makes clear that Lloyd saw more than just manuscript versions of parts of the 'secret history'. A note on the Commonplace text reads: 'A sample or Prooffe-sheet/being/a collection and faithful relation of a few passages taken out of a voluminous history, written by Dr. Gilbert Burnet representing the affairs of the Church and State within Brittain and Ireland in his time, and designs to be published as a posthumous work./With some remarks upon them'. What Lloyd saw might have been proofs prepared for the edition of

the history that Foxcroft shows Burnet had got ready for posthumous publication as early as 1688. A more reasonable view is that he had received a copy of a pamphlet, *Specimens*, by the non-juror Robert Elliot published in about 1700.<sup>26</sup> The passages chosen by Lloyd for inclusion in the Commonplace Book relate to the death of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, murdered in Scotland; the dismissal of Halifax and Russell with Cavendish; and the trial of the Earl of Danby. The very short extracts conclude 'here endeth what is copied verbatim'.

*Folio 142.* 'Letter to a Gentleman of the Society for Reformation of Manners. Concerning the English Constitution.' The Society arranged annual lectures/sermons and published pamphlets not only in London but in such centres as Nottingham. The letter argues that 'the Church of England is a body both *Christian* and commending itself to civil powers by the loyalty of its constitution'. It condemns 'current Iesuiticism' that the end justifies the means.

*Folio 142 verso.* 'Mr Gandys collections to satisfy a friend'. These continue to the penultimate page of the Commonplace Book. Henry Gandy published ten texts and these papers, which are uniformly bellicose and attack the compliant Church of England as 'bastard sons', bear some resemblance to *An answer to some queries concerning schism toleration etc.* printed London, 1700 (Wing/G 1970). The Commonplace Book collection is dated January 30 1701, the Feast of Charles, King and Martyr.

*Folio 171 verso* has note 'Finis of Mr Gandy's Papers'. Gandy's History nevertheless continues at folio 172 with an account of Charles I and the Civil War.

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1. William Lloyd was born at Bala in Wales in 1637. On 6 April 1675 he was elected Bishop of Llandaff. He was translated to Peterborough in 1679 and to Norwich on 11 June 1685. Deprived of his bishopric in 1690/91, he retired to Hammersmith where he died in 1710.
2. Amos C. Miller, 1985. Miller has also written interestingly about Lloyd in a biographical article about the Rev. Mordaunt Webster (1984).
3. The letters are held in the Tanner MSS collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and are interestingly summarised in Alfred Hackman's Index to the collection. There are also important references to Lloyd in Humphrey Prideaux's *Letters* to John Ellis and in the anonymous *Life of Prideaux* published in 1748 safely after the final crushing of Jacobitism. There are other mentions of him by contemporaries John Evelyn and Edmund Bohun and papers in the Gutch collection contain references to him, particularly in relation to his part in the Bishops' defiance of James II in 1688. Short biographies of him feature in the standard histories of the Non-Jurors but the nearest we get to a modern biography is Amos C. Miller's article in *Norfolk Archaeology*.
4. In this, he was unlike his namesake and contemporary Bishop William Lloyd of St. Asaphs — this William Lloyd (1627–1717) graduated from Oxford where he subsequently became a Fellow. He collected a battery of benefices and preferments under the restored Stuarts, culminating in consecration as Bishop of St. Asaphs in 1680. He was one of the seven bishops jailed by James II in 1688 but unlike most of his imprisoned colleagues, he was happy to serve under William, becoming successively Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in 1692 and of Worcester in 1700.
5. Spurr, 1991, 48.
6. Spurr, 1991, 77. Spurr's phrase, as will be seen below, echoes one in Lloyd's Commonplace Book and reminds us that for Lloyd the issues we are discussing were matters of faith and belief and of religious as well as political importance.
8. A letter from Lloyd describing the overthrow of the Portuguese monarchy is catalogued as existing as Tanner MSS 459 f 98 but I have been unable to have sight of this, and there are no extracts from it in Miller's account despite his otherwise substantial quotation from Tanner MSS sources.
9. Spurr, 1991, 104.
10. The significance of political oaths and, in particular the non-jurors' position, is treated at length by David Martin Jones (1999).
11. The texts are reproduced in Overton, 1902, 38ff.
12. Sir Eric Robert Dalrymple Maclagan (1879–1951) was director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1924–1945 and son of William Dalrymple Maclagan (1826–1910), Archbishop of York, 1891–1908.
13. Foxcroft, 1902, viii–xiv.
14. Lloyd to Sancroft, 8 June 1681, Tanner MSS 147 f 42.
15. *A letter to a Noble Lord ...* (Wing/M13), see Appendix.
16. *A Speech made lately by a Noble Peer* (Wing/S290 1), see Appendix.
17. These incidents are reported in detail in Miller, 1985
18. Spelman (1564–1641) was an historian and antiquarian and an apologist for Church of England 'orthodoxy'. He was also interested in feudalism, being the author of *Tenures !?y Knight Service*. Several of his works were published or re-published during the years in which Lloyd was compiling the Commonplace Book. Spelman had Norfolk connections: he was MP for Castle Rising in 1593 and 1597.
19. It is known that Lloyd wrote to Sancroft on 14 August 1686 concerning an accidental homicide committed by the Rev. Mr Allgood (Tanner MSS 30 f 107). Spelman's papers, however, are concerned not simply with the impact of 'blood' guilt on a clergyman's capacity to continue in office but the specific problem caused for the validity of Anglican orders transmitted through Abbott as Archbishop.
20. This debate is fully covered in Amos C. Miller's articles.
21. Lloyd to Sancroft, 4 December 1688, Tanner MSS 28 f 274.
22. *An Account of the New Sheriffs*, Wing/A333, see Appendix.
23. *A Private Prayer to be used In Difficult Times*, printed London, 1687. Wing, 834.
24. Thomas Smith (1638–1710) who gained his nickname 'Tograi' from his interest in the Eastern Church, lost his Fellowship at Oxford in the dispute between the University and James over appointments, was reinstated, but then lost his Fellowship again when refusing to take the oath to William and Mary in 1692. His text in the Commonplace Book is dated April 1690.
25. Overton, 1902, 172.
26. Foxcroft, 1902, viii–xiv.