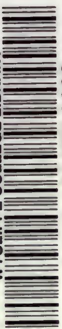
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A MANUAL OF ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

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OF

ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

BY

THE REV. CHARLES HOLE, B.A.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
FORMERLY FELLOW AND LECTURER IN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
AT KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON

WITH A PREFACE BY

THE VERY REV. HENRY WACE, D.D.

DEAN OF CANTERBURY

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PREFATORY NOTE

By the Dean of Canterbury

The *History of the Church of England* in the following pages will be found, it is hoped, to present that history with a thoroughness and impartiality which has too often been absent from similar volumes. It is written from the point of view of one who was in full sympathy with the Reformation, but who, both by learning and temperament, was averse from controversy, and whose retiring and scholarly life enabled him to exercise the quiet judgment of a historian on the life and the struggles of the past.

The author, the Rev. Charles Hole, was a clergyman of exemplary piety and rare learning, who was compelled by severe deafness to withdraw from pastoral duty, and who then devoted his whole time and thought to historical study. His name is well known to students of both general and Church history by his useful Biographical Dictionary, and by the important and generous part he took in assisting the editors of *The Dictionary of Christian Biography during the first Eight Centuries*.

He held the office of Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History in King's College, London, for some twenty years, and the history of the English Church was the chief subject of his lectures. He made elaborate and original studies over the whole range of that history, and had a singular gift for at once interesting and instructing his students. Masses of manuscripts which were the foundations of those lectures are in my possession, and exhibit the most laborious care, alike in the preparation of materials, and in the skilful presentation of them to his hearers. The preparation of the

present *History* was the concluding work of his long life, to which he devoted the mature results of his learning and of his experience in teaching. It is not therefore a work written for a special purpose, for which the author may have specially prepared himself; it is the final result of a long and laborious life, in which every day, and almost every hour, was bestowed with a loving devotion upon the history of England and of the Church of England. It will be found, I believe, to present many parts of the history in a new and interesting light, and to illustrate them with the freshness of original research. Mr. Hole was never content to repeat a statement at second-hand, and his patience was equal to any labour that might be necessary for the verification of his materials.

Unhappily for the concluding part of the history, he left only notes and memoranda, and these have been put into narrative form by the editors. The whole of the proofs have also been carefully revised by the editors, with my general assistance, and they have done their best to ensure that Mr. Hole's work should be presented to the public with the accuracy and thoroughness he would have himself maintained throughout it. I hope that, in the result, the volume may prove to be the most thorough and satisfactory of the popular histories of our Church, and that it may thus be a not unworthy memorial of one of the most pious, faithful and devoted scholars whom the English Church of the last century has known.

H. WACE.

August, 1910.

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CHAPTER I.

THE BRITISH CHURCH.

BRITAIN, first invaded by the Romans under Julius Cæsar, B.C. 55, became a Roman province, A.D. 84,[1] in the reign of the Emperor Domitian. The Roman seat of government was not London, which was then only a commercial city, but York, in the far North, where the fierce Caledonians had to be guarded against.

Roman Britain.

In or about A.D. 208 Tertullian wrote of "Places among the Britons unapproached by the Romans but subdued to Christ".[2] These are the earliest known words connecting Britain with the name of Christ, and from them starts the Church History of this island. It seems probable that the Christians alluded to came to Britain as refugees from a Celtic region in the south-east of France, where, about A.D. 177,[3] two flourishing churches, at Lyons and Vienne on the Rhone, suffered[4] a merciless persecution.

After Tertullian British Christians are many times mentioned by fathers like Origen,[5] Eusebius,[6] Chrysostom,[7] Jerome,[8] Theodoret,[9] who all seem to have watched their history with interest.

The first historical event of the British Church is the martyrdom,[10] *cir.* 304,[11] of the Roman soldier Alban at the Roman military

[1] Wr., *C. R. S.*, 40.
[2] Tert., *Adv. Jud.*, c. 7, P. L., ii., 610 C.
[3] Rob., *Ch. Hist.*, i., 44.
[4] Euseb., *E. H.*, v., 1, P. G., xx., 408 C.
[5] Sixth Homily on St. Luke, P. G., xiii., 1816 C (Works, iii., 939); Fourth Homily on Ezekiel, § 1, P. G., xiii., 698 A (Works, iii., 370); Commentary on St. Matthew, § 39, P. G., xiii., 1655 A (Works, iii., 858).
[6] *Demonstratio Evangelica*, iii., 5, P. G., xxii., 204 A.
[7] *Contra Jud. et Gent.*, P. G., xlviii., 830; Twenty-eighth Homily on 2 Corinthians, P. G., lxi., 594; Sermon i. on the Pentecost (spurious ?), P. G., lii., 808.
[8] Ep. 46, al. 17, § 10, P. L., xxii., 489; Ep. 58, al. 13, § 3, P. L., xxii., 581; Ep. 146, al. 85, P. L., xxii., 1194.
[9] *Græcarum Affectionum Curatio*, Serm. ix., *De Legibus*, P. G., lxxxiii., 1038 D; *Hist. Rel.*, c. 26, P. G., lxxxii., 1471 D.
[10] Bede, i., 7.
[11] *H. and S.*, i., 5; Moberly's *Bede;* A.D. 305, Stevenson's *Bede*. The reasons for the date adopted may be seen in the author's *Early Missions*, p. 32.

station Verulam, now St. Albans. In 313, on the conversion of Constantine, Christianity became, in some sense, the professed religion of the Roman Empire, including the province of Britain.

In 314 three British bishops[1] attended a large Council summoned by Constantine at Arles, far down the Rhone. This is the second discernible event in the history of the British Church, which is thus seen taking its place as a member of Western Christendom. That British bishops attended the Council of Nicæa, which in 325 determined the Nicene doctrine of the true Divinity of Christ, cannot be proved;[2] but they did accept the ruling of that Council.[3] British bishops were certainly at the Council of Rimini,[4] on the Italian coast of the Adriatic in 359, when the Arian controversy was raging. They had the honour of supporting Athanasius and Hilary,[5] their action at Rimini being no real exception.

Departure of the Romans.

The Romans took their departure from Britain in or about 410,[6] by which time they had professed Christianity for nearly a century. The British Bishop Ninian, at Whithern on the Galloway coast, laboured as the "Apostle of the Southern Picts," *cir.* 412-432,[7] to extend Christianity over the country south of the Grampians,[8] among the people who had so stoutly assailed the Roman legions about York. With Ninian's mission the Church History of Scotland begins. In 429[9] the Gallic bishop Germanus[10] of Auxerre, at the summons of the British Church, then troubled with the heresy of Pelagianism, came over to its assistance, with an episcopal colleague, Lupus of Troyes. In a public disputation in the old Roman Amphitheatre of Verulam,[11] before a vast multitude who had assembled with their wives and children, the victory was assigned by acclamation to the Gallic champion. Germanus with another colleague, Bishop Severus, came again[12] in 447.[13] Pelagianism asserted the efficiency of man's nature of itself, without

[1] Eborius, Restitutus, Adelphius (Mansi, ii., 476). A notice of the readings will be found in *D. C. B.* under EBURIUS.

[2] Not in extant lists (Mansi, ii., 696, 702).

[3] Euseb., *Vit. Const.*, lib. iii., c. 19, P. G., xx., 1078; Ath., *Ep. ad Jov.*, § 2, P. G., xxvi., 815 C; *H. and S.*, i., 7, 8, 10.

[4] Sulp. Sev., *Hist. Sac.*, lib. ii., c. 41, P. L., xx., 152 B.

[5] Athan., *Ap. C. Ar.*, § 1, P. G., xxv., 250 A; Athan., *Hist. Ar.*, § 28, P. G., xxv., 726 A; Hil., *De Syn.*, P. L., x., 479 B.

[6] Wr., *C. R. S.*, 385.

[7] Moberly, *Bede*, iii., 4, p. 145, *n.* 5.

[8] Bede, iii., 4.

[9] Stevenson, *Bede*, i., 17, vol. i., 38 *n.*

[10] Moberly, *Bede*, i., 17, p. 40.

[11] *Early Missions*, p. 33; Wr., *C. R. S.*, 176.

[12] Bede, i., 21.

[13] Stevenson, Moberly (*M. H. B.*, 127), on *Bede*.

God's grace, to turn to God, to will and to do good,[1] and was strongly opposed by St. Augustine.

About A.D 450 [2] Saxon invaders from Germany began pouring into East and South-East Britain, paganising the land as they gradually advanced, driving the British Christians, who were of Celtic race, further and further westward, into the hills of Cumberland, Wales, Cornwall, Devon, and beyond the sea to Ireland, among kindred Celts. Afterwards it is in these regions alone we discover the British Church in secure homes; but a dense mist envelops its history for above a century from the incoming of the Saxons. It was perhaps about A.D. 450 [3] when Patricius (Patrick), a Christian, probably of Ninian's diocese, became the "Apostle of Ireland," though not absolutely the first missionary to its shores. In that mist are discernible, after Patrick, the dim Celtic figures of King Arthur and Saint David. Arthur's victory over the Saxons at Badon Hill (probably in Dorsetshire), checking their advance in the far West, is usually dated 520,[4] and tradition makes David, the saint of Wales, contemporary with Arthur. The term "Celtic" is usually applied in common to the native churches of Britain and Ireland. When at length the historic cloud lifts, some notable centres of monastic life are revealed, showing how vigorously the Celtic Church had been striking root during the obscure period. These are Glastonbury in Somerset, Bangor Iscoed in Flintshire, another Bangor in the Bay of Belfast, and the island called Hy, I, Iona, or Ikolmkill. Glastonbury, the earliest Christian spot now identifiable in Britain, traditionally connected with King Arthur, was by its position in the far West kept out of reach of the Saxon advance while the Saxons were pagan, and in consequence its Church has had a continuous history to this day.

Celtic Christianity.

Irish Christianity produced the distinguished missionaries Columba and Columbanus. Columba in 563 established himself as an abbot on the islet Iona, from whence, for thirty-four years, until his death in 597, he evangelised the Northern Picts dwelling beyond the Grampians,[5] and is known as their "Apostle," Ninian of Whithern having been at a much earlier day the apostle of the

[1] Bede (i., 10) describes his teaching as "contra auxilium gratiæ supernæ".

[2] Moberly, *Bede*, i., 15. Bede here and v., 24 (in his Chronicle) places the invasion in the reign of Marcian and Valentinian, which began, he says, in 449.

[3] Usher's date, 432, is the usual one (Rob., ii., 257). *H. and S.*, i., 18, give 440 to 460.

[4] Gard., i., 28. The *Annales Cambriæ* (*M. H. B.*, 830) gives 516.

[5] Bede, iii., 4.

Southern Picts below that range. By these two Celtic missionaries all the country now called Scotland was won to the Christian name. Columbanus went forth from the Irish Bangor in 585, as abbot of a party of missionaries, to a region of North-Eastern Gaul, settling at Luxeuil in the Vosges range, as a radiating centre. Passing into South-West Germany in 610, where his colleague Gallus founded the monastery of St. Gall, and pushing on thence to the Northern Apennines, Columbanus founded the monastery of Bobbio, where he died in 615. These two Irish Celts preceded, by a considerable time, the coming of Augustine from Rome, and more than rivalled him in missionary enterprise.

If it be a mark of the Catholic Faith to worship one God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity, and to hold with Augustine in his controversy with Pelagius, then the early British Church was Catholic in doctrine and worship.

The British Church cannot be shown to have been planted by the Pope, whose authority within this period it did not own. St. Patrick was not an emissary of the Pope. The doctrines expressed in his extant letters breathe in a marked degree the language and spirit of the New Testament,[1] without any recognition of the distinctive teaching of Rome.

[1] *Letters on St. Patrick and the Ancient Catholic Church of Ireland.* By the Rev. John Cotton Walker, Dublin, 1874, 3rd edit., pp. 6-8.

CHAPTER II.

CHURCH OF THE ANGLO-SAXON HEPTARCHY.

In 597,[1] about a century and a half after the Anglo-Saxon invaders began their slow process of mastering the eastern and central portions of Britain, forty monks under their abbot Augustine, sent by Pope Gregory I. *The Great*, landed on the shore of the Isle of Thanet, where, as may be read in Bede's narrative, they were favourably received by King Ethelbert.[2] The visitors were at once allowed to settle, were granted a maintenance in Canterbury the Kentish capital, and were permitted to preach to the people. Beyond the gates a church already existed, St. Martin's, where Bertha, Ethelbert's Queen, a Christian princess from Gaul, worshipped with her household, and had been instructed by her Gallic chaplain, Bishop Liudhard. A dilapidated church within the walls, the remnant of a long-vanished Brito-Roman Christianity, was placed at the disposal of Augustine, who repaired it, calling it Christ Church. Outside the city land was granted for a monastery, and this was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. Converts multiplied, and on 16th November, 597,[3] as the accepted date stands, Augustine received Episcopal consecration,[4] not, however, from the native bishops of the old British Church, who were ignored and shunned by him, but from a remote Archbishop of Arles in Gaul, who was the Pope's vicar and representative in the region west of the Alps. For Ethelbert's baptism an exact date, Whitsunday, 2nd June, 597, about six weeks after Augustine's arrival, is often assigned, but the silence of Bede[5]

Conversion of Kent.

[1] Bede, *H. E.*, v., 24, in his *Recapitulatio Chronica*.

[2] *Ibid.*, i., 25.

[3] Bede (i., 27) gives no date, only "Interea". Thorne and Sprott give this day, which was a Saturday, and Stevenson considers that the day was probably Sunday the 17th. Stevenson's *Bede*, i., 27 (vol. i., 57, *n.* 1). Moberly places the period before Christmas, 597.

[4] Bede, *H. E.*, i., 27.

[5] Bede (i., 26) mentions his conversion and baptism, but without a date, which is, therefore, open to conjecture. *Early Missions*, pp. 86, 87, 94.

upon the point, and of Augustine's own correspondence with Gregory, forbids our feeling certain of any more precise time than A.D. 600. In 601 Augustine received from Gregory the gift of a *pallium*, or pall,[1] an ornament of his official dress which, repeated by Gregory's successors to those of Augustine, accompanied by a most insidious interpretation, had far-reaching and mischievous consequences. It became by degrees an established axiom that every metropolitan must obtain the pallium from Rome, not without heavy fees, before he could exercise his office in any valid manner. No such rule had existed before this instance of 601, and it took about a century to get it firmly rooted in Church opinion; but when once rooted it survived with a tyrannous power, making the Pope the fountain-head of all ministerial validity. If through lack of a pallium the acts of a metropolitan were invalid, the invalidity extended to the remotest results; a bishop was not duly consecrated, nor priests duly ordained, nor sacraments duly administered—and sacraments met men at every turn, there being seven of them—nor were benedictions or absolutions duly received. In England this heavy hand of the Papacy remained upon the Church down to the Reformation.

Yet circumstances seem to warrant the conclusion that Gregory intended this decoration as a token to Augustine that he might claim authority over the ancient Church of Britain. For Augustine received in the same letter an intimation that the bishops of Britain were, on the authority of the Lord God Jesus Christ, to be all subject to his rule. Thus prompted by Gregory, as it is fair to conjecture, and himself conspiring in the usurpation, Augustine, in 602 or 603,[2] visited the British Bishops, who came to a conference with him on the banks of the Severn. He invited them to discard their customs for those of the Roman Church, and then co-operate with him in evangelising the Anglo-Saxon pagans. They observed that he sat and let them stand; they recognised that he claimed superiority to them, and without hesitation they declined his overtures. Until a period later than the Conquest the British Bishops held aloof from Canterbury as well as from Rome.

Returning to his more legitimate province in Kent, Augustine met with deserved success in making his metropolitan title a

[1] With a letter dated 22nd June, 601, given by Bede (i., 29), where Stevenson's note adds an alternative day, 1st July.

[2] *H. and S.;* Stevenson (note on *Bede*, ii., 2) thinks 603 best suits the circumstances.

reality by founding, in conjunction with Ethelbert, *cir.* 604, two suffragan Sees—Rochester in Kent, and London in the East Saxon kingdom.[1]

Augustine died 26th May,[2] probably in 605, and was succeeded by Laurentius. Ethelbert, dying in 616, 24th February, was succeeded by his son Eadbald, who, after a time of hesitation, continued, with his people, in the profession of Christianity.[3]

The East Saxons occupied the modern counties of Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herts. Ethelbert, being the uncle of their King Sebert, as also Bretwalda of the Anglo-Saxons south of the Humber, used his influence in promoting the acceptance of Christianity by the East Saxons. A cathedral dedicated to St. Paul was erected in London their capital, A.D. 604, and Mellitus, one of Augustine's companions, was the first bishop. Sebert died, like Ethelbert, in 616. His successor, and the East Saxon nation with him, relapsed into paganism, and Mellitus returned to Kent.[4]

Conversion of the Invaders.

Northumbria, of which the modern Northumberland is but a fragment, comprised all Anglian Britain north of the Humber, and was in two provinces, Deira on the south, containing the modern counties of Yorkshire and Durham,[5] with York for its capital; Bernicia in the north, extending from the Tyne up to Edinburgh, its capital being Bamborough.

In 625, when Kent had been Christian twenty-eight years, and now comprised the whole of Anglo-Saxon Christendom, Edwin, the pagan king of Northumbria, asked in marriage the Princess Ethelburga of Kent, the sister of King Eadbald, daughter of the deceased Ethelbert. Consent was given on condition of the lady being allowed the exercise of her religion, and on 21st July, 625,[6] Paulinus, one of the Italian mission, was consecrated bishop to accompany her. He proved the first "Apostle" of the great northern kingdom. Edwin, who belonged to the Deira branch of the royal family, reigned at York, but ruled over both provinces. On Easter Day, 20th April, 626,[7] an attempt upon Edwin's life, accelerating the agitated queen's first confinement, so deeply impressed his mind that he consented to the infant's baptism,

[1] Bede, ii., 3, with date.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii., 3, *fin.*, no year mentioned; Stevenson's note prefers 605; Moberly's 604.

[3] Bede, ii., 5, 6.

[4] *Ibid.*, ii., 5.

[5] Lapp., i., 117; Moberly on *Bede*, iii., 1.

[6] Bede, ii., 9.

[7] *Ibid.*, ii., 9.

which was celebrated on Whitsunday,[1] 8th June, 626, eleven members of the Court sharing the sacred rite with little Eanfled, and these were the first fruits of Northumbria to Christ. Edwin, after long consideration, summoned a national witenagemote to discuss the question of a general abandonment of idolatry. This was decided in the affirmative, the chief priest himself, Coifi, desecrating the grand idol temple at Goodmanham in Yorkshire. On Easter Day, 12th April, 627,[2] King Edwin, his Court, and a large number of the people, after due instruction, received baptism at York, in a timber-built chapel around which York Minster was subsequently erected. Paulinus, till then without a See, now became Bishop of York. Seconded personally by Edwin and Ethelburga he went preaching everywhere. In the interesting pages of Bede we see how king, queen, and bishop travelled the land together as active and earnest missionaries, moving among the common folk, who flocked to the baptismal rite in the rivers Swale, Glen, and Trent. Lincolnshire was at that time belonging to Northumbria, and at Lincoln, Blæcca, the king's governor, gave in the summer of 627 his ready adhesion to the new faith.

This bright prospect ended with Edwin's fall in battle, 12th[3] October, 633, in a war raised against him by two neighbouring kings, Penda of Mercia and the British Christian Caedwalla. Northumbria was devastated and its Church destroyed. The widowed Ethelburga and her children, with Bishop Paulinus, returned as fugitives to Kent. Thus fell the first Northumbrian Church after a duration of six years.

East Anglia.

The kingdom of East Anglia, comprising for the most part the modern counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, was peopled by Angles. Redwald, its first baptized king, received the Christian rite, at a date unknown, in Kent, and afterwards, without repudiating it, returned to pagan life. His conversion, such as it was (Bede[4] calls it "Samaritan"), remained personal and individual, without effect on his subjects. His son Earpwald, in the summer of 627, adopted Christianity, and his people with him, at the persuasion of Edwin King of Northumbria, who visited the country from Lincoln, soon after his own baptism at York. This, the first conversion of East Anglia, was not maintained when very soon afterwards Earpwald was

[1] Bede, ii., 9; on the eve of that day, *A. S. C.*

[2] Bede, ii., 14.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii., 20. Florence gives the day as the 10th; *A. S. C.* as the 14th.

[4] Bede, ii., 15. Bede gives no dates here; those of the text are calculated from his narrative.

assassinated. After a lapse of three years the nation once more, and now permanently, accepted the faith in 630, under King Sigebert, Earpwald's brother, himself converted on the Continent in exile. His efforts in restoring Christianity were seconded by Bishop Felix, the "Apostle of East Anglia". Felix was a Burgundian, recommended to Sigebert by Honorius Archbishop of Canterbury. His See was fixed at Dunwich. Three nations were now become Christian.

Northumbria.

In 634 [1] the Northumbrian Prince Oswald, after a great victory at Heavenfield, by the Roman wall near Hexham, recovered his family inheritance and became its king. He and his younger brother Oswy, members of the Northern or Bernician branch of the royal house, having, in Edwin's reign, lived as exiles in Scotland, there embraced the faith, and now, returning under the Christian standard, established a new Christian throne in Northumbria. This second Church under Oswald differed considerably in type from the first under Edwin. It was now Celtic in custom and worship, as it had before been Kentish and Roman. The missionaries he introduced, led by Bishop Aidan, were all from Scotland, the land of his new birth, having no connection whatever with Kent. The centre of regal and ecclesiastical authority was shifted from York in the south up to the far north, where Oswald's throne was at Bamborough,[2] and Aidan's See (dating from 635 [3]) at Lindisfarne Island. This Celtic Church of Northumbria, more simple and unpretending in its worship than the Roman Church of Kent, but no whit behind it in energy and devotedness, proved a noble missionary centre, from whence the truth penetrated into others of the heptarchal kingdoms.

Wessex.

The West Saxons, occupying the country south of the Thames, extending at its fullest from Sussex to Devon, with the Roman town of Winchester for its capital, was ruled by King Cynegils when visited in 634 by the missionary Bishop Birinus, who had been sent to Britain by Pope Honorius[4] (625-638). The landing was probably at the junction of the Itchen with the Southampton Water, from whence a Roman road to Winchester was short and easy. The date, the year following the overthrow of the Northumbrian Church, might well suggest that Pope Honorius, having heard of that catastrophe, was anxious to retrieve it by a new mission. Cynegils was baptized at Dorchester,

[1] Calculated from Bede (iii., 1), who gives no date.

[2] Bede, iii., 6.

[3] Calculated from Bede, iii., 3, 26.

[4] Bede, iii., 7; the date 634 from *A. S. C.*

on the north bank of the Thames, in 635,[1] Oswald King of Northumbria, who afterwards married his daughter, standing sponsor at the rite. The See of Birinus, the "Apostle" of Wessex, was fixed at Dorchester, which being outside Wessex proper, may represent a conquest from Mercia. This was the fourth kingdom converted. There remained Mercia, the East Saxons, and the South Saxons.

Mercia, occupied by Angles, corresponded broadly with the present Midlands, and was bordered by Wales, Northumbria, East Anglia, South Saxons, West Saxons. At the period now to be spoken of, 653, Lincolnshire belonged to it. Its pagan king Penda was a sort of Antichrist of his day. The centre of his territory, Leicestershire we may say, was the region of the Middle Angles, ruled by his son Peada as sub-king. This prince, that he might wed the Christian princess Alchfleda, daughter of the Northumbrian king Oswy, embraced Christianity, and at her father's village of At-wall was baptized, with all his retinue, by Finan the second Bishop of Lindisfarne. At-wall was probably the present Pandon, a locality within Newcastle-on-Tyne. The prince returned home with his bride and with four missionaries, two of whom were Cedda and Diuma, for the instruction of the Middle Angles. The teachers preached the word and were willingly listened to, and many, as well the nobility as the common sort, renouncing the abominations of idolatry, were baptized daily.[2]

Mercia.

Penda, now an old man, who had lived to see this Anglo-Saxon Christendom gradually hemming Mercia round—Kent in 597, Northumbria in 627, East Anglia in 630, West Saxons in 635, East Saxons about 653, not to speak of the earlier British West, Ireland, the Scottish North, and Gaul—offered no opposition to the great Reformation in the heart of Mercia under his own son, whether finding the movement of the nations too persistent, his children too convinced, or conscience too strong. On 15th November, 655,[3] pagan still, he was himself slain in fight warring against Oswy, and pagan Mercia was no more. His five sons and two daughters at once came forward as zealous promoters of Christianity, both daughters and three sons being afterwards recognised in the calendar as saints. In 656 the missionary priest Diuma was consecrated Bishop of the Mercians, but without a See, by Finan Bishop of Lindisfarne. Between

[1] *A. S. C.*
[2] Bede, iii., 21. The date 653 is from v., 24, *Recapitulatio*, and *A. S. C.*
[3] Bede, iii., 24, *M. H. B.*, 198 D; Stev., i., 216.

655 and 657 the Christian children of Penda began to rear the monastery of Medeshamstede, which was dedicated in 664. Its church, Peterborough Cathedral as its successor now is, arising just when the bulk of the kingdoms of the heptarchy declared for the faith of Christ, may be viewed by us as commemorating that happy day. The South Saxons remained pagan a while longer, but as a solitary exception.

In or about 653 the East Saxons, under King Sigebert, returned by a second conversion to the Christianity which they had abandoned in 616. Influenced by the Northumbrian king Oswy, whom he often visited, Sigebert consulted with the heads of the nation, who, complying with his wishes, accompanied him to At-wall, and were there baptized with him by Finan, after the example of Peada and his Middle Angles in 653. The missionary recommended to him by Oswy was Cedda or Cedd, one of the four who had accompanied Peada, and he was now ordained by Finan as bishop for the East Saxons. The second and permanent East Saxon Church was thus in a very marked manner a daughter of Lindisfarne and of the second, or Celtic, Northumbrian Church. Bishop Cedd, its "Apostle," "built churches in various places, ordaining priests and deacons to assist him". The locality in which he is most distinctly seen is not London, where he is never found at all, but West Tilbury, which is near the much later place Tilbury Fort.[1]

East Saxons.

Surrey, whose various older names all designate it as a "south land," was never an independent member of the heptarchal system, and must have been an *annexe* to some other kingdom; almost certainly not to that of the South Saxons, from which it was divided by forests and a line of downs; but very probably to the East Saxon kingdom, along the south of which, as well as south of the Thames, it ran for a good distance; with which also it was connected by two ancient bridges, at London and Staines, crossing into it from a long East Saxon road running parallel to the Thames.

The earliest Christian spot in Surrey, which can be identified, is Chertsey, where stood a monastery founded by its abbot Erkenwald. Fragmentary statements converge to suggest that Erkenwald began at this spot the first Christian mission into Surrey.[2] The geography is strongly confirmative of this supposition.

Of London the Anglo-Saxon history is extremely obscure,

[1] Bede, iii., 22. The date 653 is computed. [2] *D. C. B.*, Erkenwald.

but with the name of Erkenwald the cloud seems to lift just a little. What we are told of him creates an impression that he was an East Saxon and a Londoner. His legendary life connects his childhood with Mellitus Bishop of London (604-616). He founded the female monastery of Barking, nine miles east from London, for his sister Ethelburga, and Chertsey monastery for himself, about the same distance west from London, readily accessible by the Thames road from London, and Staines bridge, but remote from every other known road. From Chertsey he went to be fourth Bishop of London, *cir.* 675. The shadows and legends of his life (and little else survives) lead us to think of him as the true Apostle of London's second Anglo-Saxon Church, his three predecessors leaving no history worth recording. Of St. Paul's he must have been the restorer and second founder. All through the Middle Ages the great Saint of St. Paul's, the patron Saint of London, was Erkenwald. The cathedral, standing where it does now, was at the west end of walled London, and, as the relics show, on the site of the temples of Rome's pagan days, on the brow of the descent toward the western gate.

The process of conversion had resulted in the formation, not of a Church, but of a set of distinct Church-missions, which, originating in varying circumstances, patronised by rival kings, and addressing different races, might have been, as to doctrine and Church constitution, a cluster of jealous and jarring communities.

Heptarchal Uniformity.

A nearer view reveals these missionary Churches as consenting in important points, differing in some minor ones. They were in constitution Episcopal; in faith Catholic and orthodox according to the criteria of that age. The first four Synods of the whole Church had long decided the most pressing questions as to our Lord's Person and the Holy Trinity; and the Anglo-Saxons having been instructed according to these were all orthodox and Catholic by conversion. Other tribes who settled upon the Roman Empire, as the Goths, Burgundians, Vandals, Lombards, were Arian by conversion, subsequently embracing orthodoxy and Catholicity only after bitter experiences. Two nations, the Franks first, the Anglo-Saxons next, had the distinction of being *originally* orthodox and Catholic by conversion, and so likewise had the British, Irish, and Scottish Celts of an earlier day.

In certain usages, however, such as the pattern of the monkish tonsure, modes of ritual, and more especially in the calculation of the day on which Easter should be kept, the Heptar-

chal Churches differed among themselves according to the sources of their conversion.[1] The missions of Roman origin, as Kent, East Anglia, West Saxons, went one way; those of Celtic, as Northumbria, Mercia, East Saxons, another. The Celtic group far predominated in extent and in activity. Kent was the stronghold of Roman forms—ornament and elaboration; Northumbria of the Celtic—plainness and simplicity: and what Canterbury was to Kent, that was Lindisfarne to Northumbria; each a centre, a pillar; Canterbury of the Anglo-Roman Church, Lindisfarne of the Anglo-Celtic. The balance of parties, being so distinctly on the Anglo-Celtic side, appeared to promise that Celtic simplicity, as well as Celtic earnestness, would remain the characteristic note in these Heptarchal missions.

The man to reverse the current, securing the triumph of Kent and of Rome, arose in Northumbria itself, even out of Lindisfarne, under the prompting, as seems very clear, of the Queen, Oswy's wife, Edwin's daughter, that firstfruit of Northumbria to Christ in 626, trained in Kent, brought back to Northumbria by her marriage. The man was Wilfrid, a young Anglian of good family, high in favour at Court.[2] He was studying at Lindisfarne, which was a seat of learning as well as the bishop's See, when at the age of eighteen he announced the resolution of visiting Rome, to learn the Roman services and discipline. On this errand he had an honourable dismissal from the palace by Queen Eanfled, with a letter to her cousin Earconbert then reigning in Kent, by whom he was entertained for a year and taught the elaborate ritual prevailing in that kingdom. In 653, with a companion of his own age, rank and country, Benedict Biscop, he set out for Italy, and after visiting that and other lands, returned in 658 an ordained priest, with a complete knowledge of Roman ways, bringing Roman works of art, and an admiration of the church architecture of Gaul. In 652, when he left the north, Mercia and the East Saxons were pagan; in 658, on his return, they were Christian, and added to the Celtic party, making it largely predominant.

Wilfrid.

Among clergy, monks and people, Wilfrid became a zealous propagandist of all things Roman and splendid, attaching in the process a great party to himself. His influence obtained him lands and endowments for numerous monasteries, which were made centres for the diffusion of his ideas. "Not only did King Alchfrid love him, but all people high and low accounted him a

[1] Bede, ii., 19; iii., 25. [2] Eddius, § 3; Bede, v., 19. Dates computed.

prophet of God, as he was."[1] His favourite church at Ripon,[2] founded in 661, must have been, from the brief description of Eddius,[3] a wonder for that time in architectural design, a structure more especially in which the Gregorian ritual could have full scope. At a later day he reminded the Northumbrians how, after the death of the first leaders of the Gregorian mission, he was the one to eradicate the poisonous seed sown by the Scots; how he converted the whole of Northumbria to the true Easter and the coronal tonsure in fashion at Rome; how he instructed them in antiphonal chanting according to the ritual of the primitive Church, and first introduced the rule of St. Benedict into monastic life.[4] A modern northern historian remarks of Wilfrid, that although he built and endowed churches without number, those who were best acquainted with his character give him credit for no better motives than splendour and ostentation.[5]

In 664, a memorable date in the Heptarchal Church, all things being ripe for change, a conference was held at Whitby, presided over by Queen Eanfled's consort Oswy.[6] It is not to be supposed that the whole of Wilfrid's grand ideal was to be brought into formal debate. Only one question actually came forward, whether the Roman Easter-day or the Celtic should be observed in the Heptarchy. But while this was avowedly the single point at issue, as it was the leading one, it may still have been calculated that if this measure were carried by Wilfrid's Roman party, everything else would ride along with it into port, and in that sense the whole Celtic position was, and was felt to be, at stake.

It was resolved, then, that the Roman usage should be received and the Celtic dropped. There was indeed nothing surprising in this. No burning questions of doctrine were then felt to be at issue, only those of form and taste. The people had been taught Celtic usages without their having Celtic blood or Celtic traditions. They were Anglians, whose Celtic instruction was but skin-deep, in Northumbria but thirty years old, in Mercia and East Saxons no more than ten. Wilfrid's new fashion became rapidly popular, and produced no heart-burnings in the process. One man alone would make no compromise nor yield one jot. It was Colman, the Bishop of Lindisfarne, who, like his

[1] Eddius, § 8.
[2] Bede, v., 19; the date 661 computed; *see* notes of Stevenson and Moberly.
[3] Eddius, § 16. [4] *Ibid.*, § 47.
[5] Raine's *North Durham*, 1852, fol., p. 57.
[6] Bede, iii., 25; date in iii., 26, and *A. S. C.*

two predecessors in the See, Finan and Aidan, was of true Celtic blood and Celtic heart. Disgusted at the Whitby ruling, inheriting a tradition of centuries, he threw up his See and retired to Scotland. It was otherwise with Cedda, who, not a Celt but an Anglian, yielded, and returned to the East Saxons from the Council a convert. Anglo-Saxon Celtism was rootless and withered away. Colman was virtually the last Celtic bishop of Lindisfarne; not absolutely, for he had a successor in Tuda, who almost immediately died. The Scottish or Celtic succession at Lindisfarne, possessing an historic interest that can never fade, lasted thirty years, 635-664. The See continued, but was filled by Anglians of the Roman way.

Thus Kent triumphed, imposing her mode and ritual on the bulk of the Anglo-Saxon Christians whom she had not had the skill or energy to convert from paganism.

The Heptarchal Churches, having been brought to a uniformity in the matter of ritual customs, still remained separate and independent bodies, and there now remains to be watched the process of their unification in a single Church for the entire race—that, too, under the primacy of Canterbury. The obstacle to this movement was the extensive rule which the bishops exercised. The practice had been for each kingdom to have its own single bishop; though there was an exception in Kent with its two Sees, Canterbury and Rochester. An heptarchal bishop had come to be nearly as great a person as an heptarchal king, who, as himself one of the flock, was sometimes exposed to the weight of a pontifical assumption, and found in the pastoral staff a rival to the sceptre. If the various Churches were ever to coalesce under a Primate, the sway of the prelates must be diminished by a subdivision of the bishoprics. How could an Archbishop of Canterbury, pastor of one moiety of a small kingdom, with nothing but the memory of one illustrious founder, with no annals as yet of great administrations outside his diocese, no sufficient breeze of tradition to bear him onward, make his office a reality within the extensive and powerful pontificates of Northumbria, Mercia, Wessex?

One Heptarchal Church.

An abortive effort in the way of partition was in 662 made in Wessex.[1] Another, in 665, in the extensive domain of Northumbria, demands more attention, as it continues the history of Wilfrid and begins that of Chad. After the death of Tuda in 664, Wilfrid was appointed his successor at Lindisfarne.[2] While

[1] By the appointment of Wina to Winchester (Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.*, 5).
[2] Bede, iii., 28; date 664 in *A. S. C.*

he was absent in Gaul for consecration, King Oswy, possibly divining the trouble in store for the Crown in this priest's advancing power and splendid qualities, took upon himself to partition the great bishopric by seating a bishop at York. The man chosen was Ceadda or Chad, brother of Cedd of the East Saxons. Wilfrid in France, hearing of this invasion and curtailment of his rule, hurried home from his long absence, burying himself in sullen discontent in his monastery at Ripon, which lay within Chad's jurisdiction, great embarrassment ensuing.

In 666 there was a crisis of another kind in the Anglo-Saxon episcopate, bringing in at length the man whose measures should remove one main source of such troubles. The few bishops that there were when the kingdoms had but one apiece had been reduced in number by an epidemic, and one of the vacant Sees was Canterbury. Oswy of Northumbria and Egbert of Kent, the two kings most affected by these difficulties, after consulting together, sent the priest Wighard to Rome that he might be consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury and ultimately complete the home episcopate. Wighard died at Rome, and Pope Vitalian, on his own responsibility, consecrated (in 668 or 669) a Greek monk then in the city, Theodore of Tarsus. On 27th May, 669, the new Archbishop arrived at Canterbury. Proceeding at once to Oswy's realm and dealing with the complication there, he conciliated Wilfrid by removing Chad from York to Lichfield;[1] Wilfrid thus remained sole in Northumbria, though his See (so we conclude) was now transferred from Lindisfarne to York. The great bishopric for this time therefore escaped subdivision, but peace was made in it, and for the moment that was best.

Theodore.

Other bishoprics, however, were now subdivided and new Sees created, every king having a strong motive to reduce the power of these Church pontiffs, as it was also the archbishop's interest, if the comparatively weak See of Canterbury was ever to compete with others so remote and so influential, or to secure any practical primacy. Theodore proved eminently successful; for whereas his predecessors, after Augustine, are most obscure in their proceedings, being hardly ever found out of Kent, and in other respects suffer by comparison with Aidan, Finan, and Colman, of the rival See of Lindisfarne, Theodore is seen busy everywhere. In the words of Bede,[2] he "visited all the island wherever the nations of the Angles inhabited; for he was most

[1] Bede, iv., 2, 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, iv., 2 (Giles's tr.).

willingly entertained and heard by all persons; and everywhere . . . he taught the right rule of life and the canonical custom of celebrating Easter. This was the first Archbishop whom all the English Church obeyed." Again, "Theodore visiting all parts, ordained bishops in proper places, and with their assistance corrected such things as he found faulty". No fewer than twenty-one bishops (on an average one a year) were consecrated by him in various parts;[1] which means that he was dividing dioceses extensively; and that again means that the various kings were co-operating in the process. In Theodore's person, for the first time, all the Anglo-Saxon Sees acknowledged the primacy of Canterbury. The bare fact of his filling Augustine's throne would not have secured that result; his own address, activity and character contributed greatly to his success.

Primacy of Canterbury.

But more was required. In 673, another cardinal date in this history, only four years after his arrival, Theodore convened a synod at Hertford.[2] It was attended by the Bishops of Rochester, East Anglia, Wessex, Mercia; Wilfrid likewise, then bishop of all Northumbria, by sending his legates, acknowledged it. As to its business, we are informed by Bede that various matters relating to the whole Anglo-Saxon Church were discussed. Here then, in 673, the Churches of the Heptarchy are found for the first time acting as one body, one Church, and under an Archbishop of Canterbury.

The birth of the organised body known as the CHURCH OF ENGLAND may fairly be dated from the year of this synod of Hertford, and Archbishop Theodore may be truly called its founder. The year 673 was at least one hundred and fifty years before the civil rule of the Heptarchy coalesced into a monarchy. In other words, the English Church is much older than the English monarchy.

The Church of England.

At this juncture we again meet with Wilfrid, now in the zenith of his authority, administering the entire Northumbrian bishopric from York. In 670 he had come under a new king, Oswy's successor, Egfrid.[3] In 674,[4] at Hexham on the Tyne, arose his second glorious church.[5] The date of this nearly corresponds with that of the synod of Hertford, and we may thus regard the present pile as virtually commemorating the

[1] Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.*, from 669 to 687, pp. 5-7.
[2] Bede, iv., 5, Herntford, on 24th September; 673 in his *Recapitulatio*, v., 24.
[3] 15th February, Bede, iv., 5.
[4] *M. A.*, vi., 179.
[5] Eddius, § 22.

foundation of the Church of England. Its splendour will remind us that while Theodore was advancing the power of Canterbury through England, Wilfrid was also establishing a great prelatic ascendancy in Northumbria. Wilfrid and Theodore were now the leading actors of the period, all the history of which is theirs, and in their competing action we see the Church of England further consolidated in constitution and organisation.

The progress of Wilfrid was watched by the Northumbrian Court with jealous eyes. Queen Ermenburga complained of the bishop's great wealth, his secular pomp, his multitude of monks, the grandeur of his edifices, the countless army furnished by his guilds.[1] Evidently Wilfrid had a large, an organised, and a devoted following, making him a very pope in Northumbria. Little could Eanfled of other days, so hopefully helping her *protégé* Romeward, have guessed what the next queen would have to say. The grand breach of 678 [2] between Wilfrid and his king,[3] which, for the good of the Church of England, permanently reduced the prelate's power originated, so far as our light can show, in the following way.

Egfrid, having conquered Lincolnshire from Mercia, annexed it to Northumbria, placing a bishop in it [4] with his See at Sidnacester [5] (believed to have been the present Stow). Wilfrid resented this appointment, apparently assuming that his diocese expanded naturally with the king's dominion. A quarrel with Egfrid ensued, the result being that Northumbria proper was divided into two bishoprics, a southern (Deira) with its See at York, a northern (Bernicia) with its See at Hexham, or else Lindisfarne.[6] Egfrid did not take measures against this potent prelate without the constant co-operation of Theodore, and Wilfrid was thus in collision at once with his archbishop and with his king.[7] They proved too strong for him. The Northumbrian bishopric was permanently partitioned, and Wilfrid, after having ruled the entire diocese for nine years (669-678), saw the sphere of his authority broken up.

Thus the ecclesiastical rule in the North was brought more under the control of the civil, and Canterbury, being no longer overshadowed, obtained proportionately increased influence.

Bede's statement, that ' all the English Church obeyed"

[1] Eddius, § 24.
[2] Bede, iv., 12, *A. S. C.*
[3] Bede, iv., 12.
[4] Bishop Eadhed. *Ibid.*, iv., 12.
[5] The See not named by Bede. Sidnacester or Siddena is from Florence of Worc. Inett, i., 123-4.
[6] Bede, iv., 12.
[7] Eddius, § 24.

Archbishop Theodore, is not to be lost sight of. It means that the Church of England was in a single province, under one metropolitan. Theodore and two successors for sixty-two years, dating from 673, held that position until, in 735, the metropolitan honours of York began. Since that time there have ever been two provinces and two primates in England, except that in one brief interval there were three.[1]

While there has been much to say of the heptarchal episcopate, very little can be discovered of heptarchal parishes, the most ostensible features in the church organisation of this period being the bishop and the monastery. Of the numerous monasteries in the Heptarchal Church some are mentioned in Bede without their names, others with names not to be certainly now identified. The names and localities of about forty are more or less familiar to us still, and a few may be selected for mention here.

Heptarchal Monasticon.

Glastonbury, Somerset, traceable to British times.

Canterbury, the first founded among the Anglo-Saxons and on the Benedictine model, by Augustine, *cir.* 600.

Lindisfarne, the first founded among the Angli of Northumbria and on the Celtic model, by Aidan in 635.

Melrose on the Tweed, now Old Melrose, arose probably in or about 640,[2] under the influence of Aidan. It was in Northumbria, a few miles from the famous ruins, Scott's Melrose.

In the first half of the seventh century may be dated the original foundation of Malmesbury, in Wessex, by the Celtic Mailduf, whose successor Aldhelm, about 672, made it Benedictine.[3]

Lastingham, founded 654 among the Yorkshire moors by the two brothers Cedda or Cedd afterwards the apostle of the East Saxons, and Ceadda or Chad afterwards the apostle of Mercia, was the earliest of the Yorkshire monasteries. The under-king of Deira, in the reign of Oswy, wishing to have a monastery wherein to worship and be buried, offered to give land suitable for one to the priest Cedda, who then selected a spot "among craggy and distant mountains, which looked more like lurking places for robbers and retreats for wild beasts than habitations for men".[4] Such was Lastingham in its original condition, and Cedda's first object was "to cleanse the place from former crimes

[1] The Bishop of Lichfield was primate for all Mercia from 786 to 801 (Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.*, 1897, p. 14).

[2] Author's *By-paths*, p. 11.

[3] Malmesbury, *G. R. A.*, i., § 30; *M. A.*, i., 253; *D. C. B.*, Mailduf, Aldhelm.

[4] Bede, iii., 23.

by prayer and fasting". In a hut or cave upon the site, alternately with his brother Chad, he devoted himself to prayer all through Lent. The spot was then considered consecrated, and the monastery followed. The fabric, of which there is no account, must have been of the homeliest character; but the spirit in which Cedda entered upon his task is worthy of record. Well might any king be thankful to have such reclamations multiplied in the wild and tenantless districts under his rule. Here, then, was a Celtic monastery, in which, writes Bede, "the religious customs of Lindisfarne were established".

MEDESHAMSTEDE, afterwards called Peterborough, founded *cir.* 655, another Celtic monastery, was raised by, or by favour of, the family of the deceased pagan king Penda when they and the kingdom embraced Christianity.[1]

STRENESHALL (afterwards Whitby) looking over the sea, the home of St. Hilda, was another Celtic monastery in Yorkshire, under the special influence, says Bede,[2] of Aidan and other religious men of his school.

REPTON, before 660, was a Celtic monastery in Mercia.[3]

RIPON in Yorkshire, founded on the Celtic model before 661,[4] when it was granted to Wilfrid, becoming under him then the earliest Benedictine monastery that we know of in Northumbria.

CHERTSEY, *cir.* 666,[5] the gateway of Christianity into Surrey.

SHERBORNE, before 671,[6] in Dorset, belonging to Wessex.

ELY, 673,[7] the year of the Hertford Synod—the Synod of the Church of England.

WEARMOUTH and JARROW, in 674 and 684, twin monasteries founded by Benedict Biscop, Wilfrid's companion in travel, and his fellow Romaniser in Northumbria. They were respectively at the mouth of the Wear and on the Tyne, within a walk of one another, twin houses under the same abbot.[8] In these we first get, and from Bede's pen, a descriptive account of an English Benedictine monastery, and we know more of these two than of any others in the Heptarchal Church. Their origin and history, their fabrics in appearance, size, arrangement and pictorial decoration, the rule and discipline of the two communities, and their twin constitution, the lives of their successive abbots, all stand before us in the details of a sympathetic eye-witness, Bede.

[1] *D. C. B.*, SAXULF; *A. S. C.* in *M. H. B.*, 312; *H. and S.*, iii., 99.
[2] Bede, iv., 23; founded in or about 657, *D. C. B.*, HILDA.
[3] *M. A.*, vi., 429. [4] *Ibid.*, ii., 131. [5] *Ibid.*, i., 422.
[6] *Ibid.*, i., 333. [7] *Ibid.*, i., 457.
[8] Bede's *Historia Abbatum*, §§ 4-6, in Moberly's *Bede*, pp. 374-76.

The incoming new ideas, which Biscop's two foundations and Wilfrid's special two alike exemplify, face us most instructively in their marked contrast to the native Celtic. Whether in monastic rule, artistic adornment, or ritual elaborateness, they impress us as being essentially foreign; importations from more highly cultured Churches, but not necessarily purer or better taught, in Gaul and Italy.

Abingdon, *cir.* 675,[1] Bath in 676, both in Wessex, closely followed Wearmouth; Evesham in Mercia, Wimborne (female) in Wessex, Crowland in Mercia, are dated *cir.* 701,[2] *cir.* 713,[3] 716;[4] St. Frideswide's in Mercia, now represented by the college and cathedral of Christ Church, Oxford, arose in 727;[5] St. Albans in Mercia, under the powerful Mercian King Offa, 793,[6] marks the last years of the Heptarchy.

In heptarchal monachism are to be mentioned two eminent examples of the hermit class, Cuthbert and Guthlac.

Cuthbert, after a life of active usefulness as Provost of Melrose, retired in 676, out of health perhaps, to the small island of Farne, off the Northumbrian coast, a few miles south from Lindisfarne, where with a roaring ocean around his solitude he lived in extreme seclusion apparently beneficial to no one if not to himself. But from 685 till his death in 687 he was once more in active duty as Bishop of Lindisfarne.[7]

Guthlac's hermit period, following that of Cuthbert, extending over 699-714, interests us much more. His abode was an island as large as a farm, rising out of a network of fens in the extreme south of Lincolnshire, where the ruins of Crowland Abbey (which subsequently arose on the site) now stand. By the flocking of the people to him in boats for instruction and counsel he proved a missionary among them as well as a pioneer of civilisation. A full and interesting account of him survives.[8]

The Venerable Bede, passing in review, *cir.* 734, the whole system of contemporary Northumbrian monasticism, shows us, along with its good points, not a few of its weak ones.

Among the former he notes its usefulness as an evangelising agency, as, for instance, at Melrose, when Cuthbert, who was provost, proved an apostle and a blessing to a wild district.[9]

But to some of the faults of the system Bede is very severe. "There are," he says, "many large establishments of use neither

[1] *M. A.*, i., 505. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., 1. [3] *Ibid.*, ii., 88.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii., 91. [5] *Ibid.*, ii., 134. [6] *Ibid.*, ii., 178.
[7] *By-paths.* [8] *D. C. B.* [9] Bede, iv., 27.

to God nor to man, because they neither observe regular monastic life, nor yet supply soldiers to defend our shores. Our borders are no longer defended from the inroads of the barbarians." [1] Of the same period of Northumbria, Simeon of Durham, a later historian, writes: There was a great flocking to the monasteries; it was getting common for warriors to lay aside their arms and resort to monasteries.[2] Bede's remedy was the abolition of all such monasteries as were shown to be corrupt, and the founding with their revenues of additional bishoprics.[3]

The prominence given to Holy Scripture in Celtic Northumbria, so unmistakable in Bede, is not the least interesting feature in the history of the first Lindisfarne Episcopate. This Bible spirit was brought by Aidan himself from Iona, where the Old Testament and the New were carefully studied,[4] vernacular versions having doubtless been made by the very learned divines of a much earlier period in Ireland, fully sufficient to account for the Scriptural tone and doctrine conspicuous in Patrick's *Remains*.[5] Aidan's flock in Northumbria were always hearing the Word of God,[6] and even in his constant journeys his retinue had to be continually studying it.[7] At Chad's monastery of Lastingham Scripture was uppermost in the studies of the monks. Egbert, an Anglian presbyter in Ireland from Celtic Northumbria, was "most learned in the Scriptures".[8] In Hilda's two monasteries, Hartlepool and Whitby, especially the latter, Scripture was the chief study insisted on for all who were seeking Orders.[9] The metrical talent of Caedmon of Whitby[10] was exercised on Scriptural subjects,[11] which were thus popularised far and wide beyond that fane upon the cliff, which in its ruins still reminds Northumbria of its early Scripture teaching. Can that teaching be perceived as the dominant principle of Wilfrid's efforts after his first return from Rome, or at any other time? His chief mission in Northumbria seems to have been to eradicate the "poisonous seed" [12] sown broadcast from Lindisfarne.

The State of Learning.

The Northumbrian vernacular Bible study, which began with Oswald and Aidan, lasted until after the arrival of Theodore in 669, Caedmon being his contemporary.

[1] Bede's Epistle to Egbert, § 6, in Moberly's *Bede*, p. 399.
[2] Simeon, *H. E. D.*, cap. xiii. [3] Ep. to Egbert, § 5, Moberly, 398.
[4] Bede, iii., 4. [5] Walker's *Patrick*, p. 8.
[6] Bede, iii., 3. [7] *Ibid.*, iii., 5. [8] *Ibid.*, iv., 3.
[9] *Ibid.*, iv., 23. Hilda was Abbess of Whitby, 660-680. Five bishops studied there.
[10] 670-680. [11] Bede, iv., 24. [12] Eddius, § 47, as *supra*, p. 14.

The advent of Theodore, who spoke Greek, and his companion Adrian, a Latin teacher, who arrived in 671, made Canterbury a classical school. Only Latin, however, seems to have been seriously studied, and literature was produced in that language only. Theodore, whose office carried him all over the country, spread this new knowledge everywhere. His teaching, writes Bede,[1] took hold of laity and clergy alike, through England, and he speaks of troops of scholars, women as well as men, and streams of knowledge irrigating the land. Dates show that the vernacular movement under Caedmon and the classical under Theodore were contemporary and independent.

ALDHELM, the first known Anglo-Saxon scholar of the new classic learning, was a West-Saxon thane, instructed under Adrian in Theodore's school at Canterbury, made Abbot of Malmesbury, Wilts, in 680, and Bishop of Sherborne, Dorset, in 705,[2] both places in Wessex. He wrote in Latin prose and metre, on such monastic subjects as *The Praises of Virginity*. Aldhelm is the earliest Anglo-Saxon whose writings have descended to us, and these are accessible in the best modern editions.

DANIEL, Bishop of Winchester (705-745), helped, with Bishop Aldhelm, to fill Wessex with monastic schools, which became centres of missionary work in all that part of England. Daniel, though a most active promoter of learning in this way, is not known as an author.[3]

Bede, Egbert, Alcuin.

BEDE, monk and presbyter of Jarrow, born *cir.* 674, died 735, is the central literary figure of the North. Of his writings the *Ecclesiastical History*, *Lives of the Abbots*, *Letter to Archbishop Egbert*,[4] are by us the most valued, for the knowledge they give of the Heptarchal Church. In his own times his most important works were his *Commentaries* on Scripture. A touching account is given by his disciple Cuthbert [5] of his last hours spent in dictating a translation of St. John to his young scholars.

WINFRID, better known by his later Latin name of BONIFACE, though passing his literary life abroad as the "Apostle of Germany," 713-755, may be included under this heading, because of the correspondence he kept up with friends at home, throwing a valuable light upon the Heptarchal Church (740-750) just after Bede fails us.[6]

[1] Bede, iv., 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, v., 18; Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.*, 8; *D. C. B.*
[3] *D. C. B.;* Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.*, 8.
[4] All in Moberly's *Bede*, 1869.
[5] Cuthbert's letter in Stevenson's *Bede*, vol. i., p. xiv., Introd., § 16.
[6] *D. C. B.*

Egbert became Bishop of York in 732,[1] dying Archbishop in 766. His school at York and his library at York became famous centres of learning. Bede's most valuable and interesting letter to him, *cir.* 734, did not prove fruitless. His own Latin writings, still extant, are on subjects of ecclesiastical discipline.

Alcuin, born of noble rank in 735, the year of Bede's death, was the most famous of the pupils of Egbert's school at York, and afterwards its master. During his mastership it increased in reputation, and was the resort of many foreigners. In 782, on the invitation (soon after his accession) of Charles King of the Franks (afterwards the Emperor Charlemagne), Alcuin went to assist in spreading education in that monarch's Gallic dominions, and died in 804. Corresponding while abroad with friends at home, Alcuin kept up connection with his mother Church, and valuable information respecting it is furnished in the verse and prose and numerous letters of the two extant folio volumes of his works.[2]

We have thus passed in review nine literary celebrities of the Heptarchal Church, Caedmon the earliest, representing a native vernacular learning, the other eight an imported Latin one. Two of the eight were foreigners. Of the remaining six, three belonged to the South—Aldhelm, Daniel, Boniface; three to the North—Bede, Egbert, Alcuin. These six occupy the entire eighth century, and the eighth century was the learned period of the Heptarchal Church, as the seventh was the time of its construction. Again, two out of the six, Boniface and Alcuin, largely influenced Continental nations, Boniface advancing the policy of the Papacy, Alcuin supporting the views of the emperor.

Heptarchal England was, in this respect, in striking contrast with the nations around—Gaul, Germany, Spain—which, from various causes, were low in culture. England alone among her neighbours was lettered. Guizot[3] describes the intellectual illumination of the eighth century as being well-nigh confined to England. In that illumination Holy Scripture, which was so sedulously taught from Celtic Lindisfarne and in Celtic Whitby, occupied a leading place.

Papal influence in the Heptarchal Church, beginning with the papal mission, continued without a break to fall on Augustine's successors through the medium of the pallium, giving metropolitans authority over their suffragans. The creation of those territorial suffragans needed royal authorisation; and thus by the token of this Roman ornament, as the theory of its meaning matured in the hierarchic mind, actual power over

Relations to Rome.

[1] *D. C. B.;* Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.*, 10, 734.
[2] *D. C. B.*
[3] Guizot's *Hist. of Civilisation*, Bohn, 1875, ii., 228, 232.

the Heptarchal Church was shared with the kings by the Roman pontiff. The general heptarchal public became permeated by papal influence in another way, very largely through Wilfrid.

In 653 Wilfrid as a ritual reformer, Biscop as a beautifier of churches, made the first Anglo-Saxon visits to Rome.

In 667 or 668, as already mentioned, Wighard was sent to Rome to be consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and on his death there Theodore was consecrated in his place. These examples show that the Anglo-Saxons in the Heptarchy viewed the Roman See with confidence and filial affection, with a readiness also to receive its guidance in matters purely religious. In 679, six years after the Heptarchal Churches had begun to move and act as one under Theodore, Wilfrid, behaving himself as a pontiff of the North in a spirit of hostility and defiance against both archbishop and king, made his second journey to Rome to gain over the Pope to his side. Such a thing had never before occurred in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and Wilfrid became now the first ultramontanist in it. He returned with Papal letters, which he exhibited as a "standard of victory," presenting them as such, with all the "bulls" and seals displayed, to the king, and afterwards reading them in an assembly of thanes and clergy, whom he harangued on the duty of obeying the decrees of Rome as the sole means of peace. Whether the letters really contained any such dictation may be doubted, as the historian gives no text, and Wilfrid may have been misinterpreting the language to overawe the Northumbrians. The indignant thanes inflicted on him nine months' imprisonment, and afterwards banishment.[1] No blame of the Pope is expressed, but only of Wilfrid, whose attempt to browbeat them in the Pope's name was probably the great and sole occasion of their anger. Such was the resistance which the first act of ultramontanism encountered among the Anglo-Saxons. In 681 Wilfrid in his exile became the Apostle of the last pagan kingdom of the Heptarchy, the South Saxons, whose king Edilwalch permitted him to fix his See at Selsey.[2]

Caedwalla King of Wessex abdicating in 688 went to Rome, where he was baptized and died,[3] the first Anglo-Saxon king who visited Rome. His motive apparently was devotional. Thus far, and especially in kingdoms of Roman conversion, reverence and affection for Rome were natural. Caedwalla and his people must have had Birinus's mission from Rome in thankful remembrance.

[1] Eddius, § 34. [2] Bede, iv., 13. [3] *Ibid.*, v., 7, 24 (*Recapit.*).

In 702 or 703, under Alchfrid the new King of Northumbria, Wilfrid for the second time carried an appeal to Rome against home authorities, and in 704 returned with the Papal letter, which Alchfrid refused to have laid before him, asserting that what his royal predecessors, with the archbishop and bishops, had decreed, should never, while he lived, be altered at the Pope's bidding.[1] Eddius this time gives the letter in full, and it contains no judicial decision of the dispute whatever, no dictation to Northumbria, but an injunction to the bishops to hold a synod on Wilfrid's grievances, with a recommendation, in case of their non-agreement, to have the matter settled at Rome. Considering the deferential attitude hitherto borne by the Heptarchal Church, we can hardly blame this advice as a Papal aggression, though there was much for the nation to resent in Wilfrid's intention and avowed object. One may be inclined to suspect that the letter of 679 was, so far as it concerned the Pope himself, similarly harmless. Papal assumptions had not, in fact, yet reached such a pitch of arrogance as to dictate to kings and nations and churches. It was a long way yet to the days of Hildebrand, Innocent III., and Boniface VIII.

Wilfrid's Second Appeal.

In parting here from Wilfrid, we may remark that having first, in the early part of his career, cast over his countrymen the spell of Roman art and Roman ritual, he next, in later life, sought to bring in the bonds of Roman authority; only, however, to find that a foreign domination could not be popularised, though an artistic foreign ceremonial might be, among the Heptarchal Northumbrians.

The half century (653-704) thus far traversed has shown the Roman pilgrimages as isolated and occasional; but from this point they become more general, lasting like the heptarchal learning all through the eighth century. The general prevalence of the new ritual and customs of Rome, the universal adoption of the Roman Easter, the common belief, now become rooted, that Rome was Apostolic and that its Bishop occupied the chair of Peter, all conspired to promote a reverential attitude towards the venerable See. The introduction of Latin studies likewise would turn people's thoughts towards the old Imperial City, making them think more of those walls, roads, bridges, amid which they lived and moved. The Anglo-Saxon remembered no quarrel with Rome, which did not conquer and had never

[1] Eddius, § 54.

oppressed them, bequeathing many splendid remains for their inheritance. Awe, affection, reverence, turned the steps of all classes Romeward, noble and gentle, laity and clergy, men and women, throughout England.[1] Only a few years, however, after Bede drew this picture, a mournful statement, written abroad, came from another Anglo-Saxon. It was the apostle of Germany, Boniface, now an archbishop, whose report, too much resembling other records of such flockings to holy places, both in previous and in subsequent times, said that the pilgrimages were producing deplorable results among the pilgrims, especially the females, a large number of whom were living infamous lives in various Continental cities.[2]

In 735, when Rome had begun to be so popular, there arrived from the Pope the gift of a second metropolitanship, through the pallium, after the Church of England had been sixty-two years administered in one province. It had been advocated by Bede, who evidently saw in it one way by which the great lack of bishops could be supplied, and advised Egbert, then Bishop of York, to obtain a pallium from the Pope making him a metropolitan, and then get King Ceolwulf's permission to appoint suffragans,[3] language showing that while the metropolitan office was determined by the Pope alone, the king had to be consulted as to an increase of bishops. The sole Northumbrian Sees at this period besides York were Hexham and Lindisfarne, which constituted, therefore, the two suffragan members of the province, and it was a long time before York had any others. How the separation of the two provinces was carried out, and what the subsequent relations between them were to be, does not seem very clear.

Pope Paul I.

A letter was addressed in 757 or 758 by Pope Paul I. to Egbert Archbishop of York, and Edbert King of Northumbria, urging on them, by his "apostolical admonition," the restoration of three monasteries taken by the king from Abbot Forthred, who had come to Rome for redress.[4] Here seems a clear instance of administrative intrusion, the earliest of its kind we have observed, amounting to a judicial decision, which was not apparent in Wilfrid's case. Among the pilgrims, therefore, there were, as it was certain there would

[1] Bede, v., 7, *fin.*

[2] Boniface to Cuthbert Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 747, Ep. 70, ed. Jaffe; *H. and S.*, iii., 376, passage 381; in Moberly's *Bede*, p. 414, § 8.

[3] Bede's Letter to Egbert, A.D. 734, *H. and S.*, iii., 314, passage 319; *D. C. B.*, EGBERT (6).

[4] *H. and S.*, iii., 394.

be, those who had home grievances to be remedied; while, at the same time, the excessive deference for "the thresholds of the blessed princes of the apostles," the "Protectors"[1] of the English Church and kings, encouraged the Pope to be more free with his "apostolical" admonition.

Legates were sent by Pope Adrian (772-95) for renewing the early friendship of the days of Gregory the Great and Augustine, and for confirming the Catholic Faith then brought to the English.[2] Landing in Kent they conferred with Archbishop Jaenbert, and attended a Council at Cealchyth convened in 787 by Offa King of Mercia and Kenulph King of the West Saxons, for the erection of an Archbishopric of Lichfield, to embrace all Mercia. This was a project of the lay rulers, the legates sanctioning it in respect of the pallium, for which they engaged. One of the legates then left England, the other proceeding into Northumbria, where he attended the Council of Pincanhale. In no way did the legates in these councils assume any position of authority; but neither were they merely complimentary visitors. They made use of the deferential reception accorded them to suggest, and not without effect, points needing attention and amendment. Though there were no Legatine Councils in the full sense like others that will come later, the mission of these legates shows a steady development of the Papal supervision of England which the eighth century popularity of Rome had rendered possible. Although not allowed to control the English Church independently of the kings—for it was by *their* authority that the Archi-Episcopal Council was convened—the Pope yet had a hold upon it through the pallium, which he ever kept in his own hand; and so long as the English Church continued to admit the necessity of the pallium for metropolitan jurisdiction, she bound herself in vassalage to the Papal system. The above legates were George and Theophylact.

Thus in the Church of the Heptarchy King and Pope were parts of its constitution; they were *partners* in its direction, and to this the eighth century movement had largely contributed.

[1] So in the letter.

[2] On this subject see texts and notes in *H. and S.*, iii., 443; *D. C. B.*, Georgius (33).

CHAPTER III.

CHURCH OF THE ANGLO-SAXON MONARCHY.

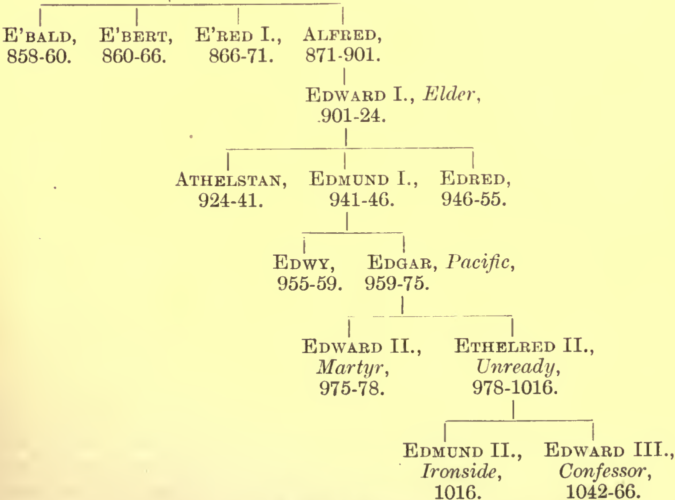
Anglo-Saxon Monarchy.

THE Anglo-Saxon Monarchy began when Egbert, who in 800 [1] became King of Wessex, reduced the other six kingdoms under his sway. He himself dated his supreme authority from 813, but it was not completely established until Mercia was conquered and Northumbria submitted in 827,[2] which may be reckoned the birth year of this monarchy, one hundred and fifty-four years after the birth year of the Church of England in 673.

STEMMA OF ANGLO-SAXON MONARCHS.

EGBERT, *K. Wessex*, 827-39.

ETHELWULF, 839-58.



Danish Line, 1016-42.

[1] *A. S. C.;* Florence of Worc.; Henry of Hunt. The date 802 is given by Ethelwerd (in *M. H. B.*, 509); Sim. of Dur., *G. R. A.* (in *M. H. B.*, 622), and some of our more recent historians.

[2] *A. S. C.*

The six conquered kingdoms were not abolished nor the kings dethroned. These continue to be met with in ancient writers, but always in subordination to the King of Wessex, which was the title of the ruling monarch long before he came to be called King of England. The monarchy and the Danish inroads began almost together. The Church built up with so much promise by the fallen heptarchy was crushed by the invaders, to revive under the victorious monarchs with an altered exterior.

In or about 787, in the latter days of the Heptarchal Church, when it was more and more coming under the sway of Rome, the Danish fleets which were to shatter it first appeared off the coasts. Their attacks long continued to be desultory. In 832, in Egbert's reign, the Danes began their devastations on land. In 851 the pirates, in Ethelwulf's reign, first wintered on English ground (Thanet). In 866 they landed in East Anglia, and from that year their occupation of English soil became continuous. In 867, drawing off from East Anglia, which they had occupied peaceably, being unopposed, they entered Deira, where they "destroyed the churches and the monasteries far and wide, with fire and sword, leaving nothing save the bare unroofed walls".[1] It was the first province so treated. In 870 Lincolnshire was ravaged and the Lindsey bishopric (the See of which was Sidnacester) within that territory ceased, having existed from 678.[2] East Anglia resisting, was ravaged and King Edmund slain.[3]

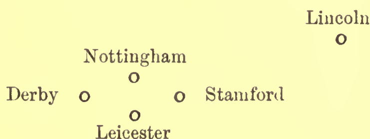
In 875 Bernicia, beyond the Tyne, was devastated and apportioned among the Danes. The Lindisfarne monastery was abandoned, its history as a bishop's See thus ending, two hundred and forty years after its foundation in 635 by Oswald and Aidan. Its last bishop, Eardulph, headed the refugees towards the western hills in the Pennine range, carrying with them a volume of the Latin Gospels and the remains of Bishop Cuthbert. This remnant, joined by the flying people, men, women and children, became known as "The Cuthbertines," a Church adrift,[4] the sole representatives of Northumbrian Christianity. The leader of the northern Danes was the terrible Halfdene, under whom "fire and sword were carried from the eastern sea to the western," monasteries and churches were given to the flames, and their inmates slaughtered.[5] All Northumbria was thus Danised and paganised. The entire East of England, northward of Essex,

[1] Sim. Dur., *H. E. D.*, Stevenson, 654 ; no particulars.
[2] Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.*, 225. [3] Turner, i., 513. [4] *By-paths.*
[5] Sim. Dur., *H. E. D.*, Stevenson, 656, cap. xxi. ; no particulars.

had now been seized by armed pagan colonists, Christianity being wholly obliterated, or reduced to a struggling mission here and there. The sole hope of all these districts for the present was the Cuthbertine Church, whose wanderings lasted seven years. But it is very little we see of them in that period until 878, when they are discovered on the west of the Pennine range, at the mouth of the Cumbrian Derwent, distressed for provisions, meditating flight to Ireland, but still preserved, as the hope of Northern Christianity in its precarious condition.[1] Leaving them at this spot for awhile, we proceed into the South.

Attention is now required to the Danish progress in the west and south-west interior, for in resisting it there Alfred ultimately achieved deliverance for the whole Church and nation. The first place in Mercia seized by the Danes was Nottingham, in 868. To this place were added, southwards —at what precise date does not appear — Derby, Stamford, Leicester, the four constituting a quadrilateral stronghold. Farther away, north-eastward, in the direction of the sea coast, was Lincoln, gained in 870, a link connecting the inland Danes with their fleets in the Humber mouth and other waters. The entire set were known as The Five Boroughs, giving the Danes

Alfred.



their grip of the interior. Advancing to the central midland, The Five Boroughs grasped the north-east half of Mercia. Let us suppose a diagonal line through Britain from London, say the North-Western Railway, or that great Roman road called by the Anglo-Saxons *Watling Street.* Above that line, generally, was Danish; below (where not British), Anglo-Saxon or English. Thus the invasion was gradually working from the east and north southward across the island. The prospect was very alarming for Wessex, which was thus being approached from behind while assailed on its coasts in front by powerful fleets. The Danes, holding the upper half of Mercia, were mastering the whole island step by step, dispossessing the English in their advance, colonising and paganising the land. So the balance stood until the memorable year 878—Alfred's year.

[1] *By-paths.*

In January, 878, the inland Danes, bursting into Wessex, seized Chippenham in North Wilts, making that the pivot of their operations. The greater part of the people were reduced to obedience, except King Alfred, says the *Saxon Chronicle*, and he with a small band retreated with difficulty to the woods and fastnesses of the moors.[1] This would be about Lent, 878, and at that date may be placed the lowest point which the Church and Monarchy of England had yet reached. England seemed within a little of being altogether brought under pagan rule. Had Alfred at this momentous crisis been beaten, Wessex would have been swept of its churches as the other provinces had been when their kings had resisted and fallen. The familiar story of Alfred in the herdman's cot in Somersetshire may be assigned to about Lent, 878. At Easter things began to mend, when, with a small band, Alfred constructed a fort at Athelney, an insular elevation above the marshes. From this stronghold he occasionally sallied out and met with success.

Here then was Alfred, about Easter, 878, the sole human hope of the English Church and nation ; not unknown in arms, but a young man who had done nothing as yet to warrant the title of "Great". Look where else we may, we discern at this crisis only one other rallying point of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, in the Cumbrian Mountains where the Cuthbertine Church was wandering. Bishop Eardulph, while anxiously watching the advance of pagan domination, must have had his eyes fixed upon so hopeful a spot as Athelney. It was this very year that we last caught sight of him at the mouth of the Derwent. In the light of the legendary "Story of King Alfred and St. Cuthbert,"[2] blending itself with the light of authentic facts, we can hardly help seeing the bishop's messengers threading their way down from the Cumbrian valleys, through the western hills, to encourage the defenders of the South.[3]

Anyhow, about the middle of May, 878, Alfred won the decisive victory of Ethandun (supposed to be in Wilts). The vanquished foe was Guthrum, King of the East Anglian Danes, quite distinct from the Northumbrians, who were a separate branch of the race, under their own King Halfdene, and who were not engaged in this war. The result of Alfred's victory was a treaty which left the Danes in continued occupation of East Anglia, the country of their adop-

The Danes Vanquished.

[1] *Saxon Chron.*
[2] Freeman's *Old English History*, p. 137.
[3] *By-paths.*

tion, and even acknowledged Guthrum as king over them, but on this one condition, that they should adopt Christianity, with baptism, or else depart the country. Thus a large Danish population, under Christian teaching, was now recognised as belonging to England. All south of the Humber was under Christian discipleship once more.

The Northumbrian Danes under Halfdene, not being engaged in the war with Alfred, remained unconquered, and the Cuthbertines whom they had driven into exile, not being included in the treaty of Ethandun, remained in exile as before, and were not restored. Various indirect notices, however, indicate that their alliance with Alfred was of great advantage to their cause, and in 882 they were allowed a voice in the choice of a new Danish king. Guthred, the one favoured by them, succeeded, and through him they acquired, after their seven years' exile, a new domain, between the Wear and the Tyne, thenceforth known as the Patrimony of St. Cuthbert, equivalent to about one-third of the present County of Durham. Thus happily settled, Bishop Eardulph fixed his See at Chester-le-Street, where a timber cathedral was built. Within this English and Christian pale, amid surrounding Danes, the Cuthbertine bishop became a temporal prince of his people, as well as their pastor, and this formed the germ of what was later the "Palatine See" of Durham. In the Danish deluge then the Church of the North became the ark of the State in that region.

Revival of Learning.

In Wessex began a vigorous revival under the king. Alfred's own words describe the ignorance of the priests when he came to the throne in 871: "So entirely has knowledge escaped from the English people that there are only a few priests on this side of the Humber who can understand the divine service, or even explain a Latin Epistle in English; and I believe there are not many on the other side of the Humber either. But they are so few that, indeed, I cannot remember one south of the Thames when I began to reign." Seven men were summoned to his assistance in rekindling the torch of learning, two of them from foreign parts, five who were living in obscure isolation in England.

The foreigners were Grimbald, monk and priest, from Flanders, his special work being the instruction of youth; and John of Old Saxony, also priest and monk, a man of multifarious acquirements, including artistic ones. The five natives were Asser, monk of St. David's, subsequently Bishop of Sherborne (*ob.* 909); Plegmund, hermit of North-West Mercia, afterwards

Archbishop of Canterbury (*ob.* 914); Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester in South-West Mercia (*ob.* 915); Athelstan and Werwulf, learned priests of Mercia, Alfred's chaplains. Not one of these was "south of the Thames" when Alfred began to reign.

With the aid of these scholars five works were translated out of Latin into Anglo-Saxon :—

I. The *Liber Pastoralis* of Pope Gregory the Great, for impressing on the clergy the duties of their office, translated by Alfred himself, who had a copy sent to every bishop. Three copies are still in existence.[1] His preface, containing the passage above quoted on the state of learning, is well known.

II. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History,* also now surviving in Anglo-Saxon, was calculated to awaken in Alfred's contemporaries a desire to revive the English Church, once so flourishing.

III. Orosius's *History Against the Pagans,* written by a Spanish presbyter in 417, and, like Augustine's *City of God,* vindicating the Christian Church against pagan reproaches.

IV. Gregory the Great's *Dialogues,* consisting of narratives of good people, rather legendary and romancing, but inculcating virtuous sentiments for popular use.

V. *The Consolations of Philosophy,* composed by Boëthius, *cir.* 500, out of Plato and Aristotle, in a strain of moral meditation of a consolatory cast, with more Christian sentiment in the version than in the original, and suited for the more intelligent.

Alfred's School.

Alfred's School was founded for the upper ranks "in his own particular nation," which must mean Wessex. The school could not have been what it used sometimes to be said it was—Oxford University—since it was almost certainly attached to his own palace at Winchester, where instruction was carried on under Grimbald, Alfred's own family and household attending it, while the New Minster, in close proximity, was rising, though never completed while Alfred lived.

Recovery of Monachism.

Under Alfred's successors in the tenth century we reach another movement of primary importance, when western monachism, Anglo-Saxon included, began to rise out of the prostration in which the Danish and Norman inroads of the ninth century had laid it. This recovery may be dated from 910, when the monastery of Cluny in Burgundy was founded for the express purpose of the observance of the Benedictine Rule in all its strictness. In 930 its example spread to Fleury, on the Loire above Orleans, where the Benedictine revival acquired great

[1] Pauli's *Alfred*, p. 183, Thorpe's tr., Bohn, 1878.

reputation. Proximity to Orleans made Fleury a centre for the revived Benedictinism in every direction, Britain also coming within the sphere of its influence.

These places form the first links of the movement towards England ; Dunstan, Ethelwold, Oswald, Edgar,[1] being the fathers of it there. The earliest English date may be considered 943, the year in which Dunstan, son of a Somersetshire thane, was made Abbot of Glastonbury. Rebuilding the house on a grand scale out of his own fortune, he established in it, apparently in or about 950, a party of monks, who were trained under his own eye to the Benedictine Rule.

In or about 955, by royal permission, a second Benedictine house arose, on the site of an old heptarchal monastery destroyed by the Danes, Abingdon in Berkshire. Its founder and abbot was Ethelwold, one of Dunstan's brotherhood at Glastonbury. So far the movement proceeded, as to method, in a manner open to no objection.

In 959 Edgar the Pacific succeeded to the throne, and his reign, which lasted till 975, is of much importance to this history. As his title indicates, the wars in which all his predecessors had been so much engaged had ceased, owing to his victories, and he had time for pacific action and ecclesiastical measures, which were all directed by the Benedictine revival. In 963 he appointed Ethelwold, the Abbot of Abingdon, to the See of Winchester, and now began the period of Benedictine violence, resulting in public disorders and civil strife. In 964, supported by Edgar, Bishop Ethelwold in the most summary manner expelled the canons (who were secular clergy and might be married) from the cathedral, put monks in their places, and converted the canons' residences into a monastery. The New Minster close by was treated in the same arbitrary fashion. This was a collegiate church resembling a cathedral in having a dean and canons, differing from a cathedral in being without a bishop. The most eminent collegiate church now in England is St. Peter's, Westminster, popularly known as "Westminster Abbey". Another collegiate church Benedictinised, in the same year, by the same bishop, and in the same summary way, was Milton in Dorset, whose subsequent name of Milton Abbas indicated its change of constitution. The main object of the movement was to rid the great and powerful cathedrals and

[1] Eadmer's "Life of Bishop Oswald," in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii., 200; § 17, p. 20, in Raine's *Eadmer*.

collegiate churches of deans and canons, substituting abbots and monks, and converting the family residences of the former into rows of cells, common dormitories, and common refectories, adapted to celibate life alone, with a view to abolishing clerical marriage as far as possible, holding it up to contempt, and making celibacy the only honourable and holy condition for a priest. Winchester was the first of our cathedrals thus treated, Worcester the second, and the only other one in the tenth century. At Worcester the process directed by Bishop Oswald was more subtle than violent. In the immediate neighbourhood of the cathedral a new church, St. Mary's, was erected, which, placed in charge of a body of zealous monks with popular gifts, drew crowds to its services and rich offerings to its altar, until the canons, finding their cathedral deserted and the offerings reduced, gradually yielded and accepted the cowl.[1] After the tenth century other cathedrals were Benedictinised ; but many have preserved their dean and canons in unbroken succession to this day.[2] In a cathedral abbey the bishop himself was abbot, the prior his second in command discharging the lesser duties of the office.

While in several cases monks were forcibly substituted for the expelled secular clergy, in others the Benedictines were legitimately put in possession, as when Bishop Ethelwold obtained Edgar's leave to rebuild the East Anglian monasteries destroyed by the Danes in 870, establishing in them the Benedictine Rule. Peterborough,[3] Thorney, Ely thus arose from their ruins to ennoble the Fens with splendid examples of architecture ; but their sites had to be *bought* of the king, and were not given by him, as the ancient writers tell us.

Among these ornaments of the Fen country, and as a worthy sister of them all, was Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, close to East Anglia, built by Bishop Oswald, at the cost of the East Anglian Earl Ethelwin, on whose land it stood, so that no one was wronged.

It is to be remembered that the Benedictine movement of the tenth century did not extend north of the Humber, where the monastic remains continued in their desolation to a much later date, the attempts to restore them coming in a different way and with a different result.

[1] Malmesbury, ed. Hardy, *G. R. A.*, i., 239.

[2] London, Wells, Chichester, Salisbury, Exeter, York, Lichfield, Hereford, Lincoln.

[3] Close to East Anglia, but actually in Mercia.

There is not a little to suggest that the new monastics, themselves drawn from the humbler ranks, directed their efforts almost entirely to the same class, the ignorant, the credulous. It is painful to think of the religious impostures abounding in the tenth century. The relics, their "invention," and the alleged miracles cannot be dissociated from fraudulent devices. Bishop Ethelwold was a great collector of relics. But in the dense superstition of that generation Benedictinism struck its roots and throve. No single name illustrates this assertion like that of SWITHUN. To us his life is all but blank; his tomb in Winchester Cathedral, and the endless prodigies connected with it, have alone preserved his name and his day. The new monastics, by triumphantly asserting that the saint never wrought miracles while the cathedral was under *canons*, proclaimed their own fraud and the canons' honesty. That the Benedictines were consciously deceiving who can doubt?[1] Yet that they meant to deceive for a good purpose, who cannot believe? That they were earnestly religious in their way it is hardly possible to doubt. They took real pains—far more than those whom they were seeking to eject—to promote religion among the people. Yet what do we see? Zeal for the poor combined with violence towards brethren; religion promoted by superstition; faith by imposture. Proofs of all this are abundant.

The Benedictine Movement and the People.

The Benedictines, who had all the visible piety, were also zealous in the promotion of learning. Three of their great monasteries in particular were famous schools, Glastonbury, Abingdon, Winchester. Down to about the year A.D. 1000 there was scarcely a monastery in England whose abbot, or a See whose bishop, had not been trained in one of these three. But the learning was exclusively ecclesiastical and monastic, professional not lay; the schools were not schools in the sense of Alfred's school, or modern public schools. The clerics, or secular clergy, including the canons, had on the other hand remained much as they were when Alfred spoke of their ignorance of Latin. Nor is this surprising; for the education which Alfred had promoted was popular, not professional, Anglo-Saxon more than Latin.

With all the outward and visible piety of their times, with all the learning, the zeal, the "miracles" in their hands alone, the

[1] See Bishop Oswald's proceedings in building the new church at Worcester in Eadmer's "Life of Bishop Oswald," *Angl. Sac.*, ii., 202; § 20, p. 23, in Raine's *Eadmer.*

incoming Benedictines must be regarded as the religious party of their day. The hope of the times was entirely with this new school. The old promised nothing. Both in England and in all Western Europe, the Benedictines, as the advancing party in the Church, had warmth and enthusiasm in the pursuit of their one supreme object. Theirs was the influence which popular talents and professional learning give. The new and improved churches everywhere were theirs; all promotion fell to them. Theirs was the present, theirs was the future.

The Party of Religion.

The two hostile parties are first found in open collision in a Council (parliament as we should call it) at Winchester, probably A.D. 968, only four years after the expulsion of the canons from the royal city. King Edgar presided. The prelates, Dunstan, Ethelwold, Oswald, brought heavy charges against the married clergy; the opposition nobility, who were present in great force, agreed that all causes of just complaint should be removed, but firmly insisted that the ejected clerics should be reinstated. Edgar foresaw a storm, and was about to yield to it by pronouncing in their favour, when a voice, seeming to issue from a crucifix in the chamber, said "God forbid," and the king's sentence in favour of the clerics was arrested. It was a drawn battle. This Council discloses the fact of a great public controversy being on foot. The nation was divided; and if the monks found favour with the people, the dispossessed clergy were powerfully backed up in Parliament by the nobility, with a support sufficient to check a great king and a great archbishop. The nobility were here championing their own class, the canons being largely drawn from noble families. But the nobles also were divided into antagonistic parties, the friends of the clerical order being headed by Elfhere Earl of Mercia, those of the monastics by Ethelwin Earl of East Anglia.

Council of Winchester.

Such were the dissensions among all classes at the death of Edgar in 975. Our old historians describe them in vivid terms, and it is well we should have their words before us. William of Malmesbury writes:—

"The clerics who had been expelled from the churches renewed the contest, urging how utterly disgraceful it was that strangers should have forced the old occupants[1] to migrate: such iniquity could please neither God who had planted them in their ancient habitations, nor any honest man. Loud clamours

[1] *Veteres colonos* (the clerics).

of indignation arose and reached Dunstan. Foremost were the nobles, who insisted that the clerics had been wronged. Elfhere proceeded to such a pitch of insolence as to overthrow almost all the monasteries which Ethelwold had erected in the province of Mercia."[1]

Florence of Worcester writes :—

"After a reign of profound peace the whole Kingdom was thrown into convulsions. Elfhere Earl of Mercia, and a numerous body of nobility, bribed by large presents, expelled the monks from their monasteries and restored the clerics with their wives."[2] Florence again writes,[3] as does Simeon of Durham,[4] that the East Anglian lords "raised an army and defended the monasteries of East Anglia to the utmost of their power".

The history that goes under the name of Ingulph also states that "much tumult was caused in every corner of England".[5]

Council at Calne.

In 978 at the royal village of Calne, in Wilts, we read of another parliament or council where this burning question was debated, the monastic cause, by another alleged interposition, winning the day, when a flooring on which the opposition sate gave way and some were killed.[6]

In 980,[7] when England was thus on the brink of civil war, the Danes appeared, probably, as at the end of the Heptarchy, seeing their opportunity in English dissension. The country was plunged into a struggle of above twenty years, chiefly under King Ethelred II. *The Unready*, the result being that the Danish potentate Canute the Great, King of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, made himself master of England. In this struggle England's difficulty was England's disunion. The *Saxon Chronicle* says that when the king and the witan did settle something, it did not stand a month ; there were no leaders to gather troops ; "no shire would help another". Everything shows that before and at the death of Edgar, Englishmen, instead of having been knit together by the true spirit of Christianity, had been torn by an exasperating ecclesiastical quarrel. The emergency came and England was broken up. England was "unready". It was, in fact, Edgar, Dunstan, Oswald, Ethelwold, who in a reign of profound peace had made the nation unprepared, though poor Ethelred has always had the credit of it. This king, who made

[1] Malmesbury, ed. Hardy, *G. R. A.*, i., 257. [2] *M. H. B.*, 578.
[3] *Ibid.*, 578. [4] *G. R. A.*, an. 975, ed. Stevenson, p. 508.
[5] "*In omni angulo Angliæ*" (Gale, 506; Soames, 220).
[6] Freeman, *O. E. H.*, 183; Malmesbury, ed. Hardy, *G. R. A.*, i., 258.
[7] Freeman, *O. E. H.*, 190.

head against such overwhelming dangers for so many years, must have been a brave, warlike and resourceful man. But he was an unsuccessful one, and had not his name been Ethel-ræd, *noble in counsel,* he would never have been called "Un-ræd," *without counsel.* But it was *England* more than Ethelred that lacked the counsel in this last Danish war. The mistake of Dunstan, Ethelwold, Oswald, and the rest, was in supposing that the good could be successfully established by harsh, unfair, despotic and tyrannical measures. The Benedictine party believed that the clerics and the canons, being a weakness and discredit to religion, might be treated contumeliously and unjustly. That was bringing into the Church all the violence and high-handedness of the world; whereas the Church ought to have set the world an example of justice, brotherly kindness and moderation.

The Benedictine monachism, the introduction of which, under Edgar, we have been watching, is especially to be remembered as that which, occupying all English mediæval history for six hundred years, terminated under Henry VIII. Its last days, always so impressive to our imagination, stand out in striking contrast to its first. The tenth century Benedictines came in as the hope of the Church; they went out as the despair of the Church. They came in accusing the clerics of worldliness, idleness, immorality; they went out charged with the very same faults themselves. They came in by the strong hand of one king; they went out by the strong hand of another. For the good of England they were forcibly rooted in; for the good of England they were forcibly rooted out.

Edgar and Henry.

All movements tend, after a time, to lose their initial impetus, and there was no exception in the Benedictine wave, which, as a religious power, lasted about a century, let us say, for the sake of definite dates, from 943, when Dunstan was made Abbot of Glastonbury, to 1042, when Edward the Confessor ascended the throne.

Among the things to be noted within this century are Elfric's *Homilies,* composed between 987 and 990, their author, then an abbot, residing in the Dorsetshire Abbey of Cerne; and from 990 to 1005, if this one was he (for there were two Elfrics), Archbishop of Canterbury. The great interest of these *Homilies* is that they are extant in their Anglo-Saxon original, and having been well edited, with a good English translation, form a most valuable literary monument of the native Church before the Conquest; while, besides this, they furnish trustworthy evidence of the doctrinal teaching then prevailing.

Elfric's *Homilies.*

Hortatory in tone, and not controversial, not directly discussing articles of faith, these homilies do yet exhibit doctrine indirectly, allusively and sufficiently. The teaching of that day can by their means be fairly perceived. They certainly, then, betray a superstitious veneration for relics; they appeal to the intercession of the saints; they allude obscurely to purgatory. On the other hand, we can thankfully perceive that the dogma of transubstantiation, broached on the continent in 831 by Paschasius Radbert, had at this time, *cir.* 990, gained no footing in the English Church. The Anglo-Saxon *Homilies,* observes Inett,[1] are full and express against the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

In support of the cardinal point of the Benedictine Rule, the *celibacy of the clergy,* Elfric is very decided.

Turning to other quarters for signs of the Benedictine fervour in this hundred years, we find one at Canterbury. Its cathedral, throughout Dunstan's pontificate, strange to say, retained its dean and canons. A change came in the primacy of Elfric (995-1005), who, says the *Saxon Chronicle,* "drove the clerks out of the minster and put in monks".[2]

The next archbishop, Elphege (1006-1012), was an ardent Benedictine. That he was also a faithful confessor of his Master is proved by the noble story of his martyrdom by the Danes in 1012, which is commemorated in our calendar at 19th April.

Canute.

Canute, who ruled from 1016 to 1035, a period within the hundred years of Benedictine fervour, adds something to illustrate it, ruling as a professed Christian. His religious reproof to his courtiers on the Southampton sands, his charter granted to St. Paul's Cathedral, his pilgrimages to the shrines of Durham, Bury St. Edmunds, Glastonbury (in 1032), need not be made too much of; but they show him disposed to encourage the religion which his Danish forefathers had destroyed, if not to proclaim a repentance for the martyrdom of Elphege. The places visited indicate that the dominant religious feeling to be conciliated was Benedictine.

Edmund Bishop of Durham, A.D. 1020-1041, is mentioned for his pious, unworldly life, but his piety was of a strongly monastic type, affording another instance of the Benedictine spirit in its primitive fervency, within the century under review. His cathedral, however, did not become monastic in his time. During Edmund's episcopate there was a devout priest of the Church of Durham named Alfred, who shared his monastic

[1] Inett, ii., 5; so also i., 423-24, 435.

[2] *A. S. C.* in *M. H. B.*, 406.

tastes, and who was in the habit of visiting the venerated sites of the then desolate northern monasteries, and of raising from the ground what he believed to be the bones of such saints as he knew were buried there, that they might be exhibited to the people for their veneration, seeking thus to reanimate piety by reviving holy memories of the past. Jarrow had a special attraction for him, and he annually visited it for the purpose of watching and praying by the tomb of Bede, whose bones, or what he considered such, he brought away and deposited in Durham Cathedral with those of St. Cuthbert.

The termination of the Benedictine fervour has brought us to the eve of the Conquest and the last king in direct descent from Egbert, the third Edward, who challenges our notice by his very title of Saint and Confessor. The most opposite estimates are given of his character by our modern historical writers. He seems to have been a victim of the tyranny of his times, without sufficient strength of character to act independently of the two dominant earls, Godwin of Wessex and Leofric of Mercia.

Edward the Confessor.

Before 1052 the See of Canterbury was occupied by a Norman, Robert of Jumièges, who, in a political crisis of that year, fled the country, without resigning. The See, not canonically vacant, was filled by the witan placing in it Stigand Bishop of Winchester, who for six years sat without a pallium of his own, using the one left behind by his predecessor, which, however, not having been conferred on himself, did not avail. At length he obtained a pallium for himself, but from the Antipope, Benedict X.[1]

William, Bishop of London, appointed 1051, was a Norman. There were also three Lorrainers among the bishops, Herman of Ramsbury (1045), Walter of Hereford (1061), Giso of Wells (1061). The other ten Sees were occupied by Englishmen.

In regard to the character of the bishops of this reign, Wulfstan of Worcester (1062-95) was the saint. Dr. Stubbs' summary is, that "among the prelates of this period there are very few except St. Wulfstan who are spoken of with honour".[2] Hook's portrait of Archbishop Stigand, evidently meant to be favourable, is that of a fine patriotic Englishman, champion of the Godwin party, *i.e.*, the national or English party, against foreigners, a politician notable in civil history, nothing more.

On the whole, allowing in fairness for exceptions, we may

[1] Freeman, *N. C.*, ii., 343; iv., 332.

[2] *Const. Hist.*, i., 278.

characterise the episcopate in the reign of Edward the Confessor as neither rising above average merit nor falling much below it.

But what as to the clergy and people of the Confessor's reign? The ancient historian Roger Wendover writes:[1] "The aristocracy had become slaves to debauchery and the luxuries of the table; they did not seek the church of a morning, but, lying abed with their wives, only listened to masses as they were spoken by a hurrying priest. The clergy were so deficient in learning that one who knew the grammar was an object of admiration. All classes were given to drinking, in which pursuits they spent days as well as nights, bringing on themselves surfeits by their food and sickness by their drink." Wendover admits that there were exceptions, and that there were many men of every rank and station "who were pleasing to the Lord". Dr. Stubbs' summary seems fairly justified, that "the revival of life and energy under Dunstan and Elfric had worn itself out before the days of the Confessor".[2] The Church was neither in its best nor in its worst state. There was surely a blessing in it if it could produce a bishop like Wulfstan and a people to love him; but above all while Holy Scripture in the vernacular was before the people, in their churches at least if not generally in their houses. For it has been shown,[3] chiefly from extant survivals, that considerable portions, especially the Psalter and the Gospels, continued to be transcribed with varying diction as the spoken language changed, from the ninth century to the twelfth.

Westminster Abbey must not be omitted from the Church history of Edward the Confessor its founder. If we ask how it came about that this noble fane originated with a king whose fathers reigned, not at London, but at Winchester the capital of Wessex, the answer must be that all the later Anglo-Saxon monarchs spent much of their time in protecting London against the Danes, whose fleets assailed it from the Thames. In the defence of London and its river from such a foe was the only hope of England. This accounts for those kings possessing a manor house at Thorney, on the bank of the river above London. The domination of Godwin in Wessex accounts for Edward's residing little at Winchester and much at the Thorney manor; in short, for the practical transference of the royal capital from Winchester to London.

Westminster Abbey.

As to scale and grandeur, Edward had every motive to give

[1] Wend., p. 133, Bohn. [2] *Const. Hist.*, i., 279.

[3] Preface to Forshall and Madden's edition of Wyclif's Bible, 1850, pp. i., ii., iii.; J. J. Blunt's *English Reformation*, cap. v.

his new royal residence an importance to match the venerable glories of Winchester. He had lived in Normandy, and must have seen the finest structures there. The Thames was convenient for Norman builders and Norman materials. The Church of Westminster Abbey was the earliest great Norman pile in England, surpassing everything that then existed in this country. We must picture, says Stanley, its solid pillars, ponderous arches, triple tower, sculptured stones, storied windows, in contrast to the humble wooden churches and wattled tenements of the Anglo-Saxon period.[1] We are also to realise the church with its monastery all about it; moreover both monastery and church, not divided from the palace by a public street as now, but all three within one enclosure. The church was, in fact, a royal chapel on a gigantic scale attended by the monks as well as by the royal household. It was dedicated on Innocents' Day, 28th December, 1065, and on the Feast of the Epiphany, 6th January, 1066, Edward was buried in it. The church has been rebuilt and added to in later styles, leaving little of the old Norman, though the founder's tomb is still a conspicuous monument on its floor. It is virtually a monument of the last days of the Church of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. The figure we seem to see among the rising walls and laid in its first tomb, we may think of as that of a weak king with a heart for monks alone. The sovereign of a State in disintegration, endowed with no powerful nature enabling him to cope with the various dictators of his realm, victim of the several tyrannies of his day, Edward was driven by the miseries of his position to find solace in the exercise and works of religion. He could erect a glorious fane; he could not consolidate a kingdom or revive a Church.

We remarked that the Monarchal Church, especially as restored after the Danish overthrow, was altered in features from the Heptarchal. One example of this was the incoming of tenth century Benedictinism; another was an absence of the synod. For the first century after the Heptarchy, down to 928,[2] not a council of any kind is discernible, lay or ecclesiastical. Within that century came Alfred's revival, without a synod discoverable; so desolate had the civil wars and Danish invasions left England. In the century following, 928-1021, Soames names thirteen councils, but whether any of them were ecclesiastical

Civil Rule.

[1] Stanley, *W. A.*, 35, 3rd edit. But the churches rebuilt by Ethelwold and Oswald in East Anglia and Mercia could hardly have been of that character.

[2] From Grately, 816, to London, 928, Soames, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 1838, p. 299, referring to Spelman and Wilkins.

synods he does not say. Two of the thirteen, Winchester in 968, Calne in 975, have every appearance of witenagemotes or parliaments. Between 1020 and the Conquest in 1066 there is not one council apparent, lay or ecclesiastical. Turning now to the important works of Stubbs and Freeman, let us see how they view the Anglo-Saxon monarchy as to its conciliar history. Bishop Stubbs says there were few, if any, distinctly ecclesiastical councils in the tenth century.[1] In other words, the Benedictine revival did not promote synodal life. Again he says that in the tenth and eleventh centuries it is extremely difficult to discriminate between the ecclesiastical and civil relations of men and things.[2] Freeman, whose language covers the *entire* period of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, says: "The days of our native kings were days of a far more complete identification of the Church and the nation than can be found at any time after the Norman Conquest. The same assemblies and tribunals dealt alike with ecclesiastical and with temporal affairs, without the least idea that either power had intruded upon the proper province of the other. Bishops and Ealdormen were appointed and deposed by the same authority. They sat side by side to judge and to legislate on matters which after the Norman Conquest would have been discussed in distinct assemblies."[3] It would hardly then be too much to say, if we may judge from the disuse of the synod, that between the Heptarchy and the Conquest, some two centuries and a half, independent church life in England was extinct.

Throughout the Continent of Europe in the early Middle Ages the civil power interposed in ecclesiastical matters in exactly the same way as in the Anglo-Saxon Church of this period.[4] The civil action extended to legislation for the Church, to the judicature of the Church, to the Church's faith and ritual, to Church appointments. It was an age of lay administration in church matters, when image worship was forbidden by it, the service books reformed by it, bishops and archbishops were selected, appointed to their Sees, invested with the symbols of office by it. "To my master who gave it me," said Bishop Wulfstan, when he laid his crozier on the Confessor's tomb.[5] Even Popes were nominated by the emperor, and kept practically dependent on him, with their acquiescence and consent.

[1] *Const. Hist.*, i., 276. [2] *Ibid.*, i., 278. [3] Freeman, *N. C.*, i., 406.

[4] The first Lord Selborne's historical survey, with examples and illustrations, in his *Ancient Facts and Fictions concerning Churches and Tithes*, 1888, Introd., pp. 3-8.

[5] Freeman, *N. C.*, iv., 381-82.

The Parish was a third new feature in the Monarchal Church. That two Archbishops of Canterbury in the heptarchal period, Honorius (627-655) and Theodore (669-690), founded the English parochial system are late traditions unworthy of credit.[1] That there were country churches at this period is certain enough; but these did not make parishes, and the typical missionary centre was as yet the monastery.[2]

Parishes.

It is not until the ninth century that the parish and the parish church, as we understand those words now, come into view, and first of all on the continent. In the former half of it, A.D. 800-850, it is abundantly evident, from public documents, that the parochial system had gained a footing there. All its modern characteristics stand out, the parish church, the parochial bounds, the resident rector-incumbent, the parishioners' rights, the patron, the advowson, the patronage transferable, institution and consecration by the bishops, glebes, tithes, all are there as in modern days. The contemporary public records, which make continual reference to these particulars, are a body of legal regulations known as the royal *Capitularies*;[3] and the entire absence of any analogous documents in the English archives of the period is probably the sole reason why what is so obvious on the continent is not discernible at all in England, where it is reasonable to conclude that the parochial system was quite as freely propagating itself in very analogous outward circumstances. When evidence does begin to dawn in England, the parish here is discovered exactly after the continental and the modern English type.

Why the system should have so markedly developed then, and not much before, can be accounted for, first, by the internal wars preceding the monarchy, bringing monastic landed endowments into insecurity, and then by the Danish and Norman inroads, ruining the monasteries and laying monachism prostrate for a long period. As it is a certain fact that Christianity did not die out while monachism was in abeyance, the existence, as its substitute, of a parochial system organised in more detail in many centres, with married clergy, seems a necessary inference, even had there been no direct evidence.

To take a few dates by way of illustration. When Danish East Anglia began to be evangelised after Alfred's victory in 878, the agency must have been the parish, as no monasteries survived in that country between 870 and 974, and not even a bishop is

[1] *Const. Hist.*, i., 260, ed. 1880; Lord Selborne, *Ancient Facts and Fictions*, 116, 120; *By-paths*, 105.
[2] *By-paths*, 99.
[3] *Ibid.*, 109, 111.

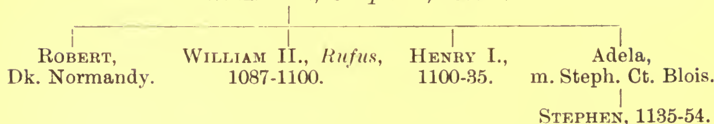
discoverable there from 870 to 956.[1] Northern monachism, beyond the Humber, destroyed in 875, did not return till about 1080. What could have kept Christianity alive there for two centuries but some measure of the parochial system? At length, in or about 970, by an ordinance of King Edgar and his witenagemote at Andover (an English capitulary, one might say), the first legal establishment of the parish church, with its fixed legal parish, is discovered.[2] Then at the latest, in the time of the monarchy, in an eclipse of monachism, the parish of modern type (it had been gradually forming since about 800) began the course which is still fraught with so much blessing to this country.

[1] *By-paths*, 124. [2] *Ibid.*, 124, 125.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ANGLO-NORMAN CHURCH.

WILLIAM I., *Conqueror*, 1066-87.



WILLIAM OF NORMANDY conquered Harold at Senlac, near Hastings, 14th October, 1066; was crowned on 25th December; died, 9th September, 1087.

William the Conqueror.

At his accession there were thirteen Sees in the province of Canterbury, and two in that of York; of these fifteen Sees three were occupied by Lorrainers and one by a Norman, when William ascended the throne, leaving eleven Sees in the occupation of ten Englishmen. Of these ten, one remained possessed of his See through the whole of William's reign, and beyond it. William did not appoint Normans in every case, two being Lorrainers. He always, however, appointed foreigners, mostly Normans, never an Englishman.

It was in 1070, which has been called his "ecclesiastical year," that William disclosed the policy he intended to pursue towards the Church; one main feature of which was this change in the *personnel* of the episcopate and the leading abbacies. This was done, not as is sometimes thought, by at once, and arbitrarily, ejecting all the native occupants; but by filling up with foreigners the vacancies which gradually and legally occurred. Such a policy of substitution was quite necessary to one in his position, if he meant to maintain it. His not speaking the English tongue would have rendered the witenagemotes, in which those great ecclesiastics bore leading parts, perilous to his government, while the close touch in which they lived with the native clergy and monastics must have multiplied his dangers.

Lanfranc, the Norman Archbishop, was, by general consent, eminently worthy of his post, and his appointment is highly

creditable to William's discernment. Sharon Turner[1] thinks the Norman prelates were distinguished for piety, decorous morals, and a love of literature; their presence being "an important addition to the civilisation of the Island". Hallam considers Turner's estimate too laudatory. Green calls William's bishops "pious, learned, energetic". Dr. Stubbs says: "The Conqueror's bishops were generally good and able men, though not according to the English type of character. They were not mere Norman barons, as was the case later on, but scholars and divines, chosen under Lanfranc's influence." Dr. Stubbs adds that the abbots were "less wisely selected" than the bishops.

The New Bishops.

The process of the removal of Sees began, in two instances, before the Conquest. In 995, when a Danish invasion seemed imminent, the Cuthbertine Bishop of Chester-le-Street, with the sanction of the civil ruler—the Earl of Northumbria—removed his seat from that exposed quarter to the strong wooded heights of Dunhelm, six miles off. In 1050, when the West was in disorder, the Bishop of Devon and Cornwall, with the allowance of King Edward the Confessor, transferred his See from the village of Crediton to the royal fortress of Exeter, on a hill above the Exe, eight miles distant. These previous cases indicate an aim of the bishops to establish themselves securely in strong and safe positions against the dangers of the times.

At the Conquest the fifteen Sees were, in respect of situation, of two classes, nine being in protected places, and six otherwise. The nine were in Canterbury, London, York, Winchester, all walled from Roman times; Durham, Exeter, Rochester, Hereford, Worcester, all fortified after Roman times. The remaining six were in Dorchester-on-Thames, Lichfield, Elmham, Selsey, Wells, Sherborne, the diocese of which last had been incorporated since 1058 with that of Ramsbury, conterminous with Wilts.

In 1075 a Synod for all England,[2] held in London at St. Paul's, under Archbishop Lanfranc, citing canons of the Councils of Sardica and Laodicea, forbidding Sees to be placed in villages, declared that bishops were now permitted, through the royal munificence and the Synod's authority, to remove from villages to cities. Here, it is to be noted, is the Church itself moving, and not simply being moved by the civil power, while at the same time not independently of that power. Accordingly, in 1076, the six weakly placed Sees began their removals by the

[1] Turner, iv., 104.
[2] Wilkins, i., 363; Mansi, xx., 451.

Bishop of Sherborne transferring his See to Sarum Hill, forty miles off. About the same time, if not in 1075, the Sussex bishopric changed its capital from Selsey to the old Roman walled town of Chichester, eight miles distant. The See of Lichfield, then a small village, went about the same year a distance of sixty or seventy miles to the Roman fortified city of Chester.[1]

In 1090 the Somersetshire bishopric transferred its seat from the village of Wells to the fine abbey church of Bath, "Wells" continuing in the title as a *solatium*.[2] In 1094 the East Anglian See, which, in or about 1076, had been transferred from the village of Elmham to the Roman town of Thetford, removed once more thirty miles to Norwich, another Roman walled town with a hill for its Norman castle.

Lincoln.

But the most remarkable of all these removals was, *cir.* 1090, that from Dorchester on the Thames an immense distance away to Lincoln, on the hill fortified by both the Romans and the Conqueror. The audacity of such a stride evidently astonished and provoked the Archbishop of York, who affirmed that the county was in his own archbishopric. There are details about this enterprise which suggest very forcibly that it was a stroke of King Rufus and the Bishop of Dorchester (Remigius) between them thus and for ever to seize possession of Lincolnshire and its strong citadel for incorporation with the southern ecclesiastical system, and prevent its drifting off finally[3] to the Northumbrian. Now begins the history of the vast and powerful bishopric of Lincoln, out of which have been taken the dioceses of Ely, Oxford and, in modern times, of Southwell. The Lincolnshire or Lindsey bishopric, with its see at Sidnacester for nearly two centuries[4] before the Danes, was comparatively small.[5]

In the three cases, then, of Durham, Exeter, Sarum, the re-

[1] In 1102 the See was transferred to Coventry, where was an important monastery, the church of which was made the cathedral, Chester not again becoming episcopal until 1537. About 1200 the See went back to Lichfield, the name of Coventry remaining in the title (nothing more) until 1536.

[2] Under Henry VIII., Bath Abbey being suppressed, the bishop returned to Wells, "Bath" remaining titular.

[3] *Ante*, pp. 10, 18. The possession of Lincolnshire was debated between the Northumbrian and Mercian kings.

[4] From 677 or 678 to *cir.* 873 (Inett, i., 123-24, 153); Stubbs (*Reg. Sac.*, 225) gives the pre-Danish bishopric of Lindsey as beginning with Eadhed's consecration in 678, ending with Berhtred's last signature in 869; reviving in 953 and finally disappearing after 1004.

[5] The Anglo-Saxon diocese of Dorchester might, perhaps, have included Northants, Lincolnshire being administered from York.

movals seated the bishops on hills ; in four, Norwich, Chichester, Chester, Bath, at important Roman towns. The remaining eight were already, for the most part, in walled and gated towns. In other words, the Church of the Conquest was settling itself into a fortified position in the same kind of way as the State of the Conquest was secured by those mighty keeps and castles that were being constantly reared by the Conqueror and his barons.

The hearts of these Norman bishops in their strong places seem to have been absorbed in the lordly churches that now began to rise both in the new Sees and in the old. In London another St. Paul's was replacing one which had been burnt down. At Canterbury Lanfranc was rebuilding the cathedral which on his arrival he had found a desolate ruin. At Winchester Walkelin was rebuilding. So was the incoming bishop at Hereford. English Wulfstan, too, was a rebuilder at Worcester. The cathedrals of the new Sees arose for the most part in the next generation, but two of them, Lincoln and Old Sarum, were commenced in the Conqueror's lifetime. With these may be reckoned the Abbey Church of St. Albans, erected by its abbot, in size a wonder of succeeding ages, and now a cathedral.

Cathedrals.

What a group of great churches all rising simultaneously, and in what imposing situations ! On the hill of Durham, on the hill of Norwich, on the hill of Sarum, on the hill of Exeter, the episcopal church and the baronial or the royal castle stood almost side by side, or at least occupied the view together. Let two of them be singled out. At Sarum the cathedral stood within the fortress, just as St. George's does now within the precincts of Windsor Castle. Begun by Osmund, the second foreign bishop of the See, it was consecrated on 5th April, 1092. For that cathedral were compiled those services whose celebrity can never die, though for their reform we cannot be too grateful —the *Sarum Use*. Osmund was a master of ecclesiastical music ; and it was more especially to regulate the choral part of the services that that use was composed, which speedily became the most popular in the English Church. As a prominent Norman Osmund received, besides his bishopric, the Earldom of Dorsetshire, and the large landed possessions which thus came to him were used in the erection and endowment of the cathedral on Sarum Hill.

One thing more about Sarum Cathedral. It was not founded upon a monastic plan. Benedictine monasteries continued to be built, but more by laymen than by bishops. Nor were the

Norman bishops in England all of one opinion as to putting their cathedrals under monastic discipline.[1] Lanfranc was strongly in favour of it; Walkelin of Winchester was not, and with him agreed Osmund. The Old Sarum services were sung, therefore, at Old Sarum itself, by a clerical choir, not by monks.

The case of Durham may occupy us a little longer. It was in 1074, under Walcher, a Lorrainer, the first foreign bishop of this See appointed by William, that there began a revival of Northern monachism, 200 years after its overthrow by the Danes. The leading agent of it was Aldhun, a monk of Winchcombe, in Gloucestershire, who, through reading Bede's account of the heptarchal glories of Jarrow and Wearmouth, went, with two companion monks from Evesham, on a pilgrimage to their ruined sites, walking all the way, with an ass to bear their luggage. A melancholy wreck met their eyes at Jarrow, where yet they consoled themselves by roughly setting up a roof on the church walls for service, and putting up a hovel outside for themselves. Other famed northern sites were visited, Wearmouth, Whitby, Melrose, the bishop aiding as he could; but very little was accomplished; monachism was still a dead thing above the Humber, the parochial system having, as we must think, taken its place.

Durham.

Walcher was succeeded in 1080 by William, the first actual Norman in this See. Under him arose a Norman Cathedral with a monastery attached, and on 28th May, 1083, the dean and canons gave way to prior and monks. It was at this cathedral, in this year, that monastic life north of the Humber first made any real and lasting recovery, and this success came only by drafting into the cathedral-monastery the various other struggling brotherhoods of Northumbria. In respect of its architecture Durham Cathedral offers a unique example. The massive Anglo-Norman fane then erected, "half church of God, half castle 'gainst the Scots," survives in its integrity, as though to show us what all those other cathedrals then looked like, wherein the curious eye alone can now detect remnants of the old lines, an occasional low round arch, preserved among the dominant upward-pointing lancets, floral and perpendicular tracery of later styles.

Surely then these higher Norman ecclesiastics did not come in, like the Italian dignitaries of a later day, to plunder the Church of England and carry off the spoils. Their energies, the

[1] Freeman, *N. C.*, iv., 375-77.

wealth they gathered, were expended in their adopted land. They could not preach to the people in their native tongue; but they could in other ways dignify religion and make it attractive to those higher classes who had been repelled in the Confessor's reign. They were planting the soil with great palaces of religion which have outlived most of the proudest castles that defended them. Those cathedrals have marked England, we may hope for ever, with the divine name of Christ, in lines of the most impressive beauty that architecture can represent.

Men like these must have helped to soften the stern despotism in which they had to bear a part. Pledged as they were to the people, the English as well as the Norman, they were unconsciously helping to unite the two races, so building up a second and a stronger England than the nation which had fallen with Harold. They were all this perhaps, and this was much. Would we could add that they taught a purer, as well as exhibited a more artistic Christianity, than that found on their arrival.

The papal hand in this Church has now to be watched. The Conquest occurred in the pontificate of Alexander II., who, besides sending William a banner blessed by himself, declared him by formal bull lawful heir of the English Crown, thus materially advancing his project, by giving it the highest religious sanction then acknowledged. In William's initial measures of government the Pope was of further service, sending his legates to facilitate the course of ecclesiastical affairs. In a Court function subsequent to the Coronation at Westminster Abbey the legates placed the crown afresh on William's head, thus confirming his title anew. The legates were also useful in attending Synods, by which some of the English bishops were deposed in correct canonical form, by which more especially the See of Canterbury was declared vacant and William enabled at the outset to appoint a Norman head of the English Church. In all these services the convenience of the king was substantially promoted, and the earliest of them was acknowledged by him at the first moment, by his sending to Alexander the captured standard of Harold.

The Conqueror and the Papacy.

Moreover Lanfranc the Archbishop was personally on a very friendly footing with Alexander, who had been his pupil. It is easy to see here how things stood between King and Pope. It simply suited William in his earlier difficulties to lean on Alexander. Neither king nor prelate had the least design to encourage on principle interference from Rome, or to recognise any authority in that quarter over their own administration.

None the less, however, was William, if unconsciously, doing things capable of being cited as precedents, and laying a foundation for the whole mediæval Papal usurpation in England.

When under the title of Gregory VII. Hildebrand, in 1073, succeeded Alexander, all was different. England was now at the Conqueror's feet; the ecclesiastical settlement of the kingdom left no problems of government for the Pope to solve. Hildebrand was, therefore, not necessary to William as Alexander had been. Moreover, Lanfranc was personally a stranger to him. No more intimacy, therefore, is observable between the Crown of England and the Papacy in this reign, as the following facts testify. In 1080 William refused the Pope homage for his crown. In 1081 Lanfranc repeatedly disregarded Gregory's urgent request to come to Rome, where his countenance would have been of much service owing to the recent election of the Antipope Clement III. Most important of all, three antipapal ordinances were enacted by William in or about 1085, the first in that direction ever made in England. These were in brief: 1. No Pope other than the one accepted by the King to be acknowledged in England. 2. No papal letters to be received in England without the King's consent. 3. No ecclesiastic to go abroad without the King's leave.

It is important to note and to bear in mind in the course of this history the attitude of this King to this Pope. The Conqueror of England was the greatest sovereign of his time, and Hildebrand from 1048 the ruling spirit of the Papacy, whose grand policy, which he had insisted on from the first, and which as Pope he was endeavouring to build up, was to exalt the ecclesiastical power over the civil; a policy which, carried out with determination by his successors for a long period, is never for a moment to be lost sight of. The Conqueror would appear to have understood what the Hildebrandine policy aimed at, and it may well have been because his sagacity warned him of future danger to royal authority, that the Crown of England was in his person the first to pit itself against the tiara.

Ecclesiastical Constitution.

By SYNODS we mean assemblies of bishops and clergy for making canons; sometimes acting as courts for securing obedience to them. Synods, which in the Heptarchal Church were in healthy action,[1] disappear entirely during the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. Instances of their

[1] The Synods of Hertford, Pincanhale, Cealchyth, Clovesho, *supra*, pp. 17, 23, 28. At the Synod at Hatfield, 680, the Heptarchal Church of England accepted the first four General Councils.

revival in William's reign have come before us, but here, for another purpose, they require a fresh notice. The first two after the Conquest, held in 1070 for the purpose of deposing the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Selsey, being presided over by Papal legates, were of the class known as Legatine Synods. This was, as it happened, a matter of necessity, since the archbishop, whose case was to be tried, could not himself preside. That the revival of Synods in England should have begun with a legatine one for the dethronement of an Archbishop of Canterbury is a noticeable circumstance. The Synod, then, met for the special purpose of tiding over a single difficulty not to be overcome in any other way, without any formal purpose of resuscitating synodical action in the Church of England.

When, on 29th August, 1070, Lanfranc became archbishop, legatine Synods ceased. During his primacy no fewer than seven Synods were held, *viz.*, in 1071, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1078, 1086, at Winchester, Gloucester, London, making nine in all during the Conqueror's reign.

Church Control.

Church Courts were not a *revival*, like the synods, but the creation of something new. Before the Conquest, as already noted,[1] the sheriff in his periodical circuit, holding in every Hundred his court of *sheriff's tourn*, was accompanied by the bishop, business being divided between them. In civil cases the sheriff presided, having the bishop for his assessor, while in Church matters it was *vice versâ*.[2] This arrangement ended by a charter of William directing that ecclesiastical cases should be tried by the bishop in a separate court, though for civil causes the bishop was to continue attendance with the sheriff at the Hundred Court. This institution of the Spiritual Court, which has lasted to our own day, is considered the most important ecclesiastical measure of William's reign.[3] It is certainly a landmark of Anglo-Norman Church history. The date is supposed to have been 1085. What led to the court was undoubtedly a Roman Council under Pope Nicholas II.[4] decreeing that no clerk should be judged by a layman. Hildebrand was then the ruling genius of the Roman Court; and in this measure of William we are to recognise Hildebrandine ideas forcing their way from the continent, through the Norman prelates, into England.[5]

[1] *Ante*, p. 45.

[2] Reeves, *English Law*, 1869, i., pp. 16, 100; Short, i., 49 *n.*; Boultbee, 156; Spelman, *Concil.*, ii., 14, with marg. date 1085; Wilkins, *Concil.*, i., 368; Gee and Hardy, 57, give the charter in full from Stubbs, *S. C.*, 81.

[3] *Const. Hist.*, i., 322; Freeman, *N. C.*, iv., 392.

[4] Mansi, xix., 898, 909, A.D. 1059, Canon x.; Hook, ii., 255.

[5] *Const. Hist.*, i., 322.

Nor is the regal hand in the Anglo-Norman Church to be the less closely watched. In the words of Professor Freeman: "The royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical was never more fully asserted than by William".[1] Episcopal appointments, so far as can be ascertained, were by his writ and seal, as those of the Confessor had been. All croziers were in his hand. In the following five particulars [2] ecclesiastics were under severe control, not being allowed,[3] without permission (1) to leave the kingdom; (2) to acknowledge a Pope; (3) to publish letters from Rome; (4) to excommunicate any one belonging to the King; (5) to hold Councils or enact canons.[4] While the Crown authority was thus jealously maintained, it cannot be said to have been tyrannically used. So far from curtailing the Church's privileges, William increased them by permitting the removal of Sees; by allowing Synods other than those required by his own necessities; by granting spiritual courts. When he might have dominated the ecclesiastical affairs of the Church, he allowed it advantages which in no long time proved perilous to the Crown. Much of the good understanding of this reign may be credited to William's liberal and legal action, much to Lanfranc's admirable reasonableness, it being no part of the archbishop's policy to elevate the spiritual authority above the temporal.[5]

Crown Control.

In passing from this eventful period we cannot but carry with us an impression of the Norman Conquest having impelled the Church of England in a new direction, on a distinct path, a path that can hardly be characterised so well as by the brief phrase CHURCH LIFE: the Normanisation of Sees and abbeys, the removal of bishops to strong and important towns, the general rebuilding of cathedrals, the revival of active synodal functions, and the introduction of Church Courts, each of these contributed its share. The transplantation of the continental germ in the wake of William made the Norman Conquest of England on its religious and church side. It was a new departure for the Church, which under the Confessor, and earlier, was blended with the State, hardly distinguishable from it, the same legislature making the laws of both, the same

Church Life.

[1] Freeman, *N. C.*, iv., 437.
[2] Short, i., 48, § 52; Boultbee, 155.
[3] Short, i., 52.
[4] Burrows, *Church and State*, 23, 26; Hook, ii., 145; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 25: "It was a part of the policy of the Conqueror to secure that no general Council of the bishops should enact or forbid anything but what was agreeable to his own will, or had first been ordained by him".
[5] Hook, ii., 137.

Courts administering them. Instead of existing together like the body and soul of one man, Church and State now were seen as a *duality* resembling more the union of husband and wife. The more visibly the spiritual authority stood distinct from the civil, the more nearly was reached that condition of things understood by the phrase, as employed by Dr. Hook, *Separation of Church and State*,[1] or by what Freeman would call a weakened nationality of the Church.[2] Both the expressions indicate very intelligibly what was a distinguishing feature of the Mediæval Church.

We have called this a new departure of the Church of England at the Conquest. But indeed at that period the whole Church of the West was taking a new departure; for it was the period of Hildebrand, whose Church doctrine may be characterised in Trench's summary of it: "For Hildebrand the source and spring of all the ills which afflicted, degraded, and threatened to destroy the Church lay in its bondage to the secular power. With *its complete emancipation from this* the sole hope for the future was bound up. The Church must be free."[3]

The Church life, then, which had been awakened in England was Hildebrandine. The old Anglo-Saxon Church had in some respects a considerable elevation bestowed on it, and the grandeur of the whole picture, as delineated in the facts that have been before us, must be allowed.

Yet on the question how far this rising Church was truly blessing the people we must speak with reserve. Thinking the best, and giving the Church of the Conquest, so striking to the imagination, all the credit we may, we cannot forget that there was a dearth of the Word of God, and that there prevailed doctrinal errors whose roots struck deep. Along with all those new cathedrals, along with the *Sarum Use*, came in, through Lanfranc too, the teaching of transubstantiation, a fatal gift of the Conquest. May it not be suspected, without injustice to the great men of the Hildebrandine age, that the dominating position and splendour accorded to the altar and altar service in those grand cathedrals, if they might be justly held to have originated in the supreme purpose of exhibiting the one central principle of true Christian worship, the atoning sacrifice of Christ, lent themselves also perilously to the design of promoting popular acquiescence in the dogma which was then advancing, and which was essentially destructive of that principle?

[1] Hook, ii., 371; iii., 7.
[2] Freeman, *N. C.*, i., 406; iv., 430.
[3] Abp. Trench, *Med. Ch. Hist.*, 117.

We may well speak of a famine of the Word of God among the native English. It would not be true to say there was total privation, thanks to Elfric's tenth century O. T. translations; but Elfric's tongue, "Old Anglo-Saxon," could not be taught by the Anglo-Norman clergy, and after about 1100, when it was becoming obsolete, could hardly be read by the English themselves.[1] What there was of it, however, if insufficient to resist the progress of a dogma so powerfully supported by ritual, may have in many a home nourished the spiritual life.

Under RUFUS began the abuse of keeping Sees vacant for long periods.[2] If the emoluments during vacancy were devoted strictly to purposes of State, this partial secularisation of Church property, always a tempting resource, may be considered as caused by the revenue difficulties of that period, aggravated by the turbulent behaviour of the Crown vassals and the unsettled condition of the country after the Conqueror's death.

We next meet with the ultramontane troubles of the new crown, brought in by the second archbishop of the Conquest. Twenty months after the accession of Rufus, on 28th May, 1089, died Lanfranc, and when the vacancy had lasted some four years, Anselm, an Italian by birth, Abbot of Bec in Normandy (not then under the Crown of England), received the appointment in the following circumstances, as related by his chaplain the historian Eadmer.

Anselm Archbishop.

On 6th March, 1093, Rufus lay ill at Gloucester, and gathered around his bed expecting his death were bishops, abbots and nobles, pressing on him the duty of making atonement for the many wrongs he had been guilty of, but more especially the duty of filling up the See of Canterbury. The Abbot of Bec, then staying near Gloucester, unaware of what was going on,

[1] Preface to Forshall and Madden's edition of Wyclif's Bible, pp. ii., iii.

[2] Five Sees were kept abnormally vacant in this reign :—
Chichester, 1088 to 1091.
Canterbury, 10th May, 1089, to 5th December, 1093; and 1st November, 1097, to 2nd August, 1100.
Bangor, *cir.* 1090, to 2nd August, 1100.
Winchester, 3rd January, 1098, to 2nd August, 1100.
Salisbury, 4th December, 1099, to 2nd August, 1100.
Five Sees appointed to in this reign normally :—
Bath, 1088; Thetford, 1091; Lincoln, 1093; Worcester, 15th June, 1096; Hereford, 16th June, 1096.
Five English Sees full all the reign :—
Exeter, Lichfield, London, Rochester, York.
Two Welsh Sees full all the reign :—
St. David's, Llandaff.—*Historic Peerage.*

was hastily summoned, and the King, after making vows of amendment before him, declared his pleasure that Anselm should be the archbishop. Then followed an extraordinary scene, one, however, rather to be studied than to be wondered at. The abbot's unwillingness, his self-abasement, his *nolo episcopari,* had to be overcome by the united efforts of all. A crozier was fetched and brought to the King's bedside, for the bestowal of that ornament was then the outward form of conferring a bishopric. Taking hold of it the King wished Anselm to receive it from his hand. The abbot was dragged to the bed, and the forefinger of his clenched hand was forcibly bent round the staff. It was a mad turmoil for the chamber of death.[1] Everything about it is inexplicable. How came Anselm in the neighbourhood just at that crisis? Why was he sent for when there were bishops present? How came a spare crozier so conveniently there? If we have here a party conspiring to force Anselm on the acceptance of the King, who was made to believe himself dying, the chamber scene is explicable and credible. But the points that it most concerns us to note are clear. The crozier was handed by the King to Anselm, who accepted it, and by that form and token considered himself, and was, designated to the Archiepiscopal See. The whole company who assisted in the scene were committed to the same doctrine, that an Episcopal See passed by the King's bestowal of a crozier and its acceptance by his nominee. These are the governing incidents to bear in mind when, in the next reign, Anselm again comes before us. In a full assembly of the nobles at Winchester, later on, he did homage to the King, after the manner and example of his predecessor Lanfranc, as Eadmer expressly says,[2] not giving the day, and received possession of the temporalities of his archbishopric. On 4th December, 1093,[3] he was consecrated.

From the first Anselm and the King were at variance, and in 1097 a permanent quarrel broke out occasioned by a misunderstanding as to how many soldiers the feudal law bound the archbishop, in consideration of the lands occupied by him, to furnish to the King's army. This matter was pending when Anselm requested leave to go to Rome. His reason is not stated,

[1] The scene in detail is given by Anselm's chaplain Eadmer in his *Historia Novella*, lib. i., pp. 31-37, ed. Rule, repeated by Hook, ii., 192, and Boultbee, 173.
[2] Eadmer as before, p. 41. Hook, ii., 195, describes the ceremony.
[3] Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.*, 40.

but it could have been no other than a desire to throw himself into the hands of Pope Gregory VII. Divining this and wishing to avoid further dispute, Rufus dropped his demand for more soldiers.[1]

Anselm and the King.

The King's concession did not heal the breach, for Anselm kept importuning for leave to go abroad, and it was too evident that his heart was set on gaining Papal support in the various Church difficulties which had arisen between himself and Rufus. This was in fact confessed when he gave as one object of his journey that it was "for the sake of holy Christianity which I have undertaken to rule in this country". In this matter William Rufus was as resolute as his father had been, letting Anselm plainly understand that if he went it would be at his peril, saying: "I will reduce the whole archbishopric into my domain, and no longer receive him for archbishop".[2]

Desiring to carry the English Church with him in this dispute, Anselm summoned the bishops to a consultation, but they entreated him to desist.[3] Anselm was bent on subjecting the Church of England to the Papacy; but the Church showed no inclination to follow him.[4] His ultramontanism was his own; his Church was not committed to it.

About 1st November, 1097, Anselm quitted Dover and crossed the sea, never again seeing William Rufus, who died 2nd August, 1100.

Dr. Hook[5] thus contrasts the first two archbishops of the Anglo-Norman Church: Lanfranc, taking an imperial view of England, claimed for the Church of England an entire independence of Rome; Anselm, as a *Papist*, desired amalgamation with Rome.

Dr. Hook's language reminds us that "Papist" in its proper sense differs from "Roman Catholic". So also does the word "ultramontane," beyond the Alps. Both mean subjection to Papal supremacy as distinct from the acceptance of Roman Catholic theology and worship. In the heptarchal period Bishop Wilfrid sought to ultramontanise the Church of Northumbria, a provincial Church only. After the Conquest Anselm was the one who first tried to ultramontanise the entire Church of England, which as Primate he represented. In this respect he stands in marked contrast with his predecessor Lanfranc.

HENRY I., at his accession on 2nd August, 1100, had to fear a

[1] Eadmer, 397 D; Hook, ii., 219. [2] Eadmer, 398 B; Hook, ii., 220.
[3] Eadmer, 398-401; Inett, ii., 136; Hook, ii., 221-23.
[4] Inett, ii., 136. [5] Hook, ii., 243.

contest with his eldest brother Robert Duke of Normandy, and wishing to be on good terms with the heads of the Church that his coronation might not be delayed, he wrote very cordially to Anselm pressing his return, and on 23rd September, 1100, the archbishop arrived[1] after an exile of three years. Desiring that instant measures should be taken for his entire restitution to office, honours and temporalities, Henry offered this to the archbishop through the ceremony of "reinvestiture" with the pastoral staff, this being considered necessary for legal validity.

Anselm returns to England.

Unexpectedly and peremptorily Anselm declined the ceremony, and on this sole ground, that the King who would deliver him the staff was a layman, while a Papal Synod in 1095 at Clermont in France had forbidden ecclesiastics to receive investiture from princes or to do them homage.[2] It was to no purpose that investiture by the King had been practised without dispute by the Confessor, the Conqueror, and Rufus. The fact that Anselm himself had received investiture from Rufus in 1093 went for nothing. Anselm had come to the resolution of obeying the Papal Synod, nor would he even remain in England so long as the King refused obedience to the Pontiff and continued the investiture of bishoprics and abbacies. In this manner did Anselm, himself a stranger in England, insist on terminating an ancient national custom, one which he had personally sanctioned, in favour of a foreign one, which had never even been submitted to the Church of England. Turning his back upon England, its new King, its Church, Anselm once more (27th April, 1103) embarked for Rome, where Paschal II. advised resistance. Anselm was, consequently, again an exile and his temporalities confiscated.

He had a right to change the opinion he held in 1093; but he had not so much as attempted to get the matter debated in an English Synod, and even had such a Synod affirmed his view, the consent of the laity would have been needed to give it legal effect. What are the facts? Going into exile as a deprived prelate, Anselm finds in his wanderings a controversy on foot in regard to a certain rule which a Papal provincial Council had enacted. His own mind impelled him to take the Papal view; but that did not commit the Church of England, which could not in any way be made responsible for the Primate's individual opinion.

Against the entreaties of the peers and the bishops[3] Anselm

[1] Inett, ii., 139. [2] Mansi, xx., 815; Canons xvi., xvii.; Inett, ii., 156.
[3] Hook, ii., 247.

held to the principle of obedience to a Roman canon. The chapter of his cathedral, the clergy of his diocese, deserted by their pastor, urged upon him the duty of submission and of returning to his flock. The Primate of the Church of England, they said, should not regard a canon of the Roman Church as binding on him.[1]

The Church National.

The investiture dispute with Anselm is of great value in the evidence it affords that the Anglo-Norman Church regarded itself as a National Church; national in the sense of owning no obedience out of the nation; national in the sense of non-Roman, a sense which makes Papalists impatiently jealous of the very term.

If Anselm appeared invincible in his determination, so did Henry, who, perceiving distinctly that the archbishop's view involved a divided allegiance, exclaimed, "What have I to do with a Roman canon? I will never renounce a right which I have inherited, and no one shall remain in my kingdom who refuses me homage as his suzerain!"[2] He declared that so long as he lived he never would permit the rights and privileges of the kingdom of England to be diminished; while even if he should be inclined to yield, his nobles would not tolerate it.[3] It was not, he said, he who demanded a change. All he asked for was to be treated by Anselm as his father had been treated by Lanfranc. With such language on his lips, how was it possible that Henry should ever surrender? Yet surrender, in one sense, he did, and Anselm triumphed—a matter which requires closer consideration.

In a Council held in Westminster Palace, A.D. 1107, Henry relinquished the right of granting investiture; but it was enacted that every new bishop should do homage to the sovereign.[4] From that time to this the Kings of England have received homage from newly appointed bishops, but have never bestowed the staff, which symbol of office was, down to the Reformation, not since, received by the bishop among the rites of his consecration from the hand of the consecrating archbishop.[5] Besides investiture Henry surrendered at the same time a second ecclesiastical prerogative of the Crown, namely, direct nomination to Sees, consenting that in the vacancy of a See the dean and chapter of the cathedral should have the

The *Congé d'élire.*

[1] Hook, ii., 257. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., 247. [3] *Ibid.*, ii., 248.

[4] Spelman, ii., 28; Inett, ii., 173.

[5] "Sarum Use" in Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, ii., 255, 256, 287, 289, ed. 1882.

King's *leave to elect* their bishop, substantially as at present the privilege being known by its French title, *Congé d'élire.*

In surrendering *investiture* Henry seemed to have surrendered everything, for by that word was named the entire contest, "war of investiture," which raged abroad as well as in England. But homage, which was not surrendered, was of far greater consequence to the King's cause. The word, derived from *homo,* man, designated a ceremony wherein the homager, humbly kneeling before his lord, declared that he was the lord's man, or vassal, and by the oath of fealty or fidelity, which immediately followed homage, the vassal vowed to be faithful. A bishop having to adopt this attitude to his sovereign previously to his consecration, and as a condition of it, could not at the same time, without dissimulation and subterfuge, profess himself a subject of the Pope.

In granting chapters leave to elect their bishops, Henry virtually withheld from them leave to choose, inasmuch as he retained the right of confirming their election, which carried the right of vetoing it; this leading inevitably to a previous understanding between the Chapter and the Court, and thus really to the King's nomination.[1] Practically, therefore, every See was filled after 1107 just as before, at the royal pleasure. Yet the *Congé d'élire* was not an empty favour and a delusion. In principle it was no trifle, as it made the election an ecclesiastical instead of a civil proceeding, and in extreme cases put a check on the Crown.

What Henry in 1107 did not surrender was the right of deciding who should hold the bishoprics in his dominions. Men who were heads of great cathedrals, holding court in princely palaces, possessors of baronial estates, lords of parliament, counsellors of the sovereign, chancellors, ambassadors—how was it possible for any king to allow a knot of cathedral clergymen in a far provincial town to have any real voice in their selection? Henry I. meant that he never would surrender his prerogative in this respect, and he never did. He conceded a symbol, he abandoned a theory, but all substantial power in the appointment of bishops he kept within his own hand.

Crown Control.

In surrendering the right of direct appointment to Sees, and the ceremony of delivering a staff, Henry yielded to the constitutionally expressed will of the nation itself, in and by a

[1] At a later date the nomination was, as now, more direct and formal.

national assembly of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the parliament of that period. This assembly received what it chose of the Roman Canon, rejecting what it chose. Here was the English Church and nation claiming to have a voice of its own in what concerned itself, and refusing to be dictated to by a foreign authority. This was a point of no small importance constitutionally. Henry's yielding, moreover, was to the home Church, not a foreign one. The Archbishop in England, not the Pope, bestowed the staff; the cathedral chapters at home, not the Pope, received the permission to elect a bishop. The concession of 1107 was to the ecclesiastical authorities of the Church of England, not to the Bishop of Rome. To him neither of the two privileges relinquished by the Crown was transferred.

Anselm died 21st April, 1109, having been seven years in dispute with Henry I., and four out of the seven in exile. He was a man of deep personal piety. His *Monologium*, his *Proslogium*,[1] and his *Cur Deus Homo* have exerted a permanent influence on Christian thought. As a divine and a Christian, he has been described as the first of characters in the eleventh century. Freeman has a similar estimate of him; though his ultramontanism is acknowledged and condemned. On his administration Dean Hook's verdict is a very severe one.[2] He doubtless acted with the best intentions, but in parting from him as a Church ruler we cannot forbear the reflection that never did the Church of England profit so little under the government of so good a man.

Death of Anselm.

After Anselm's death in 1109 no leave to elect was issued by the Crown for five years, which brings us to A.D. 1114, twenty-five years from the death of Lanfranc, during which period the Primacy had been kept vacant, one time with another, sixteen and a half years, *viz.*, nine and a half by the omissions of the Crown to appoint, seven by the absences of Anselm. All the twenty-five years the King's hand in Church matters must have been familiar to the people. The vacancy was terminated in the following manner: A meeting of the bishops and temporal peers was convened by Henry at Windsor; the Chapter of Canterbury was required to attend; and there on 26th April, 1114, not in their cathedral, but at Court, under the eye of the King, they elected the King's nominee, Ralph d'Escures Bishop

Election of Ralph D'Escures.

[1] The fuller titles are *De divinitatis essentiâ Monologium*, *Proslogium seu Alloquium de Dei existentiâ*. All these works are in *P. L.*, clviii.

[2] Hook, ii., 186, 266, 267.

of Rochester.[1] While the Crown could fill a See in this manner, the giving up of investiture and the concession of the *Congé d'élire* were not the surrender of any real power.

In the same year Thurstan, who had been elected to the See of York, 15th August, was required by Henry to acknowledge the supremacy of Canterbury as a condition of his consecration. The three previous archbishops had complied with a similar requirement, but Thurstan declined, seeking aid from the Pope, whose interference Henry rejected.[2] The King's action in a matter so clearly ecclesiastical shows him, in spite of all he had surrendered, still practically supreme in Church administration. The election of William of Corbeuil, of whom we shall hear more later, to the See of Canterbury in 1123, after Ralph d'Escures, was controlled by the Crown.[3]

The last of the strictly Norman kings found the civil and the ecclesiastical in various ways continuing to diverge. A charter (virtually a statute) of Henry I. said: "And because the kingdom has been oppressed by unjust exactions, I in the first place make the holy Church of God free".[4] An interesting clause. What did it mean?

Henry I.'s Charter, 1117.

Kings in those days were constantly encroaching upon the rights both of Church and State, as these alleged; while Church and State were encroaching on those of the Crown as the Kings alleged; the truth being that all three were encroaching on one another, owing mainly to the fact that their respective rights were still undefined. All were battling for their prerogatives. A royal charter is a concession wrung from the Crown by nobles and ecclesiastics, and in this of Henry I. we see something of the matter in dispute between them all. As the context shows, the Church's special grievance was that its possessions, episcopal lands, abbey lands, benefice lands, had been wrongfully seized, their profits converted, no doubt, to purposes of State. The expression, "I make the holy Church of God free" is loose and vague, and the great Churchmen construed it as widely as they were able, getting freedom in as many senses as they could. The facts that will come before us will prove its best interpreter.

In dealing with the reign of Henry I., an important subject of inquiry arises with regard to ecclesiastical synods. Could these assemble without leave asked of the civil power, and could

[1] Hook, ii., 286, 287; Martineau, *Church History in England*, 314.
[2] Hook, ii., 288; Rob., v., 22, 23.
[3] Hook, ii., 305.
[4] Spelman, ii., 31; Wilkins, i., 394.

their canons and constitutions run independently? The King's assent to certain decrees made in the councils of the clergy is, Dr. Stubbs says, distinctly expressed.[1] What we are apparently to understand is that in general the Synod was left free and could pass what constitutions it pleased; but that in certain matters which touched on the prerogatives of the Crown or the liberty of the subject the King's assent was required.

Ecclesiastical Synods.

It would appear also, according to Dr. Stubbs, that, as far as the evidence goes, the archbishops and bishops were sometimes at any rate free to summon their Synods at pleasure, the ancient writers occasionally indicating the assent of the Crown to their meeting, though now and then they are silent. Perhaps it was the *object* of the meeting which made the difference. Thus far then the clerical order in the English Church seems gradually drawing away from the civil authority. In modern phrase Church and State were showing a tendency to separate and their connection was becoming looser. Not that the Church was any the less firmly rooted in the country. It was still strongly settled, *i.e., established* in its rights, dignities and revenues, though, as to the last, certainly exposed to confiscation by the State.

Legatine Synods.

A Pope's legate has but a partial resemblance to a King's ambassador. The ambassador addresses a foreign court, having no business with the foreign people. The legate's concern is equally with the King, the Church, and the people whom he visits, they being, in his sense, not foreign at all, but fellow-subjects of the Pope, a portion of the Papal flock. How these ideas of the Hildebrandine Papacy made their way in England in this reign we shall now see, after noting the nature of a Legatine Synod. A fully developed Legatine Synod was something more than a Synod attended by a legate.[2] It was one convened by the legate, presided over by the legate, the legate promulgating its decrees in the Pope's name, and in that alone. A Legatine Synod was a business taken altogether out of the hand of the Church in which it was nominally held, a business transacted virtually by the Pope himself, and the Pope only.

In 1100, the year of Anselm's return to England on the

[1] Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, p. 25, referring to Henry I.'s reign.

[2] *See* Council of Calcuith, 787; the Synods of 1070. In the latter the legates neither convened nor presided, nor, so far as known, were the decrees put forth in the Pope's name (Inett, ii., 140, 210, 211). The legates were simply there to sanction the measures of the King (Inett, ii., 210, 211).

accession of Henry I., Pope Paschal offered to send as his legate to England Guido Archbishop of Venice. Had he come it would have been as the superior of Anselm, who was the first person to protest against his coming. Anselm had not scrupled to call in the Pope to the diminution of his sovereign's authority; but to have his own diminished was another matter. Henry I. was of Anselm's mind, and Guido, unable to get his legatine authority acknowledged, came and went as a foreign bishop, nothing more.[1] Inett here observes that Paschal, while setting Anselm against the King, was at the same time seeking to undermine the primacy of Canterbury by introducing the legatine power.[2] The Pope's designs against the English King and against the English Primacy went hand in hand.

In 1115 Pope Paschal, writing to the new archbishop, Ralph D'Escures, with the customary pallium, complained that Papal authority was neglected in England; that bishops were elected and translated without any reference to the Pope; and that Councils were held in England independently of him. Here, then, eight years after Henry's surrender of investiture and his concession of the *Congé d'élire*, the English Church was free and independent of the Pope, the King and the clergy determining all their affairs for themselves.[3]

In the year 1116 Abbot Anselm, who was commissioned from the Pope to England, was not suffered to enter the country.[4] In October, 1119, a Council was held at Rheims, and to this assembly, in compliment to Pope Callixtus, who held it in person, Henry I. sent some bishops and abbots, but he expressly enjoined on them to declare that the rulings of the Council would not be received in England, as the English Church could and did hold its own Synods and make its own laws.[5]

Down to 1119, then, the authority of the Pope was not admitted in England; no Papal Synod bound the English Church; no Papal legate had entrance to it. We soon see, however, the commencement of a relaxation in this severe exclusion.

The disastrous death of Henry's only son Prince William, 25th November, 1120, who was drowned in crossing to England from Normandy, created this difficulty in the succession, that Henry's only surviving child was a daughter, Matilda,[6] married to the Emperor of Germany, Henry V. The difficulty was twofold.

[1] Inett, ii., 140, 141. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., 140.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii., 186, enlarging on the self-determining power of the English Church.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii., 186, 187. [5] *Ibid.*, ii., 195.
[6] Born 1102; married 1114; left a widow 23rd May, 1125.

The crown of England had never yet been worn by a woman; the balance of power in Europe would be immensely affected by an Anglo-German succession. Whether it was that his political difficulties made Henry anxious to conciliate, or whatever was the reason, he yielded to the urgent request of the Papal legate, John de Crema, who desired to visit England in his legatine capacity.[1] He arrived at Easter, 1125, and began travelling through the country from monastery to monastery, from cathedral to cathedral,[2] with the object apparently of showing himself everywhere as the first ecclesiastic of the realm representing the Pope. At length he proposed to the archbishop, William of Corbeuil, that a Synod should be held, and the archbishop, whether with the royal leave or without is not said,[3] consented, taking care, however, to be himself the convener, avoiding the Pope's name, and so far proving himself worthy of his position as Primate.[4] The Synod met at Westminster, 9th September, 1125,[5] the legate presiding,[6] and here, under the shadow of the palace, was the head of the English Church, in an assembly of his own province, occupying a subordinate place, with a legate of the Pope, in presbyter's orders only, taking the seat of honour. It was quite a new thing; the people indignantly declaring that it was usurpation and a breach of the law.[7] It was a great blow dealt at the English Church, and for this circumstance the Westminster Synod of 1125 is memorable.[8] The King was so far responsible for it in that he allowed the legate to visit England, but apparently no further. The rest of the blame must fall on the archbishop and all who attended the Synod: on the clerical side of the Church, in short, who were at that period more free and independent of the civil authority than they became after the Reformation and are now. There was, as Dr. Hook would phrase it, a modified separation of Church and State. The freedom from the civil authority, so far as it was achieved, was being carried Romewards.

John de Crema.

The archbishop, ill at ease, apparently, at the poor figure he made at the Synod of 1125, and unable to face the discontent

[1] Inett (ii., 208) attributes Henry's yielding, otherwise unexplained, to the difficulties in which his affairs became involved through his son's death.

[2] Hoveden, i., 181, ed. Stubbs; i., 218, ed. Bohn; 1125 a correction from his date 1126.

[3] *Supra*, p. 66.

[4] Inett, ii., 212.

[5] Mansi, xxi., 327, an. 1125. Hoveden dates his arrival "ad Pascha" and the Council "Ad Nativitatem Sta. Maria," giving the year as 1126, as also Simeon of Durham, Spelman, Wilkins.

[6] Hoveden, i., 218.

[7] Inett, ii., 218; Hook, ii., 309.

[8] Inett, ii., 210.

of the people, proceeded to Rome[1] to secure himself against any repetition of the disgrace. Pope Honorius offered to make the Archbishop himself legate, and this honour was accepted without demur. Under a bull dated January, 1126, he held for the rest of his life the legatine commission of the Pope in England.[2] William of Corbeuil was the first Archbishop of Canterbury who had the office of Papal legate; which he held, however, only personally, and not *ex officio*. With this appointment neither King nor nobles appear to have had anything to do. So far as can be seen, the archbishop, representing the spiritual side of the Church, without the concurrence of the lay element being given or asked, carried out this arrangement.

The Archbishop Legate.

On 13th May, 1127, a LEGATINE SYNOD was convened at Westminster by Archbishop William of Corbeuil, not as Primate, but as legate. It is the first English Synod known to have been convened in the Pope's name. Accordingly, its decrees ran in this form: "By the authority of St. Peter and our own". It was the Papal legate who spoke first, the Archbishop of Canterbury second. Again, in reality, the Pope presided, the archbishop sitting under him. But where was the Synod itself? What had become of the usual decreeing form—"and by this synodal authority"? It is omitted. The Synod is virtually gone, merged in the legate—in the Pope.[3] Inett calls attention to the important circumstance that the English *law* was not altered for the purpose of permitting the growth of these Synods. What we see is the Church (on its spiritual side) acting and developing in an independent manner. The Crown, while exercising great influence in episcopal appointments, allowed the bishops to go on pretty much their own way, not legalising their proceedings by any positive enactments, but conniving at them all. This fact has to be carefully borne in mind, as it will explain what will be found hereafter, when Papal authority is being rooted out entirely; there will be *no statute requiring to be repealed*, only inveterate Church customs to be stopped.

On 26th December, 1135, STEPHEN was crowned as the successor of Henry I. The new monarch had to maintain his throne against the claims of Henry I.'s daughter and heiress Matilda, and he was driven to bid for ecclesiastical support at the very outset of his reign.

Stephen.

[1] Hook, ii., 310.

[2] Inett, ii., 220; Martineau, 313. Wilkins (i., 406) and Churton (*Early Church of England*) give the bull *in extenso*, bearing date 25th January, 1125, apparently old style for 1126. The bull is also given by Hook (ii., 312, 313).

[3] Wilkins, i., 410; Inett, ii., 223.

His coronation oath made over the jurisdiction in the case of all ecclesiastical persons, and all clerics, and their property,[1] and likewise the distribution of ecclesiastical honours to the bishops.[2] Hallam calls this the earliest notice to be found of clerical exemption from the secular power.[3] Stephen's second charter, 1136, is to the same effect.[4] Defective or disputed titles of Kings are often made use of by ecclesiastics ambitious of power for extorting conditions, as in the cases of the Conqueror, Henry I., Stephen, Henry IV., Henry V.

As under Henry I. the contest between the Crown and Mitre raged around the matter of Church appointments, so under Stephen it turned largely on the question how ecclesiastics, bishops especially, were to be judged, before what tribunal, by what law. The disorders produced by civil war were turning bishops for their own defence into military barons.[5] At a great Council held at Oxford on or about 24th June, 1139, Stephen arrested two powerful bishops, of Salisbury and Lincoln, each possessed of strong castles. Those of the Bishop of Lincoln were at Newark-on-Trent, "extremely well fortified and most amply supplied," and at Sleaford in Lincolnshire. The castles of the Bishop of Salisbury were in Dorsetshire, one at Devizes, "a finer one than which was not in all Europe," the other at Sherborne, "which was very little inferior to Devizes in magnificence". The King possessed himself of all four castles,[6] on what grounds is not said. He likewise in 1140 expelled from his See the Bishop of Ely, who was the Bishop of Salisbury's nephew. The King's brother, Henry of Blois Bishop of Winchester, who was the Pope's legate and the most powerful prelate in the kingdom, siding with his order, maintained that the bishops, if they had committed an offence, ought to be tried, not in the King's Court, but in an ecclesiastical Synod and by the canon law.[7]

Thus was the Conqueror's ordinance bearing unexpected fruit.

[1] *Rerum eorum.*

[2] Wilkins, *Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ*, pp. 309, 310 ; Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii., 21, ed. 1841.

[3] Hallam, *ibid.*

[4] Stubbs, *Select Charters*, pp. 113, 114 ; Taswell-Langmead, *Constitutional History of England*, 5th edit., 1896, p. 70 ; Spelman, ii., 38 ; Wilkins, *Concil.*, i., 412.

[5] Hook, ii., 325.

[6] Hoveden, an. 1139, ed. Stubbs, i., 196 ; Bohn, i., 235-7 ; William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, lib. ii., § 20, ed. Hardy, ii., 716 ; Hook, ii., 335 ; Hume, i., 279, ed. 1854.

[7] Malmesbury, *loc. cit.*, § 21, p. 718.

Ecclesiastical courts had been appointed for purely spiritual causes, and now bishops claimed to be judged by them in questions of their great baronial possessions. Synods were not indeed the Church courts that the Conqueror established; but for the trial of bishops the diocesan court was out of the question and the Synod took its place.

Those fortresses, of which we have seen two in the Midlands and two in the South, show how powerful a class of prelates had been called into existence by the Normanisation and removal of Sees at the Conquest, while the claim to have charges against them adjudicated by bishops, without any allegation that the cause was of a spiritual nature, shows to what height ecclesiastical assumptions had now reached. The Episcopal power during Stephen's reign gained considerably upon the Crown; yet Stephen, though hard pressed, sometimes mortified and humiliated, managed on the whole to preserve the upper hand.[1]

The legatine aspect of Stephen's reign is illustrated by the following incidents: William of Corbeuil, dying 26th November, 1136, was after two years succeeded by Theobald Abbot of Bec, who was elected on 13th December, 1138, and held the See till his death, 18th April, 1161. The legate Alberic Bishop of Ostia, arriving in 1138, during the vacancy, and very reluctantly received,[2] convened a Synod, which met at Westminster on 13th December, 1138. He presided himself, and the decreeing authority was ascribed to the Pope.[3] Here, therefore, we have a Legatine Synod in full maturity. Henry of Blois, brother of King Stephen, who was consecrated Bishop of Winchester on 17th November, 1129, was made legate 1st March, 1139,[4] by Pope Innocent II., and on 29th August, two months after the seizure of the castles, held a legatine Synod at Winchester for their recovery, summoning to it the King himself, whose proxy attended, Archbishop Theobald being likewise present.[5] On 27th April, 1142,[6] Henry of Blois held another legatine Synod at Winchester, in which the archbishop again appeared as subordinate to his own suffragan; but on 14th September, 1143, the Bishop of Winchester's legation terminated with the life of Innocent II., whose commission he bore. After this, probably in or

[1] *See* estimate of Stephen in Hume, i., 287, ed. 1854.
[2] Inett, ii., 238.
[3] Spelman, 44; Wilkins, i., 416; Inett, ii., 238.
[4] Malmesbury, *Hist. Nov.*, lib. ii., § 22, Hardy, ii., 719.
[5] Malmesbury, *ibid.*
[6] Spelman, ii., 45; Wilkins, i., 420.

about 1150,[1] neither the date nor the circumstances being known, Theobald was appointed Papal legate *ex officio*, as Archbishop of Canterbury, the title *legatus natus* then describing that position; but no mention occurs of any royal sanction asked or received.

Archbishop Legate *ex officio*.

From that time, perhaps about 1150, the Archbishops of Canterbury succeeded to the office of legate regularly, as a matter of course, the legateship and the primacy remaining inseparable down to the Reformation,[2] the English Church, as represented by her archbishop, thus allying herself still more closely with Rome.

Summary.

Hence within the short space of twenty-five years from 1125 the Papal legatine system was domiciled in England, not by any statute, but by sufferance of the civil authority. This condition of things was rendered practicable by the looseness of the bond existing between the two authorities, ecclesiastical and civil, or what has been described as a separation that was growing between Church and State; this looseness of bond, this incipient divergence, being fostered by the embarrassments of English politics. We can hardly fail to note that as the tie between the Church and the Crown relaxed, that between the Church and the Papacy was strengthened, and the power which ecclesiastics had been gradually wresting from the Crown from the Conquest was being given to the Papacy.

Of this process the practice of appealing to Rome in judicial cases was a natural consequence.

If the Papal See is thought to have been encroaching too far by means of its legates, it should be in fairness remembered that the English Church had already for centuries admitted the system connected with the bestowal of the pallium, of which the legate was the natural sequel. Moreover, the Conqueror, by admitting and even inviting the legates, acknowledged their importance in some difficulties of Church and State, thus again preparing the way for the full-grown legate. The Reformation rooted out completely and for ever both the pallium and the legate.

State of the Country.

The anarchy inherited from the civil wars of Stephen was frightful. The castles of the barons, now greatly multiplied, were dens of robbers, who spoiled the country round, reducing the land to desolation and the people to famine.[3] The clerical orders were demoralised as much as the laity, and some of the worst disorders were due to

[1] This year is definitely accepted by Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, iii., 320, ed. 1880, and with some qualification by the *Nat. Biog.*, THEOBALD, p. 115 *a*.

[2] Inett, ii., 247.

[3] Hume, i., 277, ed. 1854; *Student's Hume*, p. 104.

them.[1] They comprised not only ordained men, but all officials employed in Church work, including even sub-deacons, acolytes, officers like modern beadles and sextons, domestic servants of bishops, abbots, and Church dignitaries, many of these having nothing clerical about them but the name, and some eking out a maintenance by handicraft, keeping shops and even taverns.[2] Nor were such offenders brought to justice. The prelates, too much absorbed in military life, left church discipline to take care of itself. The sentences of Church courts, confined to spiritual censures, were utterly inadequate to punish flagrant offences. The Church had grown to be a powerful body with but little moral influence.[3] To this had come the *Church life* of the Conquest.

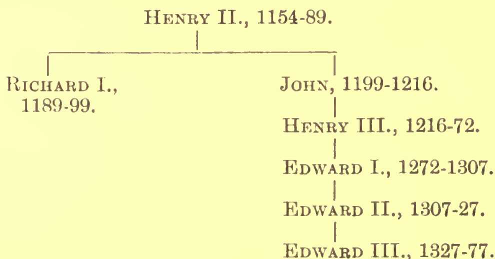
To secure peace and order a strong government of LAW was wanted. The outward framework of society was ineffective, the vital spirit of Christian life not being maintained by the Holy Scriptures circulating in the tongue of the people and influencing the lives of their pastors. The English Church being what it then was, all help had to come from the State—from the civil authority.

[1] Hook, ii., 325. [2] Churton, *Early Eng. Ch.*, p. 349. [3] Hook, ii., 325.

CHAPTER V.

THE PLANTAGENET CHURCH.

HENRY II., the first of our Plantagenet kings, the successor of Stephen, was the son of Geoffrey Plantagenet Count of Anjou and the widowed Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I. The subjoined stemma represents the earlier portion of the line, which continued to the accession of Henry VII. in 1485.



Henry II.

HENRY II., crowned 7th December, 1154, is specially remembered among our early kings as the reformer of the whole machinery of justice.[1] For reforming he was in a peculiarly favourable position, his title being undisputed and his territorial authority vast, extending feudally over Normandy and a large part of France. But among his subjects in England he was confronted by a power of the first magnitude, that of the Church. Dr. Stubbs writes [2] that the prelates were the chief members of the royal council; the archbishop occupied a position co-ordinate with royalty itself; the King was not a king until he was crowned, and before he was crowned he had to bind himself to maintain the liberties of the Church.[3] Here was a powerful Church in front of a powerful King, yet Henry

[1] Accounts of his civil reforms may be seen in Lord Lyttelton's *Henry II.*, vol. ii., pp. 13-19; Hook, ii., 374-6; and especially in Stubbs, *Gesta Henrici II.*, vol. ii., pp. li. *seq.*

[2] Preface to *Gesta Henrici II.*, vol. ii., p. xxxviii.

[3] Wend., i., 551, Bohn.

began as the stronger of the two. Having no crozier, no ring to bestow, and obliged by law to grant his *congé d'élire*, he could yet say to his minister, Thomas Becket: "It is my will you shall be Archbishop of Canterbury".[1] It was between these two men that the battle of civil and ecclesiastical claims was fought out.

The disorders resulting from the anarchy of Stephen's time convinced Henry of the necessity of bringing the administration of justice into greater efficiency. Then it was that the King's judges began to go on circuit, carrying the law into every corner of England, as in our day. The office of sheriff was developed for the civil administration of the county. The jury system was rendered effective. What was all this but moral reform? The spectacle is a striking one. Hildebrand's doctrine was that kings and civil government were profane, and the priestly order alone sacred. Yet here we have, at any rate in act, the civil government holier and more righteous than the Church; the magistrate recognising his duty of purifying the nation, the Church being comparatively indifferent or impotent. Dr. Stubbs, after his exhaustive review of Henry's reforms, remarks[2] that Henry II. "arranged the administration of justice by enacting good laws and appointing faithful judges"; while Dean Hook asserts[3] that the worst and most lawless criminals were found among the clergy.

When the civil power was thus moving for so laudable a purpose, the very least the Church could do was to second the sister authority, which was ordained of God, and co-operate in every practicable way. Instead of doing this, the Church, at all events in the person of its archbishop, puts itself into a posture of resistance, asserting for its official members, even in matters strictly civil, an exemption from the civil courts.

The Council of Tours in 1163, the immediate forerunner of the conflict, held two years after Becket became archbishop, was no ordinary local Synod, being attended by Pope Alexander III. in person, as well as (with Henry's permission) by three prelates from England, *viz.*, the two archbishops and the Bishop of Durham.[4] Its object is manifest from the opening sermon, which stated that the two main heads of business before the Synod were the Unity of the Church[5] and the Liberties of the Clergy—a

[1] Herbert de Boseham, i., 26, ed. Giles, 1845; Hook, ii., 383.
[2] Stubbs, *Gesta Henrici II.*, vol. ii., p. cxxiv. [3] Hook, ii., 385.
[4] Inett, ii., 304. Inett's principal chapter on the Becket controversy is chapter xiii., vol. ii., p. 316, A.D. 1163-9.
[5] A schism in the Papacy was then on foot.

word which throws its light on the language of charters.[1] The second of these points was emphasised by the preacher, who said that the Church without liberty was miserable, and it was better not to exist than to be miserable.[2] Immediately after the return of the English prelates from Tours the controversy between Henry II. and the archbishop broke out.[3]

According to the contemporary historian Hoveden, it was "the King's wish that if priests, deacons, sub-deacons, and other rulers of the Church should be apprehended in the commission of theft, or murder, or felony, or arson, or the like crimes, they should be taken before secular judges and punished like the laity. Against this the Archbishop urged that if a clerk in holy orders, or any other ruler of the Church, should be charged upon any matter, he ought to be tried by ecclesiastics and in the ecclesiastical court; and that if he should be convicted, then he ought to be deprived of his orders, and that, when thus stripped of his office and of his ecclesiastical preferment, if he should offend again, he ought to be tried at the pleasure of the King and of his deputies." [4] It was extremely important to the successful working of Henry's legal reforms that they should have the conscience of the people with them and all possible credit in the eyes of the nation. But we are now to see Archbishop Becket, in the name of the Church, doing all that was possible to thwart the great measures in hand.

At Clarendon, a royal palace and manor near Salisbury, a Council of State met on 25th January, 1164. This Council was, in fact (before a House of Commons existed), a parliament, being attended by both archbishops, eleven bishops, besides abbots, priors, earls, barons, and the leading nobility, the King himself being present.[5] The prelates were asked if they intended to observe "the customs and liberties of the King's predecessors".

The Constitutions of Clarendon.

The Crown made its claim to "liberties," to freedom, as well as the Church,[6] the prerogatives which the Kings of England had enjoyed from time immemorial. All parties, Crown, hierarchy, barons, were at that period battling for rights and prerogatives old and new.

[1] *Supra*, p. 65. [2] Mansi, xxi., col. 1169 D; Inett, ii., 305-6.

[3] Hoveden, i., 219, ed. Stubbs; i., 258, Bohn.

[4] Hoveden, i., 219, ed. Stubbs; i., 258-9, Bohn. Among modern historians to the same effect, *see* Inett, ii., 317; Sharon Turner, iv., 241.

[5] Wend., i., 26, ed. Hewlett; i., 539, Bohn; Hook, ii., 405; Inett, i., 321.

[6] *Supra*, p. 65.

The question put to the prelates led to another—What were those customs, liberties and prerogatives? These were accordingly formulated in sixteen heads or articles, called by Wendover Consuetudines, customs, "Constitutions,"[1] and always known as the *Constitutions of Clarendon.* Wendover describes them as "certain customs and liberties of the King's predecessors, to wit, Henry his grandfather,[2] and others, which ought to be observed and held by all in the kingdom, on account of the dissensions and discords which often arise between the clergy and the justices of our lord the King and the nobles of the kingdom".[3] Wendover, who calls them "bad"[4] customs, does not deny that they were ancient. Modern writers also for the most part agree in calling them old customs.[5] By various encroachments the Church courts had come to include cases of almost every sort, and were rapidly superseding the King's Courts altogether, a process which the Constitutions of Clarendon were intended to arrest. The matter may be summarised thus: Henry II. resisted Becket in the matter of the Church courts on the same ground exactly as Henry I. had resisted Anselm in the matter of Church appointments. Both kings took their stand on inherited rights, and, finding the ecclesiastical power encroaching, as both believed, on the civil, asserted that they were but placing restrictions upon spiritual ambition. Inett observes[6]: "He that will compare the statutes of Clarendon with the ancient laws of England before the Conquest collected by Mr. Lambard, will not only find the tracks and footsteps of those statutes, but see plainly that, if a change was made, it was to the disadvantage of the civil authority".

To the Constitutions of Clarendon Becket and the other bishops and dignitaries present promised obedience;[7] and along with them, writes Wendover, all the earls, barons and nobles "expressly promised by word of mouth and in the words of truth, that they would keep and observe them to our lord the King and his heirs, in good faith and without mental reservation for ever".[8]

Becket was fully sensible how thoroughly the Constitutions thwarted the rising maxims of ecclesiastical liberty, and lost no

[1] Wend., i., 30, ed. Hewlett; i., 541, Bohn. At p. 539, Bohn, Wendover gives them textually, in two pages. A summary in Inett, ii., 322-24, with refs.

[2] Henry I.

[3] Wend., i., 27, Hewlett; i., 539, Bohn.

[4] *Ibid.*, 541.

[5] Inett, ii., 324; Hook, ii., 373, 409; Stubbs, *Gesta Henrici II.*, ii., Pref., pp. xxiv., xxv. Martineau calls them new enactments, p. 337.

[6] Inett, ii., 325.

[7] Short, i., 88; Churton, 350; Inett, ii., 324, 328, 335.

[8] Wend., i., 30, Hewlett; i., 541, Bohn.

time after the Council in publishing his resolve not to comply with them. He professed deep contrition for having weakly yielded in the Council, imposing on himself mortifying penances, with a suspension from his spiritual functions until he should obtain the Papal absolution.[1] The King, thinking to check this recalcitrance, sought to gain the Pontiff to his side and extract from him an admission of the justice of the laws which had been drawn together at Clarendon; but instead of thus simplifying his difficulty, he hopelessly complicated it. A controversy followed, in which Alexander III. supported the Archbishop[2] until the proper moment arrived for direct threats against the English King. The Archbishop, seeing the bishops and the nobility on the King's side, and his position in England precarious, made his escape to France,[3] where Louis VII. gave him his protection. His cause was now openly adopted by the Pope, who provided for his subsistence in the Cistercian Abbey of Pontigny,[4] in Burgundy, and appointed prayers for him in all the great monasteries of France, condemning the usages of England, and anathematising those who should favour them.[5]

Becket's epistles to Henry from France were of the most exorbitant pretensions. One of them declared that the royal authority was from the Church, the Church's authority being from Christ; that kings had no power to cite the clergy to their courts, to judge of tithes or of churches, according to what Henry called the "ancient customs" of England; whereas the Lord had said: "Woe to them that make wicked laws". If restored to his right in England, Becket promised to be as dutiful to his prince as was consistent with the honour of God, of the Roman Church, and of his own order.[6] In another letter the Pope asserted that, according to the will of God, all things relating to the Church should be conducted by its ministers, who were themselves not to be judged by secular princes or laws. The ministers of Christ ought to be esteemed the fathers and the masters of princes. How unreasonable for the son to command the father, the scholar his master.[7] Let Henry remember the fates of Uzzah, Uzziah, Rehoboam.[8] If these words did not sufficiently

[1] Inett, ii., 326. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., 326.

[3] 2nd November, 1164, Herbert de Boseham, i., 134, 139, 163, ed. Giles.

[4] At Pontigny, where he arrived on St. Andrew's Day, 30th November, 1164, he stayed nearly two years, and then removed to Sens, 1166, where he spent the rest of his exile (Hook, ii., 455; Wend., i., 549-50, Bohn).

[5] Inett, ii., 330, 331. [6] Hoveden, i., 272-73, Bohn; Inett, ii., 333.

[7] Baronius, 1166, xxxi.

[8] Hoveden, i., 231, Bohn; Baronius, 1166, xxxiii.; Inett, ii., 334.

explain Becket's ideas of ecclesiastical liberty, Becket in plain terms in the pulpit of Vezelay Cathedral on Ascension Day, 2nd June, 1166, before the vast festival assembly, with lighted candles, pronounced void "all the hereditary customs of England" (referring of course to the Constitutions of Clarendon), excommunicating their observers, defenders and abettors, generally and by name,[1] thus wounding the King himself without naming him. The bishops and higher clergy of the province of Canterbury remained faithful to their prince, asserting in provincial letters to the Pope and the archbishops the rights of the Crown and the reasonableness of obedience to the laws of England, reproaching also the unwarrantable behaviour of the Archbishop.[2]

At this period the Papal power which was protecting Becket was rising fast to its meridian ascendancy, and even so potent a prince as Henry II. felt anxious for the issue of the conflict. By way of compromise he offered to be satisfied if Becket would render him the same amount of ecclesiastical obedience that the most powerful of preceding archbishops had yielded to the least powerful of preceding kings.[3] That advance was met with disdain. The ecclesiastical subordination of an earlier period was not questioned; but it was Becket's point that Church rights had grown; that the standard of the present had to be maintained, and that the examples of former weak and yielding prelates should not be made precedents.[4] The existing power of the Church must be defended.[5] As to what the "ancient laws" of England had been there was no dispute; but Becket, supported by the Pope, never would promise obedience to laws interfering with those of God, overturning the privilege of the Bishop of Rome and destroying the liberty of the Church.[6] When the indignant King of England hinted at ulterior measures, the legates of Rome interposed: "Sir, threaten not; we fear no threatenings, for we belong to a court that is used to command emperors and kings".[7] When Henry showed a steady resolution in defence of his right, insisting on the Archbishop's promise to observe his laws, the Court of Rome proceeded to try extremities. But to prepare the minds of men for a shock of so startling a character, and to bring the world to think he had merited such treatment, the King was

[1] Wend., i., 549-50; Inett, ii., 334.
[2] Hoveden, i., 303-12, an. 1167, Bohn; Wend., i., 552, Bohn; Inett, ii., 335.
[3] Baronius, 1168, lxvii.; Inett, ii., 341.
[4] Baronius, 1168, lxviii.; Inett, ii., 341. [5] *Ibid.*
[6] Hoveden, i., 281, an. 1169, ed. Stubbs; Inett, ii., 342.
[7] Baronius, an. 1169, xi.; Inett, ii., 344, quoting Baronius.

represented publicly in the most odious colours, called a tyrant, an oppressor, a violator of the rights of the Church, entitled "Pharaoh," his customs styled pravities, his laws declared tyrannical, repugnant to the honour of God, destructive to the rights and liberties of the Church; while Becket was the defender of God's cause, a martyr whose humility, mortification and holiness were magnified on all hands; his name inserted in the offices of the great monasteries.[1] The Archbishop thus exalted advanced to a more insolent extreme, which virtually touched the Sovereign himself. On Palm Sunday, 13th April, 1169, Becket at Clairvaux in terms truly pontifical excommunicated the Bishop of London Gilbert Foliot for his Episcopal compliances with the King's directions, and (in the words of Wendover) "as an adherent to the unjust customs of the King".[2]

At length after this pitiless opposition of six years, the Plantagenet monarch resolved on yielding, and on 22nd July, 1170, the surrender was made.[3] The Archbishop and all his followers were allowed to return to England and peaceably enjoy what they had held before the controversy broke out, the Archbishop being asked for no promise to observe the laws of England, the King not presuming so much as to open his lips on those customs he had once so resolutely insisted on.[4] In this battle the Crown was completely defeated before the Mitre, the laws of England were put to shame, and a humiliating page was written in the history of the Church of England for her sons to read, understand, and remember, especially in days when the name of Thomas à Becket is offered anew to the veneration of Englishmen.

Becket's was decidedly the popular side. On his landing from exile at Sandwich, 2nd December, 1170, his journey was a triumphal progress. The local clergy and their parishioners escorted him in processions, and the poor came in crowds to throw themselves at his feet, to spread their garments in his way, and to ask his blessing, crying, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" Such an ovation, with the Sovereign absent, made Becket all but a king, while further grievances of some magnitude arose. On 14th June, 1170, while the Primate was still in France and his recalcitrance unchecked, the Archbishop of York, assisted by the Bishops of London and Salisbury, had dared, without his leave, to place the crown on

Becket's Death.

[1] Inett, ii., 346. [2] Wend., i., 562, an. 1169, Bohn; Hook, ii., 469.
[3] Inett, ii., 348.
[4] Matt. Paris, i., 275, an. 1170, ed. Luard; Baronius, an. 1170, xxiii.; Inett, ii., 348.

the head of Henry's eldest son, then being advanced by his father to a share of the regal dignity he was meant to inherit. That act of his brother archbishop, in Becket's eyes treason to the See of Canterbury, which had crowned the sovereigns of England from time immemorial, governed all this final stage of the Becket drama and brought on the catastrophe. The returned Primate, as though sole authority in things ecclesiastical were inherently his, pronounced in his cathedral, with the most solemn symbols of the Church's anathematising ritual, an excommunication of the three offending prelates, who were then being received at Henry's Court in France. It was the most flagrant insult to the younger King, and to the Sovereign who had arranged his son's coronation, more than sufficing to reopen with aggravated malignity the previous six years' quarrel, which though in form ended was yet by no means healed. But Becket had besides various concomitant personal complaints. Benefices and lands taken away from him during his rebellious exile had not been restored; his parks and hunting grounds had been invaded by unbidden sportsmen; while not least in his list of sorrows as recorded was the shocking impudence of some churl, never discovered, who had docked the tail of an archiepiscopal sumpter-mule. Would it be too much to say that Becket's entire discontent was focussed in the one point, that the mitre of Canterbury upon his brow had not, according to the Hildebrandine standard, its due ascendancy in relation to the Crown of England? If such were the case, and if Hildebrand's maxims were to prevail, the old conflict must always reappear in some form or another.

In France the King heard of all this, perhaps with colour and exaggeration, and the vision of a low-born priest challenging equality with the throne itself seems to have extorted from him some angry but most incautious expressions, which were interpreted in their very worst sense, and on that interpretation acted upon in hot blood without authority, by four knights of his court, named Fitzurse, Moreville, Tracy, Brito, who instantly betaking themselves to England encountered the Archbishop in his cathedral on the 29th December, and slew him amid his monks while he commended the cause of the Church to God, St. Denys of France, St. Alphege of Canterbury, and the saints of the Church, a martyr indeed, but not one after the Order of St. Stephen. By this atrocity the four knights at once converted Archbishop Becket into St. Thomas and placed in the metropolitan Church of England a shrine destined to become an unrivalled centre of popular and wealth-producing adoration, in short a

worship of THE PRIEST sustained by priests, until the days of Henry VIII.

The civil administration of the early kings after the Conquest was stern and oppressive.[1] Henry's law reforms, by making justice more effective,[2] could be represented by partisans as only another step in cruelty, and people could be taught that justice was a grievance rather than a boon. Becket in his controversy with Henry II. represented a very large body of clergy and Church officials who could reach the people and give them an interest in the dispute. Anselm's quarrel with Henry I. was too abstract for the people and could not touch them. Nor was Anselm's, in fact, any open "quarrel" at all; only a dispute in courteous language. Moreover, Anselm was an absentee, while Becket was a visible power, and finally could be represented as a martyr, with most tragic accompaniments. Hence it was that of those two great champions of ecclesiasticism Becket alone moved the people.[3]

Neither Becket nor Anselm can be said to have carried the ruling part of the Church with him against the Crown. The Episcopate on the whole were content to acknowledge a subordination to the civil power whenever that power was asserted with resolution.[4]

It was the cause of Rome for which Becket lost his life, and Rome, as Inett observes,[5] was resolved to be paid to the uttermost for the blood of her martyr. Mighty indeed was the harvest which the Papal Church reaped. King Henry purged himself of the murder of Becket, and was absolved by the Papal legates at Avranches on 21st May, 1172. On 27th September, repeating his oath, he promised obedience to Alexander III. at the Council of Avranches.[6] By these acts the King of England was compelled to an agreement which gave away to the See of Rome all that he had been so long contending for, a sacrifice which overwhelmed the rights of the English Church and Crown, admitting a usurpation which bore down all before it. Among the points of agreement one was that ecclesiastical appeals to Rome should be freely allowed; another that the King of England should abolish all such customs as in his time had been introduced to the prejudice of his Church. To this agreement the King set his seal in the Council of Avranches. By the death of Becket, which has been

[1] Hallam, *M. A.*, ii., 105, ed. 1841.
[2] Stubbs, *Gesta Henrici II.*, ii., Pref., p. lvii.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. xxxix.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. xxxviii.
[5] Inett, ii., 351.
[6] Mansi, xxii., 135.

compared with the death of Samson, the Church and the Monarchy of England suffered more than by all the endeavours of his life.[1] On 21st February, 1173, Becket was canonised[2] by Alexander III. with the title of St. Thomas, after which many English churches were dedicated, and among them one in Southwark, which gave its name to a famous hospital.

On 6th July, 1173, Becket's successor was elected, and a Papal letter for the annual observance of the new Saint's day was read to the assembled suffragans, who, deploring their old undutifulness to the martyr, sought the forgiveness of heaven through his intercession. In due time the Primate-elect swore his fealty to the King, but it was "saving his order," and not a syllable was said as to submitting to the customs of the realm.[3]

How long England's Church and nation stood thus humiliated, when and how recovery began and grew, will appear in succeeding reigns. At present we turn aside to view the monasteries and Oxford University in about the Becket period and later. The Continental monasteries, having revived, as already explained, in the tenth century, after continuing as they were for about a hundred years, began to introduce minor changes, not ceasing to be Benedictine substantially, but differing in details, as, perhaps, the colour of their dress, greater or less strictness as to food, and sleep, and hours of prayer. Hence arose such names as the Cluniac Order, the Cistercian Order, the Carthusian Order, after noted monasteries which cultivated this or that variety. The greater number held to the *original* Benedictine Rule and name. The varieties began to find their way to England after the Conquest.

Monastic Orders.

The Cluniac, originating with the Abbey of Cluny in Burgundy, came in 1077, as a branch of the parent house, to which they continued in obedience, a colony from abroad settled here but governed abroad, recruited from abroad, under a *prior* only, the deputy of the foreign abbot. All Cluniac houses in England were priories, and from their close connection with the Continent were known as "alien priories". In time of war they were suspected and watched, often indeed seized, to prevent funds and improper communications passing out of the country. In later times these Cluniac houses were no longer tolerated, and had to become naturalised, when instead of priories belonging to foreigners they became and were called abbeys[4]—native, English and independent. Cluniac houses in England were at

[1] Inett, ii., 351.
[2] Baronius, an. 1173, vi.
[3] Matt. Paris, i., 287, an. 1173, ed. Luard.
[4] *Mon. Angl.*, vol. v., p. iii.

Lewes (St. Pancras), Pontefract, Lenton near Nottingham, Montacute near Yeovil, Barnstaple (St. Mary Magdalene).

The Cistercian Order originated at the monastery of Cisteaux in Burgundy, the first English Cistercian house beginning at Waverley near Farnham. Of all the Benedictine varieties in England this was in one sense incomparably the most important, and became exceedingly numerous, completely eclipsing the few Cluniac priories dotted here and there. Virtually English monasteries were divided between the original Benedictine and the Cistercian, the Benedictine being always the most numerous. There was a striking contrast between them. The abodes of the native Benedictines were palatial mansions, adorned with parks, tenanted by country gentlemen living in celibate community, surrounded by their dependents. Those beautiful residences must be pictured as resembling the seats of the titled gentry and nobility of the present day. In fact, many of our first families have occupied their grounds and fabrics without always being able to improve greatly upon them, as witness Battle Abbey, Woburn Abbey, Hartland Abbey, Newstead Abbey, and others. In the great Benedictine establishments of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, Abingdon, Malmesbury, Glastonbury, St. Albans, Peterborough, Ely, the abbot held civil authority within certain bounds, was served with bended knee, addressed as a lord, attended parliament, wore the mitre, and was a country potentate, the equal of bishops and noblemen. In their monasteries were to be found the finest specimens of art; their chapels rose up like cathedrals, some of them becoming actual cathedrals; their libraries were the student's sole resort.

Cistercians.

In striking contrast with all this was the Cistercian brotherhood, whose mission was to be practical farmers.[1] Their homes were, therefore, less pretentious, their architecture simpler, their libraries not so great, nor so choice. Their abodes were located where they could best attend to their extensive pastures, and watch their vast flocks. Considered in a social and commercial aspect alone, apart from any religious view, the Cistercian monks were of immense importance to England. They were the fathers of the English wool trade, which so much enriched this country in the Middle Ages. As might have been expected, they did not form alien colonies like the Cluniacs; they were Englishmen and natives; their monasteries were abbeys in England, not necessarily priories. Thus, the English Cistercians differed from

[1] Pauli, *Old England*, p. 53.

the Cluniacs on the one hand and the Benedictines on the other.

Among the leading Cistercian localities in England may be especially mentioned Rieval and Jorval, amid the pastoral dales and streams of the North Riding, Beaulieu in the New Forest; but more particularly Fountains in the neighbourhood of Ripon. In later times this last was distinguished for its opulence, and was one of the most powerful abbeys in England, being then as lordly as any Benedictine house, for it is not to be supposed that the Cistercian monasteries, as they grew in wealth, adhered to the original modesty of a farming establishment. The Church was a very large one, and its walls are for the most part standing, the tower included. The conventual buildings exist in more or less completeness, presenting one of the most magnificent remains of a monastery in this kingdom. The abbey, with all its appendages and offices, when entire, covered ten or twelve acres, and the present ruins occupy two. Where the upper walls have disappeared the foundations survive. The arrangements of a great monastery can be studied at Fountains better than anywhere else in England. The possessions of this great house, the pastoral lands which supported its magnificence, stretched some thirty miles without interruption.

The Carthusian Order, named from the Monastery of *Chartreux* in the department Isere, appeared first in England in 1180 or 1181, fixing its abode at Witham in Somerset, as a colony of the parent house. Eight others followed, all being foreign establishments like the Cluniacs, and entitled priories, down to the dissolution, and for some reason never naturalised or made abbeys. The other localities were Henton in Somerset; London; Beauvale, Notts; Shortley, near Coventry; Hull; Mount Grass in the North Riding; Epworth, Lincoln; West Sheen, Surrey. Each was popularly known as a "Charterhouse," an easy corruption of Chartreux.

Monasteries for Women.

In the Latin writers *monasterium* is an abode of either sex, and akin to it were the titles of the female occupants, *monialis*, *sanctimonialis*. *Nun*, *nunnery* come with the English writers, as Chaucer. *Sister* is a different title, and will be explained later. The Rule of Benedict applied to women as to men, and there arose also corresponding female varieties as Cluniac, Cistercian; but these were fewer, and women were mostly Benedictine. Shaftesbury in Dorset, Wilton near Salisbury, Romsey near Southampton, were eminent examples of such female monasteries.

Canons Regular, that is, subject to the monastic *regula*, might be called "clergymen monks," monks being in general laymen. They were in two branches, both founded in France. The Black, also called Augustinian or Austin, first appeared in England at Colchester, *cir.* 1105. Other localities occupied by them were St. Osyth in Essex, Nostell in Yorkshire, Carlisle. White Canons, also called Prémontré Canons, from their original house in France, first came to England in 1146, and in the reign of Edward I. held twenty-seven priories there. Numerically the Benedictine houses, male and female, preponderated; at the time of their dissolution they numbered 186; those of the Augustinian Canons, 158; the Cistercian, male and female, 101; Cluniac (only one female), 20; Carthusian (all male), 9.[1]

Exempt Monasteries.

When the Conqueror founded Battle Abbey on the site of his victory, wishing to confer on this house an unusual honour, he exempted its abbot from having to resort on his appointment to his diocesan, the Bishop of Chichester, for benediction, which he might claim to receive at his own abbey church. The abbot was not obliged to attend the Bishop's Synod, nor to admit the bishop on a visitation of the abbey. After the Conqueror's death the bishop demurred to these exemptions as resting on unwarrantable lay interference. Successive bishops and successive abbots were at constant feud, the abbots winning on the whole, until in 1157, the Battle Abbey *Charter of Exemption* was confirmed by Henry II.[2] This triumph for Battle stimulated other great abbeys to seek concessions from their bishops, notably those of Glastonbury, St. Albans, and St. Augustine at Canterbury, whose efforts all succeeded. The case of St. Albans was especially glaring. A Papal bull (which must have had royal licence) exempted it from all episcopal control whatever, subjecting it to the Pope alone. Even fifteen churches depending on the abbey were taken out of the bishop's hands. Privileges were also won from the cathedral, and the abbot by gaining over Henry II. effected, on 3rd March, 1163, a confirmation of all his claims. At the following Easter he appeared among his new clergy in the abbey church with a mitre on his head, wearing the episcopal gloves and sandals, and in the same array he held Synods twice a year. Here was the most complete case of monastic exemption known in England, an example of what others might be tempted to aim at. In course

[1] Computed from Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.
[2] Inett, ii., 270; *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Lower, 1851, pp. 47, 115.

of time privileges more or less approaching those of St. Albans were obtained by various great houses. St. Albans is believed to have been the earliest of the "mitred" monasteries.

It may be noticed (1) that this system of exempt monasteries made a most serious breach in the episcopal government of the Church; (2) that the authority thus wrung from the bishops was carried over to the Pope, who settled all the internal disputes of the exempt monasteries, obliged the abbots to visit Rome on their election, and exacted from them heavy contributions; (3) that the chief support of the Papal usurpation was in the monasteries rather than the bishops. This was their "freedom".

Mendicant Orders.

Under the title of Mendicant Orders, or friars, an entirely new class of monastics, male and female, arose in the Plantagenet period, originating, in 1207, with Francis of Assisi in Italy, and from him called *Franciscans*. New ministries seemed needed by changing times. Commerce, manufactures, political and religious thought, were all developing under the stimulus of the Crusades, attracting men more towards towns and town life, making them intellectually restless, heretical, infidel. Such difficulties were not being met by any existing agencies. The Benedictine gentlemen in their parks had not now the spirit that was needed; the ascetic orders, Cluniacs, Carthusians, were absorbed in the care of their individual souls. Francis and his associates, discerning what was required, and leaving to others a care for parks, architecture, pasture farms and solitary austerities, threw themselves devotedly among the common people, itinerating on foot, seeking the streets and lanes of populous towns, everywhere missionaries, begging their way. They would not be called monks (*μοναχοί*), but brothers (*fratres, frères, friars*). In the South of France, following the example of Francis, arose Dominic in 1215. From the colour of their garbs, one order (the Franciscan) was *Grey*, the other *Black*. Francis, in humility, also chose the name of *Minor*, lesser, and his followers were *Minorites*. The Dominicans, or Blackfriars, especially cultivated preaching. An order of *White Friars* also arose, and were called Carmelites, from Mount Carmel. A fourth called themselves *Augustinians*, from the great Bishop. Women too joined, styling themselves *sisters*, as answering to *fratres*. The Franciscan sisters were known as *Minoresses*, and St. Clare was their patron saint. All four orders appeared in England: the Dominicans in 1221; the Franciscans in 1224; the Carmelites in 1238 according to Wood, 1240 according to Leland; the Augustinians, or Austins, in 1252. The most numerous in England were the Franciscans.

The development of Church life which began at the Conquest grew, not only with great bishops and great cathedrals, but also with great monasteries and great abbots. The mitred abbeys were, indeed, powerful communities, jealous above everything of bishops, whom they would never, if they could help it, admit except as guests. The title "prelate" covered an abbot as well as a bishop. A liberal sum to the King would sanction a bull of exemption from Rome, and all the more easily if for any reason the King should follow the path *divide et impera.* Thus great abbots, looking mainly to the Pope, became pillars of Papal authority in England. Here was one way in which the Hildebrandine idea of the Church was aggrandising the Papacy without benefit to either the Crown or the Church of England.

Monasticism and the Church.

But the mendicant orders were more directly the Papal agents. They were in formal allegiance to the Pope alone. The title-deeds of their monasteries ran in his name; everything they possessed was his, as the soldier's uniform is the sovereign's. The work of their calling went on under the papal license, which empowered them to enter a parish and supersede the priest, holding confessions, ministering the sacraments, preaching to the people. This was authorised anarchy in the Church, and an irreconcilable jealousy kept parish priest and travelling friar apart.

Thus, as the great abbeys broke Church unity in diocesan working, so the mendicant orders broke it parochially; and it is not to be wondered at that when under Henry VIII. monasteries fell, neither the bishops nor the priests would lift a finger to save them. When, therefore, we view those graceful ruins which now adorn some of the most charming scenery in England, it is the ruin not of the old Church of England that we see, but of the Papal system which was strangling it. The foreign fortresses are gone, the National Church survives and grows in consequence.

OXFORD.—Under the wings of its Norman castle and the palace of Henry I., *Beauclerc,* hard by at Beaumont, arose the obscure beginnings of Oxford as a place of study. One of the earliest discernible facts is the delivery of lectures in the town by a foreign teacher Vacarius, in or about 1149,[1] in the reign of Stephen. Their subject was CIVIL LAW, the legal system of Roman Imperial times. The books which embodied it, compiled under the Emperor Justinian (527-65) and bearing his name, had then recently emerged from

Oxford University.

[1] Wood, *Annals of Oxford*, i., 150, an. 1149.

a long obscurity, and all students were eagerly seeking acquaintance with it. The crusading expeditions, causing the break-up of homes and changes in property, had brought law and lawyers into constant request. Now civil law was *lay* learning. Hitherto learning had been ecclesiastical, taught in monasteries, opening careers for the clerical order. When the demand for law sprang up monasteries could not furnish it; new teachers, a new system, were wanted. In other words, civil law brought learning *outside* the monasteries; a professorial and university system sprang into being, the beginning of a growth which finally superseded monasteries, ousting and ending them altogether as seats of learning.

We have seen that the Norman Conquest led to a great development of Church life in England, the symptoms being the new cathedrals, the new Sees, the great abbeys, synodic action, Church courts. We shall now see that as the Plantagenet period dawns, the civil law lectures of Vacarius and the seedling university of Oxford bring *lay life* into action as the rival of this Church life.

An important event accompanied the rising demand for civil law. In or about 1150, when the lectures of Vacarius were still in their first stage, the CANON LAW, or Church Law, received its complete form in the monk Gratian's compilation known as *Decretum*. Thus the two branches of law, civil and ecclesiastical, began to absorb attention at the same time.

On the 11th of February, 1180, late in the reign of Henry II., there was an important gathering at Oxford. The Archbishop of Canterbury, several bishops and noblemen, the town dignitaries, and apparently the King, were present. The occasion was the institution of a festival in the name of St. Frideswide, a local saint of heptarchal days, foundress of a monastery at Oxford, buried there, and now to be "translated," *i.e.*, her remains (real or supposed) to be exhumed, enshrined above ground, and herself made the patron saint of Oxford. It need not be supposed that the heads of the nation were here simply in honour of this Anglo-Saxon saint of no particular fame. The real purpose, it would be safe to say, was to create a reputation for the spot, to advertise it as a seat of education and to bid for students. It was a national and ceremonial founding of Oxford as a university.

Regarded in this light the occasion derives some significance from those who were present—the King (who, if not present, certainly sanctioned the proceedings), the archbishop, the bishops, the nobles. The annalist of Oxford,[1] who mentions these, is silent

[1] Wood, i., 166, an. 1180.

as to abbots. The omission may have been more than accidental, and could be explained by the non-monastic character of this university movement. If Oxford were drawing away students from the monasteries, their abbots would not be likely to assist in a ceremonial of this kind. The bishops had no such difficulty, for the great abbeys were their competitors in diocesan power. The King and the nobles were present, for Oxford was opening itself especially to the laity. At Oxford on this day was inaugurated a movement which, begun in the palmiest days of the monasteries, was destined to undermine and supersede them. The fact that the patron saint for this new national undertaking was an Anglo-Saxon was one sign that the old English race, struck down at the Conquest, had begun to raise its head again and amalgamate with the conquerors.[1]

A National Movement.

Here, then, was Oxford, with its new Norman castle and ancient Saxon saint, a type of that union, and perhaps no small means of fostering it. In the name of St. Frideswide, the Norman bishops, the Norman nobles, and the Plantagenet sovereign, offered a pledge of fellowship to English townsfolk and to English students.

In 1221 came a body of thirteen Dominicans to Oxford, and in 1224 another of Franciscans. The mendicant orders then retained their early simplicity, fervour and apostolic demeanour. In 1253 arrived the Carmelites, and in 1268 a company of Austin friars. These strangers were warmly and hopefully welcomed by Robert Grosseteste Bishop of Lincoln (1235-54), in whose great diocese the university was situated.

In 1271 a convocation of Benedictines met here to found nurseries for novices of their order, there being as yet no colleges for students, who were compelled to provide for themselves in town inns or lodging houses, while attending university lectures. That monasteries themselves should have come to Oxford, is significant of the fact that men were flocking to universities for learning, rather than to abbeys, which as places of education had had their day.

The indiscipline of student life in inns suggested the collegiate system, for providing somewhat of home supervision. The first college was Merton, about 1264 or 1268, to be followed by Balliol, Exeter, Oriel, New, all founded by private and individual munificence, and on a Christian basis. The university itself has always been considered a lay institution ; but the colleges were essentially Christian and ecclesiastical.

[1] *See D. C. B.*, FRIDESWIDA.

These dates introduce the Oxford exterior. The studies within down to Wyclif's time can now be traced. Civil law as begun by Vacarius continued the main subject, but in 1168 divinity lectures by Herbert de Boseham were commenced, "for those who did not prefer the law".[1] The divinity in vogue was not biblical, but scholastic, based on the *Sentences*, a manual recently compiled by the French schoolman Peter Lombard (*d.* 1164). By it everything was worked out, not on the final authority of Scripture, as now, but by argumentation and philosophy to prove statements in the Bible and the Fathers. One of the best examples of this divinity, but much earlier than Lombard, was Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*, 1098, in which, by a regular chain of reasoning, the cause and the method of the Incarnation and the Atonement[2] are explained.

The Schoolmen.

The liberal arts, now academically summarised as classics and mathematics, were in the middle ages counted as seven—three in in a group called *trivium*; four in another, *quadrivium*—the trivial being grammar, rhetoric, logic; the quadrivial, a more advanced stage, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy. Oxford studies in arts began with Edmund Rich, the first known Oxford M.A., the first to read the *Elenchs* of Aristotle, when little attention was paid to anything but laws and scholastic divinity. This was in and about 1226, just after the arrival of the friars. The students flocked to these lectures in crowds.[3] In 1235, after Rich had become Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Grosseteste was made Bishop of Lincoln. He was a Hebrew, Greek and mathematical scholar, who took a fatherly interest in the university, of which he was the earliest "rector" (as the chancellor was at first called). His endeavour to impart a biblical character to divinity was something quite new, and in this particular respect Grosseteste may be considered a precursor of Wyclif.

The rise of Franciscan Oxford began with the lectures of Adam Marsh,[4] the first Franciscan who publicly taught, *cir.* 1250, in the convent of his order at Oxford.[5] The reinforcement of the Oxford friars by the Carmelites and the Augustinians soon enabled these orders to carry all before them. It is reckoned

[1] Wood, i., 159, an. 1168.

[2] *See* Robertson's *Church History*, iv., 457. Also Trench, *Med. Ch. Hist.*, 202.

[3] Wood, i., 195-96, an. 1226; Hook, iii., 142.

[4] Adamus de Marisco (Adam of Marsh), *ob.* 1257 or 1258.

[5] Brewer's *Monumenta Franciscana*, Pref., p. lxxx.

that about 1250[1] began the supremacy of the mendicant orders over monks. Friars, now in contact with universities, to which instead of to monasteries men resorted for learning, were become able preachers and disputers, while the monks had sunk to be drones, unable to defend themselves. At Oxford in the times of Adam Marsh and his Franciscan successors, arts languished, scholastic divinity and especially law held the field. Wood remarks that in 1275 civil law reigned supreme. In those severe words all Oxford learning was comprehended, arts remaining practically banished, not indeed by the authorities, who insisted on graduation in arts as a preliminary to the more coveted degrees in divinity, law, and medicine; but by the students from their regard. Aspirants to those three professional faculties despised an Arts degree as a mere stepping-stone; while the average scholar had no ambition but to earn a degree with the trivials. Friar students at the convents, a large and assuming body, prizing a disputations divinity alone, hated arts and succeeded in extorting exemption from a degree in them for members of the convents, A.D. 1320, on the easy terms of attending the lectures.[2] So things went on until the students, getting tired of the school divinity, hailed a revival of letters which, as including Greek, put a new meaning into Arts at the eve of the Reformation.

Scotus and Aquinas.

The famous Oxford schoolman Duns Scotus, who opens the fourteenth century, cannot be properly estimated without some reference to the rival name of Aquinas. Thomas Aquinas, an Italian, of the generation before Scotus, flourished about 1257 and died in 1274. His *Summa Theologiæ,* the sum and substance of all theology, a work of prodigious learning, the great oracle of the Mediæval Church, professed to solve all questions in perfect consistency with the faith of Rome. Much of it is sound and true; but as it undertook to defend the current Roman belief in every particular, it had in it a great mixture of error. Aquinas was of the Dominican Order, to which his name added immense reputation, giving it an unquestioned superiority above the rival Order of Franciscans, who could produce no theologian to compete with him until the appearance of John Duns Scotus.

Franciscans and Dominicans agreed only in their opposition to the monks. In everything else, where a different opinion was possible, there was the most intense rivalry. Any peculiar doctrine held by the Thomists was on that very account discarded by the Scotists. With Dominicans it was a point of honour to be Thomists; Paris was Dominican and Thomist. With the Fran-

[1] Wood, i., 240, an. 1249.
[2] *See* Maxwell Lyte's *Oxford*, pp. 9, 52, 53, 55, 56, 107, 109, 117, 211.

ciscans the point of honour was to be Scotists. Oxford, being Franciscan, was Scotist. Outside the two Orders men might range themselves in sects as they pleased.

One or two particular points of difference might be noted:—

1. Scotists held the Lord's mother to have been of immaculate conception. Thomists denied it, and were thence called by their rivals *maculists.*

2. On the Atonement Thomists held that the offering of the Son was the only possible satisfaction for sin, absolutely indispensable to its forgiveness. Scotists took the lower ground that *had God so chosen,* an angel would have sufficed; or had He so willed no substitute at all was needed, thus going, as Trench observes, perilously near Socinianism, sacrificing God's justice to His omnipotence.[1]

3. On the subject of Divine Grace, Thomists professed to follow Augustine, while Scotists asserted free-will and were charged with semi-Pelagianism.[2]

Archbishop Trench observes that the differences which divided Scotists and Thomists were nearly always to the advantage of the Thomists.[3]

Of another Oxford schoolman, Bradwardine, personally little is known. He was of Merton College, and died in 1349, just after his promotion to the See of Canterbury. He is very little noticed by our English Church historians, except Milner, who devotes considerable space to his great work, *The Cause of God against Pelagius,*[4] which is also highly extolled by Sir Henry Saville, who edited it in 1618. Originally delivered by Bradwardine in lectures at Oxford, the work was afterwards arranged by him, enlarged and given to the world. It was received with acclamation, and found its way into almost every library of Europe. It was directed against the Pelagianising tendencies of the Scotists, scholastic in treatment, and in a style too metaphysical for ordinary readers, tedious also and prolix beyond measure. Soaring far beyond the spirit of the times, Bradwardine shows that he has given himself up to the investigation of real Apostolical Christianity, in one of the darkest periods providentially raised up as a defender of the faith who might have done honour to the brightest times. In his excellent Preface he lays open his heart, asserting divine grace against human sufficiency, grieving to see how few appear conscious

Bradwardine.

[1] Trench, *Med. Ch. Hist.*, 260.
[2] Trench, *ibid.*; Rob., vi., 428; Milman, *Lat. Chr.*, ix., 146.
[3] Trench, *Med. Ch. Hist.*, 259.
[4] *De Causâ Dei Contra Pelagium.*

of their need of the Holy Spirit to renew them. True, he fails to erect such a superstructure as a later reformer would have planned on a position like his; stopping short here he reaches a hard foundation, which he applies the whole vigour and vehemence of his nature to defend, in comparison of this overlooking too many superstitions of his time.

Here then, in Bradwardine against the Scotists, we discern the profounder thoughts that were battling at Oxford. Bradwardine was the first precursor of *doctrinal* reform, as Wyclif was the second. Bradwardine's point was the demerit of man (which involved the true doctrine of Justification); Wyclif's, the Supper of the Lord; and these were the two pivots on which the great Reformation ultimately turned.

Occam.

In William of Occam,[1] who died in 1437, we have another fellow of Merton, a contemporary of Bradwardine, a Franciscan, and a pupil of Duns Scotus. Occam's mind was characteristically independent in its conclusions, and regardless of authority; whereas the fashion of his time was to appeal to the great leaders of thought, whose names would establish everything: "thus saith Thomas," "thus Scotus"; just as now we invoke Scripture. Occam would not thus be bound. His last word was—BECAUSE I THINK IT TRUE; so introducing an innovation in argumentative methods. But while breaking away from human authorities, he did not appeal to Scripture, and thus the door was opened to unlimited speculation. Occam may be regarded as a pioneer, not simply of free inquiry, but of *unlimited* free inquiry. Coleridge, once dilating on the intellectual greatness of the schoolmen, and, in particular, on the genius of Occam, spoke of the perilous lines on which his speculation was travelling at the last.[2] Hardwick also says[3]: "An understream of scepticism pervades" his writings.

Thus in the fourteenth century theological learning in England, as represented at Oxford, was debating Mariolatry, the Atonement, Pelagianism. Some were denying the fall of man; some the essential need of Christ's sacrifice; some the necessity of divine grace in the heart; some were diffusing a sceptical spirit; some indulging unlimited speculation; some making a deity of the Holy Virgin. What were the poor and ignorant to do? A providential thing for them was the appearance of Wyclif, with his English Bible and his poor preachers, to give them the key of divine knowledge.

[1] A good notice of him in *Edin. Rev.*, xxvii., 204, A.D. 1816. *See* also Hardwick, *Middle Ages*, 377.

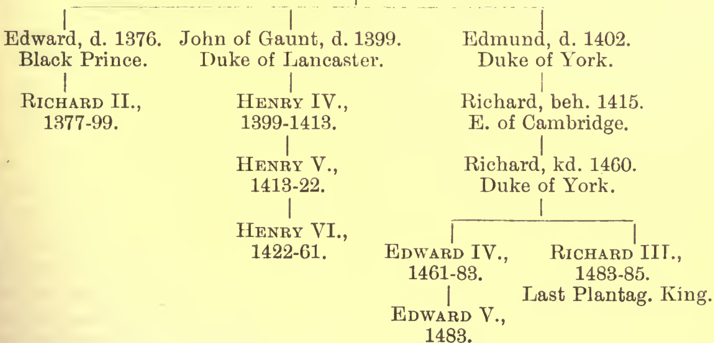
[2] Trench, *Med. Ch. Hist.*, 196.

[3] Hardwick, *Middle Ages*, 377.

At this period the monastic orders, monks and friars, the friars especially, having convents at Oxford for the care of their own novices, were using every endeavour to decoy other students into their cloisters, and get university training into their own hands. The authorities were on the watch to resist their arts, for indignant parents refused to send their sons to Oxford. In 1360, when Wyclif became Master of Balliol Hall, the quarrel reached its climax. Halls (the more usual title) were rising not only to find students home and oversight, but also to save them from the convents. They represented the secular clergy as against the monastic, and accordingly had livings, parochial cures, annexed to them, for their members to occupy, while so many others were in the hands of the monasteries and their vicars. This was the origin of college livings. Wyclif's mastership interests us as a sign that he took the collegiate, or secular-clergy side of Oxford life. It ended in 1362 by his taking the Balliol living of Fylingham in Lincolnshire. We are prepared, therefore, to find in him the parish priest as well as the Oxford theologian, a man moving amongst the people for their good, which the friars at this time were no more doing than the monks.

LATER PLANTAGENET LINE.

EDWARD III., 1327-77.



John Wyclif.

WYCLIF, the morning-star of Reform, rises now to view. Duns Scotus died in 1308. Wyclif was born in or about 1320. Occam died in 1347, Bradwardine in 1349, and Wyclif in his youth may have heard the lectures of both. Living till 1384, he belonged to the following generation. He was one of the *later* schoolmen; one of the last of the *great* schoolmen. He was, in 1360-62, Master of Balliol, Oxford.

In 1365 came a demand from the Pope for the renewal of the annual tribute of 1,000 marks agreed to by King John in 1215 but unpaid since 1332. In May, 1366, Parliament met to consider the matter, when a speech of Wyclif (who in some capacity was present) drew upon him afterwards the attack of an anonymous monk. The monk, whom Wyclif named the Motley Doctor, did not scruple to urge that the Pope, as Vicar of Christ, was Lord Paramount of all kingdoms, to whom all monarchs owed obedience and tribute, English monarchs especially, on account of King John's homage; that Edward III., by non-payment, had forfeited his throne, and all ecclesiastics were absolved from obedience. Here was monachism glaringly Papal, and that in a reign when the spirit of Englishmen, exulting in the victories of Crecy and Poictiers, was intensely national; while the Pope and cardinals moreover were established at Avignon, under the wing of the French King, England's antagonist in war. Wyclif argued that the nation was not pledged to John's tribute and might reverse it, Parliament taking the same view. The interest of this dispute is the revelation of extreme ultramontanism on the side of the monastic class, and the national spirit of the parochial clergy; the "Motley Doctor" and Wyclif being regarded as respectively representing them.

In opposing the Papal Primacy, Wyclif assailed the very keystone of the arch of Mediæval Church polity. Europe had been recently resounding with the deeds and words of sovereigns, statesmen and even schoolmen, as in the case of Occam who maintained that kings were independent of the Pope; but Wyclif asserted that CHURCHES were no less so, undermining the very groundwork of the Papacy and challenging its existence. His arguments were supported by the damaging circumstance that at this very time, from 1378, the Papacy was torn by the Great Schism and the world scandalised by the reports of rival Popes at war, excommunicating one another, and using every kind of weapon in the strife. By 1381 Wyclif had gradually reached the conclusion that such a monarchical claim as the Pope's over the whole Church of Christ was antichristian in itself, and after that year he repeatedly spoke of the Papacy as Antichrist, its origin being from the wicked one.[1]

In the spring or summer of 1381 Wyclif at Oxford published his *Twelve Theses on the Eucharist,* by affixing them to the door of the schools, an act which created immense sensation, as the

[1] Lechler, *John Wycliffe*, ii., 212.

doctrine of transubstantiation was as much the keystone of the dogmatic system of the Mediæval Church as the Papal Primacy was of its polity. The university authorities on the spot, and John of Gaunt coming to Oxford in the name of the King his nephew, to whom Wyclif had appealed, ordered him to cease lecturing at Oxford on the Eucharist; whereupon, quitting the university, he spent the rest of his days mostly at his living of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, where he employed his pen without ceasing. After 1382 he scarcely wrote anything in which he did not return to the subject of the Eucharist, two of the earliest treatises being *Confessio de Eucharistiâ*, in Latin for the learned,[1] and *The Wicket*, an English tract for the people.[2] The controversy on the Lord's Supper thus begun in England by Wyclif, prevailed till the times of the Reformation.

Wyclif and Transubstantiation.

There was no entire English Bible before Wyclif,[3] though there were portions, besides Caedmon's metrical paraphrases in the seventh century. In the eighth was Bede's *St. John*. In the tenth the Gospels were translated, while Elfric produced versions of books of the Old and New Testaments. Wyclif took his version in hand probably about 1378,[4] and completed it apparently in 1382,[5] he himself doing the New Testament, his coadjutor Nicholas Hereford the Old Testament. The version was from the Latin Vulgate; the first, being very faulty, was improved by John Purvey, whose revision was completed in 1388, after Wyclif's death. Its stately rhythm and flow has been much admired, and has earned for Wyclif the title of the father of English prose.

Wyclif's Bible.

Wyclif's Poor Priests were at first ordained men, who, having embraced his convictions, itinerated voluntarily among the people, preaching and dispersing his tracts and portions of the Bible. They were subsequently laymen, and whether clerical or lay, their employment was an irregularity; but one to which the Reformation was greatly owing. This itinerant mission is thought to have begun about 1380, and there is positive testimony of its activity in May, 1382, at which date the archbishop takes hostile notice of it, speaking of "certain unauthorised itinerant preachers

[1] Textually in *Fasc. Ziz.*, ed. Shirley, pp. 115-32, with date May 10, 1380 or 1381; and in Lewis' *Wyclif*, 272-81.

[2] In 1381 (Lewis' *Wyclif*, 162). It was founded on St. John vi. 51. A small black letter copy printed in 1546 at Nuremberg is in the British Museum, besides a copy in ordinary type printed in 1828 at the Oxford University Press, edited by T. P. Pantin of Lutterworth.

[3] Lechler, i., 325-27. [4] *R.T.S. Wycliffe*, 118. [5] Lechler, ii., 213.

setting forth erroneous, yea, heretical assertions in public sermons, not only in churches, but also in public squares and other profane places ".[1]

Wyclif's poor priests may be said to have carried out the principle and intention of the pious founder of the mendicant orders. They were a revival of the friars in their employment, if not in their constitution, with the important difference that the poor priests had the vernacular Scriptures to bestow.

Opposition to the Friars.

The outcry against the friars at Oxford, in 1360, did not originate with Wyclif. In 1378 he attacked them on particular points; but not until 1381 did he assail the very foundation on which they stood.[2] This struggle became the leading feature of Wyclif's last period. They were the chief offenders against public morality, the farthest fallen from their profession, and the most constant opponents of the poor priests, whose popularity seemed to take the very bread out of their mouths.[3] That the mendicant orders had by far the preponderating influence at Oxford is shown by the fact, that out of ten doctors of theology summoned by the chancellor to consider Wyclif's Theses in 1381, six were friars, and only two Benedictine monks.[4] Thus, in and about 1380, the whole Church system of the day was attacked by Wyclif, from the Pope at the head to the friars at the foot.

To the Parliament which met on 7th May, 1382, Wyclif addressed a memorial entitled, *A Complaint*,[5] demanding liberty and justice, chiefly in three particulars: (1) That all members of religious orders should be allowed to return, if they chose, to secular life. (2) That the temporalities of the Church, when abused, should be dealt with by the King. (3) That Parliament should maintain the true Eucharistic doctrine against transubstantiation. He thus proclaimed his belief that the doctrines of the Church had not been handed over to the clergy exclusively,[6] and taught the people that the clergy were not the Church.[7] Indeed, to whom else but Parliament could Wyclif appeal, if all the bishops were bound to the Pope, while the Papacy was in his judgment antichristian? By this action also he expressed his view that the clergy and laity were jointly responsible for the conservation of the faith. So did successive diets of the German

[1] Lechler, i., 301.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii., 143.
[3] Prof. Montagu Burrows, Lecture at Manchester, 1884.
[4] Wood, an. 1381, i., 499.
[5] In Lewis' *Wyclif*, 83-4.
[6] Pennington, 220.
[7] Burrows, *Wyclif's Place*, 111, 117.

Empire, commencing with that of 1521, and the English Parliament of 1539, all in the interest of Roman Catholic doctrine.

In asserting English independence of Rome both in Church and State; in endeavouring to expel from England the corruptions of Rome; in maintaining the joint responsibility of clergy and laity for the conservation of the faith, Wyclif was a precursor of the Reformation.

But he was a precursor only, having neither the means nor the instruments for perfecting a great movement like the Tudor Reformation; inasmuch as Greek learning was unknown and printing had not been invented. His Bible translation was effected so near the end of his life that he had no time to follow it up. He was virtually single-handed, and one man was not sufficient to procure the settlement of great theological questions immediately after ages of darkness. Before any reformation on a large scale was possible, a more general awakening of the human mind among the learned as well as the simple was needed. The State was unprepared. The Plantagenet monarchy was not able, even if it were inclined, to break with Rome. With that colossal spiritual power, a civil rule of exceptional authority was alone able to cope. The Plantagenet Government was not that; the Tudor was. The Plantagenets *checked* the Papacy, and to no effective purpose; it required the Tudor hand to pluck it up by the roots. Then again Wyclif's doctrine was immature. Wyclif was unprepared for the fulness of the truth which we now receive. He rejected the Papacy; he rejected also transubstantiation; but he still believed in the doctrine of the Mass and celebrated its service to the end of his life.

The Lollards.

Before Wyclif punishment for heresy in England was so rare that the instances need not be noticed. They were dealt with by common law. That a conspicuous theologian should have put forth at Oxford in 1381 theses against so cardinal a tenet as transubstantiation was a symptom sufficiently alarming to account for the introduction of a bill against heresy into the Parliament which met in May, 1382. It passed the Lords, and on 26th May received the Royal assent; but it did not pass the Commons and so was no true statute, though its authors secured its admission as one, and such it now stands,[1] though it is usually called by legal authorities the "false" or "forged" statute. Stopping short of the penalty of death it provided that such preachers and their abettors as might be

[1] 5 Rd. II., st. 2, c. 5, *Statutes at Large*, ii., 251.

pointed out by the bishops, should be arrested by the sheriffs and kept in prison until they had cleared themselves before the Church. In other words, it placed the civil power at the disposal of the bishops for the suppression of heresy.[1]

On or very near 17th May, 1382, a Synod, deriving its title from an earthquake, which, during its sittings, filled London with consternation, met in the Dominican Convent of Blackfriars. Ten bishops assembled, besides numerous doctors of law and theology selected by Archbishop Courteney, who presided. The Synod laid down twenty-four articles of heresy, professing to be derived from the twelve theses on the Eucharist put forth in 1381 by Wyclif, whose name however was not mentioned. On 30th May, Friday in Whitsun Week, these articles were published with a ceremony designed to engage the sympathies of the people. A solemn procession passed through the streets, including clergy and laity, arranged according to their several orders, barefooted, as the ceremony was meant to be an act of penitence. The function concluded with a sermon against the condemned doctrines, and an anathema against all who should preach or listen to them.[2] Thus while the Earthquake Synod of 1382 settled what points of doctrine should be in future reckoned heretical, Parliament was decreeing its punishment.

Wyclif died on 31st December, 1384, but his disciples, stigmatised as LOLLARDS, in time sentenced to fiery deaths, handed on his Bible, and with what accuracy they could his teaching, until the Reformation. Under the date 1389 Walsingham relates that the bishops were apathetic, neglecting the Lollards, but that the Bishop of Norwich, with exceptional severity, menaced them with death, so keeping his diocese unmolested. He also states that the Lollard priests claimed the power of ordination, and thus kept up their succession.[3] In 1395 the Lollards began to circulate privately among themselves a list of twelve articles called *Conclusions*, which represented their leading opinions so far as they ran counter to the current doctrine.[4] Under the same year, 1395, Wood relates that the authorities of Oxford University were requested by Convocation to examine some of Wyclif's writings and report on them, with a

[1] Remark on this statute in Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, iii., 386; Burrows, *Wyclif's Place*, 122.

[2] Lechler, ii., 239. The twenty-four Articles (the first ten being termed heretical) may be seen in Foxe, iii., 20.

[3] Walsingham, *Hist. Anglic.*, an. 1389, ii., 188-89, Rolls ed.

[4] Given in full by Foxe (iii., 203, ed. 1844) and in Lewis' *Wyclif* (pp. 298-305), dating them 1394; Shirley, Introd. to *Fasc. Ziz.*, p. lxviii.

view to prevent their doing mischief among the students. Wyclif's opinions were by no means confined to the humbler and unlearned classes; Oxford long remained a stronghold of his followers.[1]

In 1395 Lollardism, it is reckoned, reached maturity, and in 1396 Thomas Arundel became Archbishop of Canterbury, making it the main business of his primacy to suppress it. His opportunity arrived when, in 1399, Richard II. was deposed, and Henry IV. of Lancaster secured the throne. An imperfect title needed some powerful support, and this was furnished by Archbishop Arundel, a bold and determined man, to whom more than to any other Henry owed the success of his usurpation.

The proto-martyr of the Lollard persecution was a London clergyman, William Sawtrey, burnt by a royal writ, dated 26th February, 1401, the main charge being the denial of transubstantiation.[2]

The first Act passed in England constituting heresy a capital crime was the statute *De Hæretico Comburendo*,[3] and it is commonly thought to have been the price paid by Henry IV. to Archbishop Arundel for his support.[4] It gave the bishop authority to arrest by his own officers any one he might suspect of heresy, and detain him in his own prison until he cleared himself or abjured. If the accused was convicted and refused to abjure, in other words, if "contumacious"; or if he had formerly abjured, but had relapsed, he was handed over to the secular power, which was thus effected; the sheriff, who was the "secular power" in these matters, was always in attendance when any one was examined before the bishop for heresy; and if the accused was found guilty by the bishop, the sheriff was bound to receive him on the bishop's word, take him away, and without waiting for any further directions, without requiring any *writ* from the King (always necessary before this Act), to have him publicly burnt.[5]

De Hæretico Comburendo.

The first sufferer under this Act was Badby, who was burnt on 1st March, 1410, in the presence of Henry Prince of Wales,[6] who, three years later, succeeded to the throne as Henry V.

By a second murderous Act, bearing the same title and passed

[1] Wood, an. 1394, 1395, etc.

[2] Rob., vii., 298; Shirley, *Fasc. Ziz.*, p. lxix. The Writ in Rymer, viii., 178, ed. 1709. Copious authorities are given for this case in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, but the day of execution seems unknown.

[3] 2 Hen. IV., c. 15, *Statutes at Large*, ii., 415.

[4] Rob., vii., 297. Henry IV., crowned 13th October, 1399. The Parliament which passed the Act rose on 10th March, 1401 (Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, iii., 386).

[5] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, iii., 386, 387.

[6] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

soon after the accession of Henry V., it seems probable that this King likewise purchased ecclesiastical support. This statute actually increased the severity of the heresy law; for whereas the Act of 1401 left it to the bishop to discover and arrest heretics for himself, that of 1414[1] empowered the magistrate to inquire for heretics, and send them to the bishop for trial. Walsingham[2] under this very year says: "Large rewards were offered for the apprehension of Lollards; yet no one would betray them, showing how the infatuation had seized all the country". The people, in fact, took part with the Lollards, and the magistrates had to hunt out heretics for the bishops.

SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE belonged to a West Herefordshire family, where his ancestors were lords of the manor of Almeley, five miles west from Weobley. He was born probably about 1378, sat for his native county in the Parliament which opened on 14th January, 1404, and was High Sheriff in 1406-7. In 1409 he married a Kentish heiress, Joan Lady Cobham.

Lord Cobham.

From the time of his marriage Sir John Oldcastle was summoned to the House of Lords by writs commencing on 26th October, 1409, down to 22nd March, 1413, which gave him the additional dignity of "Lord Cobham," but did not prevent him retaining his original name and knightly style. In one place he writes officially: "I, John Oldcastle, knight, and Lord Cobham".[3]

Sir John's early Herefordshire home was in a district where the Lollards abounded, a fact which may account for his being among their number. His conflict with the ecclesiastical power was recorded by his hostile contemporary, Netter (also called Waldenius from Saffron Walden in Essex),[4] and afterwards very fully related in the friendly pages of the reformer Bishop John Bale.[5]

His first offending appears to have been in 1410, when in consequence of his chaplain preaching without a license at Cowling, Halstow, and Hoo, those churches were laid under an interdict.[6] On 6th March, 1413,[7] a general Synod of the clergy under Archbishop Arundel assembled at St. Paul's to concert

[1] 2 Hen. V., c. 1, st. 7, *Statutes at Large*, iii., 22, Act for magistrates to assist the ordinaries in extirpating heresies; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, iii., 391.

[2] *Hist. Anglic.*, ii., 299, Rolls ed.

[3] Bale's *Works*, p. 24.

[4] Netter's *Fasc. Ziz.*, edited by Shirley in 1858 for the Rolls Series, pp. 433-46.

[5] In the Parker Society's volume, *Select Works of Bishop Bale*, 1849. Bale, Bishop of Ossory in Edward VI.'s time, died a prebendary of Canterbury in 1563.

[6] Wilkins, iii., 329; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[7] Henry V.'s reign began on 21st March, 1413.

measures for eradicating the doctrine of Wyclif, and this, it was agreed, could be done only by the removal of certain leaders, especially the chief, Lord Cobham, who was declared to be a grand "maintainer of suspected preachers in the dioceses of London, Rochester and Hereford,[1] contrary to the minds of their ordinaries"; these preachers being assisted by him, as they affirmed, by force of arms. Moreover, it was asserted that "he was far otherwise in belief of the sacrament of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of image-worshipping, and of the ecclesiastical power, than the Holy Church of Rome had taught many years afore".[2] Thus, it was Rome's, not England's, doctrine the Synod of St. Paul's felt concerned to defend. It was judged best not to assail a man of Lord Cobham's position without the royal sanction, and the new King was consulted, who replied sympathetically, advised patient methods, and offered to see Lord Cobham privately. When Lord Cobham came Henry V. counselled acknowledgment of his fault and submission to the Church. The knight fearlessly replied that to his sovereign he would yield all obedience; adding, "but as touching the Pope and his spiritualty, truly I owe them neither suit nor service, forsomuch as I know him by the Scriptures to be the great Antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place".[3] The King, provoked by this language, abruptly terminated the audience, afterwards authorising the archbishop to cite, examine and punish the accused lord. Arrested accordingly, and in his sovereign's name committed to the Tower of London, Lord Cobham was brought to answer for his life in a doctrinal examination, before Archbishop Arundel and his Synod. What then were the doctrinal points of life and death to Englishmen in 1413, and on what ground were they so? The points, as put to Lord Cobham, were these five — transubstantiation, penance, image-worship, pilgrimages, the Church. The judge offered those points to the culprit, in words of his own, on his own absolute authority, without reason, without Scripture. The accused had then his life in his hand, by simply giving an affirmative. "I believe what Holy Church believes" saved him from the flames. Thus: "Holy Church hath determined that every Christian man living here bodily upon earth ought to be shriven to a priest ordained by the Church, if he may come to him. How feel ye this

[1] Bale, Pref., 10, adds Canterbury.
[2] Bale, *Select Works*, 16.
[3] Bale, 17.

article ?"[1] So again and again, "Holy Church hath determined . . . How feel ye this ?"

For the extermination of Lollards the law of 1401 thus placed every Englishman's life in the power of his bishop.

Lord Cobham's Eucharistic doctrine was acknowledged in the following terms: "I believe that in the most worshipful Sacrament of the Altar is Christ's very body in form of bread, the same body that was born of the blessed Virgin Mary, done on the Cross, dead and buried, and that the third day arose from death to life, the which body is now glorified with the Father in Heaven". The declaration of the archbishop and clergy ran thus: "The faith and determination of Holy Church touching the blissful Sacrament of the Altar is this: That after the sacramental words be once spoken by a priest in his Mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christ's very body; and the material wine, that was afore wine, is turned into Christ's very blood; and so there remaineth in the Sacrament of the Altar from thenceforth no material bread nor material wine, which were there before the sacramental words were spoken. How believe ye this article ?"[2]

Lord Cobham's reply was firmly and repeatedly, "No". Again and again he affirmed, "It is Christ's very body in form of bread". The last words, "in form of bread," they angrily and vociferously repudiated, shouting "heresy!" "foul heresy!" He insisted that the bread after consecration remained bread, and appears to have understood the corporal presence in much the same sense as Luther's Catechism expressed it in a later day. They absolutely refused to tolerate that, and would allow nothing but "Christ's body" and "no bread".[3]

Lord Cobham about Christmas, 1413, fled into Wales, where he remained some four years, surviving Arundel, who died 19th or 20th February, 1414.[4] But in 1417 he was taken, and on 25th December of that year burnt in chains in St. Giles's Fields, London, as heretic and traitor. The Lollards, 100,000 strong, threatened to rise on his behalf, but there is no evidence, or none sufficient, that he joined or encouraged them.[5]

Lord Cobham is to be remembered not merely as a sufferer for doctrinal opinions, but as an energetic and formidable continuator

[1] Bale, 27.
[2] Bale, 24-27.
[3] Bale, 31, 32.
[4] Succeeded by Chicheley.
[5] Bale, 10, 51; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* This latter work thinks that though the evidence is imperfect, it cannot be seriously doubted that he joined in the conspiracy of his fellow Lollards.

of some of the reforms originated by Wyclif. Yet as a theologian, he could have been, from Bale's account, no mean antagonist. His employment of preachers implies also literary capabilities; as more especially does the fact that he caused, at the instance of Huss, all the works of Wyclif to be written and sent into Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal, and other lands.[1] Such are some of the Lollard memories to be associated with that north-east angle of Kent between the lower Medway and the lower Thames.

The Lollards continued to suffer severely under the statutes of 1401 and 1414, until about 1431, after which few cases of burning occurred and recantation became general.[2]

Within those thirty years (1401-31) Oxford continued a stronghold of Wyclif's opinions, as shown by Wood's *Annals*.[3] His books were dispersed among the scholars. Learned men publicly maintained his doctrines in their sermons. On 26th June, 1410, all Wyclif's books that could be found at Oxford were publicly burnt before the heads of the University. In London Convocation was lamenting that Oxford was overspread with Wyclifism and urging the authorities there to put it down. The archbishop, being visitor of some of the colleges, sent down his commissioners in 1425 to make rigid inquiry for Wyclif's disciples, who, when discovered, were suspended, expelled or otherwise punished.

But nothing so strikingly shows the powerful hold acquired at Oxford by the growing doctrines as the founding of Lincoln College[4] by the diocesan Richard Fleming[5] in 1427, two years after the archbishop's visitatorial commission, for the express purpose of training able men for the confutation of Wyclifism.

Turning to the country in general, we note a circumstance which especially favoured the spread of Wyclif's doctrine, the almost total neglect of preaching by the opposite side. Wood attributes this to the continued practice of Papal *Provisions*, in spite of the law, putting foreigners into livings.[6] Besides this, however, bishops themselves contributed to the neglect of preaching, by regarding it as below their dignity, fit only for inferior clergy[7]; while Archbishop Arundel had done all he could

[1] Bale, Pref., 11.

[2] Foxe, iii., 587; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, iii., 394, gives a list of cases.

[3] *Annals of Oxford*, under 1408, 1410, 1411, 1421, 1423, 1425, vol. i., pp. 544-70.

[4] Related in Wood's *History of the Colleges*, i., 236; Maxwell Lyte's *University of Oxford*, 1886, p. 344.

[5] Bishop of Lincoln, 1420-31.

[6] *Annals*, an. 1405, p. 541.

[7] Babington's Introd. to Pecock's *Repressor*, 1860, p. xiv.; John Lewis's *Life of Pecocke*, p. 26, ed. 1820.

to restrict preaching even among the clergy. Thus the preachers of the Wyclif school had the ground all to themselves and were eagerly listened to.

It has been remarked[1] that while in the early Church heresy was most rigorously defined by the great Councils, and every shade had its distinct designation, Arian, Sabellian, Manichæan, Pelagian, Monophysite, Monothelite, etc., the heresy of the Mediæval Church, though subject to such dreadful penalties, was not defined by any Council or central authority at all, but was described in the vaguest terms, such as "any deviation from the true Catholic faith as understood by the Church," according to the canonists. The trial of Sir John Oldcastle, as above shown, illustrates this.

Speaking broadly, the heresy of the early Church, according to the Œcumenical Councils, was a denial of the essential divinity of Christ, a contradiction of Catholic doctrine. The heresy of the Mediæval Church was a denial of the divinity of the host, a contradiction of Papal doctrine. And this was the heresy for which Lollards were mostly burnt.

The Church in Peril.

THE CHURCH.—On 11th October, 1440, in the reign of Henry VI., in the primacy of Chicheley (1440-1443), there emanated from the throne itself language strangely harmonising with what Wyclif had maintained, and affording us an unexpected view of the strife of parties. It is recorded in the original foundation charter of Eton School, a document dated 11th October, 1440.[2] The charter opens with the grand wording, *Regnans in excelsis*, like the later famous bull of that title. The subject-matter of the charter does not seem a natural one to have elicited such expressions, and we conclude that the sentiments represent an enthusiasm of the day, bursting into utterance at the very mention of the Church, in the midst of perils threatening its foundations. At that time the Lollard inundation had been successfully held in check by the Acts of 1401 and 1414, and England, along with other countries of the Western Church, was agitated by the loud but vain demand for reform in "the Head and the members". The long Council of

[1] Sir J. F. Stephen's *Blackstone*, iv., 189, ed. 1899.

[2] The charter bearing date 11th October, 19 Hen. VI. (*i.e.*, 1440), was incorporated with 20 Hen. VI., 1442, an Act not printed in the *Statutes of the Realm* but preserved in the Rolls of Parliament. The charter, which was followed by others that became operative, seems not generally known, but may be seen in Latin, in Heywood and Wright's *Ancient Laws for King's College, Cambridge, and Eton College*, 1850, p. 388, with an English version in Sir E. Creasy's *Eminent Etonians*, ed. 1876, p. 4.

Basel (1431-49), the third and last of those great reforming parliaments of the fifteenth century, was proceeding. Not simply the corrupt administration of the Roman Court, but the very relation of the Pontiff to the whole body of the Church was uppermost in men's minds. The claim of the Papacy, asserted by Martin V.[1] (1417-31), to be supreme in the government and independent of Councils, was a danger surpassing that of Lollardism, and the only apparent remedy was to insist uncompromisingly on the true position of THE CHURCH. Freedom for the Church was the great cry of the three Councils of the fifteenth century.[2] Not, however, freedom from the Crown, as in the days of Hildebrand, but freedom from the Tiara and the Hildebrandine spirit, which, having usurped a domination over princes and states, was now asserting it over the entire body of the hierarchy. In Henry VI.'s charter of Eton School the superiority of the Church over the Pope, the very doctrine of Wyclif, comes out most unexpectedly. Its opening passage is :—

"The Triumphant Church that reigns on high, whose Head is the Eternal Father, and to which hosts of saints minister, while quires of angels sing the glory of its praise, has appointed as its Vicar upon earth the Church Militant, which the Only-begotten Son of the same God hath so united to Himself in the bond of eternal love, that He hath deigned to name her His most beloved Spouse".

It was to assert such a principle as this that a school for the English gentry was being founded beneath the shadow of Windsor Castle and the throne. The idea of the Church Triumphant appointing as its Vicar the Church Militant, startling in form as it certainly is, has, in comparison with the usual Papal doctrine of the "Vicar," a certain correspondence with truth. The language was that of some fervent reformer whose entire soul was in the "Church," and his imagination in heaven—but not in Scripture. It justified all the antipapal demand of Wyclif, as well as the antipapal legislation of Henry VIII., which was to follow. The hierarchy of England, like other hierarchies, had yielded in detail almost everything to Rome ; Roman dogma had been submissively adopted simply because Roman. Where was this to end ? Why was it to end at transubstantiation, and not go on to the dogma of control ? The corruption of "the Head and the members" had opened men's eyes, and had led to the

[1] Hook's "Chicheley," *Archbishops*, v., 88-90.
[2] Trench, *Med. Ch. Hist.*, 287-93.

demand that a General Council, *i.e.,* THE CHURCH, and not the Pope, should be supreme, a supremacy implying a deposition of the Pope from the first place to the second. It must either be that, or Martin V.'s rule must stand. Hence this impassioned cry for *The Church.* But it was too late and too early; too late after all else had been surrendered, too early for the light and the upheaval of the Reformation.

The Plantagenet Church may now be traced to a conclusion with the thread resumed that was so long ago dropped at Becket's triumph and England's submission. The nadir of constitutional humiliation lasted above a century before the free-souled Englishman recognises some satisfactory signs, under the Edwards, of an awakening, and of the Crown asserting its inherent and imperial claims. Under RICHARD I., so much of whose reign was spent abroad, it may be sufficient here to record that when disputing on the rights of his crown he was arrogantly told by Innocent III. that the Pontiff of Rome held the place of God upon earth, and that without distinction of persons he would punish the men and the nations that presumed to oppose his commands. In this reign Hugh Bishop of Lincoln was so noted a champion of Papal authority over the royal that at his funeral on 17th November, 1200, he was complimented with the titles "Staff of Pontiffs," "Hammer of Kings,"[1] though two kings assisted in bearing his corpse.

As we enter the thirteenth century with JOHN it will be well to bear in mind that from the year 1200 to 1300 was almost exactly the period of the Papal meridian, the one in which the Hildebrandine theory of the Church was at length realised to the utmost, from Innocent III. to Boniface VIII.[2]

In the forefront of Magna Carta, 1215, were placed the well-remembered words, "that the Church of England shall be free,"[3] echoing the previous charter of Henry I. To its infinite credit this charter secured to the subject freedom from oppression by forbidding all penalties except those of law. There was the freedom of the *people,* in one precious clause, which gave the charter an interest for Englishmen long generations after the bulk of it became obsolete, and it is our glory now. We may attribute it to the barons and the lay host at Runnymead. But what are we to say of Archbishop Langton?

[1] "*Pontificum baculus, regum malleus*" (Inett, ii., 476).

[2] The Popes to be more particularly noted are Innocent III. (1198-1216), Gregory IX. (1227-41), Innocent IV. (1243-54), Boniface VIII. (1294-1303).

[3] "*Quod Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit.*"

Stephen Langton immortalised himself by taking the lead at Runnymead. At the same time it remains true that as he was by his office Papal legate, the abject humiliation of England in the reign of John, at the feet of Innocent III. through the Interdict, the Homage, and the Annual Tribute, was only possible with his concurrence and even co-operation. But what did Langton mean in the opening clause by the *Free Church,* where especially it is that we recognise his hand? It was a freedom in Becket's sense that he was thinking of; a severance from the nation, bondage to the Pontiff. It is impossible to miss this conclusion while reading of the disputes agitating the English Church in John's reign,[1] ecclesiastical liberties, freedom of the Church, being the dominant and ever-recurring phrases, while Innocent III. and his agents bitterly complained that notwithstanding the martyrdom of the blessed Thomas the cause he bled for hardly lived, kings recommending and really choosing the new bishop for every See, the Chapters merely electing a nominee. The entire clerical and monastic communities in England and elsewhere—for the war raged far beyond—must be subject to Rome alone, must be independent of, and free from, that subordination which was called servitude to crowns and civil governments.

The long reign of Henry III. is included within the period when the power of the Papacy reached its zenith, and in this reign we find that Boniface of Savoy Archbishop of Canterbury (1245-72) was lording it over the temporal power in England as the Popes were in Europe. Dr. Stubbs, in his summary, notes that he exerted himself greatly to enlarge the area of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, especially in relation to the laity.[2] Boniface held in particular two Synods, one at Merton in Surrey, 1258,[3] another at Lambeth, 13th May, 1261,[4] in both which he alleged at great length grievances against the Crown. He complained that bishops were summoned into secular courts on matters purely ecclesiastical, such as institution to livings, laying interdicts, tithes. Such matters he calls purely ecclesiastical. Proceeding much further he threatens in the name of the Synod to excommunicate the sheriffs, and to lay the King's castles under an interdict if these summonses into the lay courts are persisted in. The learned John Johnson in his work on the Canons states that those of Archbishop Boniface in 1261 were the boldest ever made in an English Convocation.[5]

[1] Inett, ii., 516-20. [2] *Historical Appendix* (I.), p. 25. [3] Wilkins, i., 736.
[4] *Ibid.*, i., 746; Johnson, *Canons*, ii., 182, *Ang. Cath. Lib.*
[5] *Canons*, ii., 189.

Such was now the ecclesiastical claim; such the freedom from civil control insisted upon. This was how Boniface would read "the Church must be free" in the charter.

In the reign of Henry III. the charter of 1215 was kept ever fresh in the popular mind by the determined vigilance of the barons over their rights, their claims, their freedom, in the feudal system. Instead of John's charter being allowed to grow obsolete it was renewed formally from time to time, and in that way alone did its title Magna Carta become a rooted memory among Englishmen. By those same renewals the clause of Church freedom was likewise kept current and familiar for the masterful and militant prelates of the reign to make the most of it. As we are observing, they pushed their demands to be independent of the Civil Authority far indeed, but they failed to establish the practice for deans and canons to select the Episcopate of England. The election continued a cathedral function; the choice remained a prerogative of the Crown.

The reign of EDWARD I. came towards the close of the Papal ascendancy, and its two chief primates were Peckham (1278-92) and Winchelsey (1293-1313).

Dr. Stubbs[1] states that Archbishop Peckham exerted himself, as Archbishop Boniface had done, to bring the laity into increased subjection to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In 1279 a Constitution or decree of a Synod held by him at Reading declared excommunicate all who obtained letters from any lay court to obstruct ecclesiastics in such causes as by the canons belonged to the ecclesiastical court.[2] Here was a bold attempt to make the ecclesiastical court overrule the civil; but the resolute Government of Edward I. compelled the archbishop to revoke this Constitution, and two others.

Another sign of the divergence between the ecclesiastical and the civil powers was the custom which began, by permission, in 1279 and 1280, and lasted till 1664,[3] of the clergy voting their own taxes to the State;[4] by which change in the functions of the Synod the clerical orders were still further isolated.

In 1281 a council at Lambeth under Peckham attempted to exclude from the royal courts suits on such a matter as Church patronage; but here Edward I. resolutely put his foot down and

[1] *Historical Appendix* (I.), p. 25.

[2] It was the first of eleven constitutions published 30th July, 1279; Wilkins, ii., 35; Johnson, ii., 257.

[3] Langmead, 250, ed. 1886.

[4] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, ii., 123, 8vo.

the Archbishop gave way. A natural sequel was an Act in 1285[1] which succeeded in placing a limit to the action of the Church Courts, which were gradually drawing all causes to themselves, and it was only by some address apparently, and the use of the language of seeming concession to the advocates of ecclesiastical power, that this measure was passed. It was the first legislative victory for the authority of secular courts after the abortive attempt at Clarendon in 1164 and Henry's surrender to Becket in 1170.

In Archbishop Winchelsey (1293-1313), the last great Primate of Edward I.'s reign, we have a striking example of the hierarchy asserting its freedom from the civil power and submitting to Papal authority. It occurred in 1296, when the archbishop obtained a bull forbidding princes to levy, and ecclesiastics to pay, any taxes imposed without the permission of the Roman See.[2] The authority to impose taxes is one of the chief attributes of sovereignty, and here was an English Primate, in the name of his clergy, acknowledging this attribute in the Bishop of Rome.

Under Edward II. civil control of the clergy continued to grow as indicated in 1315 by the *Articuli Cleri*,[3] a list of clerical grievances presented to the King and partly disallowed. A great practical abatement of the system which Becket had endeavoured to establish was, as Robertson observes, thus made evident, and the immunity of the clergy from secular authority for which Becket had contended was much abridged.[4]

In the reign of Edward III. the Papal power was verging towards its decline, under the blows of Philip IV. of France and the German Emperor, Lewis V. (of Bavaria), supported by the English schoolman Occam.

England was then in the age of chivalry. She had already won at Crecy ; she was soon to win at Poictiers, when she struck two blows against ecclesiastical domination, one abroad, the other at home. The Papacy being then seated at Avignon was practically under the power of France, England's antagonist in war, and was therefore doubly obnoxious. In the year 1350 was

[1] The Act *Circumspecte Agatis*, 13 Ed. I., st. 4, c. 1, A.D. 1285, *Statutes at Large*, i., 242. It is explained by Hook, iii., 357, and Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, ii., 123 ; iii., 375.

[2] Bull *Clericis Laicos De Tallagio*, 24th February, 1296 ; Rymer, i., 836, ed. 1816 ; Hook, iii., 407.

[3] Act *Articuli Cleri*, 9 Ed. II., st. 1, in sixteen chapters, *De diversis libertatibus Clero Concessis*, A.D. 1315, *Statutes at Large*, i., 338 ; Wilkins, ii., 460-61, in substance ; Hook, iii., 474.

[4] Rob., vii., 258.

passed the statute of *Provisors*, a word variously interpreted, the measure, however, being clearly aimed against a flagrant abuse of long standing, whereby the Pope nominated to, or provided for, English benefices, filling them with non-resident Italians, who drew their revenues, amounting to a vast sum, out of the country. This statute is famous for having been the first *parliamentary* enactment ever made, by any power whatever, against the encroachments of the Papacy.

The second blow, in 1352, against the home ecclesiastical power was the statute of *Præmunire* (another perplexity in mediæval parliamentary latinity), enacting the severest penalties against any one drawing out of the country a plea which belonged to the King's Court. Those penalties, involving outlawry, have been awarded by other laws to other offences, and as a definite class of punishments carry the name of "præmunire penalties," after the original statute.

The *Præmunire* statute of 1352 grew out of the *Provisors* statute of 1350, and was intended to prevent any persons aggrieved by the latter from seeking redress at Rome. Both these statutes show what a powerful hold the Roman See had obtained over the ecclesiastical system of this country. They show likewise that *Parliament* had not submitted to the Papacy, whatever the clergy may have done. If the clerical authority of the Church had united itself with Rome, the lay power had not.

The persecuting Act of 1382 in the next reign, that of RICHARD II., indicates that the Upper House was strong enough, by the predominance of the spiritual peers, to get a measure into the Statute Book without the concurrence of the Lower, showing the tremendous power now obtained by the Spiritualty. The non-concurrence of the Commons and the participation of the Londoners in the Earthquake Synod procession that year would indicate some division in the middle class. Wyclif's appeal to Parliament as a whole (including the Commons) must indicate his conviction that bishops were not necessarily the sole judges and keepers of the truth ; that the Church and the hierarchy were not identical, and that the latter could be appealed from.

We have already seen that by the laws of 1401 and 1414 (Henry IV. and Henry V.) making heresy a capital crime, the bishops were constituted sole judges, and virtually the punishers of it. When, then, the hierarchy and the laity had thus widely diverged, the former had completely gained the upper hand, and the nation had so entirely fallen under its influence as to

invest it with this tremendous power. The nation has given its pastors the rod and bares its back to the smiters.

In 1413 there is an example of how entirely the English hierarchy had identified itself with the foreign See in a body of four articles headed "The Determination of the Archbishop and Clergy".[1] The third ran thus: "Christ ordained St. Peter the Apostle to be His Vicar here in earth, whose See is the Holy Church of Rome; and He granted that the same power which He gave unto Peter should succeed to all Peter's successors, whom we now call Popes of Rome; by whose power in churches particular he ordained prelates, as archbishops, bishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees besides; unto whom Christian men ought to obey, *after the laws of the Church of Rome.* This is the determination of Holy Church."

In the reign of Henry VI. Bishop Reginald Pecock was in 1457 compelled to recant and was afterwards deprived of his See of Chichester—not for having taught otherwise than Holy Scripture teacheth, nor than the Primitive Church, nor than the Church of England teacheth, but for having taught otherwise than "the Holy Roman Church holdeth and teacheth".[2]

Here again the Church of England, so far as *represented by its Synods*, acknowledged its identity with the Church of Rome; just as did the "Determination" of 1413 above mentioned. When most independent of the civil power, the hierarchy of England owned itself bound by the laws of the Church of Rome and declared its authority derived from the Popes. This was near the eve of the Reformation.

Thus we see the Church of England on its clerical side more and more separated from the civil power from the Conquest to the Reformation; more and more identifying itself with the Church of Rome from Henry I. to the Reformation. The Crown had its share in encouraging Papal domination, from its being continually in need of the influence of the hierarchy; but Parliament, so far as its direct enactments went, resisted Papal usurpations, and was the only body in the Constitution that maintained a consistent attitude of independence in regard to the See of Rome.

[1] Foxe's *A. and M.*, iii., 328, ed. 1845.
[2] Life by John Lewis, pp. 165, 166, 174, ed. 1820.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TUDOR CHURCH.

§ I.—HENRY VII., 1485–21ST APRIL, 1509.

THE TUDOR LINE.

Margaret, heiress of the
House of Lancaster, d. 29th June, 1509,
m. Edmund Tudor E. of Richmond.

1. HENRY VII., 1485-1509,
m. Elizabeth of York.

2. HENRY VIII.,
1509-47.

4. MARY, 1553-58.	3. EDWARD VI., 1547-53.	5. ELIZABETH, 1558-1603.

As a result of the Wars of the Roses Henry Tudor Earl of Richmond, as HENRY VII., succeeded the last Plantagenet King Richard III. Through his mother he represented the red-rose, or Lancastrian branch of the Plantagenet line, but commenced a subordinate dynasty called Tudor from his family name. His marriage with Elizabeth, who represented the white-rose, or York branch of the Plantagenets, united the two rival houses, and Henry VIII. inherited the claims of both his father and his mother, his symbol being a rose of mingled red and white.

In and about 1498 there was at Oxford a band of Greek scholars, Grocyn, Linacre, Colet, representatives in England of the Humanists, or literary branch of the Renaissance school then rising in Europe. They devoted themselves to the recovery of classic Greek literature, some of them, like Colet, being effective pioneers of the Reformation. A member of Magdalen College, in close friendship with Erasmus of Rotterdam visiting Oxford in 1499, John Colet was a proficient in Holy Scripture, and gave free lectures, as his means and his

Dean Colet.

degree permitted, on St. Paul's Epistles. The novelty of this teaching attracted great audiences, as the current divinity was not biblical but scholastic. Colet, no stranger to the writings of the schoolmen, was deeply dissatisfied with them all, Aquinas and Scotus at their head, regarding them as obscuring and perverting the simpler doctrine of Christ. Those lectures may have suggested the foundation of the Lady Margaret endowed professorships of divinity mentioned below. In May, 1505, Colet left Oxford, on being appointed Dean of St. Paul's,[1] London, and in that cathedral, for the rest of Henry VII.'s reign, he continued his lectures on St. Paul.

In 1496 Jesus College at Cambridge was founded by Dr. John Alcock Bishop of Ely, who was empowered by the King to suppress a priory of nuns, St. Rhadegund's, on the same site, whose disorderly lives made the dissolution of their house imperative.[2] On 8th September, 1502, the first endowed divinity chairs were founded, one at Cambridge, the other at Oxford, by the King's mother, Lady Margaret, whose confessor Dr. John Fisher of Queens' was appointed to that at Cambridge until 1504, two years being, by the rules, the term of each professor's tenure.[3] Dr. Fisher was a man of earnest piety, devoted to the established religion and the Papal supremacy, himself unacquainted, or hardly acquainted, with Greek, but eager to promote the study of it at Cambridge, before however the appearance of the Greek Testament in print. On 24th November, 1504, he was consecrated Bishop of Rochester. In 1505 the Lady Margaret founded Christ's College, for divinity study, and at its opening in 1506 the King himself was present.[4] In 1506 was erected the university church, Great St. Mary's, to which both the King and his mother contributed. At the close of the reign Lady Margaret was designing the splendid college of St. John's, which through the energy of Bishop Fisher was accomplished in 1511, the official year of its foundation.[5]

From such institutions the most promising results were augured by Erasmus, himself for a time a Cambridge man. At a period when for a hundred years things had never seemed so hopeful for learning in England, the fifteenth century having begun in utter

[1] Le Neve (Fasti, ii., 314).

[2] *Camb. Cal.*, JESUS COLLEGE; the charter in Fisher's funeral sermon for Lady Margaret, ed. Hymers; Pref., p. 13.

[3] *Camb. Cal.*, LADY MARGARET'S PROFESSOR.

[4] *Ibid.*, CHRIST'S COLLEGE; Boultbee, *Ch. of Eng.*, 451.

[5] *Camb. Cal.*, ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE.

stagnation, with persecution, clerical corruption, and civil war, to keep down the life begun under Wyclif, Erasmus wrote: "God inspired that woman with a thought which was by no means womanish. For whereas other princesses are wont to bequeath large estates for the building large monasteries, this lady applied all her study to the most holy thing of all, the instructing the people with the Gospel philosophy. That holy heroine, and the bishop, who was a singular example of true piety, judged right—that there was nothing which could more contribute to amend the people's manners than the dispensing the seed of the evangelical doctrine by fit and proper preachers."

The time was also marked by an architectural renaissance, which as it at first developed in England was not, as it was in Italy, and as it was later in England, a revival of the art on Greek lines, but a native growth from the long-established Gothic. The broad arch and perpendicular tracery characteristic of the Tudor style, as in the examples of King's College Chapel at Cambridge, Henry VII.'s in Westminster Abbey, and Bath Abbey Church, indicated what might be called the English renaissance in architecture. In contemplating those Tudor fanes we can hardly fail to observe that the spirit which in that age was grasping oceans and the worlds beyond them was introducing a new life into the national universities and the national Church.

Yet the revival of Greek learning and of art could not rebuild that Church. The chantry system, which all through the fifteenth century had been rooting itself in parish churches, cathedrals, and even colleges of learning like that of All Souls, was not touched, except to be confirmed through its connection with exquisite architecture. The friar, the monk, the nun, might be passing away, but the priest at his solitary altar was more firmly established. The Westminster Chapel was in design a splendid chantry, wherein the King's mother endowed three altars for three daily masses to be said for herself when dead. The preachers foreseen by Erasmus were to come to the people of England through the influence of St. Paul, whom Colet was expounding.

§ II.—Henry VIII., 21st April, 1509–28th January, 1547.

The question first occurs, What need was recognised, what attempts were made, for real reform, by OFFICIAL CHURCHMEN, before, let us say, the critical year 1529? Colet saw in schools little of the scholarly spirit, ambition and gain being the in-

centives to study; in colleges large and stately receptacles of idlers, obstacles to all good learning.[1] By Colet's testimony then, worthless education, besides worthless divinity, characterised the eve of the Reformation. In 1509 the dean drew up plans for a school to be committed to the future patronage and fostering care of the Mercers Company, of which he was by descent a member; and in 1512 his 153 scholars (the number being that of the fishes in the miraculous draught recorded in St. John xxi. 11) gathered into the building, whose walls, and whose busy work under the ferule of William Lily, he could with daily comfort behold at the eastern side of St. Paul's Churchyard.

On 6th February, 1512,[2] in the year his school opened, Colet, preaching before Convocation as Dean of St. Paul's, earnestly besought the clergy of England to endeavour a reformation of the Church.[3] The grand thing he saw lacking was a high and holy tone in the clerical order. In the plainest possible language he showed them to themselves, and had he gone further he could have exposed the root of it all in the eclipse of a true theology. "Nothing," he tells them, "hath so disfigured the face of the Church as the secular and worldly living of the priests. How they run from one benefice to another, from the less to the more!" Nor in Colet's fearless reproaches are the dignitaries spared, "going with so stately a countenance and with so high looks"! Feasts, banquetings, hunting, hawking, all the delights of the world engross them.

Colet's Convocation Sermon.

A barren scholastic divinity was really accountable for all the worldly education, the proud and self-seeking ministry, by the spectacle of which this reformer was troubled. Colet died on 16th September, 1519.

In 1518, when Europe was ringing with the ninety-five Theses from Wittenberg, the English Primate, not indifferent to the perils of the time, summoned a Synod to Lambeth for devising reforms. An epidemic preventing its immediate assembly, it met in 1519, but nothing of importance was done.[4]

Cardinal Wolsey, hitherto engrossed with the King in foreign political schemes, comes into history more as an ecclesiastic in 1519, the year of Colet's death. The Lutheran agitation abroad was, as Wolsey must well have known, increasing in extent and difficulty, bringing the necessity of reform ever nearer and nearer.

[1] Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, i., 449.
[2] 6th February, 1511-12, Lupton's *Life of Colet*, p. 178.
[3] Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, i., 451.
[4] Hook, i., 299-303 (N.S.).

A bull of 10th June, 1519, empowered Wolsey to make a visitation of the monasteries and the clergy of England, and to exercise all the powers of the Church for one year.[1] This bull has a significance worthy of close attention. Now and for a few years more the commanding figure in official Church reform is Wolsey. So long as he should retain his position in Henry's counsels, his splendid capacity secured him unrivalled civil administrative power; in the Church, as Primate of the North, bishop of two Sees in the South, cardinal since 1515,[2] legate *de latere* since 1516, he was then almost a Pope in England, having a magnificent opportunity for usefulness. With an express commission from Rome, he was virtually bishop of every diocese for a year, able to call even exempt monasteries to account; though without it such monasteries were not in his visitatorial jurisdiction, if the clergy were; so completely had the English Church, on its spiritual side, given itself into Papal hands; not only without warrant of national law, but with that law so plainly the other way that prelates and priests would incur the penalties of *præmunire* any moment the lay power aroused itself to enforce them.

In 1523 Wolsey, making another move in official reform on a great scale, endeavoured to convert the two Convocations, at their regular assembling with Parliament, into a Legatine Synod under himself, with the object of effecting a general monastic and clerical reform.[3] But besides the jealousies which such a design could not but stir, the clergy failed to see that their election to sit as members of Convocation empowered them to take part in a Legatine Synod, and so the project fell to the ground.

The next great official attempt at reform was in the path of university education, also projected by Wolsey, whose authority was at this time, next to the King's, supreme both in Church and State. A noble college was to be founded at Oxford, to stand on the site of St. Frideswide's Priory, and to be endowed by an extensive appropriation of various monastic lands. The Cardinal began to move in this matter in 1523, when he announced his intention to the university authorities and secured the removal of the St. Frideswide monks. The foundation was to consist of 186 members, exclusive of a dean, a sub-dean, 100 canons, 13 chaplains, professors in divinity, canon and civil law, physic, and

[1] Burnet, i., 50, Pocock.

[2] Made Cardinal about 7th September, 1515, Hook, i., 245 (N.S.).

[3] Burnet, iii., 87-9, Pocock; Fiddes, 281-83, giving the date 22nd April, 1523. Other documents bearing on the matter may be found in Wilkins, ii., 698-700.

the liberal arts. The institution, planned on a scale like this, was almost a university in itself, and the name it was to bear was CARDINAL COLLEGE. Its great successor, the present Christ Church, is but a portion of the original design. The bull authorising the suppression of St. Frideswide's was dated 11th September, 1524; the King's confirmation, 7th January, 1525; his grant of the priory site and lands, 4th July, 1525.[1] The monasteries suppressed for the support of the college produced an annual income estimated at nearly £2,000. This wholesale yielding of monasteries to collegiate purposes, of which other illustrations could be adduced both at Oxford and Cambridge, reminds us of the St. Frideswide's Day of 1180, and it was a very significant sign of the times. Wolsey's whole career in official Church reform, of which this splendid attempt at Oxford was an incident, lasted much under ten years.

Then again, what signs are there apart from official action, of a reforming spirit among THE PEOPLE themselves down to that year 1529? What is usually understood by the Reformation had not begun in England when, in 1511, certain persons in the diocese of Canterbury, who must have been among the latest descendants of the Lollards, were condemned, some to the penance of carrying faggots, others to the stake, though there seems no record of the capital sentence having been carried out.[2] Too often sheep without a shepherd, their spiritual life nurtured, perhaps, by uncertain traditions of Lollard times, along with furtive study of concealed fragments of Wyclif's Bible, the language of which was in great measure obsolete, the beliefs of these Kentish confessors did not at all points harmonise with the matured theology of later reformers. But while some of their ideas cannot be justified by modern Churchmen, the harsh measure dealt out to them in 1511 does not compare favourably with the lenient treatment accorded to the clergy who call forth Colet's denunciations in 1512. In the year 1514 it is related how Hunne,[3] a merchant tailor in London, refused on the death of his child to pay the mortuary fee demanded by his parish priest. Being sued for it in the spiritual court he counter-sued the priest in a civil court, a proceeding which touched the priesthood in a very tender point. A charge of Lollardy was fastened on Hunne by reason of a copy of Wyclif's Bible discovered in his possession,

Convictions for Heresy.

[1] The circumstances and documents are given in *Monast. Angl.*, ii., 138, etc.
[2] Hook, i., 280-81 (N.S.). Warham was a severe persecutor (Burnet, i., 213).
[3] Foxe, iv., 183; Burnet, i., 41.

and he was confined in the Lollards Tower, where, on 4th December, he was discovered hanging dead. The priests had his corpse burnt at Smithfield as that of a heretic. The circumstances excited immense attention in London, being brought before the Privy Council, Parliament and Convocation. The people took the side of Hunne, regarding him as having been first murdered and then defamed, and a great impulse was thus given to that unpopularity of the unreformed clergy in London, which continued for many years, predisposing the Londoners, says Burnet, to make common cause with the Reformers.

The first stir at Cambridge in the direction of the reform movement probably came with the arrival there of Erasmus, in 1510, as a professor of Greek, on the invitation of the Chancellor of the University, Bishop Fisher. This was some eleven years after his visit to Oxford (1499) as a student. In 1511 he was made Margaret Professor of Divinity, and he is thought to have left Cambridge early in 1514.[1] Several of his letters were written from Cambridge, especially in 1511, the last of them being dated 29th October, 1513. As his Greek Testament was published at Basel in March, 1516, and he was for years preparing that great work, it may be considered certain that the substance of his annotations and his paraphrases formed a part of his divinity lectures.

Reform Movement at Cambridge.

The earliest date at which there is positive evidence of Reform literature making way at Cambridge is 1520, in which year Wolsey visited the town in state. In that year, with Wolsey's entire approval, Luther's writings were publicly burnt at Cambridge.[2] Luther's books may well have been the *Three Reformation Treatises* of 1520.[3]

In 1521 Erasmus issued at Basel a Latin *Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistles*,[4] consisting of running comments on the text, written in a graceful and attractive style. It was a small bulky volume suited for circulation among students, quite distinct from the handsome folio of his *Greek Testament*, with a Latin version and annotations,

[1] Erasmus' *Letters* do not show nor disprove this; but the date is accepted by some writers, as in the *Life of Tyndale*, p. xv., prefixed to his *Doctrinal Treatises*, Parker Society.

[2] The fragmentary extracts from the Cambridge records relating to the visit and to the burning, in Cooper's *Annals*, i., 303, under 1520, do not seem strictly to prove that the burning was at the time of the visit. Fiddes, 174, mentions the visit. Professor Ince notices the burning in his *Luther Sermon*, 1883.

[3] There is an English translation of them in Wace and Buchheim's *Primary Works of Luther*, 1896.

[4] In the British Museum. His *Paraphrase on the New Testament*, including this, followed later.

1516. It is probable that this book, which would speedily find its way to Cambridge, is the one alluded to in the following incident. Bilney, a priest at Cambridge, relating the occasion of his first heart-knowledge of the Gospel, wrote in after years: "At last I heard speak of Jesus, even then when the New Testament was first set forth by Erasmus; which when I understood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather by the Latin than by the Word of God (for at that time I knew not what it meant), I bought it, and at the first reading I chanced upon this sentence of St. Paul in 1 Tim. i., 'It is a true saying,' etc.".[1] A reference to Cambridge in one of Erasmus's letters of 1521[2] furnishes an interesting comment on this incident. In the same year a reforming spirit was manifested in the University of Paris, and it extended from thence to Meaux, thus beginning the Reformation in France.[3] Both movements had attracted the notice of Erasmus, who, coupling the two universities together, wrote, "At Paris and at Cambridge the study of theology flourishes in a way it has never yet done," the undoubted reason being, in his opinion, that those seats of learning were welcoming the new humanity studies as friends instead of repelling them as enemies.

Thomas Bilney.

In 1524 Hugh Latimer, a Fellow of Clare Hall of some standing in the university, and strongly prejudiced in favour of the old opinions, was through Bilney gained to the Reform side. As his exercise for the B.D. degree Latimer had delivered a very intemperate oration in opposition to a recent treatise by Melanchthon which insisted on Holy Scripture being the sole standard of faith. Bilney, having been one of his audience, sought an interview, and by a recital of his own experience won him completely round. As brothers in the faith Latimer and Bilney were thenceforth inseparable comrades in good works.[4]

Latimer.

By 1525 a considerable number of Cambridge men had, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the authorities,[5] joined the Reform movement, the colleges where they were most numerous being apparently King's, Queens', St. John's, Peterhouse, Corpus, Pembroke, Gonville, while there were several in

[1] Foxe, iv., 635. [2] Ep., 604, col. 677 B., ed. Le Clerc.

[3] Felice, *Hist. of Protestants of France*, 1853, p. 17.

[4] Demaus, *Hugh Latimer*, 33; Foxe, iv., 620, 642.

[5] John Fisher of Queens', Bishop of Rochester, Chancellor of the University from 1504-35, though a friend of Erasmus and the humanists, was hostile to the new divinity.

the Convent of the Augustinian Eremites (Luther's Order) in St. Edward's parish.[1]

In the course of 1525 Latimer, Stafford, Bilney, associating together, taught without molestation,[2] while Dr. Shorton of Pembroke, who stood high in Wolsey's confidence, was engaged in searching out promising men to draft into the rising college at Oxford, no mean testimony to the profit Cambridge had inherited from the Greek teaching of Erasmus. But the ground so busily trodden by Latimer, Stafford, Bilney, must have been a dangerous one from which to recruit for Cardinal College.

At length, near the end of 1525, open war was commenced against the Reform party by an aggression of Dr. Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely,[3] whose diocese included Cambridge. Appearing unexpectedly with his retinue in the University Church where Latimer occupied the pulpit in his turn, he heard a sermon on the character of a true bishop, a subject which on the spur of the moment Latimer, a ready preacher, took up in lieu of one already begun. Sending for him after service, the bishop referred to the discourse without complaint; but he asked Latimer as a favour to promise another in condemnation of Luther. Latimer declined, saying that he was insufficiently acquainted with Luther's writings, which were not allowed to be read at Cambridge; whereupon the bishop taking his departure intimated that he saw how matters stood and that Latimer would hear more. On 17th December the bishop preached at Barnwell Abbey, in the outskirts of Cambridge, against Latimer and his doctrine, formally forbidding him to preach in Cambridge pulpits or officiate in the diocese.

Bishop West's attack brought out Dr. Robert Barnes, prior of the Augustinian Eremites.[4] More than half won already to the cause espoused by Latimer and Bilney, Dr. Barnes now for the first time declared himself openly on their side, offering Latimer his pulpit (which was exempt from the episcopal jurisdiction) for 24th December. Here Latimer addressed a crowded audience, while Dr. Barnes himself preached at St. Edwards by request of the parishioners. A brilliant scholar, a man of eloquence and power, but of a fiery temperament, Barnes gave vent to his feel-

[1] Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, i., 311, under 1525; Strype's *Parker*, i., 12, ed. 1821.

[2] Demaus, *Hugh Latimer*, p. 39.

[3] West, Bishop of Ely, 7th Oct., 1515, to 28th April, 1533, Stubbs (*Reg. Sac.*, 97).

[4] This priory, not included under Cambridge in the *Monasticon*, is placed by Tanner (*Not. Mon.*, CAMBRIDGE, No. 24, *Austin Friars*) in the parish of St. Edward, near the Pease Market. An account of Barnes and the classic authors he lectured on is given in Cooper's *Annals* (i., 311).

ings, inveighing without any restraint against the clergy in general and the bishops especially, Wolsey in particular. The matter was brought before the vice-chancellor, the whole University was agitated almost to the verge of riot. Barnes declared his readiness to submit to the vice-chancellor, but the recantation he was required to make was so extravagant that he refused to read it. The opposition opened communication with Wolsey; on 5th February, 1526, Barnes was arrested in the Convocation House and hurried off to London, whither he was accompanied by his young friend Miles Coverdale and others. Before the cardinal, who had now legatine authority of visitation over all the monastic and mendicant orders, Barnes at first stoutly maintained his ground, but overpowered by threats of the stake he made his submission on 10th February, 1526, and again the following day at St. Paul's before a blazing pile of Tyndale's testaments and Lutheran books, and was committed to prison.

Latimer and Bilney were also brought before Wolsey. The former on being questioned as to the Bishop of Ely's displeasure, gave a full account of the university sermon, upon which Wolsey observed, "If the Bishop of Ely cannot abide such doctrine as you have here repeated, you shall have my licence, and shall preach it unto his beard, let him say what he will". Bilney had to promise on oath "not to preach any of Luther's opinions, but to impugn them everywhere". Latimer under the Cardinal's licence continued to preach free from all episcopal interference, and was now the chief public representative of the Reformation at Cambridge. In the spring of 1527 Bilney proceeded from Cambridge on a preaching excursion to the Eastern Counties, where Wyclif's followers chiefly abounded, and to London and the neighbourhood, the burden of his message being the mediation of Christ. He was arrested and once more brought before Wolsey, in November, 1527. On 8th December, after again abjuring, he was put to the penance of bearing his faggot at St. Paul's and then imprisoned. In the beginning of 1529 he rejoined Latimer at Cambridge, greatly distressed by his weakness in recanting.

Among Cambridge fellows and tutors there were others sympathising with reform and preparing to be leaders of it in the future. Thomas Cranmer, entering Jesus College in 1503, spent his first eight years, *i.e.*, until the arrival of Erasmus, in acquiring a knowledge of the schoolmen; in 1519, being then fellow, he commenced the study of Scripture, and for the next four years pursued it with unremitting industry. He was one of those whom Wolsey's agents, in 1525, sought to tempt to Oxford; but

he preferred to continue in the office he then held, of divinity lecturer in his own college.

Nicholas Ridley, entering Pembroke Hall *cir.* 1518, graduated in 1522, became fellow in 1524, and master in 1540. This college, where Shorton was master (1519-34), Stafford fellow and divinity reader, seems to have been a nursery of the Reformation. Ridley, writing of this period, described the college as studious, well learned, a great setter forth of Christ's Gospel, and of God's true Word. "In thy orchard (the walls, butts, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness) I learned without book almost all Paul's Epistles."

The Cambridge Reformers of this period, though loosely called "Lutherans," as were all who listened to Luther and sympathised with his main ideas, can hardly be said to have taught Lutheran doctrine, except in a qualified sense. They had made no conscious departure from the recognised dogmas of the Church, on the Sacraments, for instance; the question of the corporal presence was not yet agitated at Cambridge, or, in fact, anywhere else in England, at this early date. They were devoting themselves to the exposition of Scripture, taking that for their text, and discarding the schoolmen, pointing out Christ as the sole author of salvation, and the grand example of life, declaring against some prevalent superstitions. They were purifying the Church in its life and walk, without knowing yet how complete was the revision which its doctrinal teaching really needed.

Oxford likewise contributed popular reformers at this period. In 1521, the year in which Erasmus mentioned Cambridge and Paris so favourably, Archbishop Warham informed Wolsey that divers of Oxford were infected with the heresies of Luther and others, having among them a great number of their books.[1]

The founding of Cardinal College, Oxford, by Wolsey, and his endeavour to obtain for it recruits from Cambridge, here meet us once more. At Easter and Christmas, 1527, Thomas Gerrard or Garrett, a graduate,[2] visited Oxford,[3] associating with students and circulating Lutheran books. A list of their names and colleges, which has been preserved, shows above eight

[1] Hook, i., 279 (N.S.); Prof. Ince, *Sermon on Luther*, p. 6. In 1521, too, Wolsey desired Booth Bishop of Hereford to search for writings of Luther and report. Hook, i., 283; Wolsey to Booth, 14th May, 1521, Wilkins, iii., 690.

[2] Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* says Garrard or Garrett was at Corpus Christi, Oxford, from Lincolnshire, on 9th August, 1517; B.A., June, 1518, M.A., 9th March, 1524, B.D. and D.D. at Cambridge. He was instituted to All Saints, Hony Lane, London, 14th June, 1537.

[3] Cooper's *Athenæ*.

belonging to Cardinal College. The attention of the authorities having been called to this outbreak, Gerrard left Oxford on 18th February, 1528. At both universities, therefore, the new opinions which were widely spreading on the Continent had begun to take root before 1529. Oxford "Lutheranism" is probably to be understood in the same qualified sense as Cambridge Lutheranism.

We seek finally for indications before 1529 of a popular and unofficial reform spirit in the country at large. William Tyndale, an Oxford graduate and a competent Greek scholar, had apparently resolved on translating the Bible for the English people about the early part of 1523,[1] soon after Luther's German New Testament came out. His fruitless application for countenance to Tonstal, Bishop of London, was probably in the autumn of 1523, and his consequent withdrawal to Hamburg, early in 1524.[2] In this free commercial city, just then establishing a reformation for itself, he would find safety, and among the many Jews resorting to it, opportunities of learning Hebrew.[3] There his versions of St. Matthew and St. Mark were separately printed. At Cologne in 1525 the entire New Testament was being printed when discovery by the enemy drove him with the sheets further up the Rhine to Worms, where a new edition was produced. Copies were secretly conveyed to England, and some fell into the hands of the authorities. On Sunday, 11th February, 1526, at St. Paul's, before the large crucifix at the north gate, in the presence of Cardinal Wolsey and thirty-six bishops, abbots and priors, great baskets full of books were cast to the flames, Bishop Fisher preaching on the occasion. Tyndale states that in this fire some copies of his version were burnt.[4] On 24th October, 1526, Tonstal Bishop of London, and on 3rd November Archbishop Warham, issued mandates against the circulation of Tyndale's version, complaining of its containing many heretical articles and pestiferous glosses.[5] The controversial introductions were subsequently omitted.[6]

Tyndale.

Up to the time of Tyndale's New Testament, early in 1526, no great preacher, no "apostle," of the English Reformation had appeared. Colet had sounded the alarm in London, but Colet demanded no revision of doctrine, Colet was local, and Colet was now dead. There was no one in England answering to Luther in

[1] Gathered from the dates in *Tyndale's Life*, prefixed to his *Doctrinal Treatises* by the Parker Society, p. xxv. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. xxxi. King Henry, later in the year, speaks of having had the book burned for its "prefaces and other pestilent glosses".

[5] *Ibid.*, p. xxxii. and *note*. [6] The facsimile copy in 1862 contains none.

Germany and Zwingle in Switzerland. The earliest conspicuous Reform leaders were Latimer, Cranmer, Ridley; but before 1529, the period we are now concerned with, Latimer, though prominent at Cambridge, was unknown in England generally, while the other two had not emerged from College walls even in Cambridge.

What, therefore, Luther and Zwingle were to the Continent, Tyndale's New Testament was to England, Tyndale himself being in hiding beyond the seas. While translating and printing he was hunted from place to place, not only until 1529 but until his martyrdom in 1536. Tyndale's New Testament, rather than any one man, was the source of the Tudor Reformation. On 24th October, 1526, Tonstal, Bishop of London, complained that it was being dispersed in large numbers all over his diocese.

With the inspired volume that Tyndale was giving must be mentioned also his own treatises which accompanied or followed it. These were in the strictest sense doctrinal,[1] showing English people how the sacred Scriptures bore upon the misbeliefs and superstitions then current in the Church. The Cambridge Reformers, whether they had advanced much or little in this direction, were still local, while Tyndale's tracts ran through the land; and they covered, one with another, nearly, if not quite, the whole ground of the Roman controversy,[2] the New Testament securing attention to them as they to it. In method searching, they were in language calm and temperate, sparing every provocative word. The Testament and the comment, for such they were, are both together to be considered the leading agency in the early and popular Henrician Reformation. This in point of time was exactly concurrent with the official reforming efforts of Wolsey at Oxford. Had but the Church rulers, the Primate, the Bishop of London, and especially the projector of Cardinal College, seen, like those who taught the people, where the real power of progress lay, the great college training the leaders of Church and State, the Bible winning their hearts, what a time it had been for the Church of England! "Arise, shine, for thy light is come," might have been written of her. Instead of this, popular reform and official reform lived in dread of one another, shrinking from one another as deadliest enemies, the official and the popular terrorising and terrorised, in pre-

[1] See Tyndale's *Doctrinal Treatises*, one of the Parker Society's volumes.

[2] Tyndale's *Brief Declaration of the Sacraments* in his *Doctrinal Treatises*, p. 345, touches on Transubstantiation, but it was in 1533, outside the period now under review.

paration for that sure day of Nemesis when this relation would be reversed.

Only in the middle of his reign does Henry's place in the Reformation begin to appear. We have seen Colet in London following Colet at Oxford; he has held up St. Paul to the people; he has started a reform in education; he has implored the governors of the Church to endeavour a reformation in life and manners. We have beheld the people, with Wyclif's Bible hidden in their homes, hungering after lost truths, and risking their lives in the attempt to recover them. We have met Luther's tracts and Tyndale's Bible pouring by stealth into the country and eagerly read. In short, we have been in contact with many elements of popular reform, along with some unsuccessful attempts, through Warham's Synod, Wolsey's legatine action, and Cardinal College, at official reform. But in none is the great figure of Henry visible. He has done nothing to manifest sympathy with the call for Church reform; on the contrary, a book written by him, against Luther, expressed decided and vehement opposition.[1]

Henry and the Reformation.

This is readily accounted for. Henry's first twenty years or so were engrossed in foreign affairs, which were then of deepest interest, it being the period in which two great princes, Charles V. Emperor of Germany, and Francis I. King of France, occupy the whole Continental history and still haunt the reader's imagination. Home politics did not exist to a man like Henry, absorbed in every phase of European combination.

Now it was exactly in that first half of the reign that the popular reforming spirit was so active and fervent. The Court, the Crown, had nothing, could have had nothing, to do with it; and it is especially important to keep the fact in view, as the best answer to the taunt that the English Reformation owed its birth solely to Henry the Eighth.

We now proceed under the following distinct heads: 1. The so-called Divorce, starting a new English era in Church and State; 2. Statutory Church Reform, effecting a complete constitutional severance from Rome; 3. Fall of the Monasteries, strongholds of the Papacy; 4. Doctrinal standards to regulate a religion without the Pope; 5. A new episcopate for a non-papal Church; 6. The English Bible allied with a non-papal system; 7. Regius Professorships de-papalising University teaching; 8. Chantries

[1] The date may be gathered from the letter of Leo X. of 4th November, 1521, to Henry, thanking him for the book and announcing that he formally conferred on him the title of *Defender of the Faith*. The letter is in Rymer, 758, ed. 1712, and in Wilkins, ii., 695.

surviving as an expression of the old religion ; 9. Cranmer between the King and the Court party. The popular reformation from 1529 will then be proceeded with and the condition of the English Church at the end of Henry's reign estimated.

THE "DIVORCE".—Though the Reformation did not owe its birth to Henry VIII., yet his domestic life did furnish the occasion of a series of legislative measures that, so far as we can conjecture, never would have arisen otherwise, and such as ultimately gave in England to an originally spontaneous popular movement what other countries have missed, a recognised place in the old church framework.

The matter of Henry VIII.'s separation from Queen Katherine, the great dividing point of his reign, here arises. It is improperly called "divorce," for the Church of that period rigorously prohibited divorce ; yet what practically amounted to it was often enough within reach. Ecclesiastical law placed so many and such refined impediments in the way of a valid marriage that some of them might exist unsuspected. They could be removed by costly dispensations, but should these have been neglected at the time the impediments could be revived, and a man might be able to put away his wife by a sentence of Church law declaring that he had never been properly married at all. Thus if divorce was impossible, a nullification of the original marriage was very far from being so.[1] Our present law is different. A disclosure of impediments is challenged prior to matrimony, and should none be then alleged, none are afterwards allowed to invalidate a marriage except such as arise from the detection of polygamy, gross fraud, and the like. Henry's contention was that his union with Katherine was originally null, she having been previously the wife of his deceased brother Arthur, married to Henry by a Papal dispensation only.

The "Divorce".

In 1527, by the King's desire, the two archbishops, Warham and Wolsey, conferred together[2] about the legality of the marriage, on the alleged doubts in foreign Courts as to Princess Mary's legitimacy, endangering her prospect of marriage and the continuance of the line. Warham as well as Wolsey entered into the King's views, and the result was an application to the Pope the same year to have the marriage set aside. The Pope appointed two legates[3] to try the matter in London, where, on 31st May, 1529, their court was opened at Bridewell Palace.

By this action the pontifical head of the Western Church and

[1] Dr. Salmon's Sermon, *Martin Luther*, 11th Nov., 1883.
[2] Hook, i., 357 (N.S.).
[3] Wolsey and Campegio, Burnet, i., 76, 89.

the heads of the English Church publicly admitted that Henry had a *primâ facie* case, and that the case was one of law, not of the King's private motive. Whether or no Henry had set his mind on Anne Boleyn (as to which opinions differ)[1] is not to the point. It did not come before the Court, and need not here be discussed. Law had been appealed to, and law must decide.

The trial lasted seven weeks,[2] and on 23rd July[3] the case was ready for judgment, which however was not delivered, the alleged reason being that the long vacation of the Consistory at Rome, of which this legatine court in London was but a part, had arrived. The Court adjourned to 1st October, upon which day its decision was to be pronounced.[4] The postponement must have been a pretext for avoiding a judgment altogether, as is clear from the circumstance that on 4th August a Papal brief arrived summoning the King and Queen, personally or by proxy, to Rome to have the cause tried there.[5] This "avocation" to Rome, really tantamount to quashing the trial and refusing a decision, is explained by the political situation abroad. The Emperor Charles V., Katherine's nephew, then in possession of Rome and the Pope's person, had on 20th June, 1529, concluded with the Pope the peace of Barcelona, and had evidently bought him off from Henry's interest. The King resenting such treatment, and accusing Wolsey of having lent himself to the Pope, dismissed him from the office of Lord Chancellor on 29th September, 1529. This was the fall of Wolsey,[6] who died 29th November, 1530.

Decree of Nullity.

Application to the Papal Court having broken down, some other way of settling the difficulty had to be found; for it would be intolerable that doubts should remain as to the legality of the marriage of the King of England, which had been the talk of Europe for two years. The suggestion of a certain Cambridge divine, Thomas Cranmer, reached the King, who, being much struck with it, sent for him.[7] His idea may be thus stated, that two separate points had to be cleared up, requiring the help of theologians. 1. Could a Papal bull dispense with a divine law, making that allowable which the divine law forbade? 2. Was the union of Henry with Katherine, his brother's widow,

[1] Burnet, i., 82; Hook i., 355, 357 (N.S.), argues that Henry's action did not originate in his desire for Anne. Brewer (*Henry VIII.*, ii., 162) writes: "The exact date at which Henry began to entertain these scruples, and their precise shape at the first, can never be determined with accuracy; . . . they were not known to the King himself".

[2] The legates first sat 31st May, 1529, Burnet, i., 127.

[3] Burnet, i., 124.

[4] *Ibid.*, 136.

[5] *Ibid.*, 127, 137.

[6] *Ibid.*, 140.

[7] *Ibid.*, 140.

3rd June, 1509, permissible in itself before the bull of Julius II., 26th December, 1503, giving a dispensation for it?

If both questions must be negatived, then was the difficulty settled; for the union being wrong by divine law, and not to be legalised by a bull, could only have been null and void from the first. Soon the various universities of Europe, upon the King's invitation, were in keen debate, and especially on the central question, Can a Papal decree invalidate divine law? In 1530 the two English, and some Continental universities, declared the marriage invalid.[1] In the spring of 1531 Parliament[2] and the Convocations sat. Both the Convocations declared in the same sense as the universities.[3] No formal resolution of Parliament was requested; but the action of the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, Wolsey's successor, claims special attention as indicating his own view. Having on 30th March, the day before the prorogation, laid before the peers the opinions received from the universities, assuring that House that scruples of conscience were the sole reason of the King's proceedings, and adding that he had many times declared his own sentiments to the King, he proceeded with twelve peers, spiritual and temporal, to the Lower House, where he again had the opinions read, exhorting the members to go down to the country and communicate what they had heard, which would convince people that the King was being actuated by conscience, and a desire to secure the succession.[4]

At length on 23rd May, 1533, when two years more of this distressing and dangerous business had passed, making a total of six, Cranmer, who was now Archbishop of Canterbury,[5] and *ex officio* Papal legate,[6] pronounced in his Court at Dunstable[7] that the marriage with Katherine had been void from the first.

Henry, and next to him, Cranmer, have received unmeasured blame in this matter. Queen Katherine's sorrows are set down to a conspiracy between those two men. But it is only fair to remember that the responsibility rests also on the Church and the realm of England. At the very outset both archbishops of the day, Warham[8] and Wolsey,[9] concurred in opening the question. Two eminent doctors,

The Responsible Parties.

[1] Cambridge, February, 1530; Oxford, 8th April, 1530; Sorbonne, 2nd July, 1530; Burnet, i., 148, 150.

[2] 16th January-31st March, 1531, Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 82, 86.

[3] Burnet, i., 181.

[4] *Ibid.*, 180-81; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 87; Herbert, 152, dating the occurrence 31st March.

[5] Nominated by Bull, 21st February, 1533.

[6] Burnet, i., 220.

[7] In proximity to Katherine's residence.

[8] Burnet, i., 78, 79.

[9] *Ibid.*, 99-102.

Gardiner and Fox, afterwards bishops, consented as Ministers of the Crown to support the King's view. Pole in 1530 was busily employed at Paris in the King's cause.[1] The Bishops of London (Stokesley) and Lincoln (Longland) contributed their active assistance, and both were assenting assessors of Cranmer at Dunstable, as were Bishops Gardiner of Winchester and Clerk of Bath and Wells.[2] Both Convocations concurred. Parliament gave its sanction, before the sentence, by hearing without remonstrance the opinions of the universities; and after the sentence, by declaring the issue of the second marriage lawful.[3] Should it be asserted that these supporters were intimidated or bought by wholesale, every man's deed was yet his own, and it was an age of public spirit and martyrdom, as well as one of intimidation, bribery and policy. Men could act with independence.

In a word, the Synods of the Church, the universities and parliaments of the country, were virtually the Archbishop's assessors at Dunstable, and spoke by his voice. If the sentence was an unrighteous one, the Church and the nation shared in the blame, and two or three men ought not to be singled out as the culprits of the age.

If it be said that all those bodies of men, judge and "assessors" alike, belied their inmost convictions, a caitiff England, a caitiff Church, conspiring to crush one unhappy woman, we naturally shrink from such a conclusion, and two authorities help us to be sceptical. Cranmer is one, whom Hook, who never spares Cranmer, allows to have been sincere and consistent from first to last. The other is More.[4] The virtuous Sir Thomas More, whom all delight to praise for unflinching fidelity to his convictions, was yet a prominent agent in the unhappy proceedings. The people at large expressed varied opinions.[5]

If in fact the act of Henry VIII. in putting Katherine away was iniquitous, its discredit must be shared by the ecclesiastical system of the Middle Ages. The Church had placed all sanctity in celibacy, making wedlock rather an indulgent concession to weak and sinful lay people, although matrimony was declared for the mere laity a sacrament.

[1] Pocock's *Records*, Pref., p. xxx., and Pole's *Letters*, pp. 541, 563.

[2] Burnet, i., 219, 220.

[3] By the Act of Succession, 25 Hen. VIII., c. 22, 1534; Burnet, i., 238; *inf.*, 140.

[4] More "thought the cause of the King's divorce was just, and as long as it was prosecuted at the Court of Rome, so long he favoured it"; Burnet, iii. 301. He resigned the Great Seal on the 16th May, 1532; *ibid.*, i., 208.

[5] *Ibid.* 220.

Moreover, "the Church" had invented a multitude of impediments to marriage, with a multitude of expedients out of them, and a multitude of fees, confounding human and divine together. What wonder if lax notions as to the wedded state prevailed in the Middle Ages, as though all were a matter of fees, official processes and of lawyers?

When Henry was married to his brother's widow, a bull was required to make that lawful which was held to be otherwise unlawful. If it was unlawful, there should have been no marriage and no bull. The claim to abrogate a divine law by Papal license brought a disastrous retribution. To undo that bull cost England a six years' open sore laid bare before contemptuous Europe, and cost the Papacy a wound from which it never recovered.

STATUTORY CHURCH REFORM.—The first four Parliaments of the reign were very brief, far between, and unimportant, remarkably contrasting with the fifth, which lasting seven years, held eight sessions, and passed statutes which govern England to this day. For twenty years the country had been contentedly ruled almost by the King's prerogative alone. Now and henceforth it was to be governed by Parliament, and with a domestic as well as a foreign policy. Thus did the Reformation create a stimulus for parliamentary and popular government in England that never died out.

The Reformation Parliament.

The measures were largely ecclesiastical, and were designed to root out Papal authority from this kingdom; on which account Henry VIII.'s fifth Parliament is often called the Reformation Parliament. It began 2nd November, 1529, and ended 17th November, 1536. The former date was just after the fall of Wolsey. The failure of the legatine court to pronounce on the King's case had brought public affairs into great perplexity. For two years doubts had been cast on the lawfulness of his marriage, the legitimacy of his only child, and the stability of his dynasty —matters of which the gravity was deeply felt so soon after the Wars of the Roses. Those doubts had been allowed to prevail without the least prospect of their solution. It was therefore a crisis of the first magnitude in which this fifth Parliament met.

The royal supremacy in the Church first came under discussion in the Convocation of Canterbury, which assembled on 5th November, 1529, and voted on 24th January, 1531, after many sessions and debates, a subsidy of £100,000[1] to the King. This

[1] The long Latin Act of Convocation is in Stubbs's *Hist. App.*, 70.

was presented to him on 22nd March, in an address which declared the offering a spontaneous one, and described the benefits he had conferred upon the Church as far exceeding their power to repay by words, offices or gifts. In particular was specified the benefit of his having defeated with his pen the conspiracy of the Lutherans against the "Universal" Church. Of the Anglican they acknowledge him "the singular protector, the only supreme lord, and, so far as the law of Christ allows, *etiam* the supreme head". In testimony of their gratitude, and to secure his pardon for breaches of the statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire*, and others, they present their offering.[1] They had subjected themselves to the tremendous penalties of the statutes referred to from the time they allowed themselves to be ruled by the authority received from the Pope in 1516 by Wolsey as legate *de latere*.[2] Their address celebrates Henry's virtues and merits in the most exalted terms, acknowledging their obligations in very humble phrases; and if, looking below the surface, we discern on the King's part a cruel extortion of gold and title; on theirs, a gross and insincere flattery, with ambiguous concessions; each side must bear its own fair share of the humiliation and disgrace. If the Court was far below the Christian standard, the Church was so also, and the rebuke, "make not My House a house of merchandise," must have been sounding in some ears.

Submission of the clergy.

On 15th May, 1532, a statement in English was drawn up by Convocation, spontaneously so far as it shows,[3] promising for the clergy dutiful submission to the King in the following particulars: not to enact or promulgate canons, and not to meet in Convocation except by the King's leave; also to consent to a revision of the existing canons by a body of thirty-two persons appointed by the King. The next day, 16th May, the archbishop, accompanied by other prelates, read their declaration before the King; whereupon a formal Latin instrument, embodying with it the English statement and dated 16th May,

[1] *Pardon for the Præmunire* was secured by three statutes: To the clergy of the southern province by 22 Hen. VIII., c. 15; to the laity of the realm by 22 Hen. VIII., c. 16, both in session beginning 16th Jan., 1531; for the clergy on the York province, on payment of £18,840, by 23 Hen. VIII., c. 19, in the session beginning 15th Jan., 1532. The three Acts in *Statutes at Large*, iv., 212, 246; *Statutes of the Realm*, iii., 334, 338, 383.

[2] On the question of *Præmunire* as affecting Wolsey, see Burnet, i., 140-41; *The Clergy*, i., 181, 190, 191.

[3] Actually after heavy complaints from the Commons, whose *Petition* and the *Answer* to it, besides the *Submission* itself, are in Gee and Hardy, 145, 154, 176. For visits to Convocation from the Court while the *Submission* was in debate, see Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 92.

was drawn up for publication.[1] This submission, made by the clergy in Convocation, is not to be confused with the later parliamentary *Act of Submission.*

Under the name of *Annates,* or Firstfruits, the archbishops and bishops of the West had long been accustomed to remit to the Roman court on their appointment a sum equivalent to the entire proceeds of their first year, this advance remaining long afterwards a burden upon them, or, if they died, on their representatives. An enormous contribution went to Rome in this shape from England, amounting in half a century [2] to £160,000, above a million and a half of our present money; but the bishops were obliged to pay it before they could obtain from Rome any one of the numerous bulls for confirmations, elections, admissions, postulations, provisions, collations, dispositions, institutions, installations, investiture, orders, holy benedictions [3] then necessary to render the appointment complete and their episcopal acts valid. These annates were the chief source of the Roman revenue, and could not be spared without a derangement of the entire financial system.

Two statutes were enacted for terminating this drain on the Church of England, the first in 1532,[4] before any actual breach with Rome had occurred, though the tension was then strong. It abolished the annates, but not entirely, proposing to allow, as a fair payment for the bulls, which would be received as usual, five per cent. of the first year's produce in lieu of the whole. This Act, though among the statutes, was only provisional until the King might either confirm or annul it, thus affording time for the Roman court to signify its acceptance of the royal compromise, the annates to remain meanwhile unpaid. The Act very plainly intimated that if bulls were not sent on the terms proposed, England would know how to proceed for the welfare of her Church without them. This very menacing attitude of Parliament may well have been the reply to a letter of the Pope, dated 25th January, 1532,[5] remonstrating with Henry for his separation from Katherine, and was the commencement of some irritating

[1] Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 71. The English document of 15th May also in Gee and Hardy, 176.

[2] From 2 Hen. VII., says the Annates Act of 1532, 23 Hen. VIII., c. 20, sec. i., or Preamble, *Statutes at Large*, iv., 247.

[3] So enumerated in the Annates Act of 1532.

[4] 23 Hen. VIII., c. 20, in the session 15th January-March, 1532, *Lords' Journals*, vol. i., pp. cxcvii., ccxxxiv., Roll 33; the Act in *Statutes at Large*, iv., 246; in Burnet, iv., 318; in Gee and Hardy, 178; substance in Burnet, i., 198.

[5] Burnet, i., 199. The letter textually in Herbert, 156.

publications on that subject. This Act was the first step taken by Parliament in the revolt from Rome.

Archbishop Warham died 23rd August, 1532, and at the end of January, 1533, the King applied to the Pope for bulls for Cranmer.[1] Annates were not sent in prepayment, but only 900 ducats, as representing the five per cent. of the Act of 1532. The Pope, not prepared for an open breach, sent the bulls, eleven in number, dated 21st and 22nd February, 2nd March, 1533, the last that reached England in Henry's reign. The oaths to the Pope and the King[2] respectively, customarily taken by bishops before consecration, oaths hardly if at all consistent one with the other, were taken by Cranmer. The one in which he swore allegiance to the Pope was evidently most repugnant to him, as shown by a previous protestation made by him in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, in the presence of Doctors of the Canon Law, to the effect that he did not intend by that oath to restrain himself from anything he was bound to by his duty to God, or the King, or the country, and that he renounced everything in it that was contrary to any of these. Upon this protestation, made by Cranmer on two separate occasions, Burnet remarks, that "if he did not wholly save his integrity, yet it was plain he intended no cheat, but to act fairly and above board".

Cranmer made Archbishop.

By the Act of Restraint of Appeals to Rome,[3] 7th April, 1533, Papal authority in England received its death-blow, and only some remnants of it were left to be swept away by future statutes. Its opening words are: "By divers authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared that this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and King, having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same".

Restraint of Appeals.

The statute forbade any suit at law, spiritual or temporal,[4] being carried to Rome. It must be decided in England, in the King's courts alone. It is to be especially noted that no right is claimed by this statute which the nation had not already possessed from most ancient times, though often loosely maintained. There was henceforth to be no more laxity, but absolute rigour, under very heavy penalties.

[1] Character of Warham and the appointment of Cranmer, Burnet, i., 213.

[2] Burnet, i., 207, gives the oaths textually.

[3] 24 Hen. VIII., c. 12, session 4th February-7th April, 1533, Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 94. The Act textually in *Statutes of the Realm*, iii., 427, and in Gee and Hardy, 187; substantially in *Statutes at Large*, iv., 257, and Burnet, i., 212.

[4] Gee and Hardy, p. 190, line 11.

Such was virtually the first[1] statute of the Reformation Parliament for releasing the Church of England from her Roman fetters. The date is significant. The King's cause was just about to be tried by the Archbishop's court in England, and Parliament was resolved that there should be no appeal, by the Queen or anybody in her name, to a Papal court. The Act was passed on 7th April, and the court opened on 8th May (or 10th). The judgment at Dunstable was delivered on 23rd May, 1533.

The conditional statute of 1532 for new bishops to withhold their annates received no notice from the Pope, though he had been informed of it, while he issued an attack on Henry's second marriage in 1533.[2] The result was a second and enlarged edition of the statute,[3] which, while going over the former ground again, and forbidding the payments of any annates whatever, even a percentage, proceeded to elaborate a plan for the appointing and the consecrating of bishops independently of Papal bulls altogether.[4] The King was to send the cathedral prior and convent (or else dean and chapter) his licence to elect, accompanied by a letter missive directing who was to be elected, and in case of undue delay in the election to appoint the man of his choice by letters patent, the defaulting electors being then subject to *præmunire* penalties; oath and fealty[5] to be made to the King alone. Under the King's direction the archbishop or selected prelates were to confirm, invest, consecrate, confer the pallium, give the benediction, etc., as custom required, without procuring any bulls from Rome. The ministry of the English Church was thus absolutely severed from the Papal chair. In other words, the Church of England ministry became national.

The statutory submission of the clergy,[6] not to be confused

[1] The Act in Restraint of Annates, 1532, having been but provisional, and being as yet unconfirmed.

[2] Displayed at Dunkirk, Burnet, i., 223; *cir.* 2nd December, 1533, Herbert, 172.

[3] 25 Hen. VIII., c. 20, *Statutes at Large*, iv., 286; Burnet, i., 245; passed on 16th March, 1534; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 34, col. 2, top; 104, col. 2. In its passage through Parliament referred to as a Bill "Concerning the Consecration of Bishops within this Realm," and "The Consecration Bill"; *ibid.*, 100, 102, 104. Text in Gee and Hardy, 201, "Ecclesiastical Appointments Act".

[4] This explains the double title with which the Act, 25 Hen. VIII., c. 20, occurs. In *Statutes at Large*, iv., 286, the title is "Non-payment of Firstfruits," the body of the Act indicating how archbishops and bishops are to be elected and confirmed, while in the *Lords' Journals* (vol. i., 9th and 16th March,1534, and p. 83, No. 25) this indication is made itself the title, "An Act to show how Archbishops, etc., are to be made".

[5] The oath to the King and that which had been customarily sworn to the Pope are given in full by Burnet, i., 207.

[6] 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19, passed with royal assent 30th March, 1534; *Lords' Journals*, i., 81, 83, 30th March, 1534, No. 32; *Statutes at Large*, iv., 283; Burnet, i., 244. Text in Gee and Hardy, 195.

with the Convocational on 15th and 16th May, 1532, of which it is a parliamentary echo, established by force of law what the clergy had but promised on behalf of themselves and their order. Referring to it more particularly, since Convocation is still governed by this statute, we note:—

I. The consent of the Crown is required for the assembling of Convocation. The archbishop was no longer permitted, as previously, to summon that body at his pleasure. He still summoned, and he only, but not at pleasure. He must first receive an order from the Crown.

II. Even when assembled, Convocation could pass no canons without further express leave of the Crown, conveyed to it in the form it is now usual to call *letters of business,* and without these, Convocation, though it may *deliberate* to any extent, cannot make a canon, can do nothing to bind the Church.

III. The Act provides that even when canons are made they cannot be promulgated without receiving the approval of the Crown.

By this measure, then, the clergy became more subordinated to the civil authority than they had been under the Plantagenet reigns. The "free" and self-willed spirit which they had been learning since the days of Hildebrand and the Conquest, was now checked and curbed. Church and State, or rather, the ecclesiastical and civil estates, had now begun to cease diverging; the bond between them was beginning to grow closer.

Yet the points on which ecclesiastical freedom was being limited were strictly defined. The position of the clergy, therefore, became constitutional, not exposed (in the respects now under view) to the arbitrary tyranny of civil rulers. The English civil power, which had never made a concordat with Rome, was beginning to make one with the national ecclesiastical power; it was the concordat of LAW. The clergy were nationalised like the bishops.

Court of Final Appeal.

Appeals to Rome having been forbidden, it was requisite that a tribunal for deciding them at home should be formally instituted; and a court was now provided by the Act of Submission just considered.[1] Appeals from all the archbishop's courts were to be carried to the King in chancery, who then would issue a commission under the Great Seal for finally trying the cases. The commissioners thus appointed, who afterwards

[1] 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19. All relating to this matter is in Gee and Hardy, 199 (under the Submission Act).

came to be called delegates, formed strictly a court of judgment,[1] and nothing is said in the Act about sentence being given by the King or in the King's name. This court of final appeal was a matter quite germane to the Act of Submission which established it, since resort to it was a material way of testifying subjection to the King and the King's law.

In close connection also with the new court this Act empowered the King to appoint thirty-two persons to revise the canons,[2] for these being the Pope's law, could not be admissible in a court of the realm except in the few particulars wherein the two were not inconsistent. As the Act distinctly recognised this principle, it hardly mattered whether the canons were formally revised or not (and they never were), for in each specific case as it arose the question of harmony or repugnancy at that point would have to be determined. Thus in their judicial relations the whole body of the clergy were nationalised.

On 20th March, 1534, was passed an Act abolishing Peter-pence,[3] a measure of relief chiefly affecting the people, who had from very early times paid the See of Rome an annual tribute called by this name. While ending that and various Papal exactions, the statute, in the principles which it asserted, covered wider ground and was calculated to encourage the party of Reformation.

I. It declared that as the King had been acknowledged by the clergy head of the Church of England, his subjects were discharged from dependence on the Court of Rome.

II. It struck at the inveterate trade in indulgences, which pretended to set aside for money not Church law only but the divine law itself.

III. While disclaiming all intention to vary from the Catholic faith of Christendom, it distinctly intimated that in things necessary to salvation its standard ought to be considered to be Scripture and the Word of God—the nation here speaking with another voice than that of the *Determination* of 1413![4]

[1] Sec. iv. of the Act. The Court of Delegates was superseded in 1832 by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, by 2 & 3 Will. IV., c. 92; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 21, 39, 40, 46.

[2] Sec. ii. of the Act; Burnet, i., 244. It should be remembered that revision of the canons was a claim of the King and a concession by the clergy, a part of their submission. *See* Submission of 1532.

[3] 25 Hen. VIII., c. 21, *Statutes at Large*, iv., 291; in Gee and Hardy, 209, with title "Act forbidding Papal dispensations and the payment of Peter-pence". Substantially in Burnet, i., 239; briefly in Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 104.

[4] *Supra*, 113.

IV. Though dispensations or licenses must no longer be applied for from the Bishop of Rome, they might still be granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury in all matters hitherto customary, and not contrary to the law of God, and in such new matters as might be sanctioned by the King and his Council.

V. Monasteries formerly exempted by the Bishop of Rome from episcopal visitation were to continue so; but all authority over them hitherto enjoyed by the Pope must now vest in the King. The powerful monastic corporations therefore saw their privileges threatened.

VI. There is a full and emphatic reassertion of the imperial and independent character of the realm of England, bound by no laws but those made by herself, or if admitting others (evidently alluding to the canon laws), admitting them solely on their merits, of free choice, and not on any foreign authority whatever. The spirit of nationality was thus being diffused among the laity as well as among the clergy. Offences against the Act would incur *præmunire* penalties.

An Act of 30th March, 1534,[1] repealed Henry IV.'s of 1401, which allowed bishops to imprison persons suspected of heresy, but which did not declare what heresy was except in the vague terms of its being contrary to Scripture and the canons, a perilous ambiguity, leaving every man in doubt whether he was a heretic or not. Another hardship of the repealed statute was that the spiritual courts proceeded without public presentment or accusation, contrary to the practice of all other courts.[2] It was now enacted that heretics should be proceeded against upon presentment, by two witnesses at least, and then be committed, but be brought to answer their indictments in open court; if found guilty and refusing to abjure, or if relapsed, to be adjudged to death, but not without the King's writ *De Hæretico Comburendo* being first obtained.[3] This limitation of the arbitrary proceedings of the spiritual courts was generally welcome, and especially to those favouring the Reformation.[4] The passing of the Act may indicate that the revolt from the old doctrine was growing, and a feeling prevalent that the party of progress should have fair-play.

Heresy Law Amended.

[1] 25 Hen. VIII., c. 14, passed with royal assent, 30th March, 1534, *Lords' Journals*, i., 81, 83, No. 31; *Statutes at Large*, iv., 278; *Statutes of the Realm*, iii., 454. The proceedings of ordinaries in heresy cases were loudly complained of in 1532. *See* in *Petition of Commons and Answer*, Gee and Hardy, 151, 160.

[2] *See* the Preamble in *Statutes of the Realm*, quoted by Burnet, i., 243-44; omitted in *Statutes at Large*, iv., 278.

[3] Burnet's summary of the Act (i., 244).

[4] *Ibid.*

Oath of the Succession.

On the ground that the royal succession had hitherto been insufficiently regulated by law, whereby many contentions had arisen, affording the See of Rome opportunities of dictating in English affairs, an Act was passed, 30th March, 1534, to prevent this evil in future.[1] It declared that the marriage of Henry and Katherine had been rightly pronounced void by the Archbishop's Court, as being against the divine law, which no human authority was competent to dispense with; and that their "divorce" should be upheld, whatever appeal might be carried to the Court of Rome, contrary to the recent Act.[2] It was also declared that Henry and Anne had been lawfully married, that their issue should be regarded as of legitimate birth, and as next heirs of the Crown. All persons, the spiritual and temporal nobility, with all others of full age, from time to time, were to be sworn to observe the Act, those refusing when called upon being reckoned guilty of misprision of treason, and liable to imprisonment during the King's pleasure, and the entire forfeiture of goods. The Act did not include a form of oath; but both Houses swore on 29th March, before breaking up, in a form agreed upon.[3] On the rising of Parliament, commissioners for administering the oath were sent everywhere, and it was taken by all classes, though in what forms is not known. The subscriptions to the oath by seven heads of convents, dated 4th May, 1534, have been preserved. On 6th May, Bishop Gardiner wrote from Winchester that all abbots, priors, wardens, curates, within the shire had obediently taken the oath.[4]

The Commission for administering the oath, with the terms of the oath, is appended to the Act.[5] The terms are as follows: "Ye shall swear to bear your faith, truth, and obedience alonely to the King's majesty, and to the heirs of his body, according to the limitation within this Statute of Succession above specified, and not to any other within this realm, nor foreign authority, prince, or potentate; and in case any oath be made to any other

[1] 25 Hen. VIII., c. 22, "Concerning the King's Succession," *Statutes at Large*, iv., 305. Substance in Burnet, i., 241; Herbert, 174. While passing through Parliament called "Bill for Abrogating the Pope's Usurped Authority," *Lords' Journals*, i., 83, 19th, 20th, 30th March, 1534, No. 8. The Act textually in Gee and Hardy, 232, First Act of Succession. Passed, with royal assent, 30th March, 1534, Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 106.

[2] For Restraint of Appeals to Rome, 24 Hen. VIII., c. 12, 7th April, 1533.

[3] Burnet, i., 252, 258.

[4] *Ibid.*, 255.

[5] *Lords' Journals*, i., 82, dated 30th March, 25 Hen. VIII., the King being present.

person to repute the same as annihilate; and that you to the uttermost of your power observe and defend this Act and all the contents and effects thereof against all manner of persons of whatsoever dignity or condition".[1]

Thus was Parliament in the most express manner consenting with the other national bodies, the convocations, the universities, and the great mass of the people, in Cranmer's sentence at Dunstable.[2]

Ecclesiastical Action, as represented by Convocation, harmonised in the most marked manner with parliamentary. On 31st March, 1534, Canterbury Convocation, and on 15th May that of York, affirmed that the Bishop of Rome had no greater jurisdiction in the realm of England conferred upon him by God in Holy Scripture than any other foreign bishop.[3] This was likewise affirmed by the University of Cambridge on 2nd May, and by that of Oxford on 27th June. A similar formula was signed by the heads of all the religious houses in England, except some Carthusians and Observants.[4]

On 11th November, 1534,[5] at the first meeting of the Canterbury Convocation in the autumn of this year, Archbishop Cranmer altered his style from "Legate of the Apostolic See" to "Metropolitan". The legatine official title conferred by the Pope and accepted by the Primate four centuries before, without reference to the civil authority, was thus not taken away by any statutory measure, but was simply dropped.

On 17th November, 1534, it was enacted[6] that the King should be "accepted and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England called Anglicana Ecclesia," and should have annexed to the imperial crown of the

Supreme Head.

[1] Abridged in citation in the session beginning 3rd November, 1534, an Act was passed, 26 Hen. VIII., c. 2, ratifying this oath; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 108; Burnet, i., 258. This later Act in *Statutes of the Realm*, iii., 492, also recites the oath; 26 Hen. VIII., c. 2; in Gee and Hardy, 244.

[2] On 19th and 30th March, 1534, days on which the Bill was before the Lords, there were in the House, without protest, Archbishop Cranmer, the Bishops of London (Stokesley), Winchester (Gardiner), Lincoln (Longland), Bath and Wells (Clerk); the Abbots of Westminster, St. Albans, St. Augustine's (Canterbury), Bury (St. Edmunds), Reading, Hyde, Holme (St. Benet, in Norfolk), Battle, Winchcombe, Colchester, Shrewsbury, Waltham; the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem; *Lords' Journals*, i., 76, 82; *cf. supra*, 131.

[3] Gee and Hardy, 251; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 34, 106, giving 5th May for York.

[4] Burnet, i., 381.

[5] Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, p. 34, col. 2.

[6] Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 34, col. 2; 109, col. 1; 26 Hen. VIII., c. 1, session 3rd November to 18th December, 1534. Text in *Statutes of Realm*, iii., 492, also in Gee and Hardy, 243. Substance in *Statutes at Large*, iv., 312; Burnet, i., 258; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 72.

realm the title, style, honour and authority belonging to the said dignity. Among the rights to be considered as enjoyed by the title were those of visiting and reforming the Church, and that of correcting errors and heresies. The exact form in which the title should officially appear is not contained in the Act.[1] The Act notices that the clergy in their convocations have recognised the King's right to be the supreme head of the Church of England, but makes no allusion to their limitation, "so far as the law of Christ will allow," and does not repeat it in any form of words. Moreover, Parliament in referring to Convocation does not profess to find in its proceedings any ground or precedent for its own, though apparently willing to find a support, but takes its own measures with entire independence. Convocation, however it might acknowledge a title, was of course incompetent to *confer* one on the sovereign.

On 18th December, 1534, at the end of the session in which this Act passed, the bishops renewed their allegiance to the King, and swore to maintain his supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, though no oath to that effect was required by law.[2] But before this the clergy swore to the supremacy along with the succession, as, for example, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, on 20th June, 1534.[3] On 9th June, 1535, a royal proclamation ordered the erasure of the Pope's name from the service books.[4] Some time in 1535 the King, intending his title supreme head to represent a tangible office and not a shadowy dignity, appointed Thomas Cromwell his "Lord Vicegerent in ecclesiastical causes," a title never borne before or since.[5] Visitations for spiritual purposes were held in the King's name, and for the first time.

The Visitation of the Monasteries.—In the autumn of 1535 a royal visitation of the Church was carried on by the Vicegerent Cromwell, and on 18th September, during its progress, the Archbishop of Canterbury was inhibited from his own visitation.[6]

In October, 1535,[7] began a general visitation of the monas-

[1] The King's style formally proclaimed "In terrâ Supremum Caput Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ," 15th Jan., 1535; Rymer, xiv., 549, ed. 1712; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 34, 111. Proclaimed, 23rd Jan., 1542, "In terrâ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ atque Hibernicæ Supremum Caput"; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 126. Established by Act passed 16th Feb., 1544, 35 Hen. VIII., c. 3; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 135, 136; *Statutes at Large*, v., 199.

[2] Burnet, i., 293.

[3] Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 72.

[4] *Ibid.*, 111. This proclamation, also called a Letter and dated June 25, without any year, sometimes given under 1534, is here assigned to 1525, as also in Pocock's *Burnet*, iii., 195; textually in Burnet, vi., 106, No. xxxii. of the *Records*.

[5] *Ibid.*, 34, 111. His commission has not been found; its date unknown; *ibid.*

[6] Wilkins, iii., 797; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 113.

[7] Burnet, i., 296.

teries under royal authority, one of the King's statutory rights now being to "visit". The day when Papal bulls were necessary to authorise a monastic visitation had passed away. Thomas Cromwell represented the King as Visitor-General, and was assisted by several subordinate visitors, who carried with them articles of instruction to direct their inquiries, and a body of injunctions as to what they should enforce.[1] The visitors were especially to ascertain that the Act of Succession was observed, which all monasteries had then confirmed under their hands and seals; while they were to clearly instruct abbots and monks, abbesses and nuns that they were now under the King's supremacy and not under the Pope's, no oath to the contrary being valid. The great stress laid on this point shows that the rooting of Papal supremacy out of the monasteries, which were its last stronghold, or else the demolition of the stronghold itself, was a principal object of this visitation. Friars, a more organised body, divided into provinces each subject to its provincial, all under a general at Rome, were, even more than the monks, impossible in a National Church.

In the October term of 1535 royal visitatorial injunctions[2] reached Cambridge from Lord Cromwell the King's Visitor-General.

They required[3] that all divinity lectures in the university and colleges should be upon Holy Scripture, according to the true sense and not after the manner of Scotus; lectures on the *Sentences* were forbidden. Students were allowed to read the Scriptures privately and attend lectures upon them.

A step was also taken in the abandonment of Canon Law or Church Law which prevailed during the Middle Ages, and was founded on a compilation called *Decretum* published by the monk Gratian in or about 1151.[4] This was a codified collection of Church canons and Papal regulations, many of them of doubtful authenticity and not a few entirely fraudulent. The collection was afterwards enlarged, especially by three volumes of "decretals" issued by three Popes from 1234 to 1317, the whole being still known under the title *Body of Canon Law*.[5] Herein was contained the whole system of Mediæval Church Law taught

[1] Burnet, i., 297, 298.

[2] Dated 22nd Oct., 1535, Fuller's *Cambridge*, p. 219, ed. 1840.

[3] Dyer's *Hist. of Cambridge*, i., 83; Cooper's *Annals*, i., 374-76.

[4] A modern edition of Gratian's *Decretum* is included in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. clxxxvii. See more in Wordsworth's *Theoph. Angl.*, 199, 200, and Meyric's *Scripture and Cath. Truth*, pt. ii., c. 1.

[5] *Corpus Juris Canonici*, ed. Friedberg, 1879, etc.

authoritatively in all universities. The rival system of CIVIL LAW was comprehended in the *Institutes* of the Emperor Justinian (A.D. 527-565), in which in a similar way everything was based on Roman imperial decrees.[1] Church rulers were jealous of Civil Law[2] as princes were of Canon Law. Specimens of the Canon Law may be seen in Burnet.[3] It declares that the Emperor was subject to the Bishop of Rome; who might excommunicate princes, depose them, absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance and constrain them to rebellion; was judge in temporal matters; had two swords, the spiritual and the temporal; was not bound by any decrees, but might compel both clergy and laity to receive his decrees and Canon Law; might judge what oaths ought to be kept and what ought not. The Canon Law taught that nothing could be done against a person appealing to Rome; that a prince's laws, if against the canons and decrees of the Bishop of Rome, were of no force; laymen were not to judge the clergy, whose judges were the bishops alone; a penitent could have no remission except through the priest; it was better not to consecrate than to consecrate in a place not hallowed; the See of Rome had neither spot nor wrinkle and could not err.

In the first form of the submission of the clergy to the King, dated 15th May, 1532, drawn up by Convocation,[4] and again in the second or parliamentary form contained in the Act of Submission,[5] passed 30th March, 1534, it was settled that no new canons were ever to be made in the English Church without the King's approval; also that of existing canons those should be abrogated which the King and a majority of thirty-two revisers should condemn, the rest being allowed to stand.[6] A destructive blow was thus levelled at the Canon Law in England, the study of which quickly fell into decay.[7] But what must have made it impossible to sanction any longer the teaching of Canon Law at the universities or to allow of degrees being given in that faculty was Paul III.'s deposing bull of 30th August, 1535,[8] a bold document, with which the Canon Law was distinctly in accordance. In anticipation perhaps of such a bull, if not on its actual

[1] There is a *Body of Civil Law*, *Corpus Juris Civilis*, ed. Kriegel, 1848, corresponding to the *Corpus Juris Canonici*.

[2] In 1220, in the meridian of the Papacy, Honorius III. placed very jealous restrictions on the public teaching of Civil Law at universities, as did Inn. IV. in 1254; Du Boulay, *Univ. of Paris*, iii., 265; Savigny, *Rōmischen Rechts.*, cap. 21, § 137; Lyte, *Oxford*, 55.

[3] Burnet, iv., 520. [4] *Supra*, p. 133. [5] 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19; *supra*, p. 137.

[6] Burnet, i., 244; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 71.

[7] Maitland, *Canon Law*, 92, 93. [8] *Infra*, p. 147.

arrival, a new stroke was aimed at Canon Law in the universities by the King's visitatorial injunctions in the autumnal term of 1535. At Cambridge it was ordered[1] that, as the whole realm had renounced the Pope, acknowledging the King as supreme head of the Church, no further lectures on the Canon Law should be read and no more degrees in that faculty conferred. At Oxford the injunctions appear in Wood's account to have been less stringent, requiring only that a Civil Law lecture should accompany one on the Canon Law.[2]

Executions under the Supremacy Act.—The statutes of 1534, and especially the one which entitled the King supreme head of the Church of England, divided the country everywhere into two opposing parties, one siding with the King and the other with the Pope. The former was strengthened by two Acts in particular, the first Succession Act (30th March), carrying condemnation of Katherine's marriage, and the Royal Supremacy Act (17th November), which repudiated a Papal supremacy in the Church of England.

Royal Supremacy Enforced.

Now began the era of Papal martyrdoms in England. On 25th April,[3] when the first Succession Act had passed (but not the Supremacy Act), two distinguished Papalists, Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, were separately called on to swear to it as the statute ordered. Both declined the oath presented to them, saying they had no objection to swear to the succession of Queen Anne's issue if they might employ their own words, there being language in the Act which they could not swear to but would not specify. The words of the oath were insisted on, and both were sent to the Tower, their offence being not treason but misprision of treason only.[4] They were there in confinement when on 17th November, 1534, the Act of the King's supremacy in the Church of England was passed. But before proceeding with their sorrowful story, we turn aside to another.

On 4th May, 1535, three Carthusian priors, Houghton of the London Charterhouse, Webster of Axholm, Laurence of Bevoll, with a Carthusian monk of Sion, died on the gallows, on a charge of treason, for saying that the King was not under Christ supreme head of the Church of England. Several more Carthusians followed their brethren to death, including nine who perished in confinement, some with aggravations of treasonable

[1] Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, i., 375, Injunc. 5.
[2] Wood's *Annals of Oxford*, ii., 63.
[3] 17th April, Herbert, 175.
[4] Burnet, i., 256, 260, 261; Froude, ii., 238.

language. They were not forced to swear to the King's supremacy, for before 4th July, 1536, no law obliged them to do that, and they could at least have refrained from open speech against the King's statutory title. The authorities seem to have done all they could to save them from themselves.

We return to the Tower, where on 7th May, 1535,[1] Fisher and More were asked to agree to the King's title as head, before any obligation to swear to it was enacted, though *speaking against* it was a capital offence. Fisher did speak against it by peremptorily denying it,[2] which by law was treason. More kept silence, which was not.[3] Afterwards, in a private argumentative conversation with Rich, the King's solicitor, More used some expressions which were thought to amount to denying the title of supreme head. They were brought forward at the trial, and on the strength of them More was found guilty of a treasonable denial of the King's supremacy,[4] as Fisher had been. Fisher was beheaded on 22nd June, More on 1st July, 1535.

Sir Thomas More's trial was a grossly unfair one, and is properly condemned by writers who have no sympathy with his cause. Yet it must not be overlooked that in his inner convictions More was at one with Fisher,[5] though less outspoken while it was possible to save his life. After the sentence, More openly and unreservedly declared for the Papal supremacy.[6]

No generous or even fair mind will deny these sufferers the martyr's praise. If there have been martyrs in history, surely these are among them. But there are martyrs of many causes, even good men are sometimes martyrs for bad causes, and there need be no confusion. In the history of the Church of England, Fisher, More and the Carthusians were martyrs for the Papal domination.

On the side of the King what is to be said? Perhaps nothing that can much improve on the language of Burnet.[7] The Pope was Henry's implacable foe; the Emperor, lord of the Netherlands, a constant menace. Cardinal Pole, exiled from England since 1530 on the Papal question, was promoting combinations in

[1] Froude, ii., 389. [2] *Ibid.*; Burnet, i., 554.

[3] Herbert, 183; Burnet, i., 556; Froude, ii., 389.

[4] Burnet, i., 557; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 111, 113; Short, i., 146; Froude, ii., 396, 397.

[5] His reference to the "two-edged sword"; Herbert, 184; Burnet, i., 556.

[6] "That is my opinion; that is the belief in which, by the grace of God, I shall die": More's words after sentence, quoted by Card. Manning, *Dubl. Rev.*, Jan., 1888, p. 246; Father Gasquet, *Monasteries*, ii., 331, ed. 1889.

[7] Burnet, i., 551.

every court. The English adherents of the Pope and the English correspondents of Pole were spies in Henry's camp. The Pope's power over the English clergy was tyrannous; their dependence on him servile; their interest in the superstitions of the multitude absolute; and had there been the least hope of impunity, the last part of Henry's reign might have been one long rebellion. Hence to save a greater effusion of blood, it seemed best to execute laws severely in particular instances.

It may be a question whether things only to be done once could not have been done better. This is a question in all wars, wars of opinion like the Reformation, as of arms. In Henry VIII.'s reign it was a very urgent and dominant question whether England could remain imperial, or whether her masters should be Rome and the Empire, or Rome and France, or Rome and Spain, in days when the Empire, France, and Spain were leading powers and subservient to Rome: England under a masterful King, such as she might never possess again, was now either to recover her own ancient Constitution, or else, like those other powers, miss it afresh and forever. The moment was supreme, and the thought that it was so may well make English Christians and patriots grateful to an over-ruling Providence in their history, though we may regret details and incidents not a few, and wish that the sceptre had been swayed by an ideal prince while the struggle for life and death was on foot.

In a bull dated 30th August, 1535,[1] Pope Paul III., claiming divine authority over all kings and peoples in the whole world, summoned Henry to appear at Rome in person or by proxy within sixty days, there to answer for having put away his Queen Katherine and married Anne Boleyn; for having made laws obliging his subjects to hold, with other heretical and schismatical articles, that the Roman Pontiff is not head of the Church and Vicar of Christ, but that in the English Church the King is supreme head; also for having put Cardinal Fisher to death, and for several other offences, rendering him unworthy of the regal dignity. In case of his non-appearance, he will be deposed, his subjects will be absolved from their allegiance, and the kingdom will be placed under an interdict.

It is to be noted that the bull charges the English King with usurping the title, not of Christ but of the Pontiff.

In the session of 4th February-14th April, 1536, an Act[2] once

[1] The Bull *Ejus qui*, given in full by Burnet, iv., 318.
[2] 27 Hen. VIII., c. 15, Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 112.

more empowered the King to nominate the Thirty-two revisers, nothing having yet been done under the statute of 1534, and here at least we may conclude some answer intended to the bull of 30th August, 1535.

On 9th June, 1536, Convocation met; on the 16th the chief place therein was claimed by Dr. Petre as the vicegerent's deputy and allowed by the archbishop;[1] on 11th July the *Ten Articles* were signed in Convocation by Cromwell as vicegerent, above the archbishop.[2]

In the second Act of Succession, 4th July, 1536,[3] the oath was made to include one to the supremacy.

On 14th July, 1536, was passed an Act for extirpating the authority of the Bishop of Rome.[4] Any person extolling that authority incurred *præmunire* penalties; every ecclesiastical and lay officer was to be sworn to denounce and resist the Pope and his authority, and to repute every oath previously taken in favour of it void; a refusal of the oath was high treason; graduates in any university were to take the oath before receiving their degree. The Act, betokening no slight danger, was occasioned, as stated in the preamble, by many of the Pope's emissaries "still practising up and down the kingdom and persuading people to acknowledge his pretended authority". Such emissaries thenceforward incurred the penalties of *præmunire*.

The leading statutes of the Reformation Parliament, from 1529 to 1536, have now been reviewed, and it will be seen that by means of them Papal authority in England was repudiated in every detail. For two centuries English statesmen had been trying to limit, and only to limit, the usurpations of Rome. They never succeeded. The root was in the ground and new shoots were ever appearing. The statesmen of Henry VIII., pursuing another course, rooted up the tree altogether.

The general concurrence of the Reformation Parliament with Convocation in ecclesiastical business is a special feature distinguishing this reign from the next. Not that the functions of the two bodies were joined in action. While preserving entire independence, they worked in harmony and were of mutual assistance.[5]

[1] Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 112. [2] *Ibid.*, 114; Wilkins, iii., 817.

[3] 28 Hen. VIII., c. 7, *Statutes at Large*, iv., 416; oath in sec. 24; Burnet, i., 336.

[4] 28 Hen. VIII., c. 10, *Statutes at Large*, iv., 433 (brief outline); Cooper's *Annals*, i., 382, refers to it as 28 Hen. VIII., c. 10, §§ 6 and 7; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 114, 116; Burnet, i., 338, mentions no oath and no degrees.

[5] This is worked out in much detail in Stubbs's *Hist. App.*, iv., 74, etc.

FALL OF THE MONASTERIES.—A limited suppression of monasteries had been long going on with Papal sanction since the days of Henry III., and the foundation of colleges with the proceeds since the time of William of Wykeham, in Edward III.'s reign.[1] A late instance had been Wolsey's appropriation of several in 1524 in favour of Cardinal College. Several monasteries had also voluntarily surrendered to the King, eight instances being recorded from 24th February, 1533, to 23rd March, 1536.[2]

Fall of the Monasteries.

In the session of the Reformation Parliament, commencing 4th February and ending 14th April, 1536, an Act was passed of which one title was: "All monasteries given to the King which have not lands above £200 a year".[3] The title varies, but the point to be noted is that the property in these houses was taken from their possessors, the heads and inmates, and vested in the King.

The reason for this measure was the general corruption and uselessness of these small bodies of twelve or fewer members, as alleged in the preamble of the Act, which does not spare their characters. Vested interests were to be respected, and the inmates could be distributed, if they desired, among the larger monasteries, the discipline of which was admitted to be satisfactory. These lesser houses numbered 376,[4] with an annual revenue of £30,000.

A Roman Catholic historian, estimating the monastic situation at this period, lays stress upon the great pestilence of 1348-51, the Black Death, the consequences of which lasted, he considers, even down to the Dissolution, in the depreciation of land, the decay of farming through lack of labour, and the lowering of monastic discipline, religious energy and tone, through paucity of numbers.[5] The York and Lancaster civil wars also (1455-1485) must have materially affected monastic life. The loss of tone in conventual life can hardly be thought of apart from the lowered moral standard of the Church generally as witnessed by Colet's *Sermon* and Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*, nor dissociated from the earlier shock of the great Papal schism and from the fruitless demand of the fifteenth century for "reform in head and

[1] A summary view of this process was given by Cardinal Manning in the *Dubl. Rev.*, Jan., 1888, p. 247.

[2] Burnet, i., 307, 308.

[3] 27 Hen. VIII., c. 28, *Statutes at Large*, iv., 403; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 112; *Lords' Journals*, vol. i., p. ccxlv.; Burnet, i., 310, 311.

[4] Burnet, i., 311.

[5] Gasquet's *Monasteries*, i., 7, ed. 1888.

members". The laxity of tone alleged against English conventual life was being felt quite as much in continental countries, where monks and nuns were fast deserting the cloister, and their old homes were being converted into schools, colleges and hospitals. The decay of monastic life was to be seen everywhere.

In the session 4th February-14th April, 1536, a Court of the Augmentations of the King's Revenue was erected,[1] for gathering the revenues of the dissolved lesser monasteries, with authority to dispose of them in such a manner as might be most for the King's service. It consisted of a chancellor, a treasurer, an attorney and solicitor, ten auditors, seventeen receivers, a clerk, an usher, and a messenger;[2] and the Court had a seal.

Surrender of the Greater Houses.

No confiscatory measure of Parliament, but their self-surrender to the Crown, terminated the existence of the superior monasteries, which fell by their own hand, as the smaller ones for reasons presently to be mentioned fell by statute. One by one, from 4th February, 1536,[3] they presented their abdications,[4] and closed their gates. The greater houses, by a different method, perished as completely as the lesser, and their inmates, some 8,000,[5] male and female, with due provision made for them, assumed the secular garb. Foundations so splendid and once so powerful, vanished like frost before the sun.

Many monasteries had already given themselves up when an Act of 1539[6] vested in the Crown these and others who should follow their example, placing the management of the entire property in the King's Court of Augmentation of the Revenue of the Crown.[7] The Act, though entitled "For the dissolution of monasteries and abbeys," does not expressly enact their "dissolution," but, recognising the fact of their belonging to the King by voluntary gift, enacts how they are to be disposed of.[8]

[1] By 27 Hen. VIII., c. 27, Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 112; Burnet, i., 311.

[2] The officers appointed on 24th April, 1536, Cardinal Manning, *Dubl. Rev.*, 1889, p. 245.

[3] A date in the Act of 1539.

[4] Burnet (i., 418) remarks that by the Act of 1539 "no religious houses were suppressed, as is generally taken for granted; but only the surrenders that had been, or were to be, made were confirmed".

[5] Cardinal Manning in *Dubl. Rev.*, 1889, p. 243. The number of the greater houses he puts at 200. As the inmates of the lesser had been drafted into the greater, the greater would contain on an average 40 inmates each.

[6] 31 Hen. VIII., c. 13, passed on 23rd May, 1539, *Lords' Journals;* Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 118; substance in *Statutes at Large*, iv., 455; Burnet, i., 418.

[7] The Court just mentioned.

[8] The fairness of the disposal is discussed by Burnet, i., 418.

Among the inducements which led to the self-surrender of the greater houses, the following have been pointed out :—[1]

1. *Impoverishment.*—Many monasteries whose vast estates had been mismanaged, were unable to meet the many heavy charges upon them, and being encumbered with debt, were glad to escape from their embarrassments. The paucity of inmates, an average of 40,[2] previously referred to, sufficiently illustrates this.

2. *Corruption.*—Some dissolute houses, past all reform, were the despair of their abbots and better members, who were glad to escape from a degraded charge by a deed of surrender.[3]

3. *Panic.*—The monastic world had come to experience a crushing sense of insecurity. The uncompromising antipapal policy of Parliament and the Government, the suppression of the lesser houses by law, showed the monasteries plainly that their days were ending, and they were thankful to withdraw from an untenable position while a path of escape was designedly made comfortable to them.

4. *Laxity of Discipline.*—The old monastic enthusiasm was spent ; and where there was no positive immorality, there yet was self-will, insubordination, and an impatience of restraint. Conscientious abbots and priors, unable to maintain discipline, escaped from their discomforts by a voluntary surrender.

5. *Internal Dissensions.*—The case of Woburn Abbey[4] is not a little interesting and affecting. The stormy controversies of the outside world had forced their way through the monastic gates and divided the community into factions, the King's party and the Pope's party, making their mild and gentle abbot, whose heart was all with the Pope, weary of his existence.

6. *Self-Interest.*—The heads of houses willing to surrender were liberally pensioned off or promoted ; and in monasteries under the patronage of the Crown abbots favourable to surrender with such prospects were appointed to vacancies.

7. *Changing Religious Opinions.*—Some surviving deeds of surrender indicate that not a few of the monks themselves had imbibed the reformed doctrines ; and had come to loathe the whole principle of monastic life. These with bitter self-reproaches prayed for release.[5]

[1] Mostly by Hook, i., 71-85 (N.S.), and J. H. Blunt, *Ref. under Hen. VIII.*, 318-37, who apparently desire to make the best case for the monasteries.

[2] *Supra*, p. 150, note 5.

[3] *See* Bede ; also Cardinal Moreton, A.D. 1489, on St. Albans, in Froude's *Short Studies*, ii., 72, ed. 1867, in the article "Dissolution of Monasteries".

[4] Details in Froude's *Short Studies*, ii., 83, in the article before mentioned.

[5] Burnet in his summary (i., 375) indicates some of the motives here enumerated, and they are illustrated by the deeds of surrender which he gives (iv., 259).

How hopeless was the case of the monasteries in 1539 is discovered by a single symptom, that in the House of Lords, where bishops and abbots formed so large a proportion, and where alone parliamentary proceedings are now traceable, no struggle for existence can be discerned. At the three readings mitred abbots alone numbered 18, 20, 17, yet the hierarchy represented by them and the bishops offered no protest, no fight.[1] The death of the Papal supremacy had been their death, just as their death was making it impossible for Papal supremacy ever effectually to revive ; so intimately were the Papal and the monastic systems intertwined and interdependent. Monastic life without the Papal, Papal life without the monastic, could not flourish in England.

In December, 1539,[2] three abbots, Whiting, Faringdon, Beach, mitred and parliamentary, were hanged as traitors on their own walls or in their grounds. Their respective abbeys were Glastonbury, Reading, Colchester, in wealth and grandeur, Glastonbury especially, fit to accommodate a Parliament or entertain a Court. The loss of ancient records has much obscured our knowledge of the exact nature of the offence for which these abbots suffered, and of the evidence against them, an obscurity opening the door to conjecture and assumption ; one being that they were punished for denying the King's ecclesiastical supremacy ; another, that it was for not surrendering their monasteries. The first assumption cannot but be baseless, as the oath of supremacy had certainly been taken at these abbeys,[3] as at all others. The second assumption is therefore resorted to. "Naboth must die," that the King may annex the abbeys.[4] It is right therefore to understand that the historic charge against the abbots was treason, and that one of the most upright and trustworthy men of the day, Sir John Russell of Chenies,[5] who was on the commission for Whiting's trial, has left on record his entire acquiescence in its fairness and in the justice of the sentence.[6] This must be sufficient for our assurance in all three cases of such remote date. The specific treason imputed to them was having aided with the abbey treasures the northern rising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, and Aske's

[1] Burnet, i., 418.

[2] From *Letters to Bullinger*, by Traheron and Partridge, 20th and 26th Feb., 1540 ; in *Original Letters* (Parker Society), i., 317, and ii., 614 ; Soames's *Reformation*, ii., 278. Burnet, i., 379, and iii., 259, treats of this.

[3] Burnet, i., 381. Cardinal Manning (*Dubl. Rev.*, 1889, p. 256) says the oath was taken at Glastonbury ; so also Froude, iii., 430.

[4] Manning, *ibid.*

[5] Created Baron Russell of Chenies, 9th March, 1539.

[6] Burnet, i., 380 ; Froude, iii., 436.

Rebellion. This very formidable outbreak (2nd October, 1536-February, 1537), alleging the grievances of the royal supremacy and the suppression of monasteries, was largely promoted by the clergy and the monks.

Large sums taken from the spoils of the monasteries were expended in fortifying the channel coasts and other parts of England.[1] The minor dismantled fort at Sandown in the Isle of Wight, Camber Castle[2] and Tilbury Fort, are surviving examples. Abbey lands and fabrics were sold to the gentry at low rates;[3] necessarily low, when so many estates, weighted with encumbrances, were thrown upon the market at once. The princely possessions of the house of Russell then commenced, Lord Russell of Chenies, just raised to the peerage, acquiring Tavistock Abbey in this reign, and in the next Woburn Abbey. In 1543, Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, the heroic defender of Skipton in the West Riding in the Northern Rebellion,[4] received Bolton Abbey in the vicinity, which descended through heiresses to the Earls of Devonshire. From abbey lands arose additional bishoprics and university professorships;[5] also the noblest college in Christendom—Trinity, Cambridge.[6] Besides the monastic churches that became cathedrals, as related further on, two were made collegiate in 1541 with dean and prebendaries, *viz.*, at Burton-on-Trent and Thorneton-on-Humber.[7] Several schools were founded, seven of them in connection with cathedrals, and usually called King's Schools, as those of Canterbury, Chester, Ely, Peterborough, Rochester, Worcester; two in Wales, at Brecknock and Abergavenny; others at Evesham, Ottery St. Mary's, Warwick.[8] The monastic estates took a long time to realise, and the machinery employed, the Court of Augmentations, was a constant expense. Also some 8,000[9] monks, canons, friars, nuns, had to be pensioned off at once.

These uses of the surrendered monastic wealth are often

[1] Burnet, i., 430. Cardinal Manning in the *Dubl. Rev.* (1889, p. 257) does not dispute that "much of the money may have gone to public uses and to the defence of the country".

[2] Called also Winchelsea Castle, between Winchelsea and Rye, now a ruin, built by Henry in 1539 to defend those towns, at a cost of £23,000.

[3] Burnet, i., 430. [4] *Ibid.*, 366. [5] *See* under those headings further on.

[6] Its charter was dated 19th December, 1546, when vast preparations had been matured; Burnet, i., 550; Dyer's *Cambridge*, ii., 285.

[7] Burnet, i., 479; *Monasticon*, iii., 35; vi., 325.

[8] The best information as to all these may be seen in Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, and especially in the Charity Commissioners' Reports of Grammar Schools.

[9] Cardinal Manning's estimate in his *Dubl. Rev.* article.

disregarded, and it is thoughtlessly represented as all wasted by a vicious prince and his spendthrift court in their private indulgences. Others again, though acknowledging the good, lament that more was not done.[1] But it may be questioned whether much more was really possible, even with the best intentions. The complete failure of those vast properties in Church hands must have disheartened the laity, preventing all further confidence in the honesty and wisdom of the clerical body, while Parliament was bitter and hostile towards it. Cranmer and his few supporters, even had the opportunity been granted, could not have used the old endowments as they would have desired. There is not the least probability that their opponents would have employed the funds more wisely. We feel sure of the beneficial use that would be made of them *now*, and take it for granted that it would have been then. The thought of Colet's *Sermon* in 1512 might correct our judgment; especially when we bear in mind the fact that Colet would not commit his school to the charge of St. Paul's Cathedral, of which he was dean, but entrusted it in preference to a body of lay citizens. It was probably for the best that the estates dropping from monkish hands were redistributed among the laity. The lands of England at all events got more into the nation's keeping and were no longer meddled with at Rome. In better and more spiritual times of the Church as much wealth as was then lost to it would return in voluntary offerings, for the blessing of the nation's worship, schools and hospitals. The following instances represent monastic property alienated to private hands under Henry VIII. returned to the Church by private benefaction in some subsequent reign: Christ's Hospital, London; Charterhouse College and School, London; Mercer's School, London; Sherborne Church and School; Coventry School, Gloucester Crypt School, Evesham School, Ottery St. Mary School, Warwick School.

Doctrinal Standards.

Doctrinal Standards.—On 3rd March, 1535, Luther's colleague Melanchthon, in a first letter to Henry, recommended the drawing up of a standard form of doctrine.[2]

In 1536 a short code of doctrine appeared, constituting the first public attempt in this reign in England at a reformation of opinion. It was entitled, "Articles devised by the King's Highness majesty to stablish Christian quietness and unity among us,

[1] As Burnet, i., 431.

[2] Laurence, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 190. Henry and the Protestants of Germany were then in communication (long after Henry's book against Luther, *cir.* 1521), first begun in 1531, when Henry sent envoys to the German Protestant *League of Smalcald*, then forming.

and to avoid contentious opinions, which articles be also approved by the consent and determination of the whole clergy of this realm".[1] The articles are ten in number, subscribed on 11th July, 1536, by the Vicegerent and Convocation.[2]

Archbishop Cranmer, desiring to put a book of elementary religious instruction in the hands of the people, sanctioned by the bishops' authority, approached the King through Cromwell, and obtained a commission to himself, various bishops, including Stokesley of London, Gardiner and Latimer, with a number of divines, who, in sittings at Lambeth, agreed on a book which, after corrections by the King, was published 18th September, 1537,[3] under the title of *The Godly and Pious Institution*[4] *of a Christian Man,* and afterwards became known as *The Bishops' Book.*[5] It expounded the Creed, Commandments, Lord's Prayer, the Sacraments, the *Ave Maria,* Justification, Purgatory, the last two *verbatim* from the Ten Articles.

The *Institution* likewise explains the authority of Christian kings over all the people in their dominions without exception, calling them chief heads and overlookers over priests and bishops, to cause them to administer their office purely and sincerely. "And God hath also commanded the said bishops and priests to obey with all humbleness and reverence both kings and princes and governors, and all their laws not being contrary to the laws of God, whatsoever they be." [6]

The Six Articles [7] of 1539 were as follow:—

1. In the Sacrament of the Altar, after the consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ are present.

2. Communion in both kinds is not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God; but both the flesh and blood of Christ are together in each of the kinds.

3. Priests, after receiving the order of priesthood, may not marry by the law of God.

4. Vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God.

5. The use of private masses ought to be continued, which, as it is agreeable to God's law, so men receive great benefit thereby.

[1] Laurence, *Bampton Lectures*, 199.

[2] Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 114, 115; Wilkins, iii., 817. Substance in Burnet, i., 343; text, iv., 272; edited in Bishop Charles Lloyd's *Formularies of Faith*, 1825, 1856.

[3] Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 117.

[4] A word then meaning *Instruction.*

[5] A full account in Strype's *Cranmer*, 1812, i., 72; a shorter one in Short, i., 173. Burnet not very clear; textually in Lloyd's *Formularies.*

[6] Lloyd's *Formularies*, 121, 287; quoted in Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 37, col. i., top.

[7] For the Act of the Six Articles see further on.

6. Auricular confession is expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the Church.[1]

In 1540, on the death of Cromwell, the King, appointing no successor to him in order that he might keep ecclesiastical affairs more in his own management,[2] on his own initiative took the *Bishops' Book* in hand for revision and improvement, as if purposing to make it a standard of orthodoxy for all classes, and practically supersede the Six Articles Act.

The result of his criticism was a large increase of bulk by the insertion of other matter, and a change of title to *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, popularly *The King's Book*. As the *Bishops' Book* was not again separately issued, the *King's Book* may be, and sometimes is, considered but a new edition of the book it succeeded and in fact swallowed up. The new matter consisted chiefly of explanations of Faith, Freewill and Good Works.[3]

On the authority of Christian kings, the *King's Book* teaches mostly as the *Bishops' Book*, adding that if bishops and priests are negligent and refuse to amend, the prince is "to put other in their rooms,"[4] which was substantially Wyclif's teaching.

Burnet remarks of the *King's Book* that the reformers rejoiced to see the doctrine of the Gospel opened more and more: "Most of the superstitious conceits and practices which had for some ages embased the Christian faith were now removed. . . . There was also another important principle laid down; for every National Church was declared a complete body within itself, with power to do everything necessary for keeping itself pure or governing its members." Yet a reassertion of the seven sacraments greatly encouraged the Papal party.[5]

It is to be noted that the Act for the advancement of true religion and the abolishment of the contrary, 12th May, 1543,[6] declared abolished all books of the Old and New Testament in English, being of Tyndale's translation or comprising any matter of Christian religion contrary to the doctrine set forth since A.D. 1540,[7] or to be set forth by the King. This language gave the

[1] As concisely given by Short, i., 178.

[2] Burnet, i., 479.

[3] Laurence, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 200.

[4] Lloyd's *Formularies*, 257, noticed in Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 37, col. i., top.

[5] Burnet, i., 467.

[6] 34 & 35 Hen. VIII., c. 1; *Statutes at Large*, v., 129; *Statutes of the Realm*, iii., 894; *Lords' Journals;* Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 131, 134.

[7] This language has been taken by Burnet and Strype to refer to the *King's Book*, giving it the official date 1540; Burnet, i., 465; Strype's *Cranmer*, 1812, i., 142. The *King's Book*, though taken in hand in 1540, was not published in its latest revision till 1543.

King's Book, which was published 29th May, 1543,[1] shortly after the passing of this Act, a legal sanction, but it took away the Bible from the working classes.[2] Whatever Gardiner may have meant, Cranmer certainly never intended such a result of the Act.[3]

These various formularies, coming about the time when so many efforts were being made to circulate the Scriptures,[4] probably represent some very stiff contentions between the opposing parties.

A New Episcopate.—On 23rd May, 1539, the very day on which the second Monasteries Act passed, another statute[5] empowered the King by his letters patent to create additional bishoprics out of the confiscated fabrics and revenues. Six monastic churches were consequently raised to the rank of cathedrals, with an endowment of £100,000 a year. Their foundation deeds are dated as follows:[6] In 1540, Westminster (24th November); in 1541, Chester (4th August); Gloucester (3rd September); Peterborough (4th September); in 1542, Bristol (4th June); Oxford (1st September).

The churches of all these abbeys survive as cathedrals, except that of Westminster, which, after a while, ceased to be episcopal, continuing, however, collegiate as at present. In memory of its brief honour as a See, Westminster was ever afterwards called a city.

By the same Act of 23rd May, 1539,[7] the King was empowered to nominate bishops by his letters patent.

The King, who thus might statutably create bishoprics and dispense with the *congè d'élire,* by another bold move, without any parliamentary enactment, secured, as absolutely as the Pope, the right of dismissing bishops at will; for on 12th November, 1539, Bishop Bonner, who had been elected to the See of London, 20th October, 1539, took what Burnet calls "a strange commission"[8] from the King, binding himself to hold that See during the royal pleasure. The commission asserted that all jurisdictions, ecclesiastical and civil, flowed from the King as supreme

[1] Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 135.

[2] Similarly Strype's *Cranmer*, 1812, i., 142; on this see further on.

[3] Strype's *Cranmer*, 99.

[4] *Infra*, pp. 159, 160.

[5] 31 Hen. VIII., c. 9, 23rd May, 1539, *Lords' Journals*, i., 112; *Statutes at Large*, iv., 452 (the title only); Burnet, i., 476 (Poc.). It was introduced by the Lord Vicegerent and passed through all its stages in both Houses in one day.

[6] The letters patent are given in Rymer, xiv., 705-54, ed. 1712.

[7] 31 Hen. VIII., c. 9, *Statutes at Large*, iv., 452 (title only); *Statutes of the Realm*, iii., 728; *Lords' Journals*, as above; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 117.

[8] Burnet, i., 427, the substance; iv., 410, the text of the Latin document.

head; that it became those who exercised it only at the King's courtesy gratefully to acknowledge that they had it solely of his bounty, and to declare that they would deliver it up again when it should please him to call for it. It may be assumed that other bishops accepted similar commissions, and Cranmer[1] is known to have, but only Bonner's has been seen, preserved in his register. The bishops, who had been previously sworn vassals of the Pope, were by such commissions taken entirely out of his hand and placed in the King's. Such a startling assumption on the part of the Crown was a claim of supreme headship only to be justified by stern necessity. There was apparently no other possible way of rescuing the episcopal soul from the spell of centuries of superstitious vassalage to the Pontiff's chair. The sanction evidently given by Cranmer to these commissions can be best explained on such an hypothesis. The emancipation that would be certain to come in the lapse of a few years, should the Reformation prosper, would completely deliver the episcopal office from all the control that was unworthy of its scriptural character; but meanwhile a national de-papalised episcopate had made a noble advance at the expense of the Pope's monastic agencies.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE.—The Bible, which before 1529 incurred only hostility in the highest quarters, began after that date to be held in quite another estimation. As the only authority above the Pope in the popular estimation, Holy Scripture or "the divine law" was, where the contention was with Rome, the one judge of appeal.[2] That necessity appears to have reconciled the King to conceding even an ostentatious supremacy to the holy volume, by its admission in stately bulk into churches and cathedrals. This policy nationalised the Bible, making it England's bulwark, England's ally against every assault of Rome. That also was a good thing, not to have been otherwise gained, though it may have been too much the King's one thing needful, the transformation of his people's hearts, all that Tyndale cared for, being far less if at all desired. The grand volume chained to its stand in church was a priceless gift to the nation, yet not one of the same kind as Tyndale's handy book for home and family use. The first entire Bible in English was by Miles Coverdale,[3] from the Latin and Dutch, published on 4th October, 1535, in Tyndale's lifetime, and, like his, private and unofficial, but dedicated to the King. In the

The Bible Authorised.

[1] Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 37. [2] See pp. 130, 133, 138, 141, 143.
[3] Coverdale's *Works*, Parker Society, Advertisement, p. vii.

summer of 1537 appeared what was called Matthew's Bible, this assumed name being employed to conceal that of Tyndale, whose version was adopted, but whose recent death as a heretic might, if his name were avowed, have hindered the sale.[1] It was printed by Grafton abroad, and dedicated to the King. In August Cranmer procured through the Vicegerent Cromwell its presentation to the King, and the royal licence for its being printed and sold.[2] The licence was granted under the privy seal, appearing among Cromwell's *Injunctions* exhibited in September, 1538,[3] ordering a Bible of the largest size in English to be set up in every parish church before the Feast of All Saints,[4] not for the minister to use in divine service, but for the private perusal of the people individually, who are desired not to interrupt the Mass and other services going on by reading in loud voices, and not to carry on disputations among themselves, or openly expound its meaning. In 1539 also appeared Taverner's Bible, Taverner being a Greek scholar of what had been Cardinal's College.[5]

"Matthew's" Bible was the most important in circulation[6] at the date of the King's letters patent, 13th November, 1539,[7] which, with a view to secure the use of one sole version, prohibited any printer, without Lord Cromwell's leave, from issuing an English Bible for five years. The preamble expressed the King's desire for people at all convenient times thus to attain for themselves a knowledge of God's Word, whereby they would the better honour God, keep His commandments, and dutifully serve their Prince, their Sovereign Lord. The sacred volume, which appeared in 1539 through Cromwell's authorisation, is usually called "Cromwell's Bible". The version most certainly was "Matthew's"; the size, large folio, the largest that had yet appeared. When Cromwell shortly afterwards fell from the King's favour, it probably appeared best that the Holy Bible should be dissociated from his name. But whether or no that was the reason a second edition appeared in 1540, under the auspices of Cranmer, who wrote the preface, distinguished from all other volumes by its handsome and costly type matching its noble dimensions, and popularly designated Cranmer's GREAT BIBLE. An engraving on the title-page by Holbein represented the King enthroned, handing the VERBUM DEI to the bishops and doctors,

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, 1812, i., 83.
[2] Cranmer's *Letters*, 4th and 13th August, 1537, Parker Society.
[3] Foxe, Stow, quoted in a note to Cranmer's *Letters*, p. 346.
[4] Proclamation on 6th May, 1541, referred to further on. [5] Short, ii., 72.
[6] Grafton the printer to Cromwell, 28th August, 1537, in Cranmer's *Letters*, p. 346, *note*, Parker Society, seeking protection for this volume.
[7] Burnet, i., 432; iv., 414.

who are distributing it to the people amid their cries of *Vivat Rex!* Here was pictured the grand lesson Cranmer was endeavouring to diffuse, the stability of the Throne, the stability of the Church and realm, on the foundation of God's Truth in the hearts of all, Papalism being now done with.

Not only was official sanction unequivocally expressed by this frontispiece, which like the letters patent of 13th November, 1539, breathes Cranmer's inspiration, but on 6th May, 1541, a royal proclamation[1] ordered a Bible "of the largest and greatest volume to be had" to be set up in every church. It is in this document that the object of the *Injunctions* of 1539 can be seen, a commentary on Holbein's frontispiece, another example of Cranmer's Christian patriotism—for his composition it must have been. The proclamation urges a complete fulfilment of the Injunctions, a Bible in every church where it is still wanting.

From an undated *Admonition* of Bonner Bishop of London, bearing on the Bibles he had affixed to the pillars of St. Paul's, it is plain that the chained volumes, whether or no the resorts of private piety, were centres of eager inquiry, crowded controversy, noisy contention,[2] all of which were inevitable when the people had the Bible which their official teachers could not teach.

In 1542 Convocation was manifesting much uneasiness on the subject of Scripture among the people and on the question whether the universities should undertake a revision.[3] Bonner in his diocese was prohibiting Tyndale's New Testament and prefaces.[4] On 21st February, 1543, Convocation ordered that the curate of every church should read a chapter of the Bible in English without exposition.[5]

On 10th May, 1543, an Act for the advancement of true religion,[6] stating that the Scriptures which the King had put into the hands of the people had led to abuses, forbade Tyndale's translations[7] as crafty and false, and prohibited women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving men under the degree of yeoman, husbandmen, labourers, from reading the Bible. It should not be lost sight of that the ponderous and costly authorised Bible was suitable only for use in church. Tyndale's

[1] Burnet, i., 479; iv., 507; Wilkins, iii., 856; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 127.

[2] Burnet, i., 480; iv., 510.

[3] 3rd and 13th Feb., 10th March, 1542, Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 126, 128; Burnet, i., 497.

[4] Burnet, iv., 518.

[5] Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 132.

[6] 34 & 35 Hen. VIII., c. 1, also described as an Act for abolishing erroneous books; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 131, 134; Burnet, i., 507; *Statutes at Large*, v., 129.

[7] The Prefaces were afterwards omitted; the facsimile edition of 1862 contains none.

more convenient edition was proscribed, and the authorities may have become reconciled to the chained Bible as a means of superseding it. The Act, procured by Cranmer, saved a partial liberty for reading the Bible when all of it was in danger.[1]

The striking circumstance of Henry VIII. in the same year, 1539, giving the people both the Six Articles and the *Verbum Dei* may represent two opposite Church parties and an alternation of victory in the royal councils. Might we not infer that the murderous Six Articles of the anti-reform party were stimulating all Cranmer's enthusiasm for the *Verbum Dei?* As to the people, those frequent reprints of Cranmer's Bible must indicate that the scourge of six thongs was driving them in every part of the land more and more to the fountain of truth.

Regius Professorships.—In 1540 the King established professorships in Divinity, Civil Law, Medicine, Hebrew, Greek, in both universities,[2] each endowed with an annual stipend of £40. This outlay, coming so close upon the fall of the monasteries, may be assumed to have been provided for out of their revenues, though there seems no authoritative statement to that effect forthcoming. The King had earlier, perhaps about 1535, given something for a medical professorship at Oxford. At Cambridge the Hebrew[3] and Greek chairs were at once occupied in 1540, the latter by Sir John Cheke, who "taught King Edward Greek". We remark that four faculties out of the five were in the reform direction, the divinity being necessarily biblical by the Injunctions of 1535, when scholastic teaching was abolished. The other chairs were filled up at intervals, as Hebrew at Oxford in 1542, Civil Law and Greek at Oxford, *cir.* 1546. In the following reigns the Divinity professor began in 1548 at Oxford; Divinity and Civil Law at Cambridge in 1550; Medicine at Cambridge in 1554.

Civil Law was one of the five at both universities, Canon Law being omitted. Such changes as these severed the life and thread of the old learning on which the Papal system had thriven for centuries. The continual delay in the expurgation of the Canon Law — for the Act of 1536 had produced no result— appears to indicate the activity of a party bent on preserving it

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, 1812, i., 141.

[2] Le Neve, *Fasti*, iii., 509, 655; University Calendars; Cooper's *Annals*, i., 397. The patent for Hebrew (Rymer, xiv., 705, ed. 1712) is dated 9th November, 1540.

[3] Cambridge (Hebrew), 1540, Le Neve, iii., 658. The *patent* is dated 9th November, 1540; but the Calendar makes it 1547, before the Chair was occupied.

in the old form; while still another statute[1] enabling the King to put revision in hand passed on 6th March, 1544.

Possibly the long struggle of parties may account for the period of delay between 1540, the foundation year of the Civil Law Chairs, to the commencing dates, 1546 at Oxford, 1550 at Cambridge,[2] indicating the final victory of the Civilists through the ultimate disappearance of the Canonists.

The Canon Law never was reformed and never abrogated. It has become expurgated automatically, through the ruling principle that no portion of it can stand in English jurisprudence which does not conform to the statute and common law of the realm. That which does conform remains in force to this day,[3] and the necessary study of it for professional uses has occasioned the law graduates' letters, LL.B., LL.D., Bachelor and Doctor of "Laws," or "utriusque legis" as it is sometimes found phrased.

CHANTRIES. — There were in England numerous corporate trusts for the management of property bestowed from time to time by persons wishing to have masses statedly chanted after death for the relief of their souls from purgatory, a belief in which was sedulously inculcated. Few who had anything to leave died without a bequest for this object, and to omit it was reckoned a sure mark of heresy or impiety. The corpse of a Gloucestershire gentleman, Mr. William Tracy of Todington, whose will, executed in 1530, omitted the customary bequest on the ground of its uselessness, was exhumed after burial and burnt by order of the Diocesan Chancellor, an occurrence which formed the subject of a tract by Tyndale.[4] The trust was carried out by means of a sort of oratory, more or less small, sufficient to contain an altar, or altars, with a priest at each, without any congregation, the officiant's sole business being to chant the masses, by reliefs, through the day, for every deceased registered benefactor. Such priests had no parochial duties whatever, being a special class, and simply mass-priests, secular, not monastic, moving in society, needing no high stipend for their monotonous and mechanical duties. The fabrics employed for these services were known as chantries and chapels, which might be sometimes erected on the spacious floors of cathedrals, screened off between the pillars, or as side chapels in parish churches, where the tiny enclosure, with its tiny altar, may occasionally still be seen, perhaps in great artistic beauty,

[1] 35 Hen. VIII., c. 16, *Statutes at Large*, v., 208; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 135, 136.

[2] University Calendars; Le Neve, *Fasti.*

[3] *Eccles. Courts Commission*, 1883, *Report*, pp. xxxi., xxxii.; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 40.

[4] Tyndale's *Works*, Parker Society, iii., 271.

surviving as a memorial of the ancient superstition. If the endowments were plentiful a large establishment of many members, officiating at several altars in a more extensive chapel, might be formed, taking the name of a college, or a fraternity, or a hospital, and then this chanting of private masses would be kept up on a great scale.[1]

The popular belief in purgatory and the utility of these celebrations having become more open questions, an Act was passed, 23rd December, 1545,[2] granting all colleges, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities of secular priests, to the King, empowering him to take possession of them at any time. The Act does not touch on doctrinal matter. Chantries, not being like monasteries in Papal direction, and their special purpose no way threatening the king's authority, could safely be left standing, while their loyalty was secured by this transfer. Further steps against chantries as encouraging superstition were taken in the next reign.

Cranmer and the King.

CRANMER.—Burnet, drawing the Archbishop with a friendly hand, remarks:[3] "He was gentle in his whole behaviour; and though he was a man of too great candour and simplicity to be refined in the arts of policy, yet he managed his affairs with great prudence, which did so much recommend him to the King that no ill offices were ever able to hurt him. It is true he had some singular opinions about ecclesiastical functions and offices, which he seemed to make wholly dependent on the magistrate as much as the civil were; but as he never studied to get his opinion in that made a part of the doctrine of the Church, reserving to himself the freedom of his own thoughts, which I have reason to think he did afterwards change, or was at least content to be overruled in it; so it is clear that he held not that opinion to get the King's favour by it; for in many other things, as in the business of the Six Articles, he boldly and freely argued, both in the Convocation and the House of Peers, against that which he knew was the King's mind, and took his life in his hands, which had certainly been offered at a stake if the King's esteem of him had not been proof against all attempts."

From the solitude of his throne Henry evidently beheld in

[1] All Souls, Oxford, "the College of the Souls of all the faithful departed," founded by Archbishop Chicheley in 1438, was, besides a place of education, a magnificent chantry; Lyte's *University of Oxford*, 351, 353. The Mass payments would constitute an important endowment for the College.

[2] 37 Hen. VIII., c. 4, Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 138, 140; *Statutes at Large*, v., 219.

[3] Burnet, i., 280.

Cranmer the only friend in the world; one who saw the Papal question in the same light as himself, with entire and disinterested conviction, based on principle, whereas other leading Churchmen, as Henry knew, adopted the opinion for selfish ends, to be cast aside at the first turn of affairs. The way seen by Cranmer out of the *impasse* of 1529, founded on the maxim that no human authority could invalidate a divine law, was as sound and honourable as it was obvious, giving weight and dignity to any cause that could honestly adopt it; and since it was, in epitome, the Reformation itself, Cranmer could with an unfaltering step go through with it. The man who could suggest such a principle and consistently follow it out amid the unparalleled difficulties of the time, was a friend indeed to his prince and to the nation. He remained the only man whom Henry really cared for. It was Cranmer's hand which Henry wrung in death. Henry's consistent appreciation and protection of Cranmer is a redeeming point in his character. Cranmer succeeded in drawing out the best side of Henry's wilful nature, in reaching his heart where no one else could; in saying and doing things unwelcome to him without the arts and devices of flattery. As for Henry, he knew his friend and adhered to him without ever a thought of sacrificing him to his enemies or to any exigency of State; and this it is which accounts for everything which astonishes us in the Court life of Cranmer; in the King's kindness, for instance, when the Six Articles Act passed in 1539;[1] in his siding with Cranmer against Gardiner in a conference relating to an issue of the Bible,[2] apparently in 1539; in his rescue of the archbishop from the conspiracy working for his fall as the great heretic of England in 1543;[3] and in 1545, when the ring incident occurred, as in Shakespeare,[4] after the death of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk,[5] a supporter of the Reformation,[6] and Cranmer's sole remaining great friend at Court.

The leading opponents of Cranmer and of the Henrician Reformation were Thomas Howard ninth Duke of Norfolk,[7] and (when he could safely avow it) Gardiner Bishop of Winchester.[8]

[1] Burnet, i., 414, 424, 425. [2] *Ibid.*, i., 432. [3] *Ibid.*, i., 516.

[4] *Ibid.*, i., 538, 540; Shakespeare, *Henry VIII.*, act v., sc. 2 (the *Lobby Scene*, etc.), but out of all chronological order.

[5] The first duke of his family, died 22nd February, 1545.

[6] Burnet, i., 534.

[7] Uncle of Queen Katherine Howard; attainted, 1546; restored, 1553; died, 1554.

[8] A crafty and politic man, who understood the King well, complied with his temper in everything, despised Cranmer, and hated all reform; Burnet, i., 282.

These had a great party in the Court, and almost all the Churchmen were on their side.[1]

Cranmer's doctrinal views as a reformer in Henry's reign were immature, according to the present standards of the Church of England. On the Lord's Supper he was of the old way of thinking.[2] In Justification he saw clearly man's sole dependence, without any merit of his own, on the Atonement of Christ, though he does not seem to have recognised distinctly the place of faith as the instrumental cause.[3] The dominant and sole place which Holy Scripture, apart from Church traditions, should occupy in determining the articles to be believed for salvation was clearly perceived and strongly insisted on by Cranmer from an early period, and bore its natural fruit as time went on in maturing the English Reformation.

The Popular Doctrinal Reformation after 1529.—The special aspect of the English Reformation as a constitutional revolt from the Papacy is the one to which the historic circumstances of the times have given a striking prominence. It is the only aspect of the Reformation that carries weight with some ; nor, indeed, can its importance be easily overestimated. Yet it will not lead to the undervaluing of the doctrinal revolt by others ; especially by those whose studies have convinced them that without this doctrinal revulsion permeating the whole land and taking firm hold of the people of every class in every direction, the constitutional reformation, the reformation by statutes, would have proved ephemeral. What Parliament and Convocation in one generation, under one leading influence, could build up, that under other guidance in the next they could destroy ; and the only real security was a settled conviction of the entire nation, resting upon an adequate basis like that supplied by faith in the divine authority of Holy Scripture.

Instances of this spirit of reformation in the bosoms of the people before the legatine trial in 1529 have been considered because of the great importance of showing how entirely independent it was of the organic and statutory changes that afterwards followed. We now resume from that date, to see the popular movement going forward concurrently with those changes, but in a separate stream.

Bilney.—Having lost his companion Latimer, who was instituted to his Wiltshire Rectory, 14th January, 1531, Bilney came to the resolution that it was his duty at all hazards to go forth and

[1] Burnet, i., 282. [2] *Ibid.*, 402. [3] *Ibid.*, 458.

publicly proclaim the doctrines he had twice before in his weakness denied. Having summoned all his friends in the university, he bade them a touching farewell, and with an undaunted heart turned his steps towards his native county, distributing Tyndale's New Testament wherever he went, bewailing his former cowardice, and exhorting all friends of the Reformation to show greater constancy than he had hitherto done. He was seized and brought before the Bishop of Norwich, Richard Nix, who procured a writ for burning him from the Chancellor, Sir Thomas More. The sentence was carried out, 20th August, 1531, in Lollards Pit, a capacious hollow near the gate of the City of Norwich. Bilney died with fortitude, as was testified by one of his Cambridge friends, Matthew Parker of Corpus, afterwards archbishop, who went from the university for the purpose of witnessing the scene, and also by the Mayor of Norwich, whose depositions are in the State Paper Office. Mr. Demaus, from whose *Life of Latimer* we borrow, writes of him: "History has hardly done justice to the character of Bilney and his important services in promoting the Reformation in England. Gentle, timid, and unassuming, only his intimate friends knew his great and real worth. Like Latimer, he was very slow in abandoning the doctrines to which he had been so long accustomed; but Luther himself did not hold more firmly the great truth which had been to Bilney the source of all his spiritual life and comfort, the free forgiveness of sins through the atonement of Christ."[1] Latimer speaks in terms of warm admiration of his charity to friend and foe, his singular learning, both in Holy Scripture and in all other good letters, his holy and virtuous life.[2] Sir Thomas More published to the world that he recanted at his death, but this, says Burnet, is against all evidence, and had it been a fact it would have been certainly recorded in the Bishop's Register.[3]

On 4th July, 1533, JOHN FRITH, with his companion John Hewet, an apprentice, was burnt at Smithfield for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament, a tenet not to be confused with Transubstantiation as opposed by Wyclif and Sir John Oldcastle. Frith was the first in England to raise a controversy on the doctrine which he died for opposing, the usual disputes in the Tudor period having as yet been on relics, purgatory, pilgrimages, and such like. Frith, an excellent scholar, had assisted Tyndale.[4]

[1] Demaus, *Hugh Latimer*, 107.
[2] *Latimer's Remains*, Parker Society, 330.
[3] Burnet, i., 268. [4] Burnet (i., 271, 273-8) says much of him.

On 6th October, 1536, WILLIAM TYNDALE, having been confined for a year in the castle of Vilvorden, near Brussels, within the patrimonial dominions of the Emperor Charles V., and condemned by the imperial decree, was brought out to the place of execution in that town, and tied to the stake, crying, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes!" Being then strangled by the hangman, he was consumed by fire.

Martyrdom of Tyndale.

On 5th May, 1539, the House of Lords, on being informed of the King's special desiré that all differences of religious opinion should be eradicated, and some persons be chosen to look into the matter and report to Parliament, nominated for the purpose the Lord Vicegerent Cromwell (the first named), the two archbishops, and six bishops.[1]

Six Articles Act, 1539.

It will not escape notice that here was the royal head of the Church taking the ostensible initiative, and his lay vicegerent the precedence of archbishops, in a question of doctrinal religion, and that this was to be submitted for settlement, not to Convocation but to Parliament; though Convocation was once, on 2nd June, as the bill passed through Parliament, asked by the vicegerent for an opinion, and apparently gave one.[2] We are reminded of the period before the Conquest, when the Witenagemote settled all questions in Church and State without a Synod; also of Wyclif's memorial to Parliament in 1382 to interfere on the subject of transubstantiation. We also think of the German diets, lay assemblies, dealing with doctrinal disputes in the days of Charles V., Luther, Henry VIII.

The result was the Act of the Six Articles,[3] which received the royal assent on 28th June. It affirmed (1) Transubstantiation to be received; (2) Communion in One Kind for the Laity; (3) Vows of Celibacy to be received;[4] (4) Private Masses were to be celebrated; (5) Celibacy of Priests to continue; (6) Auricular Confession to be practised.

In its penalties and mode of operation the statute was one to strike terror into the people, who named it a whip of six strings. It was an Act to compel uniformity, without employing any such term in its title. All the Acts of Uniformity known to history by those names refer to worship only; this one, the first of all

[1] Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 116. *See* also *Lords' Journals;* Burnet, i., 411.
[2] Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 118.
[3] 31 Hen. VIII., c. 14, to take effect on 12th July.
[4] The second Monasteries Act had already passed on 23rd May, and celibate multitudes were passing into lay life.

Acts of uniformity in religion, had regard to opinion, thus differing from its successors.

Its passing induced Latimer and Shaxton to resign their Sees,[1] provoking thereby the King's displeasure. The statute was a sore distress to Cranmer, who at great risk opposed its progress in Parliament to the last.[2] The statement[3] that he voted for the bill is not credible.

The first speedy crop of victims was so large that the authorities, perplexed and alarmed, were obliged to pardon them in the gross.[4] It seems, writes Burnet,[5] that the King, by some secret order, so restrained the party that was for the execution of the statute, that they should not proceed capitally, and modifications of it were subsequently enacted by Parliament, one on 24th July, 1540;[6] another, 19th March, 1544.[7] Yet the terror it inspired was largely instrumental in producing the strong Protestant tone which revealed itself on the accession of Edward VI.[8]

LATIMER was a zealous advocate for reform from 19th December, 1529, when his two sermons "on the card" at St. Edward's, Cambridge, brought him into trouble until the end of the reign. He was of sufficient academic mark to provoke hostile notice, but being one of the King's party at Cambridge, he received some protection from Court, besides admission to the pulpit of Windsor Castle. Frequently harassed by Convocation, he kept out of actual danger, sometimes by shrewdness and tact, once through Court interposition. His doctrinal views were not fully matured during the reign of Henry. On 26th September, 1535, he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester, but on 1st July, 1539, resigned the See, protesting against the Six Articles Act. The royal displeasure followed, and he was imprisoned in the Tower until the King's death.[9]

On 30th July, 1540, DR. BARNES the Cambridge Augustinian, THOMAS GERRARD, WILLIAM JEROME, all learned advocates of the Reformed doctrine, were burnt as heretics at Smithfield; and

[1] Latimer had been consecrated to it 26th September, 1535, and never occupied another See.

[2] Burnet, i., 424, 425.

[3] By Hook (ii., 43-8 (N.S.)), no friend of Cranmer. J. H. Blunt (*Ref. under Hen. VIII.*, p. 475), unfriendly to Cranmer, not quite convinced by Hook.

[4] Burnet, i., 427.

[5] *Ibid.*, 478.

[6] Act Moderating the Act of Six Articles, 32 Hen. VIII., c. 10, *Statutes at Large*, v., 19; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 124, 126.

[7] 35 Hen. VIII., c. 5; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 135, 138; *Statutes at Large*, v., 200, in substance. Burnet, i., 520, says royal assent by letters patent, 29th March, 1544.

[8] Mosheim, ii., 448.

[9] Burnet, i., 426; iii., 266.

along with them three Papists were hanged as traitors for asserting the Pope's supremacy. They were drawn to the place of execution in pairs, one of each set on the same hurdle as a testimony to the impartiality of their judges. The three reformers were not tried by the improved heresy law of 1534; but one part of the proceedings against them was their being set to preach test sermons at the Spittle at the King's command before Gardiner, and an unfavourable report of the sermons was carried to the King. They were not brought before any court for trial but attainted of heresy while they lay in the Tower. At the place of execution their sufferings were endured with so much fortitude, that instead of disheartening their followers, they only confirmed and encouraged them.[1]

On a Sunday in Lent, 1541, Dr. Crome, by the King's command, preached at St. Paul's Cross on the subject of masses for the dead, as to which he was accused of heresy. The sermon is to be remembered with that of Barnes in 1540, both being what may be called trial or test sermons, instead of judicial investigations in court. The King had already pronounced against the preacher's opinions, and had given him a paper of condemnation which he was to read at the close of the sermon. The sermon was duly delivered and was no retractation; the King's paper was dutifully read, but the submission to it that was expected did not follow. Dr. Crome, however, was only silenced, not burnt. He was a man of high character and good position, a scholarly divine, for whom, in 1539, Cranmer had tried hard with the King to obtain the deanery of Canterbury.[2]

On 11th June, 1544, an English Litany[3] for general use was sent to Archbishop Cranmer by the King. Moved, as he says, by the miserable state of Christendom, plagued with cruel wars, hatred and dissensions, the King has "set forth certain godly prayers and suffrages in our native English tongue," to be "openly used in all towns, churches, villages and parishes," the people being earnestly exhorted "in such sort as they, feeling the godly taste thereof, may godly and joyously, with thanks, receive, embrace and frequent the same," not occasionally but unceasingly. Burnet says the reformers were greatly pleased, seeing a sign that the King, after an interruption of some six years, was intending once more to go forward, and that

An English Litany.

[1] Burnet, i., 469-74.

[2] *Original Letters*, i., 208, 211-14; Burnet, iii., 264, 266.

[3] Burnet, i., 522; iv., 529; the author's *Manual of the Prayer Book*, pp. 25, 33, 77.

other parts of the service in the English tongue would soon follow. This Litany prayed for deliverance from the "tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities".

In 1546[1] the people, after an acquaintance with the Bible of twenty years, or more, were severely rebuked in a proclamation of 8th July for their contentions among themselves, disputing so much of what they read and practising so little. The King's disappointment must have been great if his reproaches were just. He forbade the English books of Tyndale, Frith, Wyclif, Coverdale, besides the New Testaments of Tyndale and Coverdale, and every other book not permitted by Parliament. The *King's Book,* which *was* so permitted, here escaped proscription. Who the popular authors were we thus see. Wyclif's *Wicket* was probably one of the objectionable books. To keep the right spirit alive among the people, the unceasing ministrations of godly pastors who loved and could teach the Scriptures was requisite; for the letter alone of Old or New Testament could not, any more than ecclesiastical ceremonies, satisfy the heart. If the pastors bore not that character, the people were not the only ones deserving the King's reproofs. Nor could the King escape a share of blame. When the authorised doctrines, notably the Six Articles, manifestly contradicted the VERBUM DEI handed to them from the throne, and to deny those doctrines was to incur the penalty of burning, how could the people be otherwise than loud and clamorous at such unfairness? We see then, as Henry's reign is closing, how much of this reformation was due to him and how much to his people.

On 16th July, 1546, ANNE ASKEW (best known by this her maiden name), daughter of Sir William Askew of South Kelsey, Lincolnshire, married to a Mr. Kyne, who had driven her from his house for adhering to the reformed doctrines, was burned at Smithfield under the Six Articles Act. The cruelties she endured have made her case very noted. Her companions in suffering were JOHN ADAMS, a London tailor, and two others.[2]

Here then is likewise war, a war whose martyrs overcame by the blood of the Lamb, martyrdom in the supremest sense, through which the Reformation cause at last proved triumphant, when the bonds of Parliamentary enactments had all perished. Is it a sign of right historical balance when among the stars of memory witnesses in the flames like Bilney, Frith, Tyndale, are not allowed

[1] Herbert, 262; Strype's *Cranmer*, 197, ed. 1812.
[2] Burnet, i., 536-38.

to appear portrayed with any genuine feeling, pathos being reserved for the heroic souls who in those sorrowful times offered themselves at the gallows and the block a sacrifice to the Pope's supremacy? A discriminating judgment, which may be entirely consistent with impartiality in sympathy, must allow a martyrdom for the supreme authority of Scripture to stand on an immeasurably higher level.

Down to the end of Henry VIII. the English Church must be affirmed to have maintained its continuity with its earliest and with mediæval times in constitution, in revenue, in doctrine, if we limit those three words to their essential elements; in constitution, episcopal; in revenue, endowed by free benefactions under legal protection; in doctrine, catholic as worshipping one God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity, never having relinquished her adherence to the first four Synods made at the Council of Hatfield in 680.[1]

Continuity of the Church of England.

In subordinate elements continuity had been broken in every one of these respects. In constitution the English Church which had fallen within the Papal monarchy and under Papal control, had returned to domestic, national and civil control. In revenue her property had been subjected to heavy Papal imposts and had been rescued from them. In doctrine she had been invaded by transubstantiation and other anti-scriptural dogmas.

Her continuity in ministry from the primitive times, and in the object of her worship from the most catholic, which is, or ought to be, the thing chiefly meant by continuity when we glory in the word, is a blessing greatly to be prized.

§ III.—Edward VI., 28th January, 1547–6th July, 1553.

Edward, the son of Henry VIII., by Queen Jane Seymour, who died soon after his birth, was a child of ten when he succeeded to the throne. Under the tuition of two Cambridge men, Dr. Richard Cox and Sir John Cheke, the Regius Professor of Greek, both warm friends of the Reformation, his heart was early and permanently engaged to the cause. His *Journal* and *Remains* are extant[2] in his own hand and in print. On 7th May, 1549, Paulus Fagius, who on 5th May had been taken with Bucer by the archbishop to Court, where they were presented to the King and the Protector, wrote of Edward: "Though he is still very young, and very handsome, he gives for his age such wonderful proofs of his piety as that the whole

Edward VI.

[1] *Supra*, p. 54. [2] Burnet, v.; 3, 94.

kingdom and all godly persons entertain the greatest hopes of him".[1]

On 1st June, 1550, Peter Martyr wrote from Oxford: "We derive no little comfort from having a King who is truly holy and who is inflamed with so much zeal for godliness. He is endued with so much erudition for his age, and already expresses himself with so much prudence and gravity, as to fill all his hearers with admiration and astonishment."[2]

A Council of Regency had been appointed by Henry VIII.,[3] embracing the adherents of the old and the new opinions in even numbers, nominally headed by Archbishop Cranmer. Next to him in rank was the Lord-Chancellor Wriothesley,[4] who early declared against all further changes in religion until the King was of age, virtually declaring in fact against all Church reform. An indiscretion in his office caused the Chancellor's speedy fall,[5] leaving the reform party in a decided preponderance, under the King's maternal uncle, Edward Seymour,[6] who was made Protector of the Realm and Governor of the King's person, with the title of Duke of Somerset, next to him being John Dudley[7] Earl of Warwick.

The Council.

Cranmer had now the congenial task of co-operating with a government thoroughly committed to Church reform. Ridley, hitherto Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, emerges into view as a bishop in this reign, consecrated to the See of Rochester, 4th September, 1547. These two were the theologians of the Edwardian reform. Hugh Latimer, ex-Bishop of Worcester, who never resumed the Episcopal office, resided with Cranmer at Lambeth, preaching the Reformation, not so much in its controversial as in its moral aspects, exposing Church abuses and ill-living. His racy style had a marvellous attraction for all orders of men, who thronged to hear his sermons at Paul's Cross and in the palace grounds. When he preached before the Court the Chapel Royal could not contain the audience.

At the commencement of Edward's reign the bishops were

[1] *Original Letters*, i., 333.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii., 482.

[3] Burnet, ii., 37.

[4] Thomas Wriothesley, created Baron Wriothesley of Titchfield, co. Southampton, 1st January, 1544; Earl of Southampton, 16th February, 1547.

[5] Complaints against him made to the Council, 5th March, 1547; Acts of P.C. of that date; sentence on him, *ibid.*, 29th June; deprived of seal, 6th March, 1547; Burnet, ii., 55.

[6] Created Viscount Beauchamp of Hache, co. Somerset, 5th June, 1536; Earl of Hertford, 18th October, 1537; Duke of Somerset, 16th February, 1547.

[7] Seventh Viscount Lisle, created Earl of Warwick, 17th February, 1547; Duke of Northumberland, 11th October, 1551.

required to take fresh licences from the King, similar to those they held under Henry, according to the extant specimen of Bonner's in 1539.[1] The licence made out to Cranmer, dated 7th February, 1547,[2] shows that no time was lost in this matter. Thus Henry's bishops, by accepting the licence which rendered them liable to dismissal at any moment, placed themselves as much at the mercy of the government of Edward as they had been at that of Henry if they attempted to oppose reform. Nor could they otherwise have been trusted with the power which their office gave them in the King's minority. The bishops appointed under Edward, selected for their affection to the cause and not needing the check, were not required to take the licence.[3]

On 31st July, 1547,[4] appeared a volume of Homilies,[5] plain sermons for the people, and thus early was begun popular doctrinal instruction on scriptural lines, though not authorised by either Parliament or Convocation, which had not then met. It was the earliest attempt in Edward's reign to amend the current divinity. The Homilies did not profess to expound the Lord's Supper, on which subject the views of both Cranmer and Ridley were immature; yet they sought to rescue people from such a current delusion, on the one hand, as that the priest's mediation with God would suffice for them; and, on the other, that they might idly depend on the merits of Christ, without yielding Him their hearts and lives,—the spurious gospel of the Antinomian.

Royal Visitation of the Church.

In August and September, 1547,[6] the Church of England all through the country was visited by commissioners of the King, who was now Visitor of the Church by statute,[7] and in May all episcopal visitations were for a time suspended.[8] Six circuits or groups of dioceses were marked out, each group being committed to a body of about five visitors,

[1] Burnet, ii., 41. "The bishops or some of them taking out commissions for the exercise of their ordinary jurisdiction," *Ecclesiastical Courts Commission*, 1883, *Rep.*, p. xxxiii.

[2] Text, Burnet, v., 127; Wilkins, iv., 2; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 1, quoting Burnet, ii., 40, 41: "The bishops were required . . . bpcs. during life".

[3] If Burnet (ii., 41) represents this matter correctly, Stubbs's *Hist. App.*, 142, does not seem quite accurate.

[4] Blunt, *P. B.*, vol. i., p. xxv.; Tomlinson, *P. Bk., Art. and Homilies*, 230.

[5] The first of the two books of Homilies we now possess, the second appeared later, in Elizabeth's reign.

[6] Burnet, ii., 78, 85, 86.

[7] Since 1534; *supra*, p. 158.

[8] Strype's *Cranmer*, 208, ed. 1812; Wilkins, iv., 14. Restored, 1st December, 1547, P.C. at date. Cranmer was on visitation, 1548, his *Remains and Letters*, 154; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 41.

lay and clerical,[1] who were to examine into the condition of the Church, and see that its administration was proceeding according to law. They had with them printed copies of the ROYAL INJUNCTIONS,[2] exhibiting in detail the reforms to be everywhere enforced, besides special instructions or private injunctions for the diocesans, who were to see the general injunctions obeyed after the departure of the visitors. The visitors took with them for distribution the *Homilies*, then just printed,[3] as well as Erasmus's *Paraphrase of the New Testament*, in English, the two works to be set up in churches,[4] being respectively adapted for the people and for the clergy. The Injunctions, the Homilies and the Paraphrase were placed under the charge of the bishop and chapter, who were to see them put to their intended uses. One at least of the visitors was a clergyman, who by preaching was to explain to the people what was going on and secure their support. Thus by a mixture of authority and persuasion it was sought to bring both clergy and laity within the path of reform.

On 12th August, 1547, letters from Sir Anthony Cook and his colleagues of the visitation informed the Council that on their presenting the Injunctions and the Homilies to the Bishop of London, they were received with protestation calculated to bring the supremacy into contempt.[5] The bishop being summoned made a full apology, such as the Council could accept, yet, as an example to others, he was sent to the Fleet Prison.[6] On 10th September, the day of the Protector's victory over the Scots in Pinkey Field, the visitors removed and destroyed most of the images in London.[7]

On 25th September, 1547, Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, for having written to the Council, and having spoken to others, impertinently of the visitation, for refusing to set forth and receive the Injunctions and Homilies, as contrary to the *King's Book* of Henry, was sent to the Fleet.[8] This was Gardiner's first imprisonment, wherein he was "as much at his ease as if he

[1] The list of visitors, the districts, the method of visitation are in Strype's *Cranmer*, 207-11.

[2] In Sparrow's *Collection*; Wilkins, iv., 3-9; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 4; abstract in Burnet, ii., 74.

[3] 31st July, 1547, Tomlinson, *Prayer Book, Articles and Homilies.*

[4] Strype's *Cranmer*, 211, 217, ed. 1812.

[5] Dasent's Acts of the Privy Council, ii., 125.

[6] Burnet, ii., 87. Bonner's Protestation and Submission are in Burnet, v., 163, and Wilkins, iv., 10.

[7] Burnet, ii., 83, 86.

[8] Acts of the P.C., ii., 131; Burnet, ii., 88; v., 163; Strype's *Cranmer*, 213, 214, ed. 1812.

had been in his own house,"[1] and it terminated 8th January, 1548, on the general pardon.[2] A discussion with him at St. Paul's deanery by Cranmer, who had him sent for from the Fleet, is related by Burnet.

Here, in contact with the visitation, were the two bitterest and most powerful enemies of the Reformation, next to the Lady Mary; but their power was limited by liability to dismissal from their Sees at the pleasure of the Crown. This visitation shows the early efforts of the Edwardian Reformation in the improvement of doctrine and worship.

The Lady Mary.

Henry's daughter, named in her father's will the successor of Edward, usually resided at Hunsden House, Herts,[3] or at Copt Hall in Essex,[4] two royal manors, some twelve miles apart, in the diocese of London. In a letter to the Protector Somerset, perhaps about the end of October, 1547,[5] she protested, like Gardiner, against all changes in religion until the King came of age, as disrespectful to her father's memory and hazardous to the public tranquillity. Such was the position now maintained by her party.[6] The Protector replied that Henry had intended to go farther, and that the present unsettled state of things was calculated to provoke disorder.

First Session of Parliament.

In Edward's reign two Parliaments met, the first lasting from 4th November, 1547, to April, 1552, and holding four sessions. Bishop Gardiner, being in the Tower, was not present at the first session. On 30th November and 2nd December, 1547, at the instance of Archbishop Cranmer, Convocation unanimously declared "for the receiving of the Body of our Lord under both kinds, *viz.*, of bread and wine".[7] On 20th December an Act of Parliament [8] to the same effect was passed, enjoining also that the priest was to communicate with the laity and not by himself. It strongly condemned all who spoke irreverently of the Sacrament. In its diction and tone the

1 P.C., 30th June, 1548, Dasent, ii., 208.

2 Burnet, ii., 116; P.C., 8th January, 1548, Dasent, ii., 157.

3 About seven miles east from Hertford, near the east border of Herts, now in private hands; Moule, i., 18.

4 In West Essex, also called Copped Hall, midway between Waltham Abbey and Epping; Moule, i., 15; Burnet, ii., 297.

5 Burnet, ii., 91, refers to the letter before the meeting of Parliament in November, 1547; Strype's *Cranmer* refers to it, p. 272, ed. 1812, under 1549, giving the letter (undated) in Append. xlii., p. 842.

6 Burnet, ii., 69.

7 Strype's *Cranmer*, 224; Burnet, ii., 108, dates 29th Nov.

8 1 Ed. VI., c. 1, *Lords' Journals*, i., 210, 213; *Hist. App.*, 41; *Statutes at Large*, v., 241; *Statutes of the Realm*, iv., 2; Gee and Hardy, 322; Burnet, ii., 94.

Act is strikingly religious and biblical. The priest is bidden to exhort the people, at least one day before the Sacrament, to prepare themselves for it.[1]

On the same 20th December an Act was passed[2] substituting the King's letters patent for the *Congé d'Élire* in episcopal appointments. The principal reasons assigned were that elections by deans and chapters "be in very deed no elections, but only by a writ of *congé d'Élire,* have colours, shadows or pretences of election, serving, nevertheless, to no purpose, and seeming also derogatory and prejudicial to the King's prerogative royal, to whom only appertaineth the collation and gift of all archbishoprics, bishoprics and suffragan bishops within these realms". It was also enacted that the processes in the bishop's court should be carried on in the King's name and no longer in the bishop's, while the King's seal was also to be used therein, as in all other courts; though for letters of orders and collation to benefices bishops might use their own seal, as also archbishops theirs in faculties and dispensations.

On 24th December an Act was passed for the repeal of certain statutes concerning treasons and felonies.[3] One section of it repealed the Six Articles Act of 1539, thus relieving the Church from being committed to doctrines not very consistent with the *Book of Homilies*.[4] The same Act reaffirmed the King's title Supreme Head of the Church. It also repealed Henry's Act[5] forbidding the English translation of the Bible and certain English books; it further repealed Henry's Acts[6] which gave a royal proclamation the force of law. This repeal greatly abridged the power of the Council, and was a sign of disinterestedness.[7]

On the same date was passed, with the royal assent, an Act for the dissolution of chantries,[8] completing what Henry began by his Chantries Act of 23rd December, 1545,[9] which, applying only to the term of his life, had now expired, no chantries for

[1] The Act, on passing, was protested against by five bishops: Bonner (Lond.), Rugge or Repps (Norw.), Skyp (Heref.), Heath (Worc.), Day (Chich.); *Lords' Journals*.

[2] 1 Ed. VI., c. 2; Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 41, 142; *Statutes at Large*, v., 245; *Statutes of the Realm*, iv., 3.

[3] 1 Ed. VI., c. 12; *Statutes at Large*, v., 259; *Statutes of the Realm*, iv., 18; *Lords' Journals*, i., 313.

[4] Burnet, ii., 63, 64.

[5] 34 & 35 Hen. VIII., c. 1, 1543.

[6] 31 Hen. VIII., c. 8, and 34 & 35 Hen. VIII., c. 23.

[7] Burnet, ii., 93, 117.

[8] 1 Ed. VI., c. 14; *Statutes at Large*, v., 267; *Statutes of the Realm*, iv., 24; Gee and Hardy, 328.

[9] 37 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

certain having yet been suppressed. Henry's Act went on the ground, not of immorality, as was alleged against the lesser monasteries, but on that of the chantry possessions being generally misapplied or misappropriated. Edward's Act was based on an entirely new consideration, which was a sign of new times. Much superstition and error, it asserted,[1] had been brought into men's minds by reason of their ignorance of "their very true and perfect salvation through the death of Jesus Christ, and by devising and phantasying vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory to be done for them which be deceased". Chantries and other provisions made for the continuance of such blindness had better be converted to good and godly uses, such as erecting grammar schools, augmenting the universities and provision for the poor, and be committed to the King for that purpose. Lands given wholly for the maintenance of an obit[2] were vested in the King from Easter, 1548. In cases where the chantry priest ought to have kept a grammar school, such school to be maintained. Vicars of parish churches to be endowed in perpetuity; additional clergy to be provided in populous towns; chantry priests to be pensioned until receiving other preferment; sea-walls to be maintained. The Act not to extend to colleges in universities, to the free chapel of St. George, Windsor Castle, or to the colleges of Winchester and Eton. The Act passed the Lords with the assent of all but the Bishops of London, Durham, Ely, Hereford, Chichester.

The Chantries Act made the reign of Edward VI. a marked epoch in the foundation of Grammar Schools, of which the following owed their origin, or much of their early endowment, to chantry lands,[3] *viz.*, in 1548 (2 Ed. VI.) that of Pontefract; in 1549, those of Maidstone and Brackley; 1550, of Marlborough and Sherborne; 1551, Chelmsford, Louth, East Retford; 1552, Birmingham King's School, Morpeth, Shrewsbury, Stourbridge, Towcester (*cir.* 1552); 1553, Nuneaton, Giggleswick. Some time in the reign, the Grammar Schools of Bury St. Edmunds and Loughborough. These schools have been of immense service to the nation.

On 27th December, 1547,[4] a proclamation concerning the irreverent talkers of the Sacrament complained that, in spite of

[1] Preamble.

[2] An anniversary service for the soul of a departed person on the day of his death; *Imp. Dict.*

[3] See Bluebook Reports of the Charity Commission.

[4] Wilkins, iv., 18; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 26.

the recent Act,[1] some ceased not to move contentious questions in their sermons and talks to define the manner, nature, fashion, ways, possibility or impossibility, of those matters which neither make to edification nor God hath by His holy word opened. The King would have his subjects "devoutly and reverently affirm that holy bread to be Christ's body, and that cup to be the cup of His holy blood, according to the purport and effect of the holy Scripture". But whoever openly with contention or tumult, in company gathered together either in churches, alehouses, markets, or elsewhere, reviled that Sacrament, calling it an idol, would incur the King's high indignation and suffer imprisonment. The people, long accustomed to hear the consecrated wafer spoken of as no longer bread, but Christ's very body, and to witness the prostrations at the altar, could not distinguish the mass from an idolatrous service or attach any other than a grossly material sense to the alleged presence of Christ. In the entire absence hitherto of all spiritual teaching, many were now mocking at the whole service.

Further Reforms.

On 27th January, 1548, the archbishop informed the Bishop of London (Bonner) that the bearing of candles on Candlemas Day (2nd February), ashes on Ash Wednesday, palms on Palm Sunday, were to be discontinued,[2] and on 6th February a proclamation[3] declared heavy penalties against unauthorised innovations and unlicensed preaching; a sign that self-willed reformers were eager to take the law into their own hands, that the Council was resolved to prevent this, and that it was no idle pretence of the Protector in telling the Lady Mary how dangerous a do-nothing policy would prove in such an unsettled condition of things.

So early as 10th February, 1547, complaints reached the Council from the Lord Mayor and the Bishop of London that in a Cheapside Church, St. Martin, Ironmonger Lane,[4] images of saints had been changed for texts on the walls, and a crucifix replaced by a painting of the royal arms. The minister and wardens explained that they had been putting up a new roof, which had necessitated the removal of those ornaments, and as

[1] 1 Ed. VI., c. 1.

[2] Wilkins, iv., 22; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 37. Cranmer's date, here given as 27th January, 1547, would be old style. The regnal year, 2 Ed. VI., added by Wilkins and Cardwell, would make the date 1549, and must be wrong.

[3] Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 34.

[4] Distinguished as St. Martin Pomary, not rebuilt after the fire. The parish is now united to St. Margaret, Lothbury.

they were too old and decayed to be set up again, while new ones would increase their already heavy expenses, their places had been filled as represented. The removal of an image from the chancel was on more serious ground. It had been abused to idolatry. The church officials submissively offered to do all that was commanded, and they were only required to erect a new crucifix, nothing being said as to the saints. This became a leading case on the image question.[1]

During this ferment in the city, a sermon at Court by Dr. Ridley on Ash Wednesday, 23rd February,[2] condemning image-worship and holy water, called increased attention to the subject, eliciting a letter from Bishop Gardiner, who was present.[3] There was a burst of iconoclasm over all England. On May Day, 1547, the people of Portsmouth, not the officers of the church as at St. Martin's, removed and broke the images of Christ and the saints, which called forth a warm appeal from Gardiner, the diocesan, to the Council, with a reply from the Protector.[4]

In August and September, 1547, one of the Royal Injunctions ordered that all such images as had at any time been abused with pilgrimages, offerings, or censings, should be taken down.[5]

On 11th February, 1548,[6] an Order of Council to the archbishop, quoting the Royal Injunction of 1547, which it was allowed had in many parts of the realm been quietly obeyed, complained that in others it had occasioned daily strife; while in some places where the images had been removed they had been restored afresh. The Council, therefore, considering that hardly anywhere is there sure quietness, except where images are wholly removed, and that the lively images of Christ need not the dead ones and should not contend for them, request the archbishop to see that all images be entirely removed from the churches of his province.[7]

On 24th February, 1548, the archbishop issued his mandate for the removing and destroying of images in obedience to the Order in Council,[8] and on 10th May, 1548, John Abulmis, a Swiss student

[1] Burnet, ii., 45. There is a full record in the Acts of the Privy Council, under 10th February, 1547, Dasent, ii., 25.

[2] Demaus, *Hugh Latimer*, 335.

[3] Burnet, ii., 17; Ridley's *Works*, 495.

[4] Burnet, ii., 48, referring to Foxe; not recorded in P.C. Acts.

[5] Order in Council, Burnet, v., 191; Injunction No. 4; the P.C. Acts (22nd Oct., 29th Nov., 1547) record opposition to image-removal at St. Neots, Hunts, and at Wycombe, in the visitation of 1547.

[6] Burnet, ii., 124; 21st Feb. in v., 193.

[7] Burnet, ii., 124, where a picture of the Trinity is described.

[8] The mandate in Wilkins, iv., 22, quoting the Order in Council; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 38.

at Oxford, wrote to Bullinger at Zurich: "The images are extirpated, root and branch, in every part of England".[1]

Archbishop Cranmer in his Visitation Articles, 1548, inquires whether there have been removed, utterly extincted, and destroyed, in churches, chapels, houses, all images, all shrines, coverings of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindals or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere.[2]

The Order of Communion, 1548.

The Act of 20th December, 1547, providing that the laity should communicate in both kinds with the priest, was not accompanied by any formulary for carrying it into effect, this being left to a certain committee of seventeen bishops and six doctors engaged in the winter of 1547-8 and perhaps already sitting for reforming the offices of public worship.[3] The Mass occupied their first attention; but before any actual alteration of its text (which was in Latin) was decided on, there was designed by way of supplement a form in English, admitting the laity to their share of the service as intended by Parliament, and bearing the title Order of Communion. It contained not only words accompanying the delivery of the bread and the wine to the communicant, but exhortations, Scripture promises and warnings withal, to encourage the lay worshippers to draw near, yet holily, and partake of the sacred feast, whereas they had been accustomed to a non-communicating attendance, looking on while the officiating priest performed the service in its strange tongue as a sacrifice on their behalf, rarely themselves going forward to receive the bread, and not being even allowed the cup.

Such was this English *Order of Communion*, annexed to, not replacing the Mass, which was said as usual by the priest alone and in Latin. It was issued to the public embodied in a proclamation.[4] A copy in book form for congregational use, the proclamation still accompanying it as its authority, was published on 8th March, 1548,[5] and on 13th March [6] sent by the Council to the bishops to be distributed for use in every church on Easter Day, 1st April. The proclamation, a document worthy of the

[1] *Original Letters*, Parker Society, ii., 377.

[2] Cranmer's *Articles of Visitation*, in his *Remains and Letters*, Parker Society, p. 155.

[3] Burnet, ii., 127.

[4] Wilkins, iv., 11, undated.

[5] There is a reprint of this in the Parker Society's *Liturgies of Edward VI.* 1844.

[6] Burnet, ii., 133; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 60; and Wilkins, iv., 31, give 13th March, 1548, but their regnal year, 3 Ed. VI., makes it 1549.

occasion, bade people diligently try themselves and so be partakers of the Holy Communion, that they might dwell in Christ and have Christ dwelling in them. The Council enjoined on the bishops to see that their clergy made use of the book themselves, and instructed the people in it before Easter, observing: "A great number of the curates of the realm either for lack of knowledge cannot, or for lack of good mind will not, be so ready to set forth the same as we would wish". The chief indications that the office was composed when the tenet of the corporal presence prevailed are the expression, "The Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ" (alone) on the delivery of the bread, and a statement in the final rubric, saying that in each portion of the bread is received "the whole body of Our Saviour Jesus Christ". With important doctrinal amendments which cannot fail to be apparent the *Order of Communion* forms a conspicuous part of the present Communion office of the Church of England.

As, then, the *Homilies* were the first step of doctrinal reform in Edward's reign, and the abolition of images the first of public worship reform, so the Communion Book of 1548 was the first step in Edward's liturgical reform.

Gardiner sent to the Tower.

The Bishop of Winchester, released from the Fleet on 8th January, 1548,[1] "began forthwith to set forth such matters as bred again more strife, variance and contention in that small city and shire than was almost in the whole realm". With "perilous and seditious language" he publicly opposed the King's preachers sent into his diocese.[2] The Council, from all they heard, gathered that he was helping to disseminate among his clergy a new and dangerous doctrine then rising in regard to the King's supremacy,[3] asserting that while the *King's* supremacy had been acknowledged by the Church, that of the *Council* had not. To justify this distinction it was given out that a divine illumination accompanied the rite of anointing at the coronation; that the supremacy was derived through this; that it lay dormant while the prince was so young, and could only be exercised when he grew to ripeness of understanding, while it was never in the *Council* at all; that therefore all the proceedings of the Council, so far as they were based on royal supremacy, were invalid. On this point the law officers of the Crown were unanimously of opinion that the supremacy was

[1] Burnet, ii., 116. The Act for a General Pardon passed 24th December, 1547, *Lords' Journals*, i., 312, 313; proclaimed on the day of coronation.

[2] Acts of the Privy Council, 30th June, 1548, Dasent, ii., 208.

[3] Burnet, ii., 137.

annexed to the regal dignity, and was the same in a King under age (when it was exercised by the Council) as in a King of full age, so that the acts of the Council in the King's minority were as the King's own in his majority. Hence there arose this test question: "What is the King's authority as Head of the Church under age, and what is the power of the Council in that case?"[1] The Lady Mary scrupled not to inform the Council in flat terms that she accounted all their laws null and void, and that she would not obey them. Such disaffection in such high quarters was a supreme difficulty. The Council do not appear to have had legal proof that Gardiner was so offending, but they challenged him to declare himself, and when personal conferences between them led to no satisfactory result it was agreed on both sides[2] that he should preach a sermon before the King, and clear himself from all misrepresentations. The bishop was given plainly to understand that the Council would be satisfied with no statements that did not distinctly allow *the King's authority under age and the Council's power to exercise it.*[3]

On St. Peter's Day, 29th June, 1548, the sermon was delivered[4] before an unprecedented[5] concourse of people. Copious notes of the sermon, preserved among the Parker manuscripts, were seen by Burnet, who gives a summary of them. The bishop took a wide range. He avowed approval of the abolition of the Papal supremacy and the suppression of monasteries. He thought images might have been retained, yet would not condemn their removal. He approved of the Sacrament in both kinds, of the new Communion Book that had recently come into use,[6] and abolition of the chantries. He asserted at great length the corporal presence, as he had a right to do, it being then in the Communion Book, though he here produced a tumult in his audience. But he passed by without a word the question of the moment, *the King's authority under age and the Council's power in that case.* His absolute silence on the point was nothing less than an emphatic admission of the charge laid against him, an

[1] Burnet, ii., 141.

[2] The P.C. (30th June, 1548) say "he offered"; Burnet, ii., 137, "he desired"; ii., 139, "Cecil proposed". A trial by "test sermon," in fact, was resorted to, as was not uncommon, the instances of Barnes and Crome having already been before us.

[3] Burnet, ii., 139, 140.

[4] *Ibid.*, 139; Acts of P.C., 30th June, 1548, Dasent, 209; neither mentioning the place.

[5] "Such an audience as the like whereof hath not lightly been seen" (P.C.).

[6] On 1st April, 1548.

admission that could not be mistaken; and unless the Council meant to abdicate, or were willing to let a seditious doctrine disseminate through the nation, the defiance (for such it was) could not be passed by. He was therefore on 30th June, 1548, committed to the Tower.[1]

In the treatment he received Gardiner had nothing fairly to complain of. He preached the sermon by the freest consent, well knowing the penalty he risked. The test sermon for the clerical order in judicial proceedings was no sudden invention for his case. In 1540 it was sanctioned by his own presence at Dr. Barnes's sermon, which issued in martyrdom. If Gardiner's incarceration was unwarranted by law, a stretch of authority, what was Barnes's, and Barnes's death? If strict legality is difficult to prove in Gardiner's case, it seems equally difficult to deny, looking at all the circumstances, that justice was substantially satisfied. Perilous as it is to deviate from the strictest line of the Constitution even in pursuit of justice, danger of the first magnitude must sometimes necessitate the risk of this when it is a choice of difficulties, in the hope of an Act of indemnity or something equivalent. In the present case the repeal of the Proclamation Act showed that the ruling power was certainly not bent on any systematic design to found a tyranny. But they had to deal with a special crisis in the course of a revolution (it was nothing less), of which they themselves were a part, and which they had to guide. The example made of this eminent prelate awed the ranks of disaffection, and the orders of the Council of Regency were obeyed.[2]

As to Gardiner personally, he was not flung into a dungeon, treated with penal rigour, or degraded. Placed in the honourable seclusion of the Tower of London, he was prevented from doing further mischief. In no long time he would have been set free if his release had been safe for the State; but his mind never changed, and he remained in confinement to the end of the reign.

On 23rd September, 1548, a proclamation inhibiting all preaching, complains that certain of the licensed preachers, abusing their authority, have said things contrary to their instructions, and the King contemplating shortly to have one uniform order throughout the realm, inhibits all preachers until it be set forth.[3]

In 1532 was first printed the treatise *On the Body and Blood*

[1] P.C., 30th June, 1548. [2] Burnet, ii., 141.
[3] Wilkins, iv., 30; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 58.

of the Lord by Ratram, or Bertram, who, in the ninth century, replied to Paschasius Radbert on transubstantiation. By the printing of Ratram's book the attention of the Reform party everywhere began to be powerfully drawn to transubstantiation. The first eminent man in England convinced by it was Nicholas Ridley, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in the reign of Henry VIII., and he is thought to have called Cranmer's attention to the book in or about 1546. In 1548 Cranmer adopted his ultimate Eucharistic views, as also did Latimer.[1] In the October term of 1548, at Cambridge, a debate started at St. John's by two Fellows, as to the identity of the Mass and the Lord's Supper, which it was alleged that Thomas Aquinas denied, excited considerable attention in the university, and Roger Ascham, by a letter to William Cecil, endeavoured to bring the question to the notice of the Council.[2] On 14th December, 1548, a debate on the Eucharist took place in the House of Lords, when Cranmer and Ridley (now Bishop of Rochester[3]) firmly maintained the doctrine which they ever afterwards asserted. Traheron, writing to Bullinger, 31st December, 1548, says: "The Archbishop of Canterbury, contrary to general expectation, most openly, firmly, and learnedly maintained your opinion upon this subject. . . . The truth never obtained a more brilliant victory among us."[4] Traheron, a member of Parliament, was most probably present at the scene. The same debate must have been in Peter Martyr's mind when writing, 26th December, 1548, on the Parliamentary struggle of this second session; how matters of religion were daily discussed in the Lords, with such vehement disputes among the bishops as had never been heard, the Commons daily coming in to listen to their sharp contentions; how the palm was resting with the Reformers, especially with the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, hitherto traduced as an ignoramus in theology and only conversant with State affairs, was astonishing every one as a man mighty in theology, with learning, power, dexterity in debate; the main point uppermost being now the Real Presence, not transubstantiation, which seemed exploded. The energies of both parties had

Development of opinion on the Eucharist.

[1] Traheron to Bullinger, 28th September, 1548; *Orig. Letters*, i., 322.

[2] An account, with Ascham's Latin letter of 5th January, 1549, in Strype's *Cranmer*, 163; App., 81, No. xxxvii.

[3] Consec., 4th Sept., 1547.

[4] Traheron to Bullinger, 31st December, 1548; *Orig. Letters*, i., 323. Bullinger's views are amply expounded in vol. v. of his *Decades*, Serm. ix., p. 401. The debate referred to by Traheron has been printed from the original report and edited by Mr. J. T. Tomlinson.

made the result very doubtful, and victory had hitherto fluctuated between them.[1]

The King, with the advice of the Lord Protector and the Council, appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury with certain bishops and other learned men [2] to draw up one uniform order of Common Prayer for the whole realm, having respect to the pure Christian religion taught by the Scripture, and the usages of the Primitive Church. The resulting first Prayer Book of Edward VI. was accepted by Parliament in January, 1549, was published on or about 7th March, 1549, coming into general use on Whitsunday, 9th June, 1549.

The First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

The prayers of this book were in substance those which had been long used in England, but with two most important modifications: (1) they were in the English tongue instead of the Latin; (2) they were clear to a very large extent, though not completely, of unscriptural doctrine; the Mass, for instance, having been changed from a sacrifice offered by the priest for the living and the dead, to a holy communion of priest and people together; all reference to the intercession of saints being likewise specially omitted. In another particular there was a most valuable improvement, the reading of large portions of Holy Scripture.

A Bill for the Uniformity of Service and Administration of the Sacraments throughout the Realm [3] was read in the House of Lords on 7th, 10th, 15th January, 1549; in the Commons on 17th, 19th, 31st January, returning to the Lords 22nd January.[4] This was in the second session of Edward's first Parliament, and in the second year of his reign,[5] the statute constituting the first of the four Acts of Uniformity in English history.

Three lords protested: Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby; William Dacre, third Baron Dacre (of Gillesland); William Windsor, second Baron Windsor (of Stanwell); and eight bishops: Bonner (Lond.), Tunstal (Durh.), Rugge or Repps (Norw.), Aldrich

[1] *Orig. Letters*, ii., 470.

[2] Preamble to Edward's first Act of Uniformity in Burnet, ii., 176-77; Gee and Hardy, 359. No mention of Convocation occurs.

[3] 2 & 3 Ed. VI., c. 1; *Statutes at Large*, v., 286; *Statutes of the Realm*, iv. 1; Gee and Hardy, 358.

[4] *Lords'* (i., 328-33) and *Commons'* (i., 6) *Journals*. The great debate on 14th December, 1548, must have been in prospect of this Bill.

[5] The session lasted from 24th November, 1548, to 14th March, 1549, when the King was present at the prorogation. Edward's second regnal year began 28th January, 1548, and ended 27th January, 1549. The Bill passed Parliament in his second year. The *Lords' Journals*, i., 353, 354, omit the royal assent to all the Acts of this session. It was often given on the prorogation day.

(Carl.), Skyp (Heref.), Heath (Worc.), Thirlby (Westm.), Day (Chich.).

Twelve other bishops were present: Cranmer (Cant.), Holgate (York), Goodrich (Ely), Salcott or Capon (Sarum), Sampson (Lichf. and Cov.), Barlow (B. and W.), Chambers (Pet.), Bushe (Brist.), Holbeach (Lincoln), Kitchin (Lland.), Ridley (Roch.), Ferrar (St. David's). Seven bishops were absent: Gardiner[1] (Winch.), Voysey (Exet.), Warton (St. Asap.), Wakeman (Glouc.), Bird (Chester), Bulkeley (Ban.), King (Oxon.).

Whitsunday, 9th June, 1549, when the Book of Common Prayer came into legal use,[2] may be considered as the real birthday of the English Reformation. On that festival, by this book, the Reformation first came into practical and authoritative contact with the English people generally, as something markedly distinct from the statutory and constitutional revolt from Rome, which hardly reached the remote homes of the realm. Public worship and the occasional offices, the universal and constant spiritual necessity of the people, of their young, of their old, of their sick, of their dying and their dead, reached them day by day in every parish church in all corners of the land, and to them that was the Reformation; and, if this can be summed up in any single event, it is the birth of public common worship. All before that Whitsunday, all Tyndale's work, all the work of Henry's fifth Parliament, was leading to this; all afterwards did but perfect and ratify it.

Marriage of the Clergy.

On 19th February, 1549, an Act was passed in the second session to take away all positive laws made against the marriage of priests.[3] It declared all laws and canons that had been made against the marriage of ministers of the Church, "being only made by human authority," repealed.[4] The English clergy never pledged themselves to celibacy at their ordination.[5] No English statute was repealed by this Act. The laws forbidding marriage of the clergy were but canons and constitutions of the Church.[6] The bishops and lords protesting against this Act were Bonner (Lond.), Tunstal (Durh.), Rugge or Repps (Norw.), Aldrich (Carl.), Skyp (Heref.), Heath (Worc.), Bushe (Brist.), Day (Chich.), Kitchin (Llan.); Henry

[1] In the Tower.

[2] Edward's first Act of Uniformity.

[3] 2 & 3 Ed. VI., c. 21; *Statutes at Large*, v., 316; *Statutes of the Realm*, iv., 67.

[4] Burnet, ii., 169.

[5] *Ibid.*, 173.

[6] *Ibid.*, 175; v., 231, quoting Dr. Redmayn, a contemporary divine of much authority.

Parker eighth Baron Morley, Barons Dacre and Windsor before mentioned, Thomas Wharton first Baron Wharton.

Over a large part of England the Book of Common Prayer was launched in a storm, a prelude to its eventful history and many troubles. Agrarian changes of various kinds, especially the extensive enclosure of commons by the new proprietors of abbey lands,[1] occasioned bitter complaints among the peasantry against landlords. For three months of 1549, May, June, July, there were tumultuous risings, especially in Norfolk,[2] where Ket led the insurgents, and in Devon. The Papalist clergy generally were conspicuous among the rebels, some of them falling in every skirmish. Taking advantage of the commotions, they made the people attribute all their troubles to the changes in religion, and to the exercise of royal power by the Council during Edward's minority. Such was especially the case in the Devon and Cornwall troubles.[3] On 10th June (Whitmonday), immediately after the Prayer Book came into legal use, the officers sent against the insurgent peasants received from them a list of their demands in fifteen articles, which clearly betrayed their origin from the priests. The use of the King's authority while under age was declared against; the restoration of the Mass and of the Six Articles Act was demanded, as also the calling in of the English Bible and the following of all General Councils. The minds of the people were also inflamed by a view of the Eucharistic host borne among them displayed on a cart. There was everything to betoken a compact of reciprocal aid between the disaffected peasantry and the clergy who clung to the old order of things.

Popular Disturbances.

As no fewer than eight bishops had protested in the House of Lords against the Prayer Book on its passing, while—an equally serious fact—the great body of the priesthood were disaffected to it, a second royal visitation was resolved upon to prevent the Act of Uniformity becoming a dead letter. It began probably late in August, 1549, when the country was quieting down, and it lasted through September. The royal injunctions [4] to clergy and people, and the instructions

A Second Royal Visitation.

[1] Burnet, ii., 207-15; iii., 327-28; *Student's Hume*, under Ed. VI., sec. 7, pp. 276, 277, ed. 1882.

[2] Burnet, ii., 213, no religious grievances alleged.

[3] Burnet, ii., 209, 222; *Letters of Burcher*, 25th Aug., 25th Sept., 1549, in *Orig. Letters*, ii., 656, 658.

[4] Burnet (v., 243) and Cardwell (*D. A.*, i., 63) give under 1549 a body of thirteen "articles to be followed according to the King's injunctions". Cardwell's note calls them Instructions to the Visitors (3 Ed. VI.) on a new royal visitation, drawn up after the passing (21st Jan., 1549) of the Uniformity Act.

to the Visitors, with their many interesting details, are extant. One of them enjoined particular care to see that the Communion Service was not made, by the arts of the priesthood, to counterfeit the Mass, complaints having been made that the priests generally read the prayers in the same tone of voice they had used formerly in the Latin service, so that people understood the English little better than they had done the Latin. It was also complained that priests used in the Communion Service many of the old rites, such as kissing the altar, crossing themselves, lifting the book from one place to another, breathing on the bread and displaying it before distribution.[1]

The Visitors on their return reported no complaint from any part of the kingdom, a proof that the new service was generally accepted;[2] but how far with cordiality is, of course, a further question, and the great need now was to get it implanted in the affections of clergy and people.

Bonner Deprived and Imprisoned.

Bonner Bishop of London had a rooted repugnance to the new Prayer Book, which he opposed in Parliament but accepted after it became law, with a powerful government to insist on his compliance. In his heart he was notoriously inimical to it, spite of all appearances, and every one in discontent drew encouragement from him. The Council, addressing him on 24th June, 1549,[3] after the Prayer Book had come into legal use, forbade the continuance of Masses at St. Paul's, in the private chapels and other remote places of the cathedral, but only the Communion, in the church, at the high altar, as appointed in the Common Prayer. Bonner forwarded the letter on the 26th to the dean and chapter.[4] On 23rd July[5] he was again charged by the Council with obstructing the Prayer Book in his diocese, but in a letter of 25th July he made some show of compliance.[6] On 11th August the Council complained again, and at length required that he should clear himself in a public sermon by censuring the rebellion (then subsiding) and declaring that the King was to be obeyed in his minority.[7] On 1st September, like Gardiner in similar circumstances, he preached accordingly at St. Paul's Cross, before a vast concourse, who thoroughly understood the points at issue. Spending the time chiefly on matters not in debate, he remained, on the sole question of the moment, as Gardiner had done in the previous year, silent.[8]

[1] Burnet, ii., 189. [2] *Ibid.*, 191.
[3] Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 65. [4] Wilkins, iv., 34, 35.
[5] Wilkins, iv., 35; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 66.
[6] Wilkins, iv., 36. [7] Burnet, ii., 220. [8] *Ibid.*

Before Commissioners, including the archbishop, appointed to examine him,[1] he was both evasive and insulting.[2] On 1st October[3] he was sentenced to deprivation and imprisonment in the Marshalsea, where he remained for the rest of the reign. The deprivation was constitutional, since Bonner had himself consented to hold his See during the King's pleasure.[4]

His imprisonment might seem, as in the case of Gardiner, a usurpation, and must be judged by the same principles. The crisis was more acute in Bonner's case. The Lady Mary, residing in his diocese, holding constant communication with him, openly avowed the same defiant attitude as to the Council's authority. Writing, 22nd and 27th June, 1549, she asserted that she was not subject to them, and would obey none of the laws they made.[5] On 17th July they charged her with complicity in the Devonshire risings, which she rather evaded than denied.[6] Then there was the strong episcopal protest against the Prayer Book in the Lords, and a powerful priesthood headed the rebel peasants against it.

Amid so much public danger the government of a Council in a royal minority (always a difficult form of administration) might well feel it proper, even by stretching a point, to seclude a man like Bonner, and under the circumstances this imprisonment may be reckoned a measure of substantial justice.

Fall of Somerset.

By a widespread combination of a jealous nobility and a cabal in the Council itself, the Protector Somerset on 14th October, 1549, fell from his exalted post and was committed to the Tower.[7] We must not attempt here to unravel the plot, and can only observe that his successor in the lead of affairs was Dudley Earl of Warwick.[8] The Reform party, regarding Somerset as the pillar of their cause, were terribly disconcerted,[9] while their opponents greatly exulted in the prospect of a policy of reaction, Warwick's leanings being

[1] Commissions issued on 8th and 17th September, 1549; Wilkins, iv., 36, 37; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 69, 71.

[2] Strype's *Cranmer*, 270, ed. 1812.

[3] *Hist. Peerage.*

[4] Burnet, ii., 220-27; Strype's *Cranmer*, 270.

[5] Burnet, ii., 192.

[6] *Ibid.*, iii., 328.

[7] Released, 6th February, 1550; pardoned, 16th February; sworn of the Privy Council, 10th April; Burnet, ii., 249-50. He never recovered his former position; was again sent to the Tower, 17th October, 1551; beheaded, 22nd January, 1552; Burnet, ii., 304, 315.

[8] Created Duke of Northumberland, 11th October, 1551.

[9] Burnet, ii., 245. *See* Letters from Hooper, 7th November and 27th December; Hilles, 17th November; Dryander, 3rd December; *Orig. Letters*, i., 69, 71, 268, 353.

believed to be towards the old religion. Gardiner addressed Warwick from the Tower, Bonner from the Marshalsea, both of them being sanguine[1] of his support.

After a brief hesitation, if there was any, Warwick's mind was reassured, and Burnet writes: "Finding the King so zealously addicted to the carrying on of the Reformation, Warwick soon forsook the Popish party, and was seemingly the most earnest on a further reformation that was possible".[2]

The youthful King, then, and his personal predilections counted for something with politicians. Nor was it surprising. Edward, a child of twelve,[3] had the prospect of a long reign and Warwick the hope of a long tenure of office. That the minister should have thought it worth while to govern himself by what he observed of the sentiments of his youthful Sovereign shows how the boy had impressed him with an idea of his strength and stability of mind. The piety and character of that one little boy therefore saved the Reformation from a dangerous reaction just after its first triumph in the establishment of the Book of Common Prayer.

There can be little doubt that a spiritual reformation, which is the supremacy of Holy Scripture in the hearts and the lives of the reformed and in the nation, was the governing passion of the youthful Edward, as his *Journal* shows, and of men like Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, with their predecessors Tyndale and Bilney; and that they prized the statutory Reformation chiefly as the means of confirming and perpetuating the spiritual.

This cannot of course have been the motive thought in the breasts of those political leaders and supporters, who furnished the cabals that we hear of, the opportunists like Warwick, and the men who moved across these scenes with an eye to Church spoils. We naturally look further to account for such agents being so ready for those nobler measures which they can scarcely be supposed in their hearts to have appreciated. The politicians, confronted by a formidable and embittered opposition, which had the sympathy of the royal heiress, a phalanx of bishops, and a disaffected priesthood, realised that they were momentarily on the brink of reaction, and that there could be no security for what had been accomplished unless the affections of the whole

[1] Burnet, ii., 245.

[2] *Ibid.* The case of Bonner was, at his own request, now reviewed, but the Court of Delegates reported that the process against him had been legal and the sentence just.

[3] Born, 12th October, 1537.

people could be engaged in it. Thus, if the spiritual guides, with a view to perpetuate the noblest ideal of reform, earnestly upheld the constitutional action, we can understand that the political leaders would be ready to promote with all genuine sincerity, if not always with full sympathy, the work of their spiritual colleagues as the only means of sustaining their constitutional fabric. Some such sentiment would seem to have been breathing in a passage of the Protector Somerset's letter to Gardiner, as on 28th June, 1548, at a very anxious juncture, he upheld the right of the civil authority in religion. "For our intermeddling with these causes of religion, understand you that we account it no small part of our charge, under the King's Majesty, to bring his people from ignorance to knowledge, and from superstition to true religion, esteeming that the chief foundation to build obedience upon; and where there is a full consent of others, the bishops and learned men, in a truth, not to suffer you or a few other with wilful headiness to dissuade all the rest. And although we presume not to determine Articles of Religion by ourself, yet, from God we knowledge it, we be desirous to defend and advance the Truth, determined or revealed; and so consequently we will not fail, but withstand the disturbers thereof."[1]

The Ordinal.

A new service for the ordination of ministers was published in March, 1550, to be used after April, having been drawn up by a body of divines, authorised by the Crown under the Great Seal, by express permission of Parliament.[2] The absolute necessity of such a service is obvious when it is considered that the old forms of ordination invested the minister in the most elaborate manner with a *sacrificial* office, whereas the idea of sacrifice had now been removed from the Mass, which had thus been converted into the Lord's Supper, requiring that the functions of the officiant should be characterised by a corresponding change of terms.

The abolition of altars was of a piece with the reconstruction of the Ordination Service, and in this movement the leader was Bishop Ridley, Bonner's successor in the See of London, who, in May, 1550, was visiting his diocese for the express object. He was supported by the whole weight of government, who sent the

[1] Protector Somerset's letter to Bishop Gardiner, 28th June, 1548; Burnet, v., 226; Wilkins, iv., 28.

[2] 3 & 4 Ed. VI., c. 12; *Statutes at Large*, v., 344; *Statutes of the Realm*, iv., 112; passed Commons, 30th January, Lords, 31st January, 1550; protested, Bishops Tunstal (Durh.), Aldrich (Carl.), Heath (Worc.), Thirlby (Westm.), Day (Chich.); Bonner and Gardiner in prison; *Commons' Jour.*, i., 16; *Lords' Jour.*, i., 387.

Sheriff of Essex to see his injunctions respected.[1] The injunctions forbade various gestures and ceremonies counterfeiting the Mass, bidding "the Lord's Board" to be set up after the form of an honest table, and all other by-altars, or tables, to be removed. Adherents of the old ritual were in various indirect ways keeping up the Mass,[2] one offender being even the Dean of St. Paul's, in whose cathedral the Holy Communion was celebrated "as a very Mass".[3] The Council vigorously took the matter in hand; it issued orders through the country, and by the end of 1550 altars had almost everywhere given place to tables.[4] Late in the year the Council came into dispute with the Bishop of Chichester,[5] who for persistently upholding the altars in his diocese was on 11th December committed to the Fleet. The fact of the term "altar" appearing in the Prayer Book was not lost sight of by the supporters of the Council,[6] but it did not stop them.

On 25th December, 1549, there was drawn up a royal order to the archbishop for calling in Popish rituals.[7] It would seem that this was not regarded as adequate authority, as on 25th January, 1550, an Act was passed for putting away divers books and images.[8] The discarded service books enumerated are "antiphoners, missals, grailes, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portuasses, primers in Latin or English, couchers, journals, ordinals". On 14th February, 1550, the archbishop forwarded the King's Order to the Archdeacon of Canterbury to see it carried out in that diocese.[9]

The Princess Mary, while repudiating the authority of the Council in the most direct terms, peremptorily demanded a licence under the Great Seal to have Mass celebrated in her two manor houses in the diocese of London.[10] As it was, and without permission, her two chaplains at those places, whether she resided or not, had Mass and open church for all the neigh-

[1] Burnet, ii., 273. Ridley's Articles of Visitation, 1550; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 77. His Injunctions for uniformity in the Diocese of London; Burnet, v., 309; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 81; Ridley's *Works*, Parker Society, p. 319.

[2] Short, i., 274.

[3] Letter of the Council, 8th October, 1550, Dasent, iii., 138.

[4] Burnet, ii., 275.

[5] P.C. Acts, 30th November, 1550, Dasent, iii., 168-78.

[6] Ridley's *Works*, 321; Burnet, ii., 275-76.

[7] Wilkins, iv., 37; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 73.

[8] 3 & 4 Ed. VI., c. 10; *Statutes at Large*, v., 342; *Statutes of the Realm*, iv., 110. Passed 25th January, 1550, with protests from Earl of Derby, Bishops of Durh., L. and C., Carl., Worc., Westm., Chich.; Lords Morley, Stourton, Windsor, Wharton; *Lords' Jour.*, i., 384; *Commons' Jour.*, i., 14.

[9] Wilkins, Cardwell, as above.

[10] *King Edward's Journal*, 19th April, 1550, Burnet, v., 15.

bourhood. She was, moreover, in correspondence with her cousin the Emperor Charles V.,[1] the standing enemy of the Reformation, and there was a plan for her withdrawal to the Continent, where she could have supported a conspiracy in England by a foreign war. The Council resolutely refused formal permission, but connived at her having Mass in private for her own household, and with this she had to be satisfied.

All the heresy statutes of the preceding reign, including that of 1534, ended in 1547, along with the Six Articles Act;[2] but by the common law heresy remained a capital offence, as in the two cases of Joan Bocher (or Joan of Kent), 2nd May, 1550, and George van Parre, a Dutchman, 25th April, 1551. It was evidently held by the Council that the Crown, by virtue of the headship, might adopt its own procedure in lieu of that abolished, and accordingly the courts were composed of Royal Commissioners, presided over by Archbishop Cranmer in each case, Bishop Latimer sitting in one, Ridley and Coverdale in the other, Sir Thomas Smith, knight, in both.[3] The accused were Anabaptists, whose harmless name (expressing the opinion that persons baptized as infants ought to be rebaptized as adults) covered various doctrines altogether subversive of Christianity both in principle and practice, which had gradually gained footing among them. These anarchists of the Church, having for several years prevailed on the Continent, where they had given rise to insurrection and bloodshed, were newly imported into England. Cranmer, besides being the ecclesiastical judge who tried the heretics, was a member of the Council which had to issue the warrant for their execution, and the story was propagated that the young King long resisted signing the warrant in Joan's case until induced to do so by the urgency of Cranmer. A surviving minute of the Council shows that neither the King nor the archbishop was present on that day.[4]

Heretics Burnt, 1550, 1551.

On 13th February, 1551, Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, now in the Tower, was deprived of his See for persistent opposition to the Common Prayer. On 10th October, 1551, Heath Bishop of Worcester was deprived, the case against him being that, as one of the committee for constructing the new ordination service, he refused to sign and accept the

Four Bishops Deprived.

[1] Burnet, ii., 294, 295; iii., 354.

[2] By 1 Ed. VI., c. 12; *supra*, p. 176.

[3] Wilkins, iv., 44, and Burnet, v., 240, give the documents.

[4] Hutchinson's *Works*, Parker Society, p. v. of *Biog. Notice*. The Council was held 27th April, 1550, the only ecclesiastic present being the Bishop of Ely; Dasent, iii., 15, 19. Foxe, v., 699, and Burnet, ii., 204, accepted the story.

book which was settled by his colleagues, persisting in his refusal after every effort to move him. As these bishops had accepted the licence to hold their Sees during the King's pleasure, their deprivation was quite constitutional. It was likewise reasonable and necessary, as their opposition meant that the Prayer Book (and by inference the Ordinal) would be disallowed and unused in the Winchester diocese by Gardiner, and the Ordinal unused in the Worcester by Heath; the old public worship thus continuing in the Church, in flat contradiction to the authority of Parliament. There was therefore no possible alternative except for these prelates to give place to successors who would permit uniformity in the Church. On 10th October, 1551, Day Bishop of Chichester was deprived, the charge against him being seditious preaching in his diocese, which may mean propagating publicly the doctrine of his party as to the King's authority under age. On 11th October, 1552, Tunstal Bishop of Durham was deprived on the charge of concealing knowledge of a conspiracy; which, taken in conjunction with other facts, creates a suspicion of dangerous disaffection in the episcopal body.[1]

It might seem surprising, as Burnet remarks, that the revision of the Canon Law by the thirty-two was never proceeded with by Henry VIII., considering that to have all the ecclesiastical courts governed by a code authorised by himself must have served to enhance the royal supremacy.[2]

Reform of Ecclesiastical Law.

On 1st February, 1550, in the third session of Edward's first Parliament, an Act was once more passed[3] enabling the King to nominate thirty-two persons to revise the ecclesiastical laws, but within a limit of three years, and on condition that four out of the clerical nominees were bishops and four of the lay were learned in the common law. This revision was most earnestly desired by the King, who urged that as Papal authority had been repudiated by the nation, Papal decrees should no longer possess a voice in bishops' courts,[4] in other words, the English Church should recognise only an English ecclesiastical law. At the passing of this Bill in the Lords, 31st January, ten bishops pro-

[1] Burnet, iii., 356-58, gives particulars.

[2] *Ibid.*, 284.

[3] 3 & 4 Ed. VI., c. 11; *Statutes at Large*, v., 344; *Statutes of the Realm*, vi., 111; Burnet, ii., 331; *Ecclesiastical Courts Commission Report*, 1883, p. xxxii. Read in Commons, 21st and 22nd January, 1550; in Lords, 25th and 31st January; session beginning 4th November, 1549; *Lords' Jour.*, i., 387; *Commons' Jour.*, ., 16.

[4] Peter Martyr's letter to Bullinger, 8th March, 1552; Burnet, iii., 363; *Orig. Letters*, ii., 503.

tested: Cranmer (Cant.), Tunstal (Durh.), Goodrich (Ely), Aldrich (Carl.), Heath (Worc.), Thirlby (Westm.), Day (Chich.), Holbeach (Linc.), Ridley (Roch.), Ferrar (St. Dav.).

Under this enabling Act a body of thirty-two revisers were nominated by the King in Council on 6th October, 1551.[1]

The labours of Cranmer and Martyr, upon whom the task of preparation mainly devolved, resulted in a mass of digested material ready to be taken in hand for completion by the thirty-two who were commissioned 10th February, 1552. But before their book had reached its final stage and was ready for the royal confirmation, the King died, and with his death the project came to an end.[2] Reform of the Canon Law has never since been officially accepted, and with certain exceptions the ancient Canon Law retains its old authority in English jurisprudence.[3]

As to the book now compiled, it was in 1571, in the reign of Elizabeth, printed by Foxe, with a copious preface, under the title *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, and that same year an unsuccessful effort was made to induce Parliament to adopt it.[4] It remains an interesting monument of its times.[5]

The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.

The importance of the Prayer Book of 1552 as an improvement on the one of 1549 is apparent from the fact that it was ever afterwards retained, with comparatively slight alterations, by the Reformed Church of England down to the present day. It was authorised and enjoined by the second Act of Uniformity [6] passed 14th April, 1552, printed in August, 1552, coming into use the following All Saints Day, 1st November. In the Holy Communion Office the word "Mass" was omitted from the title, as also were prayers for the departed, and such portions of the service as were thought to encourage a belief in a corporal presence in the elements. Everything between consecration and reception was removed, most significantly, to some other place. The words of delivery were changed to "Take and eat," etc., "Drink this," etc.[7]

The *Primer* was a collection of private prayers authorised by the King, whose letters patent for the printing are dated 6th

[1] Burnet, iii., 362, 363.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii., 332.
[3] *Ecclesiastical Courts Commission Report*, p. xxxii., top.
[4] Burnet, ii., 332; iii., 362; Short, i., 281-82, 482.
[5] Edited by Cardwell in the original Latin, Oxf., 1850, 8vo, p. 344.
[6] 5 & 6 Ed. VI., c. 1; *Statutes at Large*, v., 349; *Statutes of the Realm*, iv., 130; Gee and Hardy, 369. Printed sometimes without any numbered paragraphs or sections for reference, sometimes with varying ones.
[7] A reprint of the original may be seen in the Parker Society's volume, *Liturgies of Edward VI.*, Camb., 1844.

March, 1553.[1] It occupies thirty octavo pages, and contains the first part of the present Church Catechism,[2] which then first appeared, teaching children the elements of religion.

The immediate precursors of our Thirty-nine Articles, a body of forty-two, were drawn up by Cranmer, or on his responsibility, having been taken in hand by direction of the Council in 1551. On 9th June, 1553, was given the King's mandate for their being signed by the clergy, which remained practically inoperative owing to the King's death on 6th July.[3]

It is frequently said that in the various changes which they made the Reformers were chiefly desirous of peace and compromise. Cranmer, writing on 4th July, 1548, said: "We are desirous of setting forth in our churches the true doctrine of God, and have no wish to adapt it to all tastes, or to deal in ambiguities; but, laying aside all carnal considerations, to transmit to posterity a true and explicit form of doctrine agreeable to the rule of the sacred writings".[4]

It would not be difficult to represent this Reform government as hard and severe, while those jealous for the credit of a great and noble cause, fraught with untold blessings to the Church and the nation, admit that many things were done which wear an aspect of violence. But a generous feeling must not mislead us into supposing that coercive methods were peculiar to the Reformation. They were the growth of preceding ages, and could not be at once eradicated. In this very reign the German Emperor was most violently coercing his Protestant subjects by the enforcement of that temporary religious settlement known as the INTERIM. Coercion in religion long remained a maxim in England, and it was practised by every party in turn. What can be claimed for the English Reformation is that it used compulsory methods more mercifully than they had ever been used before. The Reformation, though not tolerant, was the first cause in which any decided advance towards tolerance appeared. Compared with contemporary Romanist action (say that of the *Interim*) it was nobly tolerant. The superior humanity of the anti-papal party was shown, even under Henry VIII., by the mitigated Heresy Act of 1534. Here in Edward's reign is another example. At foreign embassies in London the Mass was freely allowed, while an English Ambassador to the Emperor

[1] *Liturgies of Edward VI.*, Parker Society, 1844. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 369.

[3] Burnet, iii., 370. The text of the Forty-two Articles, Eng. and Lat., may be seen in the Parker Society's *Liturgies of Edward VI.*, p. 526.

[4] *Original Letters*, Parker Society, i., 17.

might not have the Common Prayer in his chapel without protest and remonstrance.[1] The compulsion of the Reform party was far less vexatious than that of their opponents. The coercions of Edward's reign, though not to modern taste, entailed no widespread suffering. The speedy repeal in 1547 of preceding heresy laws shows us the Crown, by virtue of a now established prerogative in Church correction, taking all death punishment from bishops, while actual cases give evidence of the Crown assuming to itself entire control of the stake. Edward's heresy trials were held by special Royal Commission under letters patent, appointing the Primate to preside, with assessors of episcopal and high legal standing, one a layman.[2] The heresies condemned were quite outside the usual debate between the two main hostile parties, being such as touched the very foundations of Christianity and would alarm the general conscience as disintegrating and pernicious. The cases of Joan, van Parre, and others with them who submitted, demonstrate a great change of procedure, and in the best direction, in the coercion of opinion. Minor opposition, though firmly dealt with, was not cruelly punished. Nothing better illustrates the impartiality of the compulsion than the case of John Hooper, who for the offence of refusing to wear the episcopal habit and take the episcopal oath[3] in order to be consecrated Bishop of Gloucester, was conferred with, argued with learnedly, kindly, patiently, and when this did not answer was thrown into the Fleet. Thus an authority not a little overbearing and excessive, but impartial all round, saved us from the calamity of a tumultuous reform. Reform of some sort was inevitable, and would not wait. It was an orderly one, solely from a sufficient docility among the people and a somewhat martinet discipline in government.

But the exercise of high-handed authority was not the only means adopted. Everything was done that could be to instruct and persuade. A body of zealous and learned men, such as Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, were located at the universities, and promising young men were encouraged to devote themselves to divinity by allowances for their support. Preachers and teachers like

[1] *Edward's Journal*, 10th April, 1551; Burnet, v., 34; Burnet, ii., 191.

[2] *Supra*, p. 193.

[3] He was not so unreasonable as he is often considered when he is called the first Puritan. The habit was not the modest robe now worn, but a gaudy one of scarlet, which authority itself afterwards allowed to be objectionable. The ordination oath ran in the name of "the saints" as well as God, and that also was acknowledged to be wrong. See Burnet, iii., 354; Hooper's letter, 29th June, 1550, and Micronius's, 28th August, 1550, in *Orig. Letters*, i., 87; ii., 566, 567.

Ridley, Coverdale, Hooper, were advanced to the episcopate as vacancies offered; while Bishop Latimer, from his Lambeth home, was ever preaching in and about London. Particularly it should be noted that six of the most able preachers were made royal chaplains for the purpose of itinerating through the country.[1]

Foreign Reformers in England.

Peter Martyr, an ex-Augustinian friar of Florence, learned in Greek and Hebrew, a friend of the Reformation, after being driven from one Italian city to another, settled at Strassburg, where he exercised a pastoral and theological ministry, before being invited by Archbishop Cranmer in King Edward's name to England. Accompanied by Bernardin Ochinus, who had been a noted Papalist preacher in Italy, he reached Lambeth Palace in November, 1547. Ochinus was made a Canon of Canterbury, and Peter Martyr, early in 1549, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford,[2] with rooms at King's College,[3] as Cardinal College had then come to be called. In 1549 both universities were violently set against the Reformation.[4] Some of Peter Martyr's earliest lectures were on the Eucharistic Presence, a doctrine then everywhere in debate, transubstantiation being, as he says, exploded.[5] In the Eucharistic controversy he followed the Swiss Churches.

On the challenge of Dr. Richard Smith, a four days' public disputation was held on this subject, in 1549, 28th May-1st June, Martyr undertaking to maintain the following points: (1) There is no transubstantiation; (2) the body and blood of Christ are not present under the forms of bread and wine; (3) the body and blood of Christ are united to the element sacramentally.[6] Martyr tells Bullinger of Zurich[7] that it was the doctrine learnt from him which he undertook to defend in this disputation. This doctrine may be seen very fully stated in the *Consensus Tigurinus*, the agreement which Bullinger made with Calvin in 1549; and in Bullinger's sermon *Of the Lord's Holy Supper*,[8] which Peter Martyr wholly accepted.[9] Martyr also explained the line he took up[10] in a letter of 15th June, 1549, to Bucer, then the archbishop's guest at Lambeth and holding somewhat

[1] Burnet, ii., 294; v., 59; *Edward's Journal* under 18th December, 1551.

[2] Strype's *Cranmer*, 279, ed. 1812. In *Orig. Letters* his earliest Oxford date is 26th December, 1548, ii., 468.

[3] Letter, 1st June, 1550, *Orig. Letters*, ii., 481.

[4] Burnet, iii., 331.

[5] Letter, 26th Dec., 1548, *Orig. Letters*, ii., 470.

[6] *Orig. Letters*, ii., 478 *n.*

[7] Letter, 27th January, 1550, p. 478.

[8] Bullinger's *Decades*, vol. v., p. xiii., and p. 401, published in 1551.

[9] In his letter of 25th April, 1551, *Orig. Letters*, ii., 493.

[10] Strype's *Cranmer*, 287, ed. 1812.

different views. Martyr, denying the Sacrament to be mere symbols, granted that the body of Christ was present to us by faith, and that we were incorporated into Him by communication.

Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, German Reformers of great learning, upon the urgent invitation of Cranmer, in the King's name, came to England, and arrived at Lambeth on 25th April, 1549. They received appointments to lecture at Cambridge, Bucer as Regius Professor of Divinity, to commence in Michaelmas term ensuing, meantime residing with the archbishop. Presumably they both proceeded to Cambridge as arranged. Bucer was laid up with severe illness that whole term, and of Fagius little seems known, except that he was taken ill on 28th August, 1550, and died on 13th November. Bucer's career was not much longer, as he died on 28th February, 1551. For a month, 15th March to 15th April, 1550, which included the Easter Vacation, he was ill; but during the other two terms of 1550, though far from strong, he was engaged in the duties of his professorship.[1] Bucer was the first regius professor of divinity at Cambridge, commencing in 1550. He is more particularly mentioned for a public disputation at Cambridge, with John Young, a Papist, in August, 1550,[2] in support of the sole authority of Holy Scripture in matters of faith, and of the doctrine of Justification by faith. Arriving in England after the first Prayer Book was issued, Bucer had no hand in its compilation; but in 1550 he reviewed it in the prospect of a second edition. In Eucharistic views he did not entirely hold with Peter Martyr, who, however, was most warmly attached to him. Short as Bucer's Cambridge career was, he made a very great impression both on the university and town, if we may judge by the immense crowds, and the orations delivered, at his funeral at St. Mary's. His letters, like Martyr's, furnish valuable contributions to Reformation history.

Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge.

John Alasco, by birth a lord of Poland, Baro Poloniæ he styled himself when writing formally, nephew of John Alasco Archbishop of Gresna, the capital of Great Poland, had from 1547, or earlier, joined the reformed community of Emden, in East Friesland, in the quality of their superintendent, the official equivalent in Lutheran Churches for chief pastor or bishop. A friend of Erasmus and of Melanchthon, widely known for scholarship and heartfelt attachment to the doctrines of the

[1] These dates, and some others, are gathered from the letters of Bucer and Fagius in the *Orig. Letters;* Cooper's *Annals*, i., 45, 47, 54, give others.

[2] Cooper's *Annals*, i., 47.

Reformation, he was one of those whom Archbishop Cranmer, after the death of Luther, sought to gather round him with a view to formulate the leading truths which all the Reformed Churches were prepared to maintain.[1] The project failed, yet Cranmer secured from Alasco a six months' visit at Lambeth, from September, 1548, to spring, 1549. It was his first visit to England. On 22nd March, 1549, Latimer, in a sermon before the King, much regretted that it had not been found practicable to detain such a man permanently among them. The residence of Alasco in London came about in another way. The lowering prospects of the Reformation in Germany through the growing acceptance of the *Interim*,[2] against which he resolutely stood out, made him anxious to obtain a settlement for his followers in the English capital. He had access, through Cranmer, to the highest government quarters, the design met with favour, and on 13th May, 1550,[3] he arrived, as superintendent (bishop) of his flock.[4]

The plan arranged was that Alasco should hold the post of superintendent over the community of the foreign reformers in London,[5] which included also a French and an Italian congregation, having under him four ministers, who should with him be incorporated as a kind of Church-body. To the German branch, by far the most numerous and important, was assigned the church of the dissolved Convent of Austin Friars in Broad Street, which has ever since been known as "the Dutch Church," these "Germans" being more strictly Low Germans, Netherlanders, Dutch. The premises of the old convent had gone into private hands, but the church was in those of the Crown. Under 29th June, 1550, *King Edward's Journal* has: "It was appointed that the Germans should have the Austin Friars for their church, to have their service in, for avoiding of all sects of Anabaptists and such like".[6]

How the French and Italian congregations under Alasco's superintendency were accommodated we are unable to say. The letters patent assigning Austin Friars Church and incorporating the pastoral body, dated 24th July, 1550, expressly exempt the strangers from coming under the English Act of Uniformity.

[1] Cranmer to Alasco, 4th July, 1548, *Orig. Letters*, i., 17.

[2] Alasco to Cecil, 9th April, 1549, in Strype's *Cranmer*, App. Num. L., p. 140.

[3] Micronius to Bullinger, 20th May, 1550, *Orig. Letters*, ii., 560.

[4] On 14th August, 1549, Bucer spoke of from 600 to 800 Germans, most anxious for the Word of God, asking Bucer to find them a faithful preacher in the language of Brabant; *Orig. Letters*, ii., 539.

[5] Strype's *Cranmer*, 340, ed. 1812.

[6] Burnet, v., 22.

Ridley Bishop of London had sought to prevent that exemption,[1] and there seems to have been something to say for his view in face of the fact mentioned by Burnet[2] that 380 of the strangers had made themselves denizens of England. On 9th April, 1551, Alasco's Church is reported as going on favourably, except that the bishops will not yet allow them the pure administration of the sacraments.[3] The allusion is probably to persistent efforts of the Bishop of London to induce the observance of uniformity. One point of difference maintained by Alasco was the sitting posture in receiving the Holy Communion;[4] and it must be remembered that the English ritual in use was that of the First Book, with which the reforming bishops were dissatisfied.

Early in Alasco's London ministry began Hooper's vestiarian dispute with Cranmer, Ridley, and the Council, which came between 3rd July, 1550, when Hooper was nominated to the See of Worcester, and 8th March, 1551, when he was consecrated. Alasco publicly took his part, the only foreigner of leading influence who did so,[5] Peter Martyr and Bucer being both against him.

On 10th February, 1552, in the new and final Commission of Thirty-two for Ecclesiastical Laws, the name of Alasco, along with that of Peter Martyr, appears among the eight divines.[6] In the following October, Alasco received from his King and fellow nobles invitations to take part in a national assembly for reform.[7]

On 15th September, 1553, after the accession of Mary, Alasco embarked at Gravesend with 175 of his congregation, never again to return to England.[8]

Result of Edward's Reformation.

What then, we finally ask, was the result of reform at the end of Edward's reign? The answer is not very encouraging. The people at large were not being gained. They submitted; but their hearts were not won. As yet they saw the Gospel too much in its weakness rather than in its own true power. The Common Prayer was accepted, yet without warmth. Compulsion and authority were

[1] Micronius, 28th Aug., 1550; *Orig. Letters*, ii., 568; Burnet, iii., 354.
[2] Burnet, ii., 268. [3] Letter of Utenhovius, *Orig. Letters*, ii., 586-87.
[4] Burnet, ii., 268.
[5] Stated by Hooper on 1st August, 1551, *Orig. Letters*, i., 95. Burnet, iii., 354, refers to Alasco taking part.
[6] Burnet, ii., 331; Letters of 8th and 9th March, 1552, *Orig. Letters*, ii., 503, 581.
[7] *Orig. Letters*, ii., 592.
[8] Krasinski's *Reformation in Poland*, quoted in *Orig. Letters*, ii., 512 *n*.

not winning. There wanted an enthusiasm which, like a favouring gale, should bring the vessel into port. This began to spring up after the cruelties of Mary's reign had impressed the people with a feeling of the superior humanity and the mightier power of reformed Christianity.

But though in one aspect results came so far short of what could have been desired, we must not say that they were trivial. Peter Martyr wrote from Oxford in 1550: "The business of religion is making progress in this country, not indeed with the success and ardour that I could wish, but yet far more than our sins deserve, and somewhat more favourably than I dared to promise myself four months since".[1] "There are also very many of the nobility and men of rank who entertain right views; and we have some bishops who are not ill-inclined, among whom the Archbishop of Canterbury is as a standard-bearer. And then Hooper is enrolled among them, to the exceeding joy of all good men, and, as I hear, a people not ill-disposed has fallen to his lot."[2] Again: "The healthy state of this kingdom is certainly a matter of exceeding joyfulness and very just congratulation, if only it can be brought to completion".[3] The reign was then above half over, and not very much more progress was probably made; but when the total brevity of it is considered the results were remarkable, illustrating the priceless services of Cranmer to the English Church. Bishop Short does not scruple to say that Cranmer saved Episcopacy.[4] This historian, contrasting the Scottish and English Reformations, observes: "The admirer of our Episcopal Church must, under God, thank Cranmer that his parliamentary interference saved our apostolic Establishment from the rude hands of ignorant reformers, who, in their zeal for re-establishing the religion of the Bible, cast off the innocence of the dove and the prudence of the serpent. Nothing but these rapid proceedings, founded on the temporal power which he possessed, and which he exerted in reforming what was amiss, could have prevented others from withstanding all attempts at amendment till the force of the multitude had, as in Scotland, thrown down what the Episcopalian will consider as almost the Church itself. So far, then, from blaming the archbishop for his manner of reforming by legislative enactments, we must consider that the existence of our Establishment, in its present apostolic form, is owing to this very circumstance."

[1] Letter, 1st June, 1550, *Orig. Letters*, ii., 481, 482.
[2] *Ibid.*, 482. [3] *Ibid.*, 485. [4] Short, i., 297.

§ IV.—Mary, 6th July, 1553–17th November, 1558.

In the near prospect of Edward's death an effort was made to secure the succession for a princess of the blood royal, Lady Jane Grey,[1] grand-daughter of Henry VIII.'s sister Mary, and married to the Duke of Northumberland's son, Lord Guildford Dudley. This project originated in the duke's ambition, Lady Jane herself being no party to it. As she was warmly attached to the Reformation, the dying Edward earnestly seconded it, being assured by the duke and the legal members of the Council that he might appoint his successor by will. Cranmer, who was sure he could not, long refused to sign the letters patent,[2] but, overcome by the King's tearful entreaties, yielded at length, appending his name last, and only after those had signed whose business it was officially to know the law. On 10th July, 1553, Jane was proclaimed. Ridley Bishop of London believed, with the Council, in the soundness of her title, and maintained it in a sermon at St. Paul's. On the other hand, Hooper Bishop of Gloucester firmly asserted the right of Mary, though he must have foreseen the consequences of her reign.

Lady Jane Grey.

On 3rd August, 1553, Mary arrived at the Tower from the country. She had been proclaimed on 19th July, but still the event was in the balance. Summoning the Lord Mayor and the city authorities, she expressed herself like one who accepted the Reformation as an accomplished fact, and would not interfere with it, saying she would make no changes, but remain satisfied with the private exercise of her own worship.

One of her first acts was to release Bishop Gardiner from the Tower [3] and make him Lord Chancellor.[4] Gardiner was thenceforth the leading minister of her reign, and it was he by whom the entire reversal of the Reformation was planned and conducted. He was a man of great capacity and long experience in affairs.

[1] Mary, sis. of Hen. VIII.,
m. Ch. Brandon, Dk. Suff.
|
Frances Brandon.
m. H. Grey, Dk. Suff.
|
Jane Grey.

[2] This must be the document intended when it is said "the will". It was dated 21st June, 1553, and is mentioned in Lady Jane's proclamation, 10th July, 1553.

[3] On her arrival at the Tower, 3rd Aug.

[4] 23rd August, Burnet, iii., 384.

He was to Mary what Cranmer had been to Edward. The edifice which Cranmer had built with such pains was completely taken down in half the time by Gardiner; and as Edward had been heart and soul with Cranmer, so Mary seconded every measure of her Chancellor. In a proclamation of 18th August,[1] putting a stop to all preaching, she avowed her preference for the old religion, but engaged not to compel any of her subjects to adopt it UNTIL public order should be taken in it by common consent. Some of the reformed broke the silence, among them two bishops, Hooper of Gloucester, and Coverdale of Exeter, for which offence, on 1st September, Hooper was sent to the Fleet, while Coverdale, who was of foreign birth, was put under restraint, a proceeding no less arbitrary and illegal than any that was so called under Edward. Cranmer was ordered to confine himself at Lambeth. During his enforced seclusion the Papal party at Canterbury, running before the law, as they had begun to do everywhere, restored the Mass in the cathedral, maliciously reporting that it was by his order. Stung by the imputation and by another to the effect that he had offered to sing Mass at Edward's funeral at St. Paul's and other places, he penned a denial, defending the Book of Common Prayer, declaring his readiness to maintain the doctrines which had been established under Edward. One to whom he had shown the paper gave copies of it, and thus, on 5th September, it was being publicly read in Cheapside.[2] On the 8th Cranmer was called before the Star Chamber and asked if he was the author of that seditious bill, and sorry for what he had done. He replied that the bill was his, and that he was sorry it had gone from him in that manner, since it had been his intention to enlarge it and affix it to the doors of St. Paul's and other London churches, with his hand and seal to it. On 13th September Latimer, who resided with him at Lambeth, was committed to the Tower, and the next day Cranmer followed, both for matters of treason against the Queen and for dispersion of seditious bills. In September foreign preachers were dismissed, and Englishmen began to escape from the country, *viz.*, Dr. Cox Dean of Christ Church, Edward's instructor; Horn Dean of Durham; Sandys Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge; and Grindal.[3]

Parliament sat from 5th October to 6th December, 1553,[4] and Convocation met during the same period.[5] In both Assemblies

[1] From Richmond. Text in Wilkins, iv., 86.
[2] Burnet, ii., 401; v., 374, "in vico mercatorum". [3] *Ibid.*, ii., 403.
[4] In two sessions: sess. 1, 5th-21st Oct.; sess. 2, 24th Oct.-6th Dec.
[5] 6th Oct.-*cir.* 13th Dec.

the Reform party was but a fragment of what it had been, no fewer than seven bishops being absent through imprisonment or deprivation, and their seclusion doubtless enforced with a view to this Parliament and Convocation. Holgate Archbishop of York was sent to the Tower only the day before Parliament met, no cause being alleged but "heinous offences" generally. Two bishops, Taylor of Lincoln and Harley of Hereford, nearly all the reformed then at large, courageously took their places in the Lords, resolved, if they could get a hearing, to justify their doctrines. Refusing to join in the Mass (not yet legal) they were excluded from the House ever after. The Commons and Convocation were elected under Court pressure, and there seems to have been hardly a friend of the Reformation returned. But of the Lower House of Convocation there were six members, five of them (two deans and three archdeacons) official, belonging to the party, the best known of this little band being Philpot Archdeacon of Winchester, and Ailmer Archdeacon of Stow.[1] On 18th October Weston the Prolocutor called the attention of the Lower House to the abominable Book of Common Prayer, proposing two matters for consideration, the Corporal Presence and Transubstantiation, on which, by the appointment of the House, each member was to deliver his opinion on 20th October. That day the two doctrines were affirmed and subscribed by all but the six, who demanded a debate. This was granted, and on 23rd-30th October was held, Philpot leading on the Reform side, in the presence of a crowd of noblemen and others who followed the discussion with keen interest, shouting "No! no!" when the closure was proposed. At the conclusion the Prolocutor ordered Philpot to come no more into the House except on condition that he never spoke until commanded. Philpot replied that he would rather be absent altogether.[2]

Mary's First Parliament.

On 28th October, 1553, an Act[3] passed to confirm the marriage of the Queen's parents, condemning all who had in any way promoted its annulment, especially Cranmer, who had pronounced the sentence.[4] It placed the Lady Elizabeth in the position of illegitimacy, and she was thenceforth harshly treated by Mary.

Reformation Uprooted.

[1] The others were Walter Philips Dean of Rochester; James Haddon Dean of Exeter; Richard Cheyney Archdeacon of Hereford; Wilkins, iv., 88. Young, Chanter of St. David's, is added by Burnet.

[2] Burnet, ii., 428. A full account is given in the Parker Society's volume, *Exam. and Writ. of Philpot*, pp. 163 *sqq*.

[3] 1 Mar., sess. (or st.) 2, c. 1; *Statutes at Large*, vi., 3.

[4] Burnet, ii., 408, 409.

The most important Act of the session passed on 25th November, 1553,[1] repealing all the laws which had been made in Edward's reign concerning religion, and enacting that from 20th December, 1553, there should be no other form of divine service than what had been used in the last year of Henry VIII. On that day, therefore, terminated the legal existence in this reign of the Book of Common Prayer, after a duration of four and a half years (counting both editions), from 9th June, 1549, to 20th December, 1553.[2]

On 21st December, 1553, the Emperor Charles V. commissioned envoys to the Court of England to propose his son Prince Philip of Spain as a consort for the Queen, and Mary empowered Gardiner and others to treat. The match was extremely distasteful to the nation, and the discontent found expression in an insurrection headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt, who had been ambassador in Spain. The Act for the marriage passed 12th April, 1554.[3]

On 12th February, 1554, seven months after her unhappy proclamation, the innocent Lady Jane, having first seen her husband Lord Guildford Dudley led out for execution, was beheaded. Her touching end, which exhibited no single sign of inconstancy to the faith of the Reformation when the Abbot Feckenham would fain, in his way, prepare her for life's close, may be read in Burnet. On the last night she sent her Greek Testament, a constant companion, to her sister, and with it a letter setting out in pathetic expressions the value it had been to her, and fervently recommending its use.

Royal Visitation, 1554.

Visitors, armed with royal authority, as under Edward, traversed the parishes of England to see that the recent legislation on the changes in religion was put in force. Mary's visitors were however not laymen as under Edward but the bishops themselves, who could now be trusted, as the reforming bishops were nearly all shut up in prison. The injunctions for this visitation, issued 4th March, 1554, included one on which very great stress was laid, the ejection of married priests. A law of Edward had allowed the clergy to marry. Its repeal under Mary did not annul marriages contracted while it was in force. Burnet states that in the diocese

[1] 1 Mar., sess. (or st.) 2, c. 2, repealing nine statutes; *Statutes at Large*, vi., 6; Gee and Hardy, 377.

[2] An Act was passed this session, which ended 6th Dec., 1553, 1 Mar., sess. (or st.) 2, c. 3, against those who should disturb the service after 20th Dec.; *Statutes at Large*, vi., 7; Burnet, ii., 410.

[3] 1 Mar., sess. (or st.) 3, c. 2; *Statutes at Large*, vi., 19.

of Norwich alone 335 clergymen were thus ejected, and that if the proportion was the same in other dioceses there must have been in all some 2,600. Few of the reformed clergy could have escaped ejection by this injunction of Mary, which, Burnet says, was executed with great cruelty.

In March, 1554, while this visitation was proceeding, two special commissions were issued for the ejection of two groups of bishops, four[1] for being married, and three[2] for preaching erroneous doctrine, "as the Queen credibly understood," and by the terms of their appointment, under patent, with a good behaviour clause, this was sufficient. The four married bishops had married under Edward's law. This ejection of bishops occurred on the eve of another Parliament, as the previous Parliament had been preceded by the imprisonment of some others.[3]

To have the reform position refuted in a debate was the special design of the Convocation, which sat in April during the second Parliament of Mary—2nd April to 25th May, 1554. Under Edward the reform cause had gained greatly with the people by the argumentative victories of its learned advocates in various open disputations carried on in London, Oxford and Cambridge. The Roman side saw it necessary to reverse the Reformation in the same manner, especially after the debate in the previous Convocation before a multitude of people, who declared for Philpot and his colleagues. With the Queen's sanction, then, the Prolocutor and a picked body of the Lower House proceeded to Oxford, whither Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer were conveyed. On 16th, 17th and 18th these three maintained their position on the three questions of the Corporal Presence, Transubstantiation and the Mass. How the disputation was conducted will appear further on, and here it is sufficient to say that on 20th April the three Cambridge men were pronounced to have failed, and were declared excommunicate from the Catholic Church.

On 25th July, 1554, the marriage of Philip and Mary was solemnised,[4] and on 27th July they were proclaimed King and Queen. The Spanish Monarchy was at that time the most powerful and wealthy in Europe. It was also the most devoted to the Papacy. Papal authority might therefore now well hope for a successful restoration in England.

Restoration of Papal Authority.

[1] Holgate (York), Ferrar (St. Dav.), Bird (Ches.), Bush (Bris.); Burnet, ii., 440. Commission dated 16th March in Burnet, v., 386; Wilkins, iv., 118.

[2] Taylor (Lincoln), Hooper (Glouc.), Harley (Heref.); Burnet, ii., 440. The Commission, 15th March, refers to their letters patent with the condition *quam diu se bene gesserit*; Burnet, v., 388.

[3] *Supra*, p. 205.

[4] At Winchester, Godwin's *Mary*, 345.

The action of Gardiner in this matter of the Papal authority deserves particular attention. Under Henry VIII. he and other heads of the old party were willing enough to live without the Pope, content with the ancient doctrine and the ancient worship. Gardiner had actually written a powerful treatise against Papal supremacy. Under Edward he and his friends were still content to see Papal authority excluded, never asking for its return, much as they detested the Book of Common Prayer. Now, however, under Mary they had got rid of the Prayer Book, while the old doctrine and old worship were restored. They discovered that the Papal worship, without the Papal authority at its back, would not stand against the Prayer Book with its foundations in Holy Scripture. The Pope then, by their eager co-operation, and their almost instantaneous defection from the principles they had been asserting for twenty years, re-entered England, and by the following steps.

Reginald Pole, son of Sir Richard Pole, or De la Pole, and Margaret Plantagenet Countess of Salisbury, was, or claimed to be, of the blood of the historic De la Poles of the Suffolk peerage. Driven from the Court of Henry VIII. in the controversy of 1529, he fled to the Continent, where he continued an ardent Papalist and an unswerving opponent of Henry. In 1536, when the royal supremacy was being uncompromisingly enforced in England, Pole's *De Unitate Ecclesiæ* stoutly asserted that of the Pope. The same year he was both attainted in Parliament and made a cardinal deacon at Rome. On the accession of Mary he was, by a Bull of 5th August, 1553,[1] created legate *de latere* for England. On 8th March, 1554, a Bull of Julius III.[2] commissioned Pole to reunite England with the Church of Rome. In the summer of 1554, when the Queen's marriage had taken place and Philip was co-occupant of the English throne, Pole had reached Flanders on the road to England, and at Brussels, on 11th November, received from Philip and Mary his definite summons. The chain which this English cardinal was to cast round the liberties of his country had been growing link by link, and was still growing.

Mary's Third Parliament.

On 12th November, 1554, began Mary's third Parliament—Philip and Mary's first—the Lord Chancellor (Bishop Gardiner) announcing[3] that it was "for confirmation of true religion and other weighty affairs". The Lower House was packed with the friends of the Court. A bill

[1] In Wilkins, iv., 87, and Godwin's *Mary*, 346.

[2] In Wilkins, iv., 91, taken from a London print of 1685, the year of James II.'s accession.

[3] *Commons' Journals*, i., 37. Queen's letters to obtain the election of the "wise grave and Catholic sort"; Strype's *Cranmer*, 493.

to reverse Pole's attainder, begun 17th November, passed on the 21st, receiving the royal assent on the 22nd, by the express attendance [1] of the two sovereigns. The *Lords' Journals*, 21st November, 1554, note the bill for Pole's restitution in blood received from the Commons; on 22nd November they record the attendance of the sovereigns, with a list of the peers present, but no business whatever, not even the royal assent (always given in the Lords) to this bill, an omission probably designed and significant. On the other hand, the *Commons' Journals*, where such a notice never occurs, record under 22nd November: "Before the King and Queen in the Parliament Chamber, the royal assent was given to the bill for Cardinal Pole".

Things were now ready for the arrival of the cardinal, who, quitting Brussels and journeying *viâ* Calais, Dover, Rochester, embarked in a royal barge at Gravesend [2] on 24th November, 1554, and reached Whitehall Palace without public observation, as a legatine progress through the streets of the metropolis while the anti-papal enactments with which the statute book was crowded were still unrepealed would have been very injudicious. Landing on the palace pier and conducted by the King himself to the Queen within, he found a truly legatine reception, and then proceeded farther up the Thames to the Archbishop's palace, Lambeth, which had been prepared for his abode.[3]

On 27th November [4] Mr. Secretary Petre reported to the House of Commons the King and Queen's pleasure that they should on the following day be at Court to hear a declaration by the Lord Cardinal of his legatine commission. On 28th November the members attended as desired, but the journals do not refer to the subject, recording only what was strictly parliamentary business.[5] The gathering was, in fact, extra-parliamentary, as much as the attendance on a sermon at the abbey or St. Margaret's is. To have held it in either House in the time of strictly parliamentary functions, to have brought a legate on to parliamentary ground in short, was impossible. What was done on the 28th is succinctly told as follows in the *Commons' Journal* of the 29th, the *Lords' Journals* being silent: "Mr. Speaker declared the legacy of the Lord Cardinal was to move us to come again to the unity of the Church from the which we were fallen".[6] On

[1] Burnet, ii., 453. [2] Hook, iii., 262-71. [3] *Ibid.*, 274.

[4] *Commons' Journals*, i., 38. Similarly Godwin's *Mary*, 345. The Lords must have had a like summons, though their *Journals* (i., 470) do not record it. Burnet, ii., 469, says on the 27th a message was sent to the Parliament.

[5] Hook, iii., 274, remarks that it was no "formal session of Parliament".

[6] *Commons' Journals*, i., 38, 29th Nov., 1554.

29th November, in consequence of this advice of the cardinal, a small body of Lords and Commons met and drew up a form of supplication to the legate for their readmission to unity, as stated in the following entries in the *Commons' Journals*, the *Lords' Journals* remaining still silent on the matter: "Master of the Rolls and Mr. Solicitor declared from the Lords that they had appointed the Lord Chancellor, four earls, four bishops, four barons, to confer with a number of this House, who immediately were sent unto them. The Lords aforesaid, together with the Commons of this House appointed, devised a Supplication to the King and Queen's majesties, which was here engrossed and agreed by this House to be presented to the King and Queen, whereby this realm and dominions might be again united to the Church of Rome by the means of the Lord Cardinal Poole." [1]

Reunion with Rome.

This Supplication,[2] commencing, "We, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this present Parliament assembled, representing the whole body of the realm of England and dominions of the same". In language that would satisfy the ears of any confessor, the penitent nation acknowledging the guilt of its schism, entreats their Majesties, to whom the document is addressed, to intercede with the Legate for their absolution and restoration to Catholic unity. On the following day, 30th November, it was presented in the great chamber of Whitehall Palace.[3] The scene and the leading features of the function, which are fully described in Dr. Hook's *Life of Pole,* though his account does not agree in every particular with what others have written, were mainly these.[4] The King and Queen were seated on thrones upon a dais beneath a canopy of cloth of gold, the cardinal legate occupying a state chair just beyond the canopy. The Lords-Spiritual were on the Queen's right, the Lords-Temporal on the left, the Commons on cross-benches in the centre of the hall. The Lord-Chancellor, Bishop Gardiner, after preliminaries, facing the two Houses, asked if they adhered to the Supplication, which he read. Some of them answered yea, and the silence of the rest was taken for consent. The Supplication was then presented by the Chancellor to the King and Queen, to whom it was formally addressed, and by

[1] *Commons' Journals*, i., 38, 29th Nov., 1554.

[2] It may be seen in Foxe, vi., 571; in Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, i., 622; in Soames, *Reform*, iv., 260.

[3] Foxe, vi., 568, calling it also "the Parliament House at that present," because the Queen was not well enough to go abroad. Hook, iii., 275, calls it the Presence Chamber.

[4] Hook, iii., 283, 284.

them[1] handed to the Legate, who thereupon addressed the assembly in a lengthy historical speech, offering them the Pope's absolution, and enjoining on them for penance a repeal of the laws they had made.

Then the entire assembly, including their Majesties, fell on their knees, and in this posture received from the Legate's lips the supreme Pontiff's absolution in the form following:[2] "Our Lord Jesus Christ . . . by His mercy absolve you! We by apostolic authority do absolve you, with the whole realm, from all heresy and schism, and restore you again unto the unity of our mother, the Holy Church". All then adjourned to the palace chapel, where the *Te Deum* was sung.[3] So terminated this most mournful service, by which England, on its own petition, in a certain sense, was readmitted to the Roman obedience. St. Andrew's Day from thenceforth was reckoned England's Feast of Reconciliation. The event, authenticated as it is in the *Commons' Journals,* is never to be erased from English parliamentary history. The record stands under 30th November, 1554:[4] "On the Feast of St. Andrew. At afternoon, before the King's and Queen's Majesties at the Palace, the Lords and Commons being present, the Supplication was read in Latin and exhibited by their Majesties to the Lord Legate, who making an oration of the great joy that was for the return of the lost sheep, did by the Pope's Holiness authority give absolution to this whole realm and the dominions of the same."

The *Lords' Journals* preserve to the very last their silence as to these doings at Whitehall. Under the day in question they simply show no business, while on the preceding day and the following one they show some, leaving 30th November absolutely without record and without further explanation. Can this reticence have signified that the proceedings were distasteful to the non-elective branch of the legislature? May that partial reticence in the "Yea" be placed beside it, as a token of sullenness among the lay lords and some commoners, and might it be thought that abbey lands and chantry lands were already proving a drag upon the wheels of the Queen's chariot?

Two days after this was Advent Sunday, 2nd December, and the Legate's mission was extended to the city at the invitation of

[1] Foxe, vi., 572, followed by Godwin's *Mary*, 345 *n*. This action of the King and Queen would seem to have constituted their "intercession" with the Legate.

[2] Abbreviated from Foxe, vi., 572. Godwin's *Mary* (p. 345) notes that the Supplication and the Absolution are both preserved in Foxe. Burnet, ii., 471 (Poc.), gives it.

[3] Foxe, vi., 572.

[4] *Commons' Journals*, i., 38.

the Lord Mayor himself, evidently an ally of the Court. Landing at Baynard Castle in his barge from Lambeth, Pole was conducted by the great functionary in state to the cathedral, at the west door of which he was met by the Bishop of Winchester and other prelates, "in their pontificals, and mitred, and by the clergy of the cathedral in splendid copes".[1] After High Mass, Gardiner preached to the multitude outside at the Cross, relating the event of the reconciliation,[2] and here it may be said was the reconciliation brought to the people. Gardiner's text was the Advent passage: "It is high time to awake out of sleep" (Rom. xiii. 11), and Hook remarks that on Gardiner's part the sermon was "a complete palinode".[3]

On 6th December, the legate, sending for the two Houses of Convocation to Lambeth, there "absolved them all from their perjuries, schisms and heresies; which absolution they received upon their knees. Then he gave them an exhortation, and congratulated their conversion; and so they departed."[4]

Gardiner's scheme for the future was incomplete until the lives of heretics were once more placed at the disposal of the bishops. Accordingly on 18th December, 1554, an Act[5] was passed reviving the merciless statutes[6] of the later Plantagenets against the Lollards, which Henry VIII. had humanely repealed in 1534.

Heresy Laws Revived.

Finally, on 4th January, 1555, a most comprehensive Act was passed,[7] not establishing Papal supremacy, which it would have been impossible to define in statutable terms, but demolishing all the obstacles which had been raised against it by Parliament since 1529, so allowing the old usurpations to revive.[8] The Act, a long one of fifty-five clauses,[9] is strange reading for the Statute Book. It incorporates

Reactionary Legislation.

[1] Hook, iii., 287; Machyn's *Diary*, 77, a contemporary authority edited in 1848 by J. G. Nichols for the Camden Society; *Grey Friars Chron.*

[2] Hook, iii., 287; Burnet, ii., 471 (Poc.).

[3] Hook, iii., 287.

[4] Strype's *Cranmer*, 495.

[5] 1 & 2 Phil. and Mar., c. 6; *Statutes at Large*, vi., 32; Gee and Hardy, 384; Burnet, ii., 475. Read in Commons on 12th, 13th and 14th December, 1554; Lords on 15th, 17th and 18th December.

[6] 5 Rich. II., st. 2, c. 5; 2 Hen. IV., c. 15; 2 Hen. V., c. 7.

[7] 1 & 2 Phil. and Mar., c. 8; *Statutes at Large*, vi., 34; Gee and Hardy, 385; Burnet, ii., 472. Read in Lords on 20th, 24th and 26th December, 1554; Commons on 27th and 29th December, 1554; 3rd January, 1555; passed 4th January.

[8] It repeals 23 Hen. VIII., c. 20; 24 Hen. VIII., c. 12; 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19; 25 Hen. VIII., c. 20; 25 Hen. VIII., c. 21; 26 Hen. VIII., c. 1; 26 Hen. VIII., c. 14; 27 Hen. VIII., c. 15.

[9] So numbered in *Statutes at Large*. In *Statutes of the Realm* the clauses are unnumbered.

the Whitehall *Supplication* of 30th November, with its humble request for the Queen of England to intercede with the Papal legate for the admission of her own subjects and her own realm into the Church. It incorporates also textually the legate's absolution of his suppliants. So long, therefore, as the English statute-book exists these otherwise incredible documents will survive. Among clauses like these are intermingled, in the usual dry, parliamentary phrase, enactments framed to satisfy the foreign lord. It is a humiliating statute, on a par with the humiliating absolution.

Turning to the enacting clauses, we observe that the statutes repealed by this Act of Philip and Mary were Henry's statutes, as those repealed in 1553 by Mary were Edward's.[1] The Henrician series were mainly constitutional; the Edwardian, doctrinal and liturgical. That long series which built up Henry's Constitutional revolt were completely overthrown by his daughter and his minister in a brief week. A single clause (xxiv.) abrogated every fragment of every Act since 1529 which contradicted "the supreme authority of the Pope's holiness". If the Reformation to this time had been simply by statute; if it had been Henry's Reformation, or Somerset's, or Northumberland's, here was an end of it. Reaction, ever possible among politicians, ever imminent, had come at last—come easily. But then reaction could be succeeded by reaction. The only thing that could make Mary's endure was the winning of the people; and, it may be added, the winning of the land. If Henry's constitutional revolt could be, and was, dissipated in a week, his land revolt could not be, and was not so dissipated. When statutes were falling thick at the close of 1554, Henry's settlement of abbey lands remained firm as a rock, impossible to be touched, as likewise Edward's of chantry lands. They occupy a great space in this repealing statute, but their absolute security is obvious. "Grantees of ecclesiastical property or their successors in title confirmed in their estates" is the marginal summary of one clause.[2] In another clause Parliament, in absolute terms, confesses how almost impossible it would be to recover ecclesiastical possessions, while any attempt to do so would easily disturb the peace of the realm and impede in its progress "the unity of the Catholic Church".[3]

With this "great bill" of repeal, as the *Commons' Journal* calls it,[4] carried, and with the revival of the Lollard heresy laws, all that was possible in the way of legislative reversal of the

[1] *Supra*, p. 206. [2] Clause xxx.; Gee and Hardy, 394.
[3] Clause xxxi.; Gee and Hardy, 395; *cf. infra*, p. 220.
[4] *Commons' Journals*, i., 40, 3rd Jan., 1555.

Reformation was accomplished, and there now remained ready a reversal by the stake. On 16th January, 1555, Parliament (Mary's third) was dissolved.[1]

On 23rd January, 1555, the bishops going in a body to Lambeth received the Cardinal legate's blessing and directions,[1] though the legate himself was only a deacon. Two days afterwards there was a solemn procession through London. First went 160 priests in copes, then eight bishops, last of all Bonner carrying the host. It was the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, and the Procession was to thank God for the conversion of England and its reconciliation to the Pope. Bonfires, a fatal omen, were kept burning all through the night.[2]

The widespread and relentless persecution of Protestants by which this reign will ever be remembered was chiefly due to three persons—Gardiner, Bonner, and Mary herself. While all three were callous and unfeeling, Gardiner's cruelty seems to have been more that of policy. He could have cared little for religion, having changed about without scruple. The persecution itself may not have been due to his initiative, so much as to that of the King and Queen; but he unquestionably sanctioned it without hesitation, and is credited with recommending its plan. This was to strike down a few leaders at the outset, in the hope that the whole nation would then turn round and the government go smoothly. It was the counsel of a surgeon, to amputate a limb and save the body. The victims were to be carefully selected—Hooper Bishop of Gloucester, a distinguished preacher; Rogers Prebendary of St. Paul's, one of the most learned of the Reformed; John Bradford another prebendary and an eminent preacher; Sanders, an able preacher; Dr. Rowland Taylor of Hadley, a venerable and much-respected clergyman. They were condemned, and no efforts would induce them to recant, examples in constancy as in suffering. Hooper, Rogers, Sanders, were shown the Queen's pardon at the stake and remained unshaken. When Gardiner found this spirit so prevalent that actually six more heretics were apprehended, he meddled no more with the persecution, which he left to Bonner.[3] Besides the failure of his policy, it is probable that he did not much care to be further reminded of the contrast between his own former compliances and the constancy of his victims.

Bonner is described by Burnet as a coarse and vulgar man, without any true zeal for religion, having easily conformed like Gardiner all through the reigns of Henry and Edward, plotting

[1] *Lords' Jour.*, i., 490; *Com. Jour.*, i., 41. [2] Burnet, ii., 482. [3] *Ibid.*, 487.

when he thought it safe. Gardiner was a statesman, Bonner a canonist. Canon law said heretics deserved to be burnt, so Bonner burnt them as the proper thing to be done. He was the butcher of this persecution rather than its surgeon, and as such, after some hesitation, due apparently to an unwillingness to face the odium, he persevered to the end of the reign in the task assigned to him. His name in after days awakened far more aversion than that of Gardiner.

Mary differed both from Gardiner and Bonner. Extermination of the Church's enemies was apparently a religion to her, as though she trusted to it as a means of eternal salvation. Perhaps Queen Mary may be called the devotee of this persecution. There is certainly very conclusive evidence of the Queen's determination to persevere in this sanguinary work in a letter of 24th May, 1555, addressed to Bonner, and by him inserted in his register, urging him not to flag in carrying out the law, when even he at that early stage had begun to shrink from the task and to complain that it ought not all to be left to him. She urged him to fresh exertions on the ground that through his good furtherance "both God's glory may be better advanced and the Commonwealth the more quietly governed". It is to be feared that the character this Queen has ever borne in English history and the epithet so generally attached to her name cannot be gainsaid.

The Great Persecution.

The lowest numerical estimate of the victims of the Marian Persecution is that of Foxe, who is followed by Burnet.[1] This reckoning makes 284 burnt, besides about sixty who perished in prison, and large numbers harassed by long and grievous incarceration. The burnings began at Smithfield on 4th February, 1555, and ended at Canterbury, 10th November, 1558, three and three-quarter years, giving an average of about three persons burnt every fortnight.

No titled persons of the laity suffered, but several gentry are mentioned. Most of the victims seem to have been from the lower middle classes. There were about twenty clergymen, among whom were Archdeacon John Philpot (Winchester), two prebendaries of St. Paul's, Rogers and Bradford, with John Cardmaker, reader in divinity at St. Paul's and Prebendary of Bath. Five were bishops, Hooper of Gloucester, Ferrar of St. David's, Ridley of London, Latimer without a See, and Archbishop Cranmer.

Ferrar, brought before his successor in the See, was questioned

[1] Burnet, ii., 583; iii., 455.

on the usual test doctrines, but his answers not being satisfactory he was burnt on 30th March, 1555, at Carmarthen.[1] Ridley and Latimer were judged at Oxford by a court of three bishops bearing the commission of Cardinal Pole in his character of Papal Legate; in other words by a Papal Court, to which the accused would show no respect, keeping on their caps. They perished at Oxford on 16th October, 1555. The Court which sentenced Cranmer, also at Oxford, was composed of Brooks Bishop of Gloucester, sitting as a Papal delegate, and two doctors bearing the Queen's Commission. Cranmer would acknowledge the latter alone, repudiating the Papal judge, expressing his sorrow that after so much pains taken by Henry VIII. to vindicate the ancient independence of the English Crown, a Queen of England was an accuser in her own realm before a foreign power. He upbraided Brooks as one who had himself sworn to the Royal Supremacy under Henry. As a Papal judge could not hand over a Queen's subject to her sheriff, Cranmer was burnt, like Ridley and Latimer, and for the same reason, by the Queen's writ, suffering at Oxford on 21st March, 1556. Worn out physically and mentally by his long confinement and the terrible strain, he yielded so far as to sign a recantation, a weakness which augmented the bitterness of his fiery death. But before the end came an opportunity was permitted him in which to rob his enemies of much of the triumph his weakness had afforded them. He was taken to St. Mary's Church to publicly profess his faith, it being believed that he would certainly maintain his recantation. The statement he had prepared, utterly renouncing the recantation, concluded:—

"And now I come to the great thing, which so much troubleth my conscience, more than anything ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth, which now I here renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life if it might be, and that is, all such bills which I have written or signed with my own hand, since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished. For if I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned."

He was hurried from the church to the stake, and fulfilled his promise by holding his right hand in the flames until he was overpowered.

[1] Burnet, ii., 493-94. A brass tablet to his memory near where he suffered, in Nott's Square, was on 30th October, 1902, unveiled by the Mayor of Carmarthen.

There may also be mentioned the church then in the diocese of Winchester called St. Mary Overies, now St. Saviour's, Southwark. The venerable eastern portion of it, the Lady Chapel, must be the only surviving London fabric directly connected with the Marian martyrdoms, and may be considered, if only on this account, next to Westminster Abbey, one of the most interesting monuments of London ecclesiastical antiquity. In that chamber, as recorded by a recent memorial window within it, Bishop Hooper, Prebendary Rogers, and others, were delivered over to the secular arm by their six episcopal judges sitting in the Queen's name. It was no real trial: all exhortation on the side of the judges, all resolution on the side of the accused.

Localities of the Persecution.

Proceeding now to the localities where the burnings took place, we find them not evenly distributed over the country. They occur mostly in the south, least in the north. None are observed beyond Chester and Nottingham.

Among the twenty-four Cathedral towns of that day, Wells alone in the south was free from the stake, and Peterborough in the midlands. The four northern cities, Lincoln, York, Durham, Carlisle are free, as are also the four Welsh—Llandaff, St. David's, Bangor, St. Asaph—ten in all. The Marian fires were lighted in the other fourteen. Among all these, Gloucester, where Hooper on 9th February, 1555, was burnt before his own cathedral, is of truly pathetic memory.

The diocese counting the largest number of victims was London, comprising Middlesex, Herts, Essex. The special localities within this region are: Smithfield, then forming an open space outside the city wall—almost the exact spot is marked by an inscribed tablet affixed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital; Stratford-le-Bow, then a village near London, on the Great Essex or Great Eastern Road.

On 27th June, 1556, Burnet writes: "Bonner made an unheard-of execution of thirteen, whereof eleven were men and two women, all burnt in one fire in Stratford-le-Bow".[1] In St. Paul's Churchyard, presumably, the Archdeacon of Winchester was long kept in stocks in the Bishop of London's coalhouse, where Bonner had frequent discussions with him.[2]

In the Hertfordshire portion of the diocese fires were lighted twice at St. Albans, once each at Barnet and Ware.

By far the most afflicted portion of the diocese outside the

[1] Burnet, ii., 541; iii., 451.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii., 526.

metropolis was Essex, where the stake arose in nine towns and villages—Braintree, Brentwood, Colchester, Coxhall, Greenstead, Harwich, Maldon, Manningtree, Saffron Walden, of which places the greatest sufferer was Colchester, where fires were lighted five times, the victims being, perhaps, three or four to one fire, and once ten were burnt the same day,[1] six in the forenoon, four in the afternoon.

Next to Essex is to be mentioned Kent, where seven towns suffered—Ashford, Canterbury, Dartford, Maidstone, Rochester, Tunbridge, Wye ; but more especially Canterbury, where the fires may be counted seven times, with thirty-three victims, several victims burning together. The great persecutor of the Canterbury diocese was not Archbishop Pole, but the suffragan Bishop of Dover.

The persecution extended to the Channel Islands, and in Guernsey there was perpetrated, July, 1556, "an act of as great inhumanity as ever was recorded in any age," as Burnet writes,[2] giving particulars of a mother and her two daughters burnt at the same stake, one of the daughters giving birth to an infant, which, after a momentary rescue by a bystander, was tossed back into the flames. The horrors of such a spectacle must have exceeded even those at Cambridge, where the dead bodies of Bucer and Fagius were exhumed, and in their coffins consigned to the flames.[3]

These atrocities have left an indelible mark on our annals ; it was impossible for them not to have given rise to public monuments. The well-known Oxford memorial has been followed by others at Smithfield, St. Saviour's in Southwark, Stratford-le-Bow, Canterbury, Dartford, Lewes, etc.

Constancy of the Victims.

The contest between the Crown and the people under Mary was an obstinate one, as in the early Lancastrian days. Her heresy laws were the Lollard laws, and they had more than the old Lollard spirit to deal with. It was inevitable that there should be many submissions and recantations ; it is the tale of all persecutions, not excepting those of the early Church. But that the constancy of the few was never better maintained the unceasing supply of victims shows ; the Queen's pardons so often spurned at the stake, until the Privy Council were weary of making them out, is a most striking sign. The spiritual flame kept pace with the material.

The people's faith was powerfully encouraged :—

1. By books secretly imported from abroad, and a secret press at home.

[1] Burnet, ii., 558. [2] *Ibid.*, 541. [3] *Ibid.*, 553.

2. By the circulation from hand to hand of letters of the martyrs written in prison.

3. By itinerant preachers. One such, a tailor, who, from his indefatigable diligence in going about praying and discoursing with those who stood for the Reformation, known as Trudge-over, was taken at last and executed.[1]

4. Private Assemblies. A meeting of this kind near Bow Church, Cheapside, under one of Edward's clergy named Rose, celebrated the Holy Communion with the Common Prayer till discovered and dispersed. There was a similar meeting at Islington under John Rough, an ejected Yorkshire clergyman, ministering the English Communion Service, till he was taken and burnt. Two other clergymen, Scambler and Bentham, at great risk, kept a little congregation alive in London all through the reign, and lived to be bishops in the next.[2] Englishmen now first knew their Common Prayer in adversity, and now began their historic love for that service which, as they could never forget, had been compiled for them by their martyred bishops : the warrior's child, " born in a siege and nursed 'mid war's alarms ".

Attitude of the Nation.

Now did these fires betoken a rising of the nation against Reform, or simply a government and party persecution ? We are taken behind the scenes and enabled to form a tolerable judgment by the minutes of the Privy Council, to which Burnet largely refers and which can still be verified. From those entries we plainly see the eager interest with which Mary's government were directing their policy of repression and watching the effect at every step. We will observe then from this and other sources, first the attitude of the middle classes, next that of the gentry, after the persecution by fire which began on 9th February, 1555.

In June, 1555, the Council, fearing that a rescue was intended at Colchester, were very earnest with the local gentry that they should go to the approaching burning there and support the sheriff. On 14th June, 1556, the Council requested the Lord Mayor in future to station his men about the stakes at Smithfield to prevent bystanders from " comforting, aiding, or praising " the sufferers. On 15th January, 1557, a sympathising crowd of a thousand people were seen in the streets of London following a band of two-and-twenty confessors sent from Colchester to be dealt with by Bonner. Apparently the persecutors were alarmed at the look of things, as Cardinal Pole put some easy and ambiguous

[1] Burnet, ii., 559 ; iii., 445, 447, 452.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii., 543 ; *Zurich Letters*, i., 7 ; ii., 160.

questions to the accused, allowing them to escape by answering them, which seems very like a popular rescue.

The Council books also show that what were called "seditious" books were passing about, plays acting, prophecies and rumours filling the air.

The attitude of the better classes seems to have been similar to that of the multitude, for on 25th March, 1555, the Council complained that no zeal against heresy was being shown by the justices of Norfolk, who were ordered accordingly. The Council books show the gentry everywhere being urged to attend the executions and support the sheriffs in the various counties, where some were excusing themselves,[1] magistrates being everywhere slack in presenting suspects, while in towns heretics were generally harboured.

In August, 1557, the Bristol magistrates turned their backs on the cathedral sermons, and the Chapter had to go and fetch them with their Cross.[2] The sermons are not specially said to have had reference to the burnings, but the Bristolian gentry were evidently disaffected to the dominant preachers.

Notice was, moreover, angrily taken in Parliament that the Queen, in obedience to Papal bulls, and for the founding of new monasteries, was granting away abbey lands that had fallen to the Crown, so swelling the taxation they were asked to vote. The Commons being further informed that the Queen expected all private gentlemen who had received abbey lands to follow her example, their indignant response was to lay their hands upon their swords.

These parliamentary incidents remind us that the legislative reversal was not complete, and could not be. Monastic lands and buildings were gone past recovery. Besides that large proportion of them which had gone to found Sees, another considerable amount was being devoted to public revenue, to the relief of taxation. A reference to Burnet will show that if England did not rise as one man to stay the Marian atrocities, it was not because the country was immoved by them;[3] while on the same testimony, fully confirmed by the sequel, England had at the end of that bitter experience reached the determination to uphold the faith for which her martyrs had suffered.

The place occupied by Mary in Reformation history is one of peculiar interest. It is not simply that her appalling cruelties

[1] Burnet, ii., 502; iii., 421. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., 559; iii., 453.
[3] *Ibid.*, iii., 452, 453.

sowed new seed for the Reformation. Such is the proverbial result and might be taken for granted. We refer here to Mary's repeals much more than to Mary's fires. The additions made to our laws by Henry and Edward were by Mary swept away, and the question afterwards arose, shall this position be maintained, or shall the laws of Henry and Edward be restored? They were restored, and at their restoration obtained a new authority with a new royal assent. They were enacted as the result of fresh and independent choice. The revised laws came back, not as Henry's or as Edward's, but as England's, on a renewed consideration of their usefulness and worth. Henry's revolt from Rome was restored, but as that of the nation, not as Henry's; the Edwardian doctrine returned, as that of the nation also. Henry and Edward were gone; England remained, and under a new crown, in a new parliament with new advisers, enacted all needed things on its sole responsibility. Were there any concomitant incidents discrediting the initial enactment? Mary's repeal cancelled them; the restored Act appeared without them. The Reformations that had been Henry's or Edward's have never to be defended from the kings or parliaments of their first birth, but from those of their second only, revived as they were purely on their own merits, in their own circumstances by a later England. To adduce against them reproaches levelled against their originating incidents previous to Mary's repeal is frivolous and irrelevant.

Close of the Reign.

Great public calamities darkened the last year of Mary's reign. Calais was lost on 7th January; then came Lord Clinton's failure on the French coast; in July extraordinary and terrifying thunderstorms occurred at Nottingham, and destructive floods from the overflow of the Trent; in August came a fearful mortality.[1]

The gloom of Mary's religious policy intensified these calamities. No brightness gleamed anywhere. People beheld their Queen, who had brought them under two foreign potentates, her husband the King of Spain and the Pope, incessantly punishing the most virtuous of her subjects.

In this general dejection a ray of light consoled the most sorrowful. There were signs that the darkness could not and would not last. Any one could see that the Commons and the gentry were but sullenly permitting the continuance of the persecutions, with which they had no sympathy. Above all, the heir for which the lonely and gloomy Queen so passionately

[1] Burnet, ii., 572, 584, 585.

longed would not come, and the Princess Elizabeth lived. One of the most eminent of the martyrs, Prebendary Rogers, foresaw and foretold a restoration of Edward's days.[1] But the most famous prediction, the words of which will never die, issued from the lips of old Latimer at the stake before Balliol College. "Be of good cheer, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle in England, as by God's grace shall never be put out." It was no mere flight of fancy wrung from his lips for the encouragement of a brother martyr. There was all good reason for his utterance even so early as 16th October, 1555.

Mary's rule was even then beginning to work its own ruin, and her death in 1558 was the signal for a reaction which had long been foreseen.

The Marian exiles ought by no means to be forgotten, but within the limits of our space they can but just be noticed. The most divided congregation was at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, where their controversies laid the foundation of much future trouble in England. The happiest brotherhood appears to have been at Zurich, where they enjoyed the protection of the authorities and the friendship of Henry Bullinger, the leading minister since Zwingle's death in 1531. Surviving letters[2] bring them vividly before us in all their places of refuge, and they preserve such a portrait of Bullinger that his name ought to have an enduring memory in the Church of England. On 30th August, 1553, he wrote: "Scarcely has any other thing so much distressed me as this English affair. . . . Where is Hooper Bishop of Worcester? Where is Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury? Where is the Duke of Suffolk? . . . I cannot easily express how greatly these things distress me."[3] On 15th October he had heard from Hooper in his London prison.[4] On 24th August, 1554, he was interesting himself in the refugees at Zurich, writing: "They are beloved by all godly persons," and greatly devoted to "literary and theological studies".[5] In 1554 a company of the Zurich exiles numbering some who had been deans, fellows and masters of colleges under Edward and were to be bishops[6] under Elizabeth, addressed the Zurich magistrates soliciting their protection and saying: "We have unanimously and with ready minds come to this place, where the Lord is most sincerely preached and most purely worshipped".[7]

[1] Strype, *Annals*, i., 203.
[2] In the Parker Society's two volumes of *Orig. Letters*, 1846, 1847, 8vo, p. 784.
[3] *Orig. Letters*, p. 741. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 742. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 748.
[6] Horn of Winchester, Pilkington of Durham, Bentham of Lichf. and Cov.
[7] *Orig. Letters*, p. 752.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TUDOR CHURCH—*continued.*

§ V.—Elizabeth, 17th November, 1558–24th March, 1603.

The anniversary of Elizabeth's accession, 17th November, was observed not only through her long reign, but also during subsequent reigns, and even down to recent times. In many a London church wealthy parishioners founded special sermons to be preached on that day in perpetuity.[1] The 17th of November was quite a festival in England for generations; the reason being that under Elizabeth the Reformation was restored; restored in two ways, by legislation and by a persevering course of national policy. Moreover, her reign was prosperous and brilliant, in arms and in letters, and people could then for the first time associate their Reformation with strength, credit, and honour in public civil life. They were proud of their Church and of their nation alike. She had been early instructed in Holy Scripture and imbued with a love of the Reformation. Roger Ascham, one of her tutors, gives her a noble character.[2] When Mary on her deathbed sent her a conciliatory message, in which she sought to bind her to make no alteration in religion, Elizabeth sent back the worthy reply: "I promise thus much, that I will not change it provided only that it can be proved by the word of God, which shall be the only foundation and rule of my religion". Elizabeth began her reign, at the age of twenty-five, with the assistance of two able lay ministers, Sir Nicholas Bacon Lord Keeper,[3] and Sir William Cecil Secretary, whom Ascham describes as "most sound in religion and most discreet in the government of the State, and indeed, next to God and the Queen, the most firm support of both".[4]

Accession of Elizabeth.

[1] See Paterson, *Pietas Londinensis*, 1714, freq.

[2] In his letter of 11th April, 1562; *Zurich Letters*, ii., 66, 67.

[3] Created 22nd December, 1558, in the place of the Lord Chancellor Archbishop Heath; *ob.* 20th February, 1579.

[4] 11th April, 1562 (*Zurich Letters*, ii., 66); made Secretary by Mary, continued by Elizabeth; created Baron Burghley, 25th February, 1571; Lord High Treasurer, 1572; *ob.* 4th August, 1598.

Sir Wm. Cecil,
1st Lord Burghley.

Thomas, 2nd Lord, created Earl of Exeter.	Robert, created Earl of Salisbury.

When Elizabeth arrived in London from the country, the populace, well acquainted with the bent of her mind in the religious question, flocked in crowds to testify their affection. In her state progress from the Tower towards Westminster, 14th January, 1559, preparatory to her coronation there occurred an incident of no small significance. At the west end of Cheapside she reached the conduit or drinking fountain, where Sir Robert Peel's statue now stands. There the aldermen of London sat to receive her, with a gift of 1,000 marks from the city as she passed under a triumphal arch. When the recorder had concluded his speech and presented the offering, before the Queen moved on, a little child, dressed to represent Truth, was made to descend from above and hand her a copy of the Bible. Receiving the holy volume, the Queen "laid it upon her breast greatly thanking the city for that present".[1] The incident is sometimes narrated to let the reader see how greatly Elizabeth reverenced the Bible; but the particular import of the little pageant at that moment was that London reverenced the Bible, a fact then needing to be more generally known. Here was a demonstration that the Marian fires, so far from having consumed the Reformation, had made it more precious to the people. In short, the citizens of the capital, by that Bible, offered Elizabeth and her Government Edward's Reformation as a policy to start the new reign with. That incident, along with the rapturous delight which greeted Elizabeth in the streets, revealed the direction of the current of popular opinion and feeling, showing how men had been for ever alienated from Rome by the persecutions of the late reign. While this was the attitude of the people through whom Elizabeth passed to her coronation, the attitude of the Marian bishops was of a very different kind. At the coronation in the Abbey on 15th January, only one of them, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, would consent to place the crown upon her brow.[2] Such a striking contrast between the people and their pastors.

Elizabeth's First Parliament.

Within the three and a half months of the Queen's first Parliament (23rd January to 8th May, 1559) the Reformation was reconstructed so far as could be done by statutes; and the two pillars of this reconstruction were the reassertion of the Royal Supremacy and the restoration of the Prayer Book, by the two Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. Convocation, sitting concurrently with Parliament (24th January to 9th May, 1559), took up the matter entirely in the

[1] Strype, *Annals*, i., 43. [2] Burnet, ii., 604; Strype, *Annals*, i., 44, 204.

Marian spirit, affirming the corporal presence, transubstantiation, the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, the authority of the Pope, and the right of the clergy to settle doctrine.[1] The Queen and her ministers ignored Convocation entirely, which assembled indeed as required by the constitution, but was asked for no opinion, was given no work to do, received no "letters of business".[2]

Matthew Parker, the future Primate, Cox, Bill, Sandys, Grindal, marked out for bishops, and Whitehead, all of them known to the people as leaders in Edward's Reformation, some having been exiled for it, preached during this Lent (9th February to 24th March, 1559) before the Queen,[3] whose leanings therefore were apparent, and the people were not perplexed by Court attempts to show neutrality between Papal and reformed. The Lent preaching over, Elizabeth and her ministers, with a view to turn the stream of opinion more strongly in favour of the Reformers, decided on a conference between eminent divines of the rival parties to be held at Westminster before the Privy Council. This took place on Friday, 31st March, and Monday, 3rd April, in the Abbey, on a programme previously assented to, the Lord Keeper attending to see it observed, as moderator in fact.[4] The champions were eight on each side, and not only were the Privy Council present, but the members of both houses of Parliament and vast numbers of the people. The subjects to be debated were these: (1) Whether public worship should be in the vernacular; (2) whether each Church may determine its own ritual; (3) whether the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice. We seem to miss two other articles which sent so many victims to the Marian fires, the corporal presence in the elements and the transubstantiation of the elements; but the purpose of the discussion being to prepare the way for a book of public worship, these three points might well have been thought sufficient. It was of very pressing importance to determine whether the Lord's Supper should be celebrated on the principle of a sacrifice, or on the principle of a communion; but the other branches of Eucharistic doctrine could, it might well have been thought, wait to be dealt with some other way. The result of the conference was that, the Papal side refusing to abide by the

[1] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 23; Burnet, ii., 614. [2] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 22.

[3] *Zurich Letters*, ii., 16; ref. Strype's *Grindal*, 35.

[4] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 24, 25; Strype, *Annals*, i., 128; Burnet, ii., 615, gives nine to a side, reckoning the Bishop of Carlisle and Dr. Sandys, not included by Cardwell and Strype.

programme, the debate collapsed in the middle,[1] a clear confession of a lost cause. This, and the shouts of applause that greeted the conclusion of the Reformers' argument, proved that the promoters of the conference had gained their desired object.

The first great constitutional measure of Elizabeth was "an Act for restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and abolishing foreign powers repugnant to the same"; briefly, "The Act of Supremacy". It began in the Commons 9th February, 1559, in the Lords 28th February; passed backwards and forwards between the houses with amendments most of the session, ending in the Commons 27th April, in the Lords 29th April; receiving the royal assent on 8th May, the last day of the session.[2] The Act is in form a petition, commencing, "Most humbly beseech your most excellent majesty, your faithful and obedient subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons". This form is continued throughout. Under a single enactment it branches out in many directions, being what lawyers call a bundle of statutes,[3] the heads of which require separate notice. On 18th March, when the bill passed the Lords the first time, the dissentients were Archbishop Heath (Yk.), Frs. Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, Anth. Browne Vct. Montagu, Bishops Bonner (Lon.), White (Winch.), Pate (Worc.), Kitchin (Llan.), Bayne (L. and C.), Turberville (Exet.), Scot (Ches.), Oglethorpe (Carl.), and Feckenham the Abbot of Westminster.[4] There were present besides Bishops Tunstall (Dur.), Thirlby (Ely), Bourn (B. and W.), Morgan (St. Dav.), Watson (Linc.), Pole (Pet.). Westminster Abbey had on 21st November, 1556,[5] through Philip and Mary, returned to the monastic rule with fourteen monks under Feckenham, who sat in the Lords as a mitred abbot.

The Act of Supremacy.

The title and style, Supreme Head upon earth of the Church of England, conferred by statute on Henry VIII., borne also by Edward VI., and by Mary at her accession, but abrogated under Mary in 1554, was not revived under Elizabeth, and was never afterwards legally borne by any English sovereign. The Act

[1] Burnet, ii., 619; Cardwell, *Conf.*, 25, 29.

[2] *Lords' Jour.*, i., 555, 579; *Com. Jour.*, i., 54, 61, 8th May, 1559. Some final dates in the *Lords' Journal*, omitted by the clerk's negligence, have been supplied from *Journals of Parliament in the Reign of Elizabeth* by Sir Simonds D'Ewes, 1682, fol., pp. 23, 25, 27, 28, 29.

[3] Burnet (ii., 611) says the Commons annexed many bills to it, and the journals bear out that interpretation.

[4] On 22nd March the same prelates again opposed, *Lords' Jour.*, i., 568.

[5] Strype, *Eccl. Mem.*, 1822, iii., pt. 1, 506.

recognised her as "supreme governor," avoiding the word *head*, which might be open to cavil, as though it claimed for the sovereign a right to officiate in the Church. Yet "supreme governor" was not made a part of the royal style or title any more than "supreme head," nor has one of our sovereigns ever been so styled in an official document. Supreme governorship was simply the sovereign's attribute, status, rank, legal position, office, nothing more. Nor, again, was Elizabeth made supreme governor "of the Church of England," which expression was also omitted, there being added instead these words: "in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes". Such power and authority belonged under this Act to Queen Elizabeth quite as much as they had to Henry VIII. and Edward VI., though not so much as a hint of them was conveyed by her title, which ran thus: "Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, etcetera," as may be seen at the end of the Thirty-Nine Articles in the Prayer Book. The "etcetera" is not a mere clerical abbreviation; it is strictly formal and official, as though the legal authorities were doubtful how the title ought to proceed after "Defender of the Faith". They would not, apparently, venture to assert that "Supreme Head of the Church" revived, or that "supreme governor" ought to take its place, yet they would not absolutely deny it, and the point was left open by an "etcetera," which was repeated regularly from reign to reign, but came at length to be dropped, as in the title of Queen Victoria given in *Burke's Peerage*.

This point needs the more careful notice inasmuch as prefixed to the Thirty-Nine Articles in our present Prayer Book stands a document of the time of Charles I. headed "His Majesty's Declaration,"[1] which opens: "Being by God's ordinance, according to our just title Defender of the Faith and Supreme Governor of the Church within these our dominions". This ambiguous language asserts that Charles I. is supreme governor of the Church by "God's ordinance," and by the King's "just title"; not however by the *statutory* title. Nor are the words of the Act of Supremacy "Supreme Governor of the Church," but "supreme governor of this realm in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes".

Although Elizabeth's style and title underwent a change, there was no substantial surrender of any part of the royal power, as previously exercised by law in matters ecclesiastical.[2] In

[1] Gardiner, *Hist. of Eng.*, 1603-42, vii., 21.
[2] 1 Eliz., c. 1, § 17; Gee and Hardy, 447.

another document of 1559[1] Elizabeth asserted to the same effect that "her Majesty neither doth nor ever will challenge any other authority than that was challenged and lately used by the said noble kings of famous memory, King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI., which is and was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm".

The Act made a very special point of declaring the ecclesiastical supremacy which it recognised in the sovereign to be annexed *to the crown;* and the full significance of this step will appear on reference to what occurred in the reign of Edward VI., when the Papalists denied the competence of the council to use the King's name in his character of Head of the Church, which the party maintained only belonged to the sovereign *personally*.[2] All the Crown lawyers could do then was to *interpret* the Act in the Government sense, for they could not cite any actual language. The Act of Elizabeth cleared up all doubts by an express declaration that the supremacy should reside not simply in the *person* of the sovereign, but should be for ever "united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm".[3]

The Supremacy not Personal.

Papal usurpation in England was by the Elizabethan Act of Supremacy once more expelled after its restoration in 1554 by Mary. This was accomplished very readily by reviving all those statutes originally planned with such patience and such genius by Henry. His constitutional revolution was of so masterly a character that nothing better could be devised than to restore thoroughly all that Mary had undone[4] of England's imperial rule in her own realm.

The heresy law also was reformed by the present Act. Persons accused of heresy received more humane treatment under this Act in two ways: (1) by the abolition of the anti-Lollard laws of Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., 1382, 1401, 1414, revived by Mary.[5] (2) By establishing a criterion of heresy and not leaving people liable to be burnt as heretics for whatever opinions bishops chose to call heresy. How then by this Act of Supremacy was a man to know whether in the eye of the law he were heretical or othodox? As yet there was no authorised

[1] *An Admonition as to the Oath of Supremacy*, appended to the Fifty-Three Royal Injunctions of 1559; Gee and Hardy, 439; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 232.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 181, 182.

[3] Gee and Hardy, 447; 1 Eliz., c. 1, § 17.

[4] 1 Eliz., c. 1, § 2; Gee and Hardy, 443; Burnet, ii., 611. The Act here repealed was 1 & 2 P. and M., c. 8.

[5] The more merciful heresy law of 1534 (25 Hen. VIII., c. 14), repealed by 1 Ed. VI., c. 12, was not revived by Mary.

standard of orthodoxy; neither the Prayer Book nor any articles of religion had been made such.[1] It is commonly said that the Church of England is bound by the first four General Councils, and as this Act is the foundation for that statement, its wording requires attention. The matter is put in the following negative manner. Nothing was to be reputed heresy but what had been previously so judged by one of these three following authorities, namely: (1) The Canonical Scriptures; (2) the first four General Councils, or any other General Council in which the doctrine had been declared heretical by the express and plain words of Scripture. All other points not so decided were to be judged by Parliament with consent of the Convocation.[2]

If then any one were accused of heresy he was entitled to have it proved in open court that his doctrine had been declared heresy by Scripture, or by the first four Councils, or by any other General Council citing the express words of Scripture.

The sovereign's ecclesiastical authority was well defined. The law, which made Elizabeth supreme governor in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes was no ground for her claiming to preside in Convocation, a position she never did claim. Had she been by statute, like Henry VIII., Head of the Church of England, the case might have been otherwise, since it was not unreasonable that the head of any body should preside at its deliberations. Her relinquishment of the title of Head was something more than a nominal change. On the other hand the Act of Supremacy expressly conferred on her authority to visit, correct, reform;[3] empowering her also to depute the exercise of that prerogative to other persons by letters patent.[4] Hence Elizabeth might herself exercise, or might delegate to commissioners, the function of ecclesiastical visitation, punish those who transgressed the Church's discipline, and reform its abuses. Her predecessors, Mary, Edward, Henry, had done all this by deputy, had organised visitations on the largest scale, which had penetrated every diocese and parish, suppressing usages, punishing and removing both clergy and bishops. The sovereign could in the same way delegate her authority to "such person or persons being natural-born subjects" at discretion, as Henry did to a vicegerent, Cromwell. In 1559 the Queen, on the authority of the two Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, established a per-

[1] The Six Articles Act (31 Hen. VIII., c. 14, 1539), repealed in 1547 by 1 Ed. VI., c. 12, was not revived by Mary.

[2] § 36 of the Act; Gee and Hardy, 455; Burnet, ii., 611, 612.

[3] § 17; Gee and Hardy, 447. [4] § 18; Gee and Hardy, 447; Burnet, ii., 611.

manent body, the Court of High Commission, which will come before us later. She also exercised her supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction through a Court of Delegates; a body originating with Henry in 1534 as a supreme tribunal of appeal in ecclesiastical causes, when resort to Rome was stopped; abolished by Mary in 1554, but revived under Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy.[1] The delegates received their commissions as occasion arose from the Queen in Chancery, with full power to decide. They came to be replaced (1832) by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.[2]

In days when a powerful Papal party was preparing for an assault on the Reformation everywhere, and while a very uncertain loyalty was discernible in the clergy of England, Parliament, framing this measure, hoped to secure by a rigorous oath imposed upon the official world of the nation, clerical and lay, the clerical being first named, an absolute immunity from Italian aggression and the fullest possible national character of the English Church. Every archbishop, bishop, ecclesiastical person (exhaustively defined); every temporal judge, justice, mayor; every person receiving pay in the Queen's service; every person receiving holy orders or a university degree, was required to take an oath, the form of which is embodied in the Act, declaring that the Queen is the only supreme governor of this realm and of all her other dominions, as well in spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal; and that no foreign prince, prelate, state or potentate, has or ought to have any jurisdiction or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. The penalty of refusing the oath was forfeiture of the office then held, and incapacity for a fresh one.

Here then, by an act leading the way in title before all others of the reign, was settled the Elizabethan Church Constitution. The settlement of public worship, a matter of the most urgent importance, takes us back once more to the beginning of the reign. To commit this task to the bishops then in office, all Marian and hostile, was impossible. A consultation was held among the Queen's advisers, and as its first tangible outcome certain learned divines, Bill, Parker, May, Cox, Whitehead, Grindal, Pilkington, met at the house of Sir Thomas Smith Doctor of Civil Law, and under his presidency, to consider a new form of Church service, to be submitted to the

The New Prayer Book.

[1] Gee and Hardy, 199, 389, 444.

[2] This body is not a proper court to hear and determine, as the delegates were (*H. A.*, 46, 47), but a committee only, to hear and report.

Queen, and by her on approval to be laid before Parliament.[1] This statement seems undisputed. The seven divines were leaders of the Reform party, but of various shades of opinion, as described by Cardwell.[2] The sittings beginning in December, 1558, continued almost till the end of April, 1559, but not under any Great Seal Commission; it was merely an advisory committee with a court allowance.[3] Nothing seems known of these meetings except from Strype, who says that other advisers were called in, one being Dr. Guest, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, who accompanied the final recommendation to Cecil, in whose hands he placed a paper of his own, setting forth his individual views of the subject in hand. A surviving undated MS., purporting to be Dr. Guest's and to have been presented to Cecil, is one of the documents of this history.[4]

At the time the Cannon Row Committee was commencing its deliberations, a proclamation[5] forbade all preaching and all changes in the service until Parliament should decide, but permitting the Litany, the Gospel and Epistle, the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Commandments, all in English. Thus on and after Sunday, 1st January, 1559, the London churches had a mixed service, partly Latin (including mass) and partly English. On 23rd January, 1559, Elizabeth's first parliament met, and in due time a bill for the uniformity of public worship began in the Commons, where it was read on three successive days, 18th, 19th and 20th April.[6] On 26th, 27th and 28th April it passed through the Lords,[7] and on 8th May, the last day of the session, received the royal assent. The speeches of Abbot Feckenham (Westm.) and Scot Bishop of Chester in the Lords have been preserved and may be read in Cardwell.[8] On the last division in the Lords the Romanist party numbered eighteen, consisting of all the spiritual Lords then

The Act of Uniformity, 1559.

[1] From *Device for Alteration of Religion*, an undated document in Burnet, v., 497, and Cardwell, *Conf.*, 47. Heads of it, from Camden, are given in Burnet, ii., 599. Strype's *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, 1820, pp. 56, 57, relates the Cannon Row proceedings without reference. Strype's *Grindal*, p. 33, also gives it.

[2] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 20.

[3] Strype, *Smith*, 56, 57; Cardwell, *Conf.*, 19.

[4] To be seen in Cardwell, *Conf.*, 21, 48.

[5] To be seen in Strype's *Annals*, i., pt. 2, 391; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 208; Gee and Hardy, 416.

[6] *Com. Jour.*, i., 60.

[7] D'Ewes, *Jour. of Parl.*, p. 28, the *Lords' Jour.*, omitting all but the royal assent, 8th May, i., 579. For its passing the Lords, see also Cardwell, *Conf.*, 30. The Act is 1 Eliz., c. 2, in *Statutes at Large*, vi., 117; *Statutes of the Realm*, iv., pt. 1, 355; Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, 22.

[8] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 42, 43, 98, 105.

present, with the addition of nine temporal.[1] It was the third (but not the last) of the Acts of Uniformity, all of which have had reference to public worship only, not to doctrine. The Act provided for the permissive use of the new book on 8th May, and for its compulsory use from 24th June. In title it stands second of all the statutes of the reign, following the Act of Supremacy.

An important passage in the Act [2] bound the minister "to say and use the Matins, Evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in" Edward's second book, 1552,[3] the one abolished by Mary; but with certain reservations, providing for changes under three heads, *viz.*, Lessons, Litany and Holy Communion. In the third case the section is clearest: the communicant is to have the sacred elements delivered to him in a new form of words, combining the form of 1552 with that of 1549, just as in the present English Prayer Book. In the other two particulars, Lessons and Litany, the passage is general and vague, specifying nothing beyond the heads themselves, almost suggesting that the details had hardly been settled. It is, however, a great point of interest that the book of 1552 is expressly here named as the one revived by this Act of Uniformity rather than any fresh composition of Elizabethan divines.

In the absence of any "annexed" copy of the Prayer Book of 1559, it is impossible to say in what precise form Elizabeth's edition of Edward's second book passed the legislature.[4] Printed copies bearing the date 1559 exist, from one of which the Parker Society's reprint was taken; but there is nothing to show how near in point of time that impression stood to the legal day, 24th June, 1559, eight weeks after the passing of the Act, during which weeks the press must have been at work. It was quite possible for the book to have been wanted by some at the very day of royal assent [5] and during the whole of the eight weeks;

[1] Wm. Pawlett Mq. of Winch., Frs. Talbot E. of Shrewsbury, Anth. Browne Vt. Montagu, Hen. Parker Baron Morley, Henry Baron Stafford, Edw. Sutton Baron Dudley, Thomas Baron Wharton, Rd. Baron Rich of Leez, Edward Baron North; Cardwell, *Conf.*, 30.

[2] Gee and Hardy, 459; § 2 in numbered editions of the Act.

[3] The Act does not here say "as in the annexed book," which it must have said had there been any book annexed.

[4] *Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth*, 1847, p. 23.

[5] 8th May, 1559, on which day Mary's book became illegal (§ 14), making Elizabeth's allowable.

for which persons the directions in the second section would be a sufficient guide in the use of an old prayer book of 1552 until the new copies were available and perhaps later. That may have been a leading purpose of the second section rather than the fixing of any rigorously literal standard which the new book was bound to adhere to. There would seem never to have been such a standard. The extant copies of 1559 and subsequent ones differ considerably from the book of 1552 and from one another in unimportant particulars, the differences, and especially one conspicuous difference being without sufficient, or without any, warning from the second section. Clay writes: "We know of no copy answering in all points to the book mentioned in the Act".[1] Archbishop Parker drew up a long list of variations between the books of 1552 and 1559, which may be seen in Cardwell.[2]

One very conspicuous and truly surprising variation in the book of 1559 was a rubric, known as the "Ornaments Rubric of Elizabeth," borrowed from the Act of Uniformity (§ 25), ordering the retention of the vestments of 1549 until other order. Unending discussions have arisen from this action of Elizabeth, whose hand in it is not to be mistaken; and those who realise, as all in these days must, the civil enormity of tampering with a parliamentary enactment regard such a proceeding with incredulity or apply to it the most opprobrious expressions. The solution of the difficulty must however be sought in that phenomenal birth of Tudor times, the ecclesiastical supremacy, carrying with it a prerogative considered so necessary then, but which is so unintelligible to us now. Historically minded moralists who can plant themselves in Tudor days appear to regard such very Tudor offences with composure, and Cardwell can mention without surprise and with no reproach the many changes Elizabeth ventured upon in the book of 1559, "whether expressing her own opinions or summing up the wants of her subjects".[3] With similar equanimity he refers to Edward adding (by his council of course) a rubric to the Communion Service "on his own authority, after the publication of his second liturgy".[4] On 22nd January, 1561, the Queen, citing her statutory authority to take further order at her discretion in any rite or ceremony of the Prayer Book, directed the archbishop and others of the Court of High Commission (the body intended) to supply more

[1] Preface, p. xii., to the Parker Society's reprint.

[2] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 30-34. The compiler of this list is shown in Clay's Preface, p. xiv., to have been Parker not "Whitgift".

[3] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 30. [4] *Ibid.*, 35.

edifying chapters for Church lessons, and this her order for revising the Prayer Book so recently enacted was duly entered in the archbishop's register,[1] where it remains. Passing onwards, the sovereign's printers in charge of this book were regarded without blame for having altered their texts in points of detail years and years after the statute,[2] keeping the national worship in very flux. But though no moral delinquency is to be asserted, we cannot approve such proceedings, or we know not where they would stop. Bishop Stubbs furnishes the juster tone for us when we have to face the incident of such a rubric thus added. We can say then, with that historian, thus much for Queen Elizabeth of revered memory: Her action was rightly intended, and in her own eyes was to be justified by the position freely accorded her in the English constitution of those days; but if under the royal supremacy there were sometimes taken "measures the legality and constitutional character of which is very questionable," [3] this ornaments rubric looks very like one of them.

Opposition.

The Act of Uniformity is not known to have encountered hostility in the Commons, but in the Lords opposition was strenuous, though unavailing. Every bishop present protested, as well as nine lay peers.[4] The hostile speeches of two prelates, Dr. Feckenham Abbot of Westminster, and Scot Bishop of Chester, have been preserved,[5] condemning the Prayer Book as setting forth a new and uncatholic religion. Scot contemptuously quoted the title of the Communion Service, "Supper of the Lord, as they call it," [6] urging that the priest says a prayer, but does not consecrate; the body of Christ therefore cannot be adored, not being there; the communicant receives it not, for it is not there; and as he does not receive it into his hands,[7] he cannot receive it into his body; nay the service does not profess to give him Christ, but only "these thy creatures of bread and wine".[8] On the ground that the Ordination Service of Edward formed no part of the first Common Prayer, but had a subsequent and separate origin, was in fact a distinct work, and

[1] *The Parker Correspondence*, Parker Society, 132.

[2] Clay's Preface, pp. xv., xvi.

[3] Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 38, col. 2.

[4] Wm. Pawlet 1st Mq. of Winchester, 1551, Lord High Treasurer; Frs. Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, *ob.* 1560; Anth. Browne 1st Vct. Montagu, 1554, *ob.* 1592; Henry Parker Baron Morley; Henry Baron Stafford; Edward Sutton Baron Dudley, *ob.* 1586; Thomas Baron Wharton, *ob.* 1568; Richard Baron Rich, *ob.* 1568; Edward Baron North, *ob.* 1564; Cardwell, *Conf.*, 30.

[5] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 42, 43, 98, 105.

[6] *Ibid.*, 111.

[7] "Within the heart, not in the hands" (*Christian Year*, before 1866).

[8] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 113.

was not expressly referred to in Elizabeth's Uniformity Act, Bishop Bonner afterwards sought to invalidate the orders of all ordained by it, as though an illegal service. The defence is that the Ordinal did form, by the legislation of that period, a portion of the Prayer Book of 1552, and so was strictly legalised by the Act in question.[1] In evidence that the Ordinal of 1550 was an integral portion of the Prayer Book of 1552, there is the fact of its inclusion in the Table of Contents of that book.[2] It was nevertheless not a part of the Elizabethan Prayer Book, and not included in the Contents, but was separately printed, with its own title-page and imprint.[3]

The newly established worship was maintained under heavy penalties, which fell especially upon recalcitrant ministers and such of the laity as encouraged them, while even the ordinary parishioner absenting himself from church was not spared. A beneficed clergyman convicted by a jury of refusing to use the Book of Common Prayer, or of celebrating divine service with unauthorised rites, for the first offence forfeited a year's profit of his benefice to the Crown, with six months' imprisonment; for the second, forfeited his benefice, with a year's imprisonment; for the third, was imprisoned for life. An unbeneficed clergyman for the first offence suffered a year's imprisonment; for the second, imprisonment for life.[4]

Any one depraving the Prayer Book "by enterludes, plays, songs, rhymes, or other open words"; any one who should by threats or maintenance cause clergy to officiate with unauthorised forms or interrupt a minister celebrating a legal service; for the first offence was fined 100 marks or suffered six months' imprisonment; for the second, 400 marks or a year's imprisonment; for the third, forfeited all his goods, with imprisonment for life.[5] Archbishops, bishops and all ordinaries were most earnestly charged, in God's name, to secure the execution of the Act within their jurisdictions, being granted full authority to punish offenders with censures of the Church excommunication, and even deprivation.[6] The secular courts were empowered to try all offenders against the Act.[7] But bishops had the option of taking part in any such trial within their own dioceses.[8] Every parishioner, having no

[1] Burnet, ii., 621.

[2] Contents in *Liturgy of Edward VI.*, Parker Society, p. 192.

[3] Reprinted so in *Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth*, Parker Society, pp. 272-98; expressly legalised by 8 Eliz., c. 1, 2nd January, 1567, *Statutes at Large* vi., 228.

[4] §§ 4-6 of the Act, *Statutes at Large*, vi., 118.

[5] §§ 9-13. [6] §§ 15, 16. [7] § 17. [8] § 18.

reasonable excuse for absence, must on Sundays and Holy Days resort to the parish church and "there abide orderly and soberly during the time of the Common Prayer, preachings, or other service of God; on pain of Church censures and the forfeiture for the use of the poor of 12 pence for each offence to be levied by the Church warden".[1]

The severity of these penalties need surprise no one who considers the relative attitudes of the people and the Papal episcopate as revealed in London on 14th and 15th January preceding.[2] The nation, determined upon a reform of their worship and beliefs, looked for support practically to the Queen and Parliament alone, in the absolute certainty of all possible opposition coming from existing diocesans. In spite of those imploring words addressed to them in this Act, in God's name, to encourage the return of the Edwardian worship, it was a simple certainty, as all must have known, that only their bitterest opposition was to be counted upon. Parochial obstructionists, therefore, those contemplated by this Act as using the weapons of ridicule, spite, force, hidden funds, agents of more secret foes, with the Marian bishops in the remoter background, were to meet with no mercy whatever. If diocesans held aloof such offences as those specified could, and they should, be crushed by magistrates, judges, juries, in oyer and terminer courts, at quarter sessions, at assizes, the diocesan having a fair admission to the judgment bench. That twelve-penny fine enabled authority to grapple with local obstruction; it secured the orderly demeanour of all present at the services, and declared the duty of every one to be so present, and need not have primarily meant a vain crusade against the secular-minded and spiritually inert absentee common to all times everywhere.

The Elizabethan Reform, thus far settled by statute only, had next to be established in the parishes. The subject of a Royal Visitation of the Church has been referred to as one illustration of the sovereign's statutable ecclesiastical authority. But we are chiefly concerned with it now in another connection as the practical means adopted for carrying out in every cathedral and parish church the changes which had been decreed by the legislature. The process was that employed by Henry and Edward, Mary's having somewhat differed. Groups of dioceses, sometimes smaller districts, were put under bodies of visitors, mostly lay, the visitor-in-chief of each body being invariably some layman of rank, all being commissioned under

Royal Visitation.

[1] § 14 of the Act.

[2] Page 224, *supra*.

the Great Seal[1] as deriving their authority from the Crown, episcopal visitations of dioceses being meanwhile suspended by royal mandate. The visitors carried with them as their guides fifty-three royal injunctions, which they were to see put in force.[2] The commission of an early date, 20th June, 1559, was given charge of Eton and Cambridge,[3] under Sir William Cecil, with Matthew Parker for its leading divine. The south-western dioceses, Bath and Wells, Bristol, Exeter, were assigned, 19th July, 1559, to William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, and upon that commission was John Jewel. The proceedings of the various visitations in Strype, revealing much of the condition of the whole Church, are of great interest. We can but notice two of them, the Western and the London. The Western Visitation is described by Jewel, after it was over and he had returned to London, in a letter dated 2nd November, 1559.[4] He writes: "I have at last returned to London, with a body worn out by a most fatiguing journey. . . . We found everywhere the people sufficiently well disposed towards religion, and even in those quarters where we expected most difficulty. It is however hardly credible what a harvest, or rather what a wilderness, of superstition had sprung up in the darkness of the Marian times. We found in all places votive relics of saints; nails with which the infatuated people dreamed that Christ had been pierced; and I know not what small fragments of the sacred Cross. The number of witches and sorceresses had everywhere become enormous. The cathedral churches were nothing else but dens of thieves. . . . The ranks of the papists have fallen almost of their own accord."

The London Visitation is very fully dwelt on by Strype. It was held from about 18th June to 6th November, 1559.[5] Strype sums up: "That which was further done in this visitation in London was the pulling down and demolishing the roods and taking away other things used for superstition in the churches. August the 15th the roods in St. Paul's[6] were pulled down, and the high altar and other things pertaining spoiled. The 24th

[1] Full accounts in Strype, *Annals*, i., pt. 1, 245, etc. The subject has recently been investigated by Dr. Gee in his *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 71, etc.

[2] The Injunctions of 1559 are given in Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 210; Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, 46.

[3] Strype, *Annals*, i., pt. 1, 248; Gee, 133.

[4] *Zurich Letters*, i., 44.

[5] Strype, *Annals*, i., pt. 1, 248-54.

[6] The visitation of St. Paul's began 11th August; Strype, *Annals*, i., pt. 1, 249.

day, being St. Bartholomew's Day, in Cheapside against Ironmonger-lane and St. Thomas of Acres,[1] as the Lord Mayor came home from Smithfield that fair-day and from the accustomed sports and wrestlings in Clerkenwell, were two great fires made of roods and images of Mary and John, and other saints, where they were burnt, with great wonder of the people. The 25th day, at St. Botolph's, Billingsgate, the rood, and the images of Mary and John, and of the patron of that church, were burnt, with books of superstition; where at the same time a preacher, standing within the church wall, made a sermon, and while he was preaching the books were thrown into the fire. They then also took away a cross of wood that stood in the church-yard. September 16, at St. Magnus, at the corner of Fish Street, the rood, and Mary, and John, were burnt, and several other things of superstition belonging to that church."[2]

The St. Paul's Cross sermons were a useful accompaniment to the London Visitation. In St. Paul's Churchyard, within the north-east angle of the church, where the octagonal stone water-tank now is, there stood a timber pulpit rising upon steps of stone covered by a conical roof of lead, surmounted by a cross. The congregation sat or stood in the open air, and there was a covered stage or gallery to accommodate persons of rank. This pulpit was a great power all through the summer of 1559, while the visitation was going on. The greatest care was taken by Government to select the preachers at so critical a juncture, and among them were Grindal, Jewel, and Miles Coverdale. Sometimes the Court attended in great strength. Sometimes the audiences were very large; once it was composed of "Court, city, and country". In such exciting times, following so close on the burnings of Smithfield and Stratford, it was extremely important that such leading divines should be thus enabled with fervour and devotion to build up in the knowledge of Scripture the masses of the people who might otherwise be in danger of lapsing into mere destroyers.

Of the parochial clergy the great body conformed to the new order, taking the oath and using the service book brought them by the visitors. An unquestioning docility to the ruling authority was probably the leading motive. Jewel described those he found in the Western Visitation as ignorant and debased. It is computed that no more than eighty rectors of churches gave

[1] About where Mercers' Hall and Chapel now are (see Lupton, *Colet*, p. 17).
[2] Strype, *Annals*, i., pt. 1, 254.

up their livings, the bulk conforming.[1] Dr. Gee, who has gone very closely into this subject, believes that in the first six years of the reign not many more than two hundred clergy were deprived for refusing to acknowledge the settlement of religion and that no wholesale expulsion took place.[2] Of the higher clergy the number who refused to conform and resigned in consequence the number was far larger in proportion, *viz.*, twelve or thirteen deans, twelve or fourteen archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty prebendaries, besides six abbots, priors or abbesses.[3] It is perhaps not hard to understand why this should have been. For one thing, in great controversies men in conspicuous stations are called upon to commit themselves publicly to their convictions too deeply to be able to act against them when the crisis arrives. In venturing to account by so human a consideration for this comparative excess in numbers, it is with no desire to deny that higher motives must have had their due place in the bulk of the papalist leaders. It only remains to observe here that a visitation thus unsparingly carried out backed by the authority of the sovereign and the entire concurrence of Parliament, completely revolutionised the outward aspect of the Church of England.

On 19th July, 1559, while the Royal Visitation was getting into work, the Queen, on the authority of the two Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, which empowered her to execute the supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction through a commission, issued a warrant[4] to the Archbishop designate of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, to the Bishop designate of London, Edmund Grindal, and to nineteen laymen, mainly Doctors of the Civil Law and knights, to see to it, as her commissioners, that the above Acts were put in force against those persons who in various ways, as by false rumours and seditious books, sowed division and strife among the people. Their functions included that of visitation, which is expressly named in the warrant, but unlike the visitatorial commission their office was to be continuous, with a much wider scope, and they were to be known by a title which has since acquired celebrity, the Court of High Commission in Ecclesiastical Causes. From the language used by Burnet,[5] speaking of it as the Queen "commissionating some to execute her supremacy," we might perhaps describe it as the royal

[1] Burnet, ii., 635.
[2] Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, 1898, p. 218.
[3] Burnet, ii., 635; Gee, 218.
[4] Given in Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 255; Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, 147.
[5] Burnet, ii., 613.

supremacy in commission. The powers of this court were lodged mainly in the Primate and the Bishop of London, and were exercised centrally in the metropolis. Their scope gradually extended as the commission was renewed from time to time, and under Elizabeth's two successors this court had a very troubled history.

The Reformation settlement in the Elizabethan Sees has now to be attended to, and first as to their endowments. The mediæval bishop generally, in professional learning a canonist, had been before the people a territorial grandee, an officer of state, a secular lord, a ruler and punisher of the flock rather than its spiritual instructor. Among the endowments of his See enumerated in the Act we are coming to were "honours, castles, manors, lands, tenements," and this territorial prestige was no doubt diminished by the course which the Reformation took. In Elizabeth's Parliament of 1559 a measure in that direction was carried on 7th April, while the Marian bishops held their seats and the Act of Supremacy was in progress. It enabled the Queen to assign to any See while vacant all Crown property in rectorial tithes and annual tenths within the limits of that See, taking from it in exchange an equivalent in such of the territorial endowments above designated as it might possess. Secular and ecclesiastical property thus passed into ownerships respectively more appropriate to them. More than half the sixteen prelates present assented to the measure.[1]

The Queen, having adopted the Common Prayer in the Chapel Royal on Sunday, 14th[2] May, 1559, had an interview, at her desire, with the bishops and leading clergy on the following day. The episcopate was then in a very attenuated state. At the Queen's accession five Sees were vacant by death and six bishops had died since, leaving only sixteen out of the twenty-seven Sees occupied. The sixteen living bishops were all of the old religion. Fourteen came on 15th May at her summons, among them being Bonner of London and Heath of York. Pole of Canterbury was dead. Elizabeth pressed upon them compliance with the new Prayer Book, and they met her with unflinching opposition. The Common Prayer

The Elizabethan Bishops.

[1] 1 Eliz., c. 19, *Statutes at Large*, vi., 149; dissentient the Abp. of Yk., Bishops of Lon., Worc., Cov., Exet., Ches., Carl.; others present being Durh., Win., Ely, Llan., B. and W., St. Dav., Linc., Pet., Abbot of Westm. The See of Oxford was vacant. Royal assent, 8th May, 1559, *Lords' Jour.*, i., 570, 571, 579. Passed Commons, 17th April.

[2] Altered from Strype's *Grindal*, 35, where Sunday is made 12th May.

and the Old Religion were felt by them to be in absolute contradiction. They declared their adherence to the ancient worship, expressly asserted the Papal supremacy, and exhorted her to submit to it.[1] The Queen replied in spirited terms, and two days afterwards, 17th[2] May, took part at St. Paul's Cathedral in the service which was conducted according to the new liturgy.[3] The visitation made a large clearance of the nonconforming bishops, who, when the oath of the Queen's supremacy was put to them according to the Act, refused it to the number of fourteen, two alone accepting, Kitchin of Llandaff, Stanley of Sodor and Man. All the fourteen were deprived,[4] unless one of them resigned, at various times during the visitation. Nor was deprivation all. Carrying their active opposition to a dangerous point, many of them found themselves in the Tower and other places of confinement; but none were treated with excessive rigour, while some met with much indulgence and ended their days in comfort.[5] After the great clearance by death and deprivation there were no fewer than twenty-five Sees for Elizabeth to fill. A memorable day for the Church of England was Sunday, 17th December, 1559, when Matthew Parker was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury and began the reformed episcopal succession. He was a Cambridge man of high scholarship, of humble temper, diffident, and wedded to his studies; he was earnestly desired for this position by the Queen, who knew him as her early religious instructor, and by her ministers for his prudence, as well as his zeal for the Reformation.[6] His devoted antiquarianism has laid us under the greatest obligations for the manuscripts bearing on the Reformation which he collected and deposited in the library of his college, Corpus Christi, Cambridge.[7] Many years later Papal controversialists sought by cavils and fictions to invalidate this consecration and prove the entire ministerial succession of the reformed Church of England to be null and

[1] Speech in Strype, *Annals*, i., 207.

[2] Altered from Strype's *Grindal*, where Wednesday is made 15th May.

[3] Strype, *Grindal*, 1821, p. 35.

[4] Grindal, 14th July, 1559, says nearly all were then deprived, and the rest would be in a few days; *Zurich Letters*, ii., 23, 24.

[5] Strype, *Annals*, i., pt. 1, 211. Grindal's letter, 14th July, 1559, speaks of their lenient treatment; *Zurich Letters*, ii., 24. A full account of the deprivation of the bishops is given in Dr. Gee's *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 30.

[6] Burnet, ii., 602.

[7] Of the Corpus Library and the MSS. which gave celebrity to the college, collected by Abp. Parker its master, soon after the dissolution of the monasteries, there is some account in Dyer's *Cambridge*, 1814, i., 121. Many letters from the foreign reformers to the English were deposited here by the Archbishop.

void; but they have been amply refuted by Burnet,[1] as well as by Archbishop Bramhall[2] and his modern editor, the Rev. Arthur Haddan.

On 21st December, 1559, Parker consecrated Grindal for London and three others; on 21st January, 1560, Jewel for Salisbury and three others, and so on until the episcopate was once more completed. Thus after a little more than a year from Mary's death the Elizabethan Church started with an episcopate *entirely* reformed, in striking contrast to the earlier times, when under Henry there were but two bishops, Cranmer and Latimer, to represent the cause of Scripture doctrine; and under Edward a few more, some five or six, a decided minority, succeeding only by the help of the Crown. Now under Elizabeth the whole episcopal body were at one, all agreeing with the Government as to the main lines on which the Reformation should proceed. On 12th July, 1559, the Westminster monks were removed from the Abbey which Mary had reconstituted for them, and by a charter of 21st May, 1560, the Abbey Church was made what it still in strictness remains, the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, under a dean and prebendaries, as it ever after continued, with a grammar school annexed. The prebendaries were installed on 30th June, 1560, under their first dean, Dr. William Bill, the Queen's Chaplain.[3]

Popular Instruction.

We have seen the Elizabethan Reformation settled in the statute book by the Act of Supremacy and by the Act of Uniformity of Worship; in the parish churches by a Royal Visitation; in the Sees by the consecration of a complete set of new bishops. The clergy of the old school, unable to resist the tide, in most cases conformed. We are now to watch the efforts which were made to get it rooted and confirmed in the hearts and the consciences of the people.

ST. PAUL'S CROSS was a centre of religious influence unique in English Church history for some four and a half centuries.[4] During the Reformation period all the public religion of London centred there, and the preaching told in favour of the Reformation, never against it. The Papal party had neither the popular doctrine nor the popular eloquence, and in Mary's reign an audience had to be collected for the preacher's encouragement

[1] Burnet, ii., 639.

[2] Bramhall's *Works*, iii., 38, in the *Ang. Cath. Lib.*, 1844.

[3] *Monast. Anglic.*, i., 283.

[4] It is known to have been in existence in A.D. 1196, and was removed in 1643 (Murray's *Handbook of London*)

by Court officials.[1] In 1560, when the visitations were over and the new bishops were being appointed, the citizens listened to men who had emerged from obscurity or returned from exile, men like Bishops Grindal, Jewel, Pilkington, Sandys, Bentham (who had kept his flock in London all through the persecution), and Coverdale, of Bible fame, who still lived. These and other like men awakened the deepest interest. In the Lent of 1561 the greatest care was taken in selecting preachers who should impress upon their hearers the blessings of the new worship, the errors and corruptions of the old superstitions.[2]

The Elizabethan Prayer Book enjoined neither psalms nor anthems, though the service might be *choral* to any extent ; but in the *Injunctions* of the Great Visitation in the summer of 1559 there was one giving permission for a " hymn or such like song "[3] at either the commencement or the conclusion of Common Prayer, and in September, 1559, this was taken advantage of with striking results in a London city church, St. Antholin's, Watling Street.[4] A five-o'clock morning service, with lecture, was then commencing, which in after years made " St. Antling's bell " in those silent hours of London proverbial.[5] It began in September, 1559, when the London Visitation was on foot and when the Injunction allowing a hymn was made known. The congregation at once took advantage of it, and at the opening of the service " a psalm was sung after the Geneva fashion, all the congregation, men, women, and boys, singing together ".[6] The novelty was that the psalm was taken up generally by the whole people, and not left to a select choir. Such was the birth of congregational hymnody in England. Its spread from St. Antholin's is recognised in a letter of Bishop Jewel, 5th March, 1560 : " Religion is now somewhat more established than it was. The people are everywhere exceedingly inclined to the better part. The practice of joining in church music has very much conduced to this. For as soon as they had once commenced singing in public in only one little church in London, immediately not only the churches in the neighbourhood, but even the towns far distant, began to vie with each other in the same practice. You may now sometimes see

[1] Burnet, iii., 384. [2] Strype, *Annals*, i., 369, 370.

[3] *Injunctions*, xlix. ; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 229 ; Gee and Hardy, 435.

[4] Taken down in 1874, with the tower left standing (*Eccles. Gaz.*, 13th October, 1874, p. 59). Since then the tower has been removed.

[5] Murray, *Handbook of London*, " St. Antholin ".

[6] Strype, *Annals*, i., 199. Though congregational psalmody was new, metrical English psalms were not. Sternhold (*ob.* 1549) had brought out *Thirty-Seven Psalms of David ;* Coverdale, before 1539, *Forty-One Ghostly Psalms and Spiritual Songs* (*Remains*, p. 541, Parker Society).

at Paul's Cross, after the service, six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together and praising God.[1] This sadly annoys the mass-priests and the devil. For they perceive that by these means the sacred discourses sink more deeply into the minds of men, and that their kingdom is weakened and shaken at almost every note." [2]

Besides emotionally as thus, the Reformation made its way among the people intellectually and theologically in a great measure through Jewel. The famous "Challenge Sermon" which was delivered three times,[3] the third being on Sunday, 31st March, 1560,[4] at St. Paul's Cross, introduced a new element into the controversy. The Reformers had been wont to call theirs "the new religion," and spoke of their clergy as "the new preachers". Taking them at their word, the Romanists taunted them with having a newly invented religion, and Jewel's point was to show that it was the Papal system which was novel while the reformed doctrine of the Church of England was old and primitive. His sermon was from 1 Cor. xi. 23, on the Lord's Supper, and he enumerated the various points in dispute, as transubstantiation, the corporal presence, the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, communion in one kind, prayer in an unknown tongue, with several others, following up with this challenge: If any learned man alive is able to prove any one of these articles by any one plain sentence of Scripture, or of the old doctors, or of any old General Council, or any example of the primitive Church for six hundred years after Christ—then Jewel will give up the dispute and subscribe to his opponent's doctrine. That was a plain way of putting the matter, and plain people could judge of the replies.

Bishop Jewel.

Jewel's famous book, whose full title is *Apology of the Church of England*, is now much better known than the *Challenge*. It was quite a small treatise, appearing in Latin, January, 1562,[5] and in English later the same year. Its object was, as Bishop Parkhurst wrote, to show why we have gone over from the Pope to Christ, and why we refuse to acknowledge the Council of Trent.[6] It was not enough to meet the taunt of novelty, as in

[1] Burnet, iii., 497. [2] *Zurich Letters*, i., 71.

[3] *Works*, Parker Society, 1845, i., 3, where the sermon is given in full. It had been delivered at the Cross on 26th November, 1559, and at Court on 17th March, 1560.

[4] *Ibid.*; Strype, *Grindal*, 1821, p. 40, notices the first delivery.

[5] Its appearance is referred to by Jewel, 7th February, 1562, and by Parkhurst, 20th August, 1562; *Zurich Letters*, i., 101, 121.

[6] Parkhurst Bishop of Norwich to Bullinger, 20th August, 1562; *Zurich Letters*, i., 121.

the *Challenge,* the teaching of the Church of England must be proved true; for the papalists in effect said Your doctrine may be old, but it is old heresy.[1] The *Apology* was written to meet this taunt. To estimate the importance of such a work at this juncture we must recollect that the Thirty-Nine Articles, though substantially they had been for some years in existence, had not yet been publicly set forth by the Church of England as the authoritative and formal expression of her views on the doctrines then in controversy.[2] Jewel's object was to draw up such a code of leading tenets in the name and on behalf of the Church of England, and in doing this he covered much the same ground as the Articles themselves. It was published with the allowance of the Queen and the consent of the bishops,[3] and so carried a degree of authority. Moreover in its Latin form it would reach the Council of Trent then sitting. Jewel was the Melanchthon of the English Church. The Bishop of Durham (Dr. Moule) has said of the *Apology:* "It contains a strong statement of the positive position of the Church of England as the true inheritor of primitive Christianity, and an unflinching denunciation of the accretions which had been formed upon it during the Middle Ages".[4] An attack on the *Apology* by the Jesuit Dr. Harding brought out in 1568 Jewel's larger and more elaborate work, *Defence of the Apology,* a marvel of patristic learning, a perfect storehouse of authorities against the Papal pretentions.

Elizabeth's second Convocation, 11th January to 10th April, 1563, considered the Edwardian Forty-Two Articles, put forth in 1553 just before the King's death; and these, after revision and reduction to thirty-eight, were signed by the Upper House on 29th January, 1563;[5] by the Lower, and not without pressure from the Upper, on 5th February and some subsequent days.[6] We can readily discern the object for which these Articles were put forth. They were the Church's formal exposition of her own doctrine; an official statement of what Jewel's *Apology* had maintained unofficially. The mention in Article XXXV. of "the second book" of the *Homilies* shows that the compilation of that book must have been completed by 29th January, 1563, the day on which the Articles were subscribed by

[1] Strype, *Annals*, i., pt. 1, 424.

[2] There were, however, the Eleven Articles of 1561, a more limited code, mentioned further on.

[3] Strype, *Annals*, i., 424.

[4] Speech in *Record*, 8th June, 1894, p. 562, col. 3.

[5] The "1562" of the title is old style. The Thirty-Nine Articles were later.

[6] Burnet, iii., 512, 513.

the Upper House of Convocation.[1] Article XXXV. asserts that this Elizabethan second book, as also the Edwardian first book, contains godly and wholesome doctrine necessary for the times, and it recites the titles of twenty-one homilies contained in the book. In 1563, however, only twenty of them existed, the twenty-first having been inserted some years later, 1571. The second book originally appeared, not along with the first, but by itself, and editions of each book long continued to be separately issued, until in 1623 the two were included in one volume.[2] Most of the homilies in the second book are attributed to Jewel.[3]

Foxe's *Acts and Monuments.*

Martyrology likewise lent its powerful aid in this direction. Narratives of the Marian severities were sure of eager readers in the reign of Elizabeth, and could not fail of pro longing the horror of Papal times, with a sense of the blessings of the Reformation. As the martyrs were consigned to their sufferings by forms of law, official records in parochial and episcopal registers survived as testimony. Queen Elizabeth directed her visitors in 1559 to have these registers searched and the reasons of the sufferings of those people inquired into.[4] Besides those unimpeachable records there were numerous letters which the sufferers contrived to write in their confinement, and these were passed about at the time from hand to hand. In 1564 a volume of them collected by Coverdale under the title *Certain Godly Letters of the Martyrs.* Bishop Ridley's *Farewells* in this collection are particularly beautiful. The author who devoted himself most assiduously to this species of literature was John Foxe,[5] whose *Acts and Monuments* appeared on 7th April, 1563. He made it his business to search the official records, and these would furnish his "Acts" (*Acta,* an ancient Latin term for such documents). His "Monuments" may be thought to refer to a distinct department of his work, consisting of such matters as documentary and biographical material of ecclesiastical consequence, which he has been apparently the sole means of handing down or making known to later times. These authentic materials,[6] the *Acta* and the *Monumenta* properly

[1] Tomlinson, *Prayer Book, Articles and Homilies,* 1897, pp. 243, 244, where much important information is given.

[2] Tomlinson, 240.

[3] Burnet, Preface to his *Exposition of the Articles,* ed. 1837, p. ix. ; Tomlinson, 244.

[4] *Injunctions,* xlv. ; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 228 ; Gee and Hardy, 434.

[5] Born 1517 ; exiled under Mary ; *ob.* 1587 ; buried in the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, where there is a mural monument to him.

[6] A limited portion of the *Acts and Monuments* appeared in 1741, folio, under the title of *Book of Martyrs,* which had been the popular title of the main work from an early period, and has been ever since.

so called (if we rightly apprehend), constitute a most important portion of Foxe's labours, by which he contributes to the *History of the Reformation,* as a contemporary. But Foxe likewise inserted narratives drawn up by those professing to write on local information. He could not always verify these personally, and had to take them on trust, without being able in every case to answer for their sober accuracy. It is in this part of the work where opportunity for hostile criticism has chiefly been found. As the *Acts and Monuments* cannot be dispensed with in serious historical inquiry, the work has occasionally been subjected to the severest criticism, and in recent years adverse judgments have been very freely expressed, as may be seen in the writings of the late Dr. S. R. Maitland and in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* as well as in some Roman Catholic authors. It would seem, therefore, but due to Foxe's memory not to lose sight of the testimony in his favour expressed by responsible persons of an earlier period. Dr. Grindal, afterwards Bishop of London, gave him literary assistance.[1] In 1560 Parkhurst Bishop of Norwich entertained him.[2] In 1563 the Queen rewarded him apparently with a prebend.[3] In 1572 Dr. Whitgift, afterwards archbishop, called him "that worthy man who had so well deserved of this Church of England".[4] In later years Burnet having to test Foxe for his *History of the Reformation,* wrote in the Preface to his first volume, 1679 : "Having compared his *Acts and Monuments* with the records, I have never been able to discover any errors or prevarications in them, but the utmost fidelity and exactness".[5]

Strype in 1724 wrote of Foxe, alluding to both his "Acts" and his "Monuments" : "He must not go without the commendation of a most painful searcher into records, archives and repositories of original Acts and letters of State, and a great collector of manuscripts ; and the world is infinitely beholden to him for abundance of extracts thence communicated to us in his volumes. And as

[1] Strype, *Annals*, i., pt. 1, 375.

[2] *Ibid.*, i., pt. 1, 309.

[3] Shipton, Oxon. (Strype, *ibid.*, i., pt. 1, 377). It does not seem quite clear what the "prebend" was. Foster (*Alumni Oxon.*), making him a graduate from Brasenose and a fellow of Magdalen in the reign of Henry VIII., says he became Prebendary of Salisbury in 1563. He is not among the prebendaries of Salisbury in Le Neve (ii., 653). The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* says that at the suggestion of Jewel Bishop of Salisbury Foxe received a prebend in Salisbury Cathedral 'together with the lease of the vicarage of Shipton (11th May, 1563)". Strype says the "prebend and parsonage of Shipton" in Oxon., belonging to the Church of Sarum.

[4] Strype, *ibid.*, i., pt. 1, 310.

[5] Burnet, Preface, p. 5.

he hath been found most diligent, so most strictly true and faithful in his transcriptions. And this I myself in part have found. And several passages in his book have been compared with King Edward's Council Book lately discovered, and found to agree well together." [1]

Wordsworth in his *Ecclesiastical Biography*, 1804, largely avails himself of the *Acts and Monuments*, giving Foxe some very cordial praise, unmoved by the detractions of Dr. John Milner and other Romanists. He rejects Milner's censures as "grossly exaggerated and almost entirely unsubstantial and groundless," concluding thus: "All the many researches and discoveries of later times in regard to historical documents by Burnet, Strype and many others, have only contributed to place the general fidelity and truth of Foxe's melancholy narrative on a rock which cannot be shaken".[2]

Foxe has furnished material for Cardwell's works on the Reformation where the *Acts and Monuments* occur in the notes along with references to Parker and Burnet.[3] Chalmers's *Biographical Dictionary* bears its testimony to the fact that the effect of Foxe's vast labours was universally acknowledged to have been to promote, or rather confirm, the principles of the Reformation, and that Convocation, although it failed to get the *Acts and Monuments* officially recognised in the Church of England, succeeded in establishing copies of it for general reading in many churches. Foxe's accounts of Bilney, Tyndale, Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, Wyclif, Lord Cobham have stood in the classic pages of Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography* since 1809, and thus Foxe has had no small share in keeping alive sympathy with the Reformation among cultured readers of modern days.

We have now reached the point at which the English Reformation in the usual sense of the word may be considered virtually complete. The definition of it which we offer in the concisest form we can think of is this: The acquisition by English Christians of the Bible in their own tongue, for themselves, free and untrammelled though not unguided, to interpret and to use it on their own responsibility. In estimating the benefits of such a reformation to English Christianity we cordially adopt the following language of Bishop Short, an historian of the Church

[1] Strype, *Annals*, i., 377.

[2] Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, 4 vols., 1853, 4th edit., Preface, p. xix. This valuable repertory, by a former master of Trinity College, has served to keep in memory Dr. Inett's works also, his *Henry II. and Becket* among them.

[3] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 25.

of England, who from 1832 deservedly enjoyed the respect and confidence of its members.

"We learnt the fundamental truth on which the whole of Christianity rests, nay, which is itself Christianity; that 'we are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not of our own works or deservings'; that good works, however pleasing to God, are only accepted as proofs of the faith which we entertain of the mercy of Heaven, and as proceeding from love towards Him who hath redeemed us; that acts of penitence, however sincere, can in no sense be deemed a compensation for our sin, although they may prove useful to ourselves in preventing a repetition of our crimes; and that there is no sacrifice for sin but the atonement which was once offered on the cross.

"The establishment of these truths virtually got rid of the greater part of the superstitious rites with which religion had been overwhelmed, and she was again enthroned in the heart of the true believer, instead of being identified with ceremonious observances. A communion had been substituted in lieu of the mass; and with the rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation the laity were taught that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken by the faithful alone in the Lord's Supper; the efficacy of which consists in the institution of Christ and the state of their own consciences, and not in the magic virtue of priestly offices. The personal responsibility of the individual Christian was clearly insisted on; and though the laity were not deprived of the comfort and aid of spiritual guidance, yet that inquisitorial power which the clergy had exercised by means of auricular confession was removed, and the priesthood became the directors of their flocks, and not the self-constituted judges of the terms on which pardon might be obtained from the Almighty. They were still the keepers of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; but by the dissemination of the Scriptures, and the progress of education, the rest of their brethren were permitted to guide their own footsteps towards the gates of Paradise. The Bible was indeed committed to their peculiar care, but it was not withheld from the hands of the people; so that though it was their especial duty to lead on their fellow servants in the right path, yet they could no longer, like the lawyers of old, take away the key from others or prevent those from entering in who would gladly do so. All were taught to examine for themselves; and though little toleration was now granted to any who ventured to differ from the Queen, yet the first great step towards religious

liberty was irrevocably made, when it was authoritatively asserted (Article XXI.) that every assembly of human beings was liable to err, even in things pertaining to God." [1]

We have now to watch how the Elizabethan Reformation was MAINTAINED, against the Romanists in doctrine, against the Puritans in form. It was then customary to exhibit doctrinal manifestoes in the form of a code, or a series of articles, and it is with such as these that we have now to deal, leaving the Prayer Book, which expresses the Church's form, to the Puritan controversy later on. In 1549,[2] the year of the first Prayer Book, Cranmer drew up Forty-Two Articles of Religion, the origin of our Thirty-Nine, and in 1553 they were published, for "the avoiding of diversities of opinion and establishing consent touching true religion". The title affirmed that they had been agreed to in Convocation [3] and were published by royal authority. Cranmer much desired that all the clergy should be obliged to subscribe them, making this a condition of any preferment in his gift; but there was no obligation by law until it was enjoined on 9th June, 1553, by royal mandate, which, resting on the King's supremacy, could be enforced, which however it never was, as on 6th July the King died.

Doctrinal Standards.

Early in 1561, as soon as the See of York was filled up,[4] there appeared eleven articles, entitled "A declaration of certain principal articles of religion . . . for the unity of doctrine . . . set out by both Archbishops and the rest of the Bishops," printed by the Queen's printer,[5] and therefore with the royal sanction. They were not subscribed, but simply *read* by the clergy in church on first entering on their cures, like "reading in" now, and twice a year ever afterwards. The clergy previously admitted to the cure of souls were not required to read them. The articles touched on all disputed points of the day, and one, No. VII., acknowledged the Prayer Book to be Scriptural, Catholic and Apostolic. The date, 1560-61, shows that the new bishops were taking the earliest steps for the gradual eradication of the old superstitions among the clergy, and were anxious to end a reproach

[1] Short, *Hist. Ch. Eng.*, 1832, i., 360.

[2] Hardwick, *Hist. of the Articles*, ed. Procter, 1876, p. 72; Strype's date is 1551, *Memorials of Cranmer*, i., 390, ed. 1812. Hardwick's date, 1549, is founded on the more recently known *Original Letters* (p. 563) printed by the Parker Society.

[3] Much disputed (see Burnet, iii., 368).

[4] By Thomas Young from St. David's, 27th January, 1560-61.

[5] Text (undated), Burnet, v., 563; Strype, *Annals*, i., pt. 1, 323, 325, 329; Hardwick, *Hist. of the Articles*, ed. Procter, 1876, p. 119, gives the substance of each. On their design, see Tomlinson, 291.

of diversity of doctrine frequently brought against the Reformation. These articles were probably composed by Parker.[1] The Thirty-Eight Articles were a revision and reduction of the Forty-Two, signed by the whole Upper House of Convocation, 29th January, 1563, and by the bulk of the Lower, 5th February. The date 1562 frequently given is old style for 1562-63. This was the earliest official subscription to articles of doctrine by the English Church as a body. It was an emphatic and deliberate acceptance of the doctrine. A vote of approbation was not sufficient; each member individually put his hand to it, and this represented the conversion of the Church of England to the doctrinal Reformation.

Of the two Houses the Upper subscribed without hesitation, all on one day. That they should be willing was to be expected, for all the bishops were adherents of the Reformation, recently selected on that very account, and were leaders in the movement. The Lower House were of different material. They had not been, like the bishops, all changed, though the official members had been to a considerable extent, owing to the deprivation under the Act of so many dignitaries. They were in the bulk the old body of the Church, who with varying degrees of conviction had come over to the Reformation. *Their* willingness to subscribe along with the bishops is a matter of considerable interest, and by no means one that could be taken for granted. The members of the Lower House were *not* all ready on the official day. There were many holding back, yielding only by degrees and in detachments. It was the pressure and determination of the bishops that secured the result, and there was somewhat of a struggle before all was over, though there was an encouraging response upon the whole. But under however much pressure any may have signed, the act was their own, and they were obliged by no statute.

Convocation therefore subscribed, but only Convocation. Subscription for the present went no further and there was no legal compulsion for the clergy in their parishes or at their ordinations to subscribe. What had been done was that the Church *by her representatives* had accepted a code of reformation doctrine and was committed to it by her own voluntary act.

For the first three or four years of Elizabeth's reign there was some hope that Papists in England might gradually be won over, since the people had in the main continued to attend the

[1] Strype, *Annals*, i., pt. 1, 329.

Common Prayer and the clergy as a rule had conformed. All such hopes were dashed to the ground when the conclusion of the Council of Trent and the issue of its new creed in the name of Pius IV., in 1564, gave the signal for the banding together of the whole Papal world to oppose the Reformation everywhere and institute measures for its counteraction. Then in short began what is known as the Counter Reformation.

The Counter Reformation.

The leaders of Romanism in England who were resolved not to keep quiet went into exile. In 1566 a colony of these are found in the Low Countries, which then belonged to Spain. Their chief settlement was in the town of Louvain, in the vicinity of Brussels, and all their efforts were directed, with great literary skill, against Bishop Jewel and his powerful *Apology*.[1] In the year 1568, in the town of Douay, in Spanish Netherlands,[2] another battery was opened against the English Reformation. There, by the exertions of an active and very able Romanist, William Allen, afterwards a cardinal, a college was set up for the training of English priests to serve in England. Douay College was the precursor of others with the same object in various parts of the continent, issuing from which many a seditious tract and many a dangerous emissary found their way into England, where, in influential country houses, secretly in all directions, the Papal cause was strengthened.[3] These foreign colleges for the re-conversion of England came to be called "seminaries," *i.e.*, seed-plots, and with them the term seems first applied to places of education. Those continental seminaries were a system of nurseries for the maintenance of English Romanism, and the priests reared in them, picked men ready to encounter any danger, were the "seminary priests," of whom so much is read in Elizabethan history.

In no long time an open and violent result occurred, an insurrection in the North in November, 1569, headed by the two Earls of Northumberland [4] and Westmoreland.[5] If the Edwardian rising in 1549 was agrarian and socialistic, and the Marian

[1] *Zurich Letters*, i., 184, Feb. 24, 1567.

[2] Ranke, *Popes*, i., 419, trans. Austin, 3rd edit., 1847. Douay, now French (dept. Nord), is shown in Spruner's maps of that and a much later period in the Netherlands, just beyond the east border of Artois, about five miles (German) south from Lille. An account of this settlement at Douay, 1568, and of another at Rheims in 1578, is given in Dodd's *Church History of England*, ii., 14, ed. 1739, fol.

[3] "Secret Travels of the Jesuits, Parsons and Campion, in England, A.D. 1580," narrated by Ranke, *Popes*, i., 419, trans. Austin.

[4] Thomas Percy, created Earl 1557, after the forfeiture of his family in 1537.

[5] Charles Nevill, last Earl of his line.

rebellion of Wyatt political, this northern Elizabethan movement arose out of religion, like Aske's "Pilgrimage of Grace" which accompanied the suppression of monasteries in 1536. By this time then every hope of winning over the Roman minority and reconciling them to the Reformation must have disappeared. Immediately afterwards followed an act of Rome which produced a lasting and irreconcilable war between the Papal party in England and the reformed, the issue of a Bull by Pius V. ex communicating Queen Elizabeth and declaring her subjects absolved from their allegiance. This famous document, dated 25th February, 1570,[1] and named from its opening words *Regnans in excelsis,* was surreptitiously brought into England and privately circulated, until on 25th May, 1570, it was audaciously affixed to the palace of the Bishop of London near St. Paul's,[2] by Mr. John Felton, a gentleman of ample means, married to one of Queen Mary's maids of honour, a devoted papalist, residing at the dissolved Abbey of Bermondsey. He was taken and on 8th August hanged on a gallows in St. Paul's Churchyard in front of the Bishop's gate.[3] The Bull was especially dangerous at such a juncture, when all the Papal world was springing again to its feet, while Elizabeth's reign had not yet reached the period when she could have despised such a measure. It was the more dangerous as her being unmarried opened a way for every machination against her crown with the object of bringing in some of the collateral Popish lines, and in particular that of Mary Queen of Scots. Up to the period of the Bull there had been some show of intercourse between the Courts of England and Rome; but there has never been any to speak of since.

Subscription enforced.

In the succeeding Parliament (2nd April-29th May, 1571) the royal assent was given, 29th May, to an Act "for the ministers of the Church to be of sound religion,"[4] which might not seem, from its title, to have much relation to the Bull *Regnans,* though it was in effect the best possible reply to it from England. The Church's ministers were to be made of sound religion by subscribing the Articles, now

[1] The Bull itself, bearing the date 5 Kal. Mart, may be seen, in its original Latin, in Jewel's *Works*, iv., 1131, Parker Society.

[2] At the north-west corner of the Churchyard, where its memory is still preserved by London House Yard. This old London house perished in the Fire of 1666, after which the bishop removed to a new one in Aldersgate Street (Murray's *Handbook of London*).

[3] Dodd's *Ch. Hist. of Eng.*, ii., 151.

[4] 13 Eliz., c. 12; *Statutes at Large*, vi., 285; Gee and Hardy, 477. The Act of 13 Eliz., c. 2, against bringing in Papal Bulls received the royal assent the same day.

made thirty-nine, in that form debated by Convocation on 11th May,[1] and ratified by the Queen.[2] To the nation the statute was of immense benefit, but one which it requires the exercise of the historic memory to render obvious. In 1571 the Papacy, in the eighth year of its revival, was as a giant renewing his youth. A system of false doctrine teeming with administrative abuses, in action worldly and self-seeking, was at a great disadvantage in the presence of reformers and martyrs; the same system, animated through and through by self-sacrificing devotion, and even the martyr spirit, could be very formidable. In 1571 the Bull *Regnans* seriously threatened the Reformation in England. The continental League was in its vigour of activity. The Jesuits were winning the world, and Mary Stuart as Elizabeth's rival was the centre of all intrigue. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day was an event of the very next year. Romanism has been sometimes felt to be no more than a theology and an argument; to the Elizabethans it was a system involving vast public issues. Hence it was that the Lords and Commons held it to be quite their concern that the ministers of the Church should be "of sound religion". For this meant that the line between England and the Papal world should be impassable thenceforward; that the English Church and realm should be an insular citadel of Protestant conviction against the entire forces of the Papal world. The Act did not require that the Thirty-Nine Articles should be subscribed in their entirety, but only the more doctrinally vital portions of it, *viz.*, "All the articles of religion which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments,"[3] on pain of deprival. It was not retrospective, imposing subscription on those only who should be in future ordained or should accept preferment, and its benefit to ministers of the Church of England was that it tended to promote their union. Union was the avowed purpose of the Articles—"the avoiding diversities of opinions and establishing consent touching true religion". The Act of 1571 was in effect (though not in title) an Act of uniformity of doctrine, as was that of 1559 one for uniformity of worship. Uniformity of worship was secured by an obligation to *use* (without subscribing to it) one service book in all

[1] Stubbs, *Hist. App.*, 145, under 1st May, 1571.

[2] The "Ratification" at the end of the Articles in the Prayer Book is dated "1571," and asserts that the Articles were that year "confirmed again" by the subscription of Convocation.

[3] § 1; Gee and Hardy, 478.

churches; uniformity of doctrine by subscription to Articles. Subscription to the Prayer Book came many years later.

In the year 1580 two English Jesuits, Parsons and Campion, after training in the seminary at Rome, returned to England, where their proceedings are thus described by Ranke: "Constantly pursued and reduced to the necessity of perpetually changing their names and dress, they succeeded in reaching the capital, where they separated, and traversed, the one the northern, the other the southern counties, principally residing in the houses of the Catholic noblemen. Their coming was always announced, but their hosts cautiously received them as strangers. Meanwhile a chapel was prepared in the innermost chamber of the house, into which they were conducted, and there they found the members of the family assembled to receive their blessing. The missionary seldom stayed more than one night. The evening was occupied in religious preparation and in confession; the next morning mass was said, the Lord's Supper administered, and a sermon preached. All the Catholics who were within reach assembled, and their number was often very great. That religion which for nine hundred years had extended its sway over the island was now once more taught, with the additional zest of secrecy and novelty. Synods were held by stealth; a printing press was set up, first in a village near London and afterwards in a lonely house in a neighbouring wood; Catholic writings suddenly reappeared, composed with all the skill which constant practice in controversy gives, often with elegance, and calculated to make deeper impression from the mystery of their origin. The immediate consequence of these publications was that the Catholics ceased to attend the Protestant service or to observe the ecclesiastical laws of the Queen; and that on the other side the contest of opinions was carried on with greater vehemence, and persecution became more severe and crushing."[1]

Jesuit Emissaries in England.

In 1585 was passed an Act[2] to protect the country from Jesuits, seminary and other priests, deacons and members of religious orders, who are stated to have of late years been coming into the Queen's dominions with a view to drawing her

[1] Ranke, *Popes*, i., 419.

[2] 27 Eliz., c. 2, *Statutes at Large*, vi., 349, against Jesuits, seminary priests and other such-like disobedient persons; Gee and Hardy, 485. Began in Lords 6th February; in Commons, 9th March; passed 19th. One of forty-nine Acts which had the royal assent, 29th March (D'Ewes, *Journals of Parliament in the Reign of Elizabeth*, pp. 319, 321, 362, 364, 370; *Lords' Jour.*, ii., 90, 91, 108).

subjects from their obedience and stirring up rebellion. It is enacted that all such persons are by a given day to depart the realm, and if the Queen's born subjects they are to be punished as traitors; all who receive or relieve them as felons. Subjects of the Queen abiding in foreign seminaries contemplated by the Act must return home and take the oath of supremacy, on pain of being adjudged traitors. Severe penalties were enacted against those sending children abroad for education without special licence, and those withholding information of Jesuits residing within the realm.

Such dangers called for an efficient pulpit ministry. Henry Bullinger, who died 17th September, 1575, continued to the last year of his life in correspondence with those English bishops who as Marian exiles had such good reason to prize his friendship at Zurich. In a tabular view of the *Zurich Letters* [1] his name in contact with those of Bishops Jewel, Pilkington, Horn, Grindal, Parkhurst, Sandys, Cox is of constant occurrence. The last epistle addressed to him, dated 25th January, 1575, was from Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely,[2] who remarked, in allusion to his old age and occasional illnesses: "Should you discontinue your literary exertions, I shall in the meantime content myself with what you have by the blessing of God written heretofore to his glory and the edifying of his Church".

Bullinger's fifty sermons were arranged in five "decades," ten sermons going to each decade, the entire set being always referred to as *Bullinger's Decades.* They originally appeared in three separate volumes in the reign of Edward VI. In 1577 the *Decades* were first edited in an English translation.[3]

In 1586 Archbishop Whitgift greatly exerted himself to secure the study of these sermons by ministers of the Church of England under the degree of M.A. and not licenced preachers, seeking the co-operation of all the bishops of his province. They were enjoined to read over a sermon of the *Decades* every week, taking notes of it in a manuscript book, to be periodically submitted to some learned brother appointed in his neighbourhood.

One result of the activity of the seminarists was that in 1593 an Act [4] was passed for discovering the traitorous attempts daily

[1] *Zurich Letters*, ii., p. xvii. [2] *Ibid.*, i., 314.

[3] In 1849-50-51-52 the *Decades* in English were edited by the Parker Society, with a biographical notice of Bullinger prefixed to *Decade V.* in vol. iv., wherein at p. xx. may be seen a bibliographical account of the work.

[4] 35 Eliz., c. 2, "Restraining Popish Recusants to some certain places of abode," *Statutes at Large*, vi., 427; Gee and Hardy, 498.

practised by persons who, terming themselves Catholics, are spies and intelligencers for the Queen's enemies, and under pretext of religion and conscience, wander and shift from place to place in the realm to seduce the Queen's subjects to rebellion. Popish recusants, as these were called, above sixteen were to repair to their places of abode, and not remove above five miles of it, and attend the legal church services, on pain of forfeiting their entire property; or, if of no property, of departing the realm. The Act contains a form of submission, in which the recusant humbly acknowledges his offence in absenting himself from church, and testifies in his conscience that the Bishop of Rome has not, and ought not to have, any authority over the Queen or in the Queen's dominions. He protests his intention to obey the law, repair to church, hear divine service, and do his best to defend it. The declaration of conformity so made, always in church on some Sunday or festival, during service, before the sermon or the gospel, to be entered by the curate in a book kept for the purpose, and a certificate of it sent to the bishop.

Puritan Controversy.

The maintenance of the Elizabethan Reformation in form carries us back once more to the Act of Uniformity. During the early part of Edward's reign the minister's legal apparel in divine service had been that of the Sarum Use, until on 9th June, 1549, the first Book of Common Prayer was enjoined, when the dress was somewhat modified. But on the 1st November, 1552, the second Book of Common Prayer came in, ordering complete simplicity of apparel, yet this prevailed for no longer than eight months, until Edward's death, 6th July, 1553. Thus the Edwardian Reformation was in part associated with Romish ceremonial, and it was uncertain what line would be taken when Elizabeth came to the throne. For the first five months of her reign the Marian vestments were alone legal, and Parliament declared them permissible for two months longer. The first utterance we know of bearing on this matter came in a letter from Gualter of Zurich to the Queen, 16th January, 1559, assuring her, in the language of a familiar saying, that "the *new piece* of evangelical doctrine will not suit the *old garments* of superstitions".

Ceremonial change.

The points from which more particularly to begin an account of the Elizabethan Puritans are the four following: (1) The

Ornaments Rubric of the Prayer Book of 24th June, 1559,[1] directing the minister to use such ornaments[2] in the church as were in use in the first Prayer Book of Edward.[3] (2) A passage in the Uniformity Act of 1559 stating that the said ornaments shall be retained and be in use until "other order" be taken by the Queen with the advice of her ecclesiastical commissioners under the great seal or of the metropolitan.[4] (3) Another passage of the same Act authorising the Queen, in case of contempt or irreverence of the ceremonies, to ordain others with like advice.[5] (4) The Royal Injunctions of July, 1559, directing the clergy to be apparelled as in the last year of Edward.[6]

On 30th April, 1559, two days after the passing of the Uniformity Act, before the royal assent and before the printing of the Prayer Book, a leading Reformer in London, Dr. Sandys, was speculating with his friends on the probable design of the Act in requiring the retention and use of the First Prayer Book Ornaments enjoined in clause 25. He remarked: "Our gloss upon this text is that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the meantime shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the Queen".[7]

This surmise of Sandys is supported by two considerations. Many of the Sees were vacant, while the rest were soon to become so. Many cathedral clergy also were retiring, making it quite possible for the mass vestments to be surreptitiously removed for the chance of more favourable days. Then again the visitatorial Injunctions of 1559 nowhere ordered the vestments of this clause to be worn, while the forty-seventh directed inventories of them, and a number of discarded service-books, to be delivered by the churchwardens to the visitors.[8]

The Injunctions enforced.

In July, 1559, the visitatorial Injunctions began to be enforced. The thirtieth, on the clergy being properly apparelled, commanded that archbishops, bishops, the clergy and members of the universities should wear "such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps" as were

[1] *Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth*, Parker Society, 1847, p. 53.

[2] Including the minister's officiating attire.

[3] More exactly "by the authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.".

[4] 1 Eliz., c. 2, § 25; *Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth*, 32; Gee and Hardy, 466.

[5] The same Act, § 26.

[6] *Injunctions*, xxx.; Gee and Hardy, 432; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 225.

[7] Sandys' letter in the *Parker Correspondence*, p. 65; quoted in Cardwell, *Conf.*, 36.

[8] Gee and Hardy, 435; Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 228.

most commonly received in the last year of Edward VI. The forty-seventh Injunction, as before mentioned, orders church-wardens to deliver to the visitors inventories of vestments, copes and other ornaments, plate and books. The garments here referred to included those for the celebration of mass in previous days, and there is no discernible trace that the wearing of these was being enforced. The need of the inventories was urgent, as the episcopate, by deaths and deprivals, was almost depleted, not a single reformed bishop having then been appointed. Had it been intended to compel the use of those habiliments, the news from Scotland was sufficient to make the authorities pause. On 1st August, 1559, this intelligence had just reached Jewel from the North: "Every thing is in a ferment in Scotland. Knox, surrounded by a thousand followers, is holding assemblies throughout the whole kingdom. . . . All the monasteries are everywhere levelled with the ground; the theatrical dresses, the sacrilegious chalices, the idols, the altars, are consigned to the flames, not a vestige of the ancient superstition and idolatry is left." [1]

On 5th November, 1559, Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr that he and his party were exerting themselves to have the "theatrical habits" extirpated even to the lowest roots.[2] He probably meant trying to be rid of all future danger of the mass vestments, and all present use of the surplice, which he disliked. On 4th February, 1560, Bishop Jewel wrote in much agitation to Peter Martyr. The crucifix controversy is at its height; a discussion is to come off on the morrow under moderators selected by the Council between Archbishop Parker and Bishop Cox on the one side, Bishops Jewel and Grindal on the other. "As far as I can conjecture I shall not again write to you as a bishop; for matters are come to that pass that either the crosses of silver and tin, which we have everywhere broken in pieces, must be restored or our bishoprics relinquished." [3]

On 4th March, 1560, Bishop Cox tells a foreign friend that there is no open quarrel, yet not entire agreement, as to the crucifix in churches, the inveterate danger of idolatry being alleged against it by objectors. "But we are in that state," he adds, "that no crucifix is now-a-days to be seen in any of our churches." [4] At some date not mentioned Bishop Cox when appointed to administer the Sacrament before the Queen in her chapel, long hesitated to do it in a place he thought so dis-

[1] *Zurich Letters*, i., 39.
[2] *Ibid.*, 52.
[3] *Ibid.*, 68.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii., 42.

honoured by images, and only consented at last "with a trembling conscience".[1]

On 1st April, 1560, Bishop Sandys tells Peter Martyr: "We had not long since a controversy respecting images. The Queen's Majesty considered it not contrary to the Word of God, nay rather for the advantage of the Church, that the image of Christ crucified together with those of the Virgin Mary and St. John, should be placed as heretofore in some conspicuous part of the church, where they might more readily be seen by all the people. Some of us bishops thought far otherwise, and more especially as all images of every kind were at our last visitation not only taken down, but also burnt, and that too by public authority, and because the ignorant and superstitious multitude are in the habit of paying adoration to this idol above all others. As to myself, because I was rather vehement in this matter, . . . I was very near being deposed from my office and incurring the displeasure of the Queen. . . . Only the Popish vestments remain in our church, I mean the copes, which, however, we hope will not last very long." [2]

Through 1560 the ceremonial or ritual controversy assumed a new aspect by becoming associated with the crucifix and tapers of the Chapel Royal, and with the Queen's known taste for the exhibition in public worship of some leading images, as those of Mary and John. We can hardly be wrong in attributing to her, as her contemporary critics evidently did, the desire to propagate a ritual order, to set a model of national worship, which should find their way through the parish churches of England generally.

The ritual and ceremonial disputes we have been dwelling on were further developed by the Queen's tour in the eastern counties, on which she set out 14th July, 1561. The new bishops had been in their Sees from twelve to eighteen months, and Elizabeth may have been wishing to view with her own eyes the ecclesiastical situation, with an intention of exercising in some way more or less direct her prerogative of Visitor of the Church in that personal sense allowed her by statute.

She journeyed on horseback, attended by the Court and her Secretary of State, Sir William Cecil. On 12th August, 1561, while the royal party was at Ipswich, Cecil wrote in great trouble to Archbishop Parker describing the confusion and lawlessness which had been observed in the Church.[3] "I see a great variety

[1] Strype, *Annals*, i., pt. 1, 260; in *Zurich Letters*, i., 66 *n.*
[2] *Zurich Letters*, i., 73.
[3] *The Parker Correspondence*, 148, referring to Suffolk and Essex.

in ministration. A surplice may not be borne here. And the ministers follow the folly of the people, calling it charity to feed their fond humour. Oh my Lord, what shall become of this time?" Such of course were the reflections of the Queen who arrived back at St. James's, September $\frac{12}{22}$, 1561.[1]

On 20th August, 1562, Bishop Parkhurst thankfully reported that the crucifix and the candlesticks of the Queen's Chapel were broken in pieces and burnt to ashes, blighting the expectations of the Papists. But on 26th April, 1563, he announced that they were shortly afterwards brought back, though the candles are never lighted, which once were lighted daily.[2]

On 16th August, 1563, Laurence Humphrey consulted Bullinger respecting the habits, namely, "that round cap and Popish surplice," enjoined by command of the sovereign as successor to the Pope in jurisdiction. May habits of this kind, he asks, be worn in Church by pious men lawfully, and with a safe conscience, at the sovereign's command, for the sake of order, not of ornament?[3]

The Puritans.

The language ever on their lips of purifying the Church from every sign of the Papal days, still so recent and so bitter a memory, brought upon certain ardent English reformers the designation of *Puritans*.[4] The year 1564 has been assigned as its date, when the clergy, many of them morbidly scrupulous on these points, were being increasingly pressed to signify an allegiance to the Anglican liturgy and articles, in close and constant touch with the royal supremacy, the Act of Uniformity, the Court of High Commission. The leading incidents of a long and bitter quarrel exerted an unhappy influence to the end of Elizabeth's reign.

The disorder complained of by the Queen on her eastern tour in 1561 instead of mending went on from bad to worse, until on 25th January, 1565,[5] a royal epistle, in the tone of a supreme visitor and corrector of the Church, an epistle apparently very much needed, was addressed to the archbishop directing him and the other ecclesiastical commissioners[6] to devise a remedy. Here, then, was the very state of things contemplated by the Uniformity Act. The Queen did see contempt and irreverence, and as one possessed of the requisite authority

[1] *Zurich Letters*, ii., 61 *n*. [2] *Ibid.*, i., 122, 129. [3] *Ibid.*, 134.

[4] Fuller's *Church History*, iv., 327, ed. Brewer, 1845; Neal's *Puritans*, i., Preface, p. vii., 1822 ed.

[5] *The Parker Correspondence*, 223.

[6] *Ibid.*, 225. The body meant was the High Commission Court which we saw started on 19th July, 1559 (Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 255).

stepped in. Archbishop Parker, in obedience to this peremptory letter addressed to him by the Queen, jointly with the other bishops in commission[1] with him, drew up the necessary regulations, which they signed on 8th March, 1565.[2] They were laid by Cecil before the Queen, who refused to put her hand to them, and so they were returned to the archbishop.

The first violent public symptom of Puritanism as a disorder occurred at St. John's College, Cambridge, one day in December, 1565,[3] when the students, who ought to have appeared at chapel in their surplices, came without them. That incident is an early landmark in the present branch of this history. It was just two years after the rising of the Council of Trent and while the Papal Church was springing to its feet all over Europe. As the Puritan trouble proved so very trying at Cambridge, while it was little or not at all so at Oxford, it may be well to recollect how terrible must have been the memories of Marian days at Cambridge in comparison with those of the sister university. The great stronghold of Puritan disaffection was the metropolis itself, and in seeking for the reason we are driven to think of the spirit that must have been propagated among its independent citizens from the days of Hunne and the Lollard tower in 1514 to those of the fires at Smithfield and Stratford-le-Bow. As an extreme reaction after the Papal tyranny Puritanism can readily be considered to have seated itself in London with even greater stubbornness than at Cambridge. The intense bitterness with which men had come to dwell on the recent past must surely account for much of the letting loose of this strife. Yet it was impossible to suffer anarchy on the great scale that now threatened. The outlook was truly formidable. The intolerance of the Puritans which the Queen found in the eastern counties in 1561 with the connivance of the bishop himself, the wilfulness of the junior Cambridge men in 1565, were alarming signs. The restiveness of even Bishop Jewel is not to be forgotten, though too much need not be made of it, as his discontent was no public condemnation of the surplice, being confined to a private letter to a foreign friend. The Queen, the Government, the Archbishop may well have felt uneasy. As to the vestments, their revival, with all the Queen's partiality for them, was a sheer impossibility in 1565, when hardly the surplice was endured. A hope was entertained that if the nonconforming clergy in London, their

[1] Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 321 *n.*, 1844 ed.

[2] *The Parker Correspondence*, 234.

[3] Strype, *Parker*, 1821, i., 390. Other colleges acted similarly.

stronghold, were brought to submission, obedience would follow all over England.[1] Accordingly on 26th March, 1566, the London clergy were summoned before the archbishop in the metropolis, where, being beyond his own diocese, he acted apparently as an ecclesiastical commissioner.

The London clergy then numbered 107 or 108, of whom nine or ten absented themselves and ninety-eight attended. Only sixty-one of these promised conformity, while thirty-seven, a truly formidable proportion, refused. The recusants were suspended and threatened with deprivation in three months, but only a few of the thirty-seven appear to have submitted.[2]

The *Advertisements.*

The regulations before mentioned, dated 8th March, 1565, which were drawn up by the ecclesiastical commissioners, and which the Queen declined to sign, were once more, on 28th March, 1566,[3] two days after the mutiny of the London clergy, placed in the hands of Sir William Cecil, to be by him submitted to Her Majesty. They bore the short title *Book of Advertisements*,[4] and were signed by six bishops with other ecclesiastical commissioners. What the Queen said this time to the regulations is not recorded; but it is stated in Strype [5] that the Queen issued a proclamation [6] peremptorily requiring uniformity in apparel, thus ratifying so much of the *Advertisements* as related to apparel. In May, 1566, as the date is calculated, the *Advertisements* appeared in print. Opinions are divided on the question whether the *Advertisements* are to be regarded as amounting to the "other order" contemplated in section 25 of the Uniformity Act of 1559. Those who adopt the negative view reason thus: The Act requires that the "other order" should be given by the Queen acting with the advice of the commissioners. The *Advertisements*, however, are neither signed by the Queen nor headed "By the Queen," and are not the Queen speaking at

[1] Parker to Cecil, 26th March, 1566 (*The Parker Correspondence*, 270).

[2] *The Parker Correspondence*, 270.

[3] *Ibid.*, 271.

[4] The document is in Gee and Hardy, 467, with short title only and no signatures; in Cardwell (*D. A.*, i., 321), subscribed by six bishops, "Commissioners in causes ecclesiasticall, with others," and with the following title: "Advertisements, partly for due order in the publique administration of common prayers and usinge the holy sacramentes, and partly for the apparell of all persons ecclesiasticall, by vertue of the queenes majesties letters commaunding the same, the 25th day of January, in the seventh yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne lady . . . ".

[5] *Parker*, i., 427, and in Harrison's *Hist. Inquiry*, 107, both referred to in the Case for Counsel, printed in Appendix I. of the *First Report* (1867) *of the Commission on Ritual*, p. 134, col. 1.

[6] In March, 1566 (Case for Counsel, 134, col. 1).

all, but only the commissioners, and therefore cannot be the "other order" of the Act.[1]

On the affirmative side it is said: The commissioners in the most open manner, in the very title, besides most fully in their Preface, declare that they speak by the Queen's express orders publicly conveyed to them in her letter of 25th January, 1565, which commanded them to do the very thing they are by these regulations seeking to do. But when persons bearing the Queen's commission act on the terms of that commission it is in fact the Queen herself acting by her commissioners.

This view was taken by Roundell Lord Selborne, who elaborated and defended it more than once,[2] stating on one occasion that neither the sign manual nor the formula "By the Queen" is essential to the validity of a document of this nature.

The *Advertisements* had actually the effects of law; their rules were enforced, their penalties carried out, and without appeal. Subjected now to a coercion from the Crown, not to be escaped as it seemed supported by the Supremacy Act, while they had utterly defied the bishops, the recalcitrants were helped to a new grievance, which never afterwards died out, that the Church of England was being governed by the civil power, contrary to the first principles of the Gospel.

The *Advertisements*[3] prescribed that, in ministering, the surplice (or else the cope, according to the place and circumstances), with hood, was to be worn; but out of doors the cap and gown. The cope (a species of cape) was not, any more than the surplice, a priestly garment, being sometimes worn by lay choirmen on high days, as the surplice was by them on ordinary days. The hood was academic, as were also the cap and gown. By strictly prescribing all these the *Advertisements* did in effect abrogate the mass vestments, which are not named, and both

[1] This view is taken by Short, i., 401, who however states that "the proclamation of the Queen gave, as it were, the sanction of law to the *Advertisements*". On the authority of the *Advertisements*, Cardwell, *D. A.*, i., 287-88, argues that the *Advertisements* had not the Queen's official sanction through lack of her signature, but were left to be enforced by episcopal authority, supported by her known personal approval. Other writers take the same view, laying stress on the absence of the royal signature.

[2] In a Joint Opinion on a Case for Counsel, 1866, followed by reasons in detail (*First Report of the Ritual Commission*, 1867, p. 139); in a Joint Judgment as Member of the Committee of Privy Council in the Folkestone (Ridsdale) Ritual Case, 1877, afterwards defended individually, as now printed in his *Life* (*Memorials Personal and Political of Roundell Earl Selborne*, 1898, i., 391). Mr. Francis Barrow, another counsel in the Joint Opinion, argues separately to the same effect (*First Report of the Ritual Commission*, p. 140).

[3] Gee and Hardy, 470; Canons xxiv. ("according to the *Advertisements*"), xxv.

kinds of dress could not be worn at one time. Under the action of episcopal visitations the vestments rapidly disappeared, being destroyed or defaced, so that when Elizabeth's Reformation was ten years old they had been all swept away.

Two leaders, Cartwright and Whitgift, in 1569, 1570, carry us back to Cambridge and to a very obstinate conflict four or five years after the surplice outbreak at St. John's. Thomas Cartwright, the Margaret Professor, actually advocated the Puritan cause from the university church, being replied to from the same place by one of equal eminence, Dr. John Whitgift, Master of Trinity College and some years afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. The rival preachers were listened to with the keenest interest by throngs of gownsmen for something like a year. At the end of 1570, Whitgift being then Vice-Chancellor, the university authorities refused any longer to tolerate the professor's assaults on Church order. Cartwright was silenced in the pulpit and deprived of his chair. About the time when Cartwright was silenced and deprived, the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Cox, a warm friend of the Reformation, wrote, on 12th February, 1571, a forcible and most melancholy description of the Puritan spirit as it came under his eye within his diocese. His See was in sufficient proximity to Cambridge, with which also as diocesan he was in official relations, to keep him intimately acquainted with all that went on there. Only when we see from a letter like this how intensely the conflict was raging in the parishes can we realise the gravity of these disorders as they presented themselves to the university authorities who were training the clergy for their work. Had Cartwright done no more than raise an academical dispute he might perhaps have been tolerated; as a leader in a general revolt he could not possibly be. Bishop Cox thus describes the Puritans: "They inveigh in their sermons, which are of too popular a character, against the Popish filth and the monstrous habits, which, they exclaim, are the ministers of impiety and eternal damnation. Nothing moves them; neither the authority of the State, nor of our Church, nor of her most Serene Majesty, nor of brotherly warning, nor of pious exhortation. . . . By the vehemence of their harangues they have so maddened the wretched multitude and driven some of them to that pitch of frenzy, that they now obstinately refuse to enter our churches, either to baptize their children, or to partake of the Lord's Supper, or to hear sermons. . . . They seek bye-paths; they establish a private religion and assemble in private houses, and

The Puritan Revolt.

there perform their sacred rites, as the Donatists of old and the Anabaptists now."[1] The date of this letter is important, for it was in 1570 that the Papal Bull *Regnans* against the Queen and Reformation of England had been affixed to the gate of the Bishop of London's palace. At the very time when Bishop Cox wrote the Parliament which enacted the statute for ministers to be of sound religion was sitting. While the reinvigorated Papal world was forging engines for the demolition of English reform, while English bishops and Parliament were making so gallant a defence, the Puritan scruples were being advocated with the quarrelsome spirit and deadly effect described in Bishop Cox's letter.

In the village of Wandsworth, on the Surrey bank of the Thames, three miles above Lambeth, five from the city, the first presbytery ever known in England was formed,[2] in the year 1572, its authors being some of the London clergy deprived in 1566. With no separate building, no published programme which would have revealed them to the law, they started their secret worship in private houses, and their history is necessarily obscure. The bishops were well acquainted with this presbytery, though unable to discover the members who composed it. The presbyters printed their regulations, denominated the "Orders of Wandsworth," for private circulation.

In 1572, probably about the middle of May, there appeared a publication, privately printed, entitled *Admonitions to Parliament*,[3] emanating from the Wandsworth presbytery, but anonymous. It acquired great notoriety from the controversy to which it gave rise, and it is often referred to by Hooker. The collective *Admonition* is a landmark in the history of the Puritans, formulating some entirely new demands on their part. Previously they had scrupled to wear the cap and the surplice ; but now their objections took a much wider range, including all regulations which did not conform to the platform of Geneva.[4] Besides numerous alterations in the Prayer Book, in the administration of the Sacraments, in the government of the Church, they demanded the election of ministers. An *Answer* to the *Admoni-*

[1] *Zurich Letters*, i., 237.

[2] Marsden, *Early Puritans*, p. 61, says "a meeting house was erected" ; Neal, *Puritans*, 1822, i., 243, says they "erected a presbytery"—another thing.

[3] Parliament sat, in 1572, from 8th May to 5th June. The *Admonitions*, which were a series of articles, are also cited collectively as *An Admonition*, issued in the form of a book or "libel".

[4] Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.*, Preface, ch. ii., sec. 10. Neal's *Puritans* may also be consulted.

ion[1] appeared in or soon after September, 1572, by Whitgift; whose old Cambridge antagonist Cartwright brought out a *Reply* to this in 1573; then followed, in 1574, Whitgift's *Defence of his Answer;* in 1575, Cartwright's *Second Reply;* in 1577, the *Rest of his Second Reply*. Whitgift's *Defence of his Answer*, occupying nearly three volumes, is a very thorough work. He takes up the *Admonitions* (all of them short) one by one; under each he reprints his *Answer* to it; then Cartwright's *Reply;* finally, his own *Defence*. It gives a complete view of the Puritan controversy so far as it had then gone.

On Saturday, 17th March, 1576,[2] soon after the translation of Archbishop Grindal from York, articles were presented to the Convocation of Canterbury to secure the admission of fit persons to the ministry of the Church. All candidates for orders were required to subscribe the Thirty-Nine Articles, and all preaching licences previous to 8th February were declared void, but might be renewed free of cost to approved applicants. The object of this measure was to disqualify undesirable clergy officiating by licence only who refused to conform. But it was often eluded, and many disaffected ministers conformed outwardly and retained their positions as curates and lecturers, with the view, as Neal states, of "recovering the discipline of the Church to a more primitive standard,"[3] in other words, to replace the Episcopal constitution of the Church of England by the Presbyterian. They associated themselves in secret and held private assemblies. They went about organising the clergy of their way of thinking in a sort of underground committees, named "classes," acting as presbyteries like the one at Wandsworth, though externally conforming to Church order. These classes in their gatherings ruled how much of the Prayer Book should be omitted, and how far the bishop might be conscientiously obeyed; they determined also the fitness of candidates for holy orders. By such tactics was intended, not a secession from the Church of England, but what they called a reformation of it, an entire subversion of its existing constitution and the substitution of another in close alliance with the Church of Geneva. This was the only possible way by which a body of

Puritan disaffection.

[1] *An Answere to a certain Libel intituled An Admonition to the Parliament*, in Whitgift's *Works* (3 vols.), i., 48, Parker Society, 1851, 1852.

[2] Strype, *Grindal*, p. 288, under marginal year 1575 (O.S.). Saturday, the 17th, makes it 1576. Grindal was translated to Canterbury from York, 10th January 1576. Neal's *Puritans*, referring to Strype's *Grindal*, enters on this subject (i., 276, 1822 ed.).

[3] Neal, *Puritans*, i., 277.

private members out of all sympathy with the very principles of their Church constitution, believing only in an ideal of their own, could ever hope to attain their end. In this subtle movement Thomas Cartwright, a keen and practised controversialist, was the literary leader, feeding with his numerous stimulating tracts the secret propaganda worked by obscurer agents moving about from place to place.[1]

In 1580 a treatise with a Latin title, *De Ecclesiasticâ Disciplinâ*, in English *The Book of Discipline*, printed at Geneva, showed the high-water mark of the Puritan war. Advancing far beyond such details as rules and regulations, it attacked the citadel, in a formal assault on the Church's Episcopal constitution, declaring for the Presbyterian principle as the only one sanctioned by Scripture.[2]

There were two reasons why this movement was a truly formidable one. First, the most influential churches of the Reformation on the continent, those following the model established by Calvin at Geneva, were Presbyterian, and we confine ourselves here entirely to these, leaving out of view the Lutheran churches, which in constitution more nearly resembled the Episcopal. The growing influence of the church-constitution framed by Calvin at Geneva was spreading the notion far and wide that Presbyterianism was the natural and proper form for the Reformation to assume, and the Episcopal the reverse. Then further, the Episcopal element in the Scotch Church had been virtually suppressed by much the same tactics as were now being pursued in England. It must not be supposed that the Scotch Church was at that time without bishops. The bishops existed, but were merely titular. They sat in the Scotch House of Lords, but had no duties in the Church, where all things were in the hands of the presbyteries; they remained even possessed of their ancient estates, though compelled by law to divide the proceeds with the presbyterian ministers. This virtual deposition of the bishops was no doubt chiefly owing to the fact that they were in determined opposition to the Reformation, stubbornly Papal. But a like result in England might have appeared quite feasible

[1] Proceedings of this kind are alluded to in the Canons of 1603-4: *ministers not to hold private conventicles*, the "conventicles" being not prayer meetings, but consultative gatherings for depraving the Prayer Book (Canon lxxiii.; see also xi.). When clerical meetings began in later years they had to be extremely cautious, and in order to escape suspicion durst not open and close with prayer, or assemble elsewhere than at an inn.

[2] Hooker, *Life* by Walton in *Works*, Oxford ed., 1841, i., 24; *Works*, i., 298 *E. P.*, III., vii., § 4).

if only a widespread antipathy and distrust could be created against the bishops. It seems clear that some such hopes of overpowering and supplanting the southern episcopate were being indulged when the English Puritans were cultivating the close intercourse with the Scots noticed by Hooker's biographer.[1] That real danger existed from the Puritan tactics is plain from the example of the Channel Islands. Guernsey, Jersey, and the sister islets, after having come under the Elizabethan Reform and been assigned to the diocese of Winchester, were, owing to their proximity to France, whose tongue they also used, quickly brought under the influence of the French reformed pastors who flocked to the islands as refugees, winning over the people to presbyterian ideas. The Bishop of Winchester, not formally renounced but in all spiritual matters practically repudiated and simply titular, existed for the twenty or thirty island parishes merely to confer, through the ceremony of institution, a legal title to their livings on ministers selected, appointed, ordained, in presbyterian assemblies. So things continued, at least for Guernsey, about a century. To some similar model had Scottish episcopacy been already reduced, while Puritan emissaries were seeking to do the same for the episcopate and Church of England. That Cartwright himself was in some sort of alliance with the presbyterian movement in the Channel Islands would seem certain, as in 1597 he and a colleague Mr. Snape are seen there in conspicuous positions.[2]

Allies of the Puritans.

Two classes of allies in public life were forthcoming in the later years of Elizabeth, and the Puritans as a party did not scruple to avail themselves of both. In the House of Commons at this period there arose a novelty in parliamentary proceedings, a regular Opposition, its aim being to curb Court dictation. The Puritans, whose chief object it had become to resist Episcopal authority, soon discovered how much there was between themselves and this new political party, and the two gravitating towards each other coalesced. The Puritans began their rise as a political force in the State from this time. In the year 1589 a most disgraceful attack was made on the Elizabethan Episcopate by means of scurrilous tracts, written anonymously, and known in the mass by the title of its worst specimen, *Martin Mar-prelate.* This was the instrumentality that would vilify the episcopate, make it ridiculous,

[1] Hooker, *Works*, i., 25, 41, Oxon. ed., 1841.

[2] On these matters see Falle's *Jersey*, pp. 193-98; Duncan's *Guernsey*, pp. 333-38.

reduce its authority in the Church to a nonentity, and so practically bring in the presbytery as the only real power until bishops could be abolished. The year which developed this policy, 1589, followed the Armada year, 1588; so there once more was a double assault of enemies from opposite sides on the Church that was sustaining the English Reformation.

The great opponent of the Puritans, a man who wrote not only for his own age but for all time was Richard Hooker of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, an early *protégé* of Bishop Jewel. On 17th March, 1585, he was appointed through the influence of Sandys Archbishop of York to the mastership of the Temple, a post which he held for six years, until 1591. The afternoon preacher, Walter Travers, who was in office before Hooker came, had been Hooker's unsuccessful competitor for the superior position, and now remained his pulpit antagonist. Travers, one of the stiffest of Puritans, had been at Trinity College, Cambridge, in Whitgift's time. Whitgift knew him well, and had no doubt of his being, as was commonly reputed, the author of the *De Ecclesiasticâ Disciplinâ*. His orders were not English, but Genevan[1] and Presbyterian, and that he should on such a footing have occupied this post at the Temple, that he should have found supporters among the members of that society, and even at Court, shows how strong a position the Puritan body then held in the bosom of the English Church. Under Hooker and Travers the Temple sermons were in marked contrast, and the saying was that Geneva spoke in the afternoon and Canterbury in the morning; an antithesis, however, that related simply to matters of discipline, for in the great doctrines of salvation the two preachers were mainly agreed. In 1591 the gentle soul of Hooker longed for retirement, chiefly that he might digest his Temple sermons into the form of a treatise. Archbishop Whitgift procured him the living of Boscombe, six miles north-east of Salisbury, and there he framed his great work, *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. In treatment it was exhaustive like Whitgift's *Defence*, but in another way. Whitgift's work was highly polemical in form and structure as well as in substance, putting point against point in whatever direction his adversary carried him, a method most useful for the immediate purpose, but rendering the work only valuable in later times to the historian. The *Ecclesiastical Polity*, on the other hand, is an artistic

Richard Hooker.

[1] Ordained at Antwerp (Walton's *Life of Hooker*, Hooker's *Works*, i., 41), then under Genevan discipline.

composition of permanent value, starting from first principles, rising like a massive temple from its own deep foundations, known, read and prized in every subsequent age of the English Church. The first four books appeared in 1594, the fifth in 1597; the sixth, seventh and eighth in 1604 were posthumous.

Hooker, briefly summarising the argumentative position reached in his *Ecclesiastical Polity,* claims to have shown that (1) we are not required by the law of God or by human reason to alter that form of polity established by law in the Church of England; (2) the Church government enjoined in the *Book of Discipline* has not been proved to be, as alleged by its supporters, the ordinance of Christ.[1] In the Church history of his period Hooker affords us the invaluable guidance of an acute and dispassionate observer of facts, the nature and meaning of which he narrates in temperate and unprovocative language, after seeking fairly and honestly to understand them. The rise of the Puritan movement from its source at Geneva under Calvin, to its later development, stand boldly out in the luminous pages of his Preface.[2] While, however, we prize so greatly the *Ecclesiastical Polity,* his sermons deserve equal recognition, especially that on justification, which witnesses that the Church of England, as represented by Hooker, continued a "Standing Church" among the sisterhood of the reformed.

Elizabethan theology Calvinistic.

On certain difficult points of Scripture doctrine, those, for instance, which concerned election and predestination, the Articles of the Church of England adopted the interpretation of St. Augustine, whose authority as a Christian father remained for centuries after his death paramount in the Western Church.

At the period of the Reformation Augustine's views derived quite a new currency in the hands of the French reformer John Calvin, whose *Institutes of the Christian Religion* [3] appeared in 1535. At Geneva, where on 13th September, 1541, he finally settled, Calvin, on 20th November, 1541, succeeded in organising its reformed Church [4] on a plan, Presbyterian in principle, which was eventually adopted, with more or less variation, in most of the countries of the Reformation, in France on 29th May, 1559,[5] in

[1] Preface, i., 2, in *Works*, i., 89, Oxon. ed., 1841.

[2] From Preface, ii., 1, in *Works*, i., 90. He makes honourable and instructive mention of Calvin, explaining how circumstances guided him into the path he took.

[3] *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*, Basel, August, 1535; Felice, *Protestants of France*, 1853, pp. 38, 40; Paul Henry, *Life of Calvin*, tr. Stebbing, i., 70.

[4] Dyer's *Calvin*, 125, 132, 147.

[5] Felice, 64-67.

Scotland in 1560; and his prodigious influence as an expositor and an organiser procured for his doctrinal system a very wide acceptance. This system, especially on the points above adverted to, was commonly called Calvinistic, the name of Augustine, from whom so much of it was borrowed, being almost forgotten. Calvinism obtained some footing, but not in any extreme form, in the Articles of the Church of England adopted by Convocation in 1563. This remained the complexion of English pulpit divinity during the whole Elizabethan period. The Elizabethan divines, in short, were more or less Calvinistic, the staunchest churchmen and the most obdurate Puritans alike. In all their disputes about conformity Calvinism remained undisputed. On the great doctrines which were reckoned vital, good men of both sides appealed to each other as brethren. Mosheim writes: "Calvin governed the doctrinal belief of both the Puritans and the Church party".[1] The word "Geneva" in the reign of Elizabeth called up no contentious ideas in matters of doctrine, but only those of rites and ceremonies and Church discipline, as, *e.g.*, at the Temple Church. Hooker was a Calvinist, though of a very moderate type. Hooker's patron, Archbishop Whitgift, who steadily opposed the Puritans, favoured extreme Calvinism. It was at his palace and under his sanction that the famous *Lambeth Articles* were drawn up in 1595. They asserted a very strong form of Calvinism, and it was attempted to impose them upon the clergy, though without success.

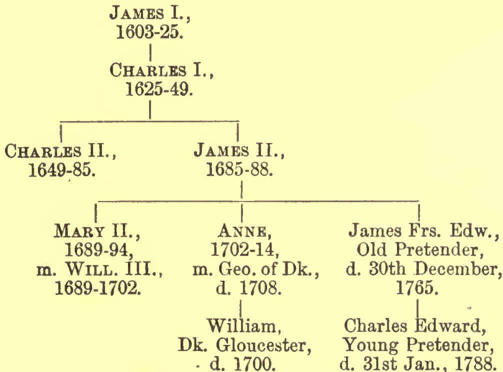
[1] Mosheim, iii., 55, ed. Stubbs, 1863. See also Bishop Moule's *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*, 1890, pp. 53, 54.

CHAPTER VIII.

EARLY STUART CHURCH.

JAMES I., 24TH MARCH, 1603–27TH MARCH, 1625.

JAMES I., first of the Stuart Kings of England, descended from Margaret Tudor sister of Henry VIII., was born at Edinburgh 19th June, 1566. Succeeding his mother Mary Stuart as James VI. of Scots 24th July, 1567, he assumed the government of Scotland in 1578. By Queen Elizabeth on her deathbed he was declared her successor as heir to the crown of England, the two kingdoms then being separate.



The Millenary Petition, 1603.

A petition presented by the Puritans in April, 1603, to James on his way to London after his accession,[1] and called "millenary" from the large number, not of its signatories, of which there would appear to have been none, but of its promoters, formulated the demands of the better section of the Puritans. The petitioners describe themselves as "ministers of the Gospel in this land," "neither factious men affecting a popular parity in the Church nor

[1] Gardiner, i., 148 *n.*; Gee and Hardy, 508. The document bears no date.

schismatics aiming at the dissolution of the State ecclesiastical, but . . . desiring and longing for the redress of divers abuses of the Church".

In the Church service they object to the cross in baptism, interrogatories to infants, confirmation, baptism by women, the cap and surplice,[1] bowing at the name of Jesus, and various things of much more consequence. Other heads contain objections of an extremely sensible character and abuses which might still interest the serious Church reformer.

The Puritans represented by this petition are regarded by Cardwell[2] as men who "inherited all the antipathy of their predecessors to the cross and the surplice, but looked upon them no longer as badges and tokens of Romanism. They were now the outward signs of an Episcopal Church in subjection to State authority, and in this light were held in still greater abhorrence, as offending more directly against original principles." The petitioners were, says Cardwell again,[3] "regarded by many persons in high station with much compassion and respect; who, with more of zeal than of judgment, thought it their duty to protest against unnecessary observances, earnestly wishing to exercise their spiritual calling within the pale of the Church, but inheriting from recent controversies an acute and morbid sensitiveness as to things indifferent". Among those who regarded this class of Puritans with respect and sympathy, Cardwell mentions Sir Francis Walsingham, the second Lord Burghley, Sir Edward Coke, Francis (afterwards Lord) Bacon. He also thinks that it was not expedient or even practicable to give the nonconformist Puritans a recognised footing within the ministry of the Church, it being as much a matter of conscience on the one side to preserve what the Church had ordained as it was on the other to reject what their own private judgment had condemned.[4] During the whole period of the puritanical controversy in England the only proper method on the part of authority was one of moderation, consistently of course with the duty of guarding the positive and necessary laws of the Church.

James I. early desired to heal the quarrel which had so long vexed the national Church, and inviting the heads of both parties to Hampton Court Palace, held a few days' conference with them, 14th to 18th January, 1604.[5] The Church authorities and

[1] No other articles of dress are mentioned, showing that the mass vestments were gone.

[2] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 121.

[3] *Ibid.*, 124.

[4] *Ibid.*, 146.

[5] Old style, 1603.

the Puritan divines, led respectively by Archbishop Whitgift (now very near his end) and Dr. John Reynolds President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, faced one another before the King without any signs that they really wanted to agree even in small matters. Bishops and doctors, equally with Puritan divines, had inherited their antipathies from the previous reign. The King, too, had brought from contact with the Presbyterians of Scotland strong aversions of his own. So everything went contrary ; what they met about fell through ; what nobody had previously thought of and nobody could dissent from was agreed on, a new version of the Holy Bible. All believed in Scripture ; all loved to feel its English voice ; yet in Church life, which is the brotherhood of Christians, they were poles apart. The year was the year of the Gunpowder Plot, a plot which was the fruit of the Roman awakening, of the Seminarist activity, of the Bull *Regnans*, of the underground mission of Parsons and Campion, and with them serving only to render more impossible the Papal claims.

Hampton Court Conferences, 1604.

A revision of the Elizabethan Prayer Book of 1559, occasioned by the Hampton Court Conference, was carried out under James I.'s direction by the ecclesiastical commissioners, and on 9th February, 1604, was allowed and ratified by the King [1] by virtue of his supreme authority and prerogative royal conferred on him by statute. It was authorised and enjoined by a royal proclamation dated 5th March, 1604,[2] to be alone used in the churches. In this book was added the second part of the Church Catechism treating of the two sacraments. Various occasional prayers and thanksgivings with sundry small additions were also inserted.[3] The Ornaments Rubric remained unaltered. This book, though not enacted by Parliament, superseded the Elizabethan in use, and was not abolished until 1662. Another result of the Hampton Court Conference was the compilation of 141 Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, which were subscribed by Convocation, 18th May, 1604 ; [4] received the royal

[1] In a letter addressed to the archbishop and the commissioners, to be seen in Cardwell, *Conf.*, 217-25.

[2] Given in Cardwell, *Conf.*, 225 ; Gee and Hardy, 512 ; bearing date 5th March, 1603 (O.S.).

[3] The new matter is to be seen in the King's letter of 9th February, 1604, as above.

[4] Lathbury, *Convocation*, pp. 202, 215 ; Wilkins, iv., 378. Convocation sat 20th March to 9th July, 1604, portions of two years (O.S.), originating the double date, 1603-1604, sometimes seen, though the subscription was in 1604. The Canons accompany the Oxford University Press edition of the *Homilies*, and are prefaced by a royal statement of their origin and authority.

assent, but were never ratified by Parliament. They enjoined the use of the Revised Prayer Book,[1] directed the Bidding Prayer (not however here so called) to be recited before sermons.[2] Christ's Holy Catholic Church is here defined as "the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world," and the people are moved to pray "especially for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland," the Church of Scotland being then Presbyterian. The Canons gave special directions as to the apparel of the clergy both in [3] and out [4] of church. The mass vestments, such as the chasuble, alb, tunicle, are not mentioned. A cope is ordered for the principal minister in the Holy Communion in cathedrals and collegiate churches "according to the *Advertisements published anno* 7 *Eliz.*," [5] and the use of the surplice for all the rites of the Church in other churches.[6] "The King's Supremacy over the Church of England in causes Ecclesiastical [7] is to be maintained." Ministers are not to hold private conventicles for depraving the doctrine of the Prayer Book.[8]

The reign of James I. was marked by the early adoption of some new doctrinal principles among the non-Puritan portion of the Church of England, not without warning from an influential quarter, where Puritanism could not be suspected and as a discipline did not exist. In this last respect Archbishop Bancroft, Whitgift's successor, was a hammer of Puritans. In 1607, presumably on his initiative, his chaplain Thomas Rogers dedicated to him a book on the Thirty-nine Articles, the first expository treatise, we believe, which had appeared of what had in 1571 been ruled by the nation as expressive of "sound religion". The chaplain, significantly asserting that the Church of England was where she was, having altered nothing, thus in his Preface declared himself: "The Church of England is not in religion changed or variable like the moon, nor affecteth novelty or new lessons, but holdeth steadfastly and consciously that truth which by the martyrs and other ministers in this last age of the world hath been restored unto this kingdom, and is grounded upon God's written word, the only foundation of our faith".[9]

[1] Canon lxxx., where the King's prerogative is given as the authority for the revision.

[2] Canon lv., which gives the form.

[3] Canons xxv., lviii. [4] Canon lxxiv. [5] *Ibid.*, xxiv.

[6] *Ibid.*, lviii. [7] *Ibid.*, i. [8] *Ibid.*, lxxiii.

[9] *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion professed and protected in the Realm of England, expressed in Thirty-Nine Articles*, Preface (unpaged), § 29, ed. 1629, dated 11th March, 1607.

To come nearer to the point, Arminius, a Dutch divine, in 1591 abandoned the views attributed to Calvin, then generally prevalent in the reformed world in favour of what is now known as Arminianism. He died in 1609, without having published his speculations in any systematic form. In 1618 an assembly of divines, summoned from all the reformed Churches, met in the Dutch town of Dort, sitting from 13th November to 29th May, 1619, to discuss the doctrines of Arminius; four representatives were sent by the King, not by the Church, to represent England, the two best remembered of them being Dr. Davenant Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and Joseph Hall afterwards Bishop and author of the *Contemplations*.[1] The decision, which went against the Arminians, was couched in very strong terms, and in Holland was carried out in a persecuting spirit. The discussion turned on what are known as the Five Points of Calvinism: 1. Predestination and Election. 2. The efficacy of Christ's death in human redemption. 3. Human corruption. 4. Conversion to God. 5. Final perseverance of the saints.

Rise of Arminianism.

Arminianism may be said in a general way, as against Calvinism, to ascribe too much to the power and initiative of the human will. The Arminian tendency may exist, like the Calvinistic, in a modified degree in various individuals; yet it may also run dangerously near or into Pelagianism.[2]

The Laudian teaching, which began to prevail in the reign of James I., was in two main directions, that commonly known as Apostolical Succession, and that which may be described in a general way as Arminianism; to bring out which more distinctly we commence a short historical view of certain matters at Oxford from about the accession of James. In 1602 William Laud, a fellow of St. John's, aged twenty-nine, in some academical exercise maintained "the constant and perpetual visibility of the Church of Christ derived from the Apostles to the Church of Rome, and continued in that Church, as in others of the East and South, until the Reformation". This discourse (not extant) obtained for him the enmity of Dr. George Abbot, Master of University College. On 6th July, 1604, Laud was made B.D. For his exercises he maintained (1) the necessity of Baptism; (2) no true Church of Christ without diocesan

The Laudian School.

[1] The others were George Carleton Bishop of Llandaff and Dr. Samuel Ward Master of Sydney Sussex College.

[2] Dr. Moule Bishop of Durham gives a summary in his *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*, p. 54.

bishops. For the last he was assailed by Dr. Holland, the divinity professor, who complained that he was raising discord between the Church of England and the foreign reformed Churches.[1]

How novel this opinion of Laud's then was is evident from the fact that in 1619 Bishop Lancelot Andrewes[2] expressly disavowed it in the name of his Church to the French reformed divine Peter Dumoulin the elder; while throughout the reign of Elizabeth and until long after that of James I., the Bishops of Winchester, Andrewes among them (1619-26), without protest from the rest of the Church, officially admitted to the benefices of the Channel Islands,[3] which belonged to their diocese, ministers trained in the Presbyterian colleges of France, called and ordained by the Presbyterian authorities of the Islands.

On 21st October, 1606, Laud preached at St. Mary's before the university. A charge of Popish tendencies was brought against him on account of the sermon, and this reached Cambridge, where Joseph Hall, as generally believed, wrote expostulating with him on his unsettlement in religion. "To-day you are in the tents of the Romanists, to-morrow in ours, the next day between both, against both. Our adversaries think you ours, we theirs."[4]

In 1610 Dr. George Abbot, archbishop-elect,[5] wrote to Thomas Lord Ellesmere, recently elected Chancellor of Oxford, urgently representing that Laud was a Papist at heart, and associated with none but avowed or secret Papists, and should not be promoted to any office at Oxford. At Christmas the Chancellor complained of Laud to the King. On 10th May, 1611, Laud was elected President of St. John's College, and on 29th August the election, which had been disputed, was confirmed by the King. On 3rd November Laud was sworn the King's Chaplain.[6]

These passages indicate the spreading of new ideas in the Oxford world, but they were of native growth rather than importations from the Dutch. There is in them a breath of patristic

[1] Le Bas, *Life of Laud*, pp. 7-10; Heylin's *Laud*, p. 49, ed. 1671.

[2] Referring to the English Episcopal Church polity (*politia*), Andrewes repudiates the opinion "vel quòd sine eâ salus non sit, vel quòd stare non possit ecclesia" (Andrewes' *Opuscula*, p. 191, in the Anglo-Catholic Library edition of his *Works*).

[3] Duncan's *Guernsey*, 334, 342, 345; Falle's *Jersey*, 196, 209, 216.

[4] Le Bas, 12, 13.

[5] Translated from London, 4th March, 1611, in succession to Bancroft, who died 2nd November, 1610.

[6] Laud's *Diary;* Le Bas, 18, 19.

lore, but one of another tone altogether from that which was familiar to Jewel in the earlier generation. If we would properly account for it, the current of the Roman Counter Reformation must be consulted, and that historic sentiment gauged which, accompanying it, is associated with the name and great work of Baronius. It was far from the thoughts of this annalist simply to investigate the origins and the course of the history of the Church. The dominant purpose was to impress the reader with the conviction that the Church of Rome of that day was exactly the Church of the Apostles and no other.[1] It was a sentiment of the most seductive kind, giving the assurance of a lineal descent from St. Peter and the Holy Catholic Church which, when tradition was levelled up to Scripture, satisfied every misgiving. The first volume appeared in 1588, and in 1607, while engaged on the thirteenth, the author died. Destitute of the needful learning and critical skill, Baronius erected what, before Pagi's elaborate annotations made it quite a new work, was but an imposing house of cards, which a competent critic could demolish in a moment as in Casaubon's *Exercitations*.[2] It was while the *Annales* were being issued, and before Casaubon had reached England to begin his criticisms, that Laud, in his fellowship days was using the glamour of Church antiquity to furnish an ideal apostolical succession and an ideal Catholic Church which should unite him as an Anglican with the Greek, the Roman, the Cyprianic Churches, and thrust far away those of the continental Reformation. It was to this account Laud turned the episcopate that Cranmer had saved for the Church of England. It may not have been that he aspired to become another Pole, to pronounce over kneeling England the Roman obedience. This he disavowed, and no doubt sincerely. But he longed to cultivate the sentiment of a visible though undefined, yet vital communion of Episcopal Protestantism with unreformed East and West, an ideal alarming and intolerable to the Oxford that cherished a sense of succession from the school of Parker and Hooker, loyal to the standards of "sound religion" embraced in 1571 by the nation of Elizabeth. But the real danger of Laud's use of Church antiquity lay in his making it an authority not, like Jewel, a witness only, than which use of it nothing could be more valuable, more safe. To take it as authoritative was to

[1] So Mark Pattison, *Casaubon*, 366 *n.*, quoting Baronius.

[2] *De Rebus sacris et Ecclesiasticis Exercitationes XVI. ad Baronii Annales*, London, 1614, fol.; Pattison, 539.

surrender Scripture and betray the passes of the English Reformation.

It was more in this propagation of his Church views that Laud's own Oxford teaching seems concerned. We do not observe from him any actual exposition or utterance of the Dutch Arminian tenets. Yet there can be no doubt that at this time in Oxford the two currents, though distinct, were allied, forming a "school of opinion," and wherever one of them was seen the other was not far away. A visit of Casaubon to Oxford on 18th May, 1613, in company with Sir Henry Savile, Provost of Eton and Warden of Merton College,[1] puts us on the track of Oxford Arminianism, though in no direct connection with Laud. The warden and his guest on that day heard a disputation in the divinity school, at which the Regius Professor, Robert Abbot Master of Balliol and brother of the archbishop, moderated, and in a manner which Casaubon greatly approved. "On the critical question of 'faith and works,' for which all ears then were highly sensitive, he entirely satisfied Casaubon's judicial mind. He took, as became his office, a moderate position, not repudiating the Calvinism of the old school, and making sufficient concession to the Arminianism of the new. It was well known that his own habits of thought attached him to the Calvinistic side, and that he had no sympathy with the new Anglo-Catholic modes of thinking which were rising into consideration and were being pushed by the younger zeal of Laud."[2] Another prominent Oxford divine whom Casaubon met was John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter and afterwards Regius Professor of Divinity, who "like Abbot inclined to the old Puritan or Calvinistic party in the university, and was very obnoxious to the young Arminian set". Pattison further observes: "The glimpse we get of the interior of the University of Oxford during Casaubon's visit, transient as it is, is yet one of the most intimate which chance has transmitted to us from that age prior to the time of Anthony Wood. . . . The great marking fact within was the antagonism of the two Church parties—the Puritan-Calvinistic party in present possession, the Arminian ritualistic rising by aggressive acts and words; St. Mary's pulpit the arena, the sermons the event of the week. The ecclesiastical interest absorbs or overwhelms every other."[3]

What Laud himself really taught in the Arminian direction is more than we would undertake to say. He was no theologian in the stricter sense of the word, but a strong Church politician.

[1] Pattison, *Casaubon*, 398. [2] *Ibid.*, 400, 401. [3] *Ibid.*, 417.

All his influence as an ecclesiastic was employed in advancing those who actively avowed the Arminian name and distinctive teaching, and in that sense, if in no other, he was the chief promoter of the Arminian revolution in English pulpit divinity. Mr. Mark Pattison, in reference to the new school, in its double aspect of Church antiquity and Arminianism, observed in 1875 [1]: "The change of face which English theology effected in the reign of James I. is, to our generation, one of the best-known facts in the history of our Church. But it is often taken for granted that this revolution was brought about by the ascendancy of one man, whose name is often used to denominate the school as the Laudian school of divines. Laud was the political leader, but in this capacity only the agent of a mode of thinking which he did not invent." We shall do well to take note of this, and to think of Laud as the product of his time, not the originator, not the inventor of the incoming school, but as its promoter only, still the one by whom it may continue to be most justly, as well as most conveniently, designated. It may be added that this "new face" in Anglican divinity was not accompanied by any alteration in the Anglican standards, which remained precisely as they stood when Hooker wrote his sermon on justification. Whether or no it was suspected, as this controversy advanced in the reign of James I., that the Arminian position came perilously near the Pelagian, disavowed in the Articles, it is a noticeable fact that in 1618, the year of the Synod of Dort, the great work of Bradwardine, *De Causâ Dei Contra Pelagium,* issued from the press under the auspices of Sir Henry Savile, after his splendid and costly Greek folios of Chrysostom in the interest of Patristic theology.

The Doctrinal Puritans.

Since it was chiefly the Puritans who adhered to the Elizabethan divinity, that divinity soon came to be stigmatised as *Puritan doctrine*. Then, again, as these later or post-Elizabethan Puritans differed so markedly from their opponents in doctrine, while the Elizabethan Puritans differed not at all from theirs, it is common to designate the later Puritans as the *Doctrinal*, in contradistinction to the earlier, who differed from their opponents in discipline and Church constitution, but not in doctrine. It is needful, however, to remember when "doctrinal Puritans" are mentioned, that it was not they who changed their doctrines. They simply kept to the old when others became Arminian.

[1] Pattison, *Casaubon*, 299.

In England men's minds had been already getting unsettled upon the points now so warmly debated, and what usually happens took place then. Extremes begat extremes. The spirit of the victorious party at Dort spread to England and seized the more ardent defenders of the old doctrine. Those whose minds had been wavering were repelled in the opposite direction. King James himself, who came from Scotland a Calvinist, embraced the Arminian view; the episcopate was consequently recruited from the new party, and in a very short time all the higher posts in the Church were held by Arminians. Thus the current pulpit divinity of the Church of England was changed. We may place the beginning of this important revolution before the Synod of Dort and before Casaubon's visit to Oxford, while it had reached an advanced stage in or about the year 1620.

King James, in a declaration of 24th May, 1618, sanctioning Sunday sports, gave the following account of the occasion and motive of his action.[1] Passing through Lancashire on his return from Scotland in 1617, he rebuked "some Puritans and precise people" who were complained of to him as prohibiting and unlawfully punishing those occupied in lawful sports and honest exercises after afternoon service on Sundays, giving occasion to the numerous Papists of Lancashire, now gradually conforming, to hold back in their conversion through the alleged dulness of the Church of England Sunday. The royal pleasure, therefore, is "that after the end of divine service our good people be not disturbed from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation, nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, and Morris-dances; and the setting up of May-poles and other sports therewith used; so as the same be had in convenient time without neglect of divine service; and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old custom; but we do account still as prohibited all unlawful games to be used upon Sundays only, as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and at all times in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited, bowling". Popish recusants, and those conformists who on a given day are absent from church, are forbidden to mix in the sports. This declaration was to be

[1] "The King's Majesty's Declaration to his Subjects concerning Lawful Sports to be used" (Gee and Hardy, 528). The document thus headed is the one subsequently reissued by Charles I., 18th October, 1633, embodying (with additions) James's earlier one of 1618, which latter, as there cited, we are using.

published, by an order from the bishop, in the parish church, and was to apply to England generally.

If things here could not have meant so bad as an actual design of obliterating a day devoutly and religiously observed—for, alas, Sunday amusements had already been popular under Elizabeth—it was surely bad enough that men who were doing something to stem the tide should be flouted and baffled by such expressions of their King, in whom, while there is suggested a regulating and an expurgating of sports, a desire to attract people to Church and win the Papist, it is hard not to see a spiteful aim at the "precise people". That people would at all events think the worst interpretation, and believe that a lowering of the holy day in the parish greens of England was of a piece with an intention which they seemed to see, of repudiating the old divinity of its pulpit. Archbishop Abbot, who in this matter and some others, sympathised with the Puritans, refused to authorise the declaration to be read in Croydon Church, and thus probably stopped a royal injunction for it to be read in the churches generally.

Certain royal directions concerning preaching,[1] addressed to Archbishop Abbot, 4th August, 1622, give a vivid picture of what the English pulpit had become in reference to both religion and politics as James's reign drew to a close. No preacher under the rank of a dean at least might handle a theme outside the Articles or Homilies. Afternoon sermons on Sundays and holydays must be on the Catechism or else on some text out of the Creed, Ten Commandments or Lord's Prayer, while those preachers would be most approved of who occupied sermon time in catechising. The following clause reveals the exciting period of the Dortine controversies: "That no preacher of what title soever under the degree of a bishop, or dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to preach in any popular auditory the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility or irresistibility of God's grace; but leave those themes to be handled by learned men, and that moderately and modestly, by way of use and application rather than by way of positive doctrine, as being fitter for the schools and universities than for simple auditories". Questions of State and politics are to be avoided. Bitter invectives and indecent railing speeches against Papists and Puritans are prohibited in sermons.

[1] Gee and Hardy, 516.

CHARLES I., 27TH MARCH, 1625–30TH JANUARY, 1649.

At Charles's coronation, on 2nd February, 1626, a prayer disused from the days of Henry VI., as implying in Papal times too much ecclesiastical authority for a king, was revived: "Give him Peter's key of discipline, and Paul's doctrine";[1] a prayer which, when it is considered who became Charles's minister in discipline and guide in doctrine, may be thought prophetic of the Church history of this reign.

The direction of the young sovereign's sympathies was soon seen. For his guidance in Church preferment a list of prominent clergy, lettered with O. or P. to show who were the Orthodox and who the Puritan, was furnished by Laud,[2] now Bishop of St. David's, who was resident in London and who possessed great influence at Court. But the incident of Montagu and his book demands more particular attention, as an index of the marked turn which press and pulpit teaching had begun to take far beyond academic circles, indicating too how welcome the innovation was in the highest quarters, and how suspicious this symptom appeared to the people at large as they were given for the first time an opportunity of declaring themselves.

Richard Mountagu or Montagu, who had been for brief periods Dean and Archdeacon of Hereford, was in 1622 Rector of Stanford Rivers in Essex when he was called on to deal with a Papalist tract circulating in his parish against the Church of England, whose doctrine it called "the new Gospel". He shaped his part in the controversy by expressing equal contempt of the Roman teaching and of the current Elizabethan, which last was in favour with the people but no more liked by Montagu than by Rome. Two clergymen reported him to the Committee of Religion of the House of Commons and Montagu had to appear before Archbishop Abbot, who cautioned him. He then laid his case before King James, whose chaplain he was, and received the royal approbation, with which encouragement Montagu produced a treatise appealing to the King, with the title *Appello Cæsarem;* but before its appearance in print James had been succeeded by Charles and to him it was dedicated. On 1st July, 1625, the Commons' Committee again consulted the Archbishop, who saw difficulties in the way, and the House on 7th July, taking the matter into its own hands, censured Montagu on his knees by the mouth of the

[1] Heylin.

[2] Heylin's *Laud*, 127; Collier, viii., 1; Short, ii., 130; Gardiner, v., 363.

Speaker. There is a full account of this in the *Commons' Journals,*[1] and Montagu's calling the Papal Church a true spouse of Christ resting on the same foundation of doctrine and sacraments as the English is specially noticed as contradicting the nineteenth Article of the Church of England. The book stretches every point in the English system as far in the Roman direction as it can be made to go, leaving an impression that the treatise was Romanising by intention. In 1626 there appeared on the other side a long and scholarly treatise by George Carleton Bishop of Chichester, another royal chaplain. Carleton was well versed in the subject. As he had been one of James's four envoys to Dort, he was old enough to remember the development of Elizabethan theology and he was quite opposed to Arminianism, the advent of which he had watched. The line Dr. Carleton took is clear from the title of the work: *An Examination of those things wherein the Author of the late Appeal holdeth the doctrines of the Pelagians and Arminians to be the doctrines of the Church of England.* His dedicatory letter to the King affords some chronological landmarks. Since His Majesty's return from abroad[2] "two great dangers have assailed the kingdom, the plague[3] and the Pelagian heresy". The latter "hath been creeping in corners heretofore, but of late hath come in more public shew than ever before, and been dedicated to your Majesty in a book entitled *An Appeal to Cæsar,* wherein the author hath with confidence delivered the doctrines of the Arminians and Pelagians for the doctrines of the Church of England". Dr. Carleton's language is that of one seriously upholding what is being scientifically assailed, calling in St. Augustine to his aid, defending the Augustinian faith embodied in the Articles, but flouted by his opponent as unauthorised "Calvinism". In one passage furnishing a date Carleton complains that the doctrine opposed to the Pelagians and Arminians is now branded by Montagu as "*Puritan* doctrine": "This is the first time I ever heard of a *Puritan* doctrine in points dogmatic, and I have lived longer in the Church than he hath done".[4] His

[1] *Commons' Jour.*, i., 805, 806. The King's displeasure was intimated to the Commons on 9th July (Laud's *Diary*). Under 13th July Laud remarks of Montagu: "I was the first who certified him of the King's favour to him".

[2] On 5th October, 1623, Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham landed at Portsmouth from Spain, and on the following day were received in London with the greatest demonstrations of joy (Laud's *Diary*).

[3] Under 18th June, 1625, Laud says "the pestilence then began to be very rife".

[4] Carleton's *Examination*, p. 121. Under 23rd December, 1624, Laud delivered to the Duke of Buckingham "a little tract about *Doctrinal Puritanism,*" drawn up at His Grace's request and for his information (Laud's *Diary*).

final words are: "By that knowledge of divinity which is received amongst us and hitherto preserved these things cannot stand".[1]

This controversy was taking so stormy a turn that on 14th June, 1626, with the object, it is said, of shielding Montagu, a proclamation was issued against innovation in doctrine and discipline, and by virtue of it proceedings were instituted[2] for the suppression of writings against Montagu. In 1628, on the death of Carleton, Montagu obtained the See of Chichester.

We can but very feebly appreciate the depth and determination of the Puritan movement in James I.'s reign, and the ruthlessness of its victory in Charles I.'s, unless we keep in view the impetuous and increasing tide of the Papal advance in Europe generally. It is a poor view of history to imagine that trivial matters like a dress and a ceremony or two were at the bottom of England's irritation. A chief landmark in that advance which began in 1564 is the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648, in which the Roman Catholic powers of the continent were banded together for the destruction of the Protestant states and their churches. For the first twelve years (1618-1630) the armies under Wallenstein, Tilly, Pappenheim, ardent Romanists as well as consummate generals, were uniformly victorious, and their victories were accompanied with pitiless severity. A few dates will indicate the real ground of Protestant alarm. In 1622 Gregory XV. instituted the Propaganda at Rome for spreading the Roman Catholic faith.[3] That year an enormous increase of Romanism in Holland is reported.[4] In 1621-1622 the reformed cause in France greatly declined; one after another its fortified towns fell into their enemies' hands, one after another the reformed nobility apostatised. One bulwark remained to it, the maritime fortress of Rochelle, and that fell in 1628, early in Charles I.'s reign, through English remissness in succouring it, as English Protestants thought. The Roman Catholic advance was also characterised by missions for the conversion of the heathen. From old monasteries and new missionary colleges the Dominican Order and the Jesuit

The Papal Revival.

[1] Carleton's *Examination*, p. 236. We should not omit to note that while Carleton usually characterises the offending doctrine as Pelagianism, without qualification, another publication of 1626, *Parallelismus*, a short but careful tract in Latin, with an English counterpart, *Pelagius Redivivus*, more often applies to it the milder term *Demipelagianism*.

[2] Heylin's *Laud*, 147, 148; Le Bas, 88, 89.

[3] Ranke, *Popes*, ii., 69; Bull *Inscrutabili*, 22nd June, 1622, *De Propagandâ Fide*, *Bullarum Collectio Cocquelines*, tom. v., pars v., p. 26, Rome, 1756.

[4] Ranke, *Popes*, ii., 84.

Fathers were pouring forth in an incessant stream to all parts of the globe long before Protestants had planned a single mission. Those enterprises brought immense credit to the Roman Catholic cause. They captivated men's imagination with the prospect of a wide Papal empire reaching to the ends of the earth, at the same time that the genius of the Papal commanders in Germany was confirming the idea of their temporal dominion, while the fame of their bloody slaughters terrified and overawed the world. The impression created was that the Papal persecuting cause *must* win, the Protestant suffering one *must* lose.

England had no direct share in the Thirty Years' War, which therefore forms no part of English history. But Englishmen individually were intensely affected by it. First, *because* they were not in it. They were mortified by the contrast between their own days and those of the great Elizabeth when England supported and headed the reformed cause everywhere. A constant stream of volunteers linked the sympathies of English, and more especially of Scotch, families with the war. Then, too, James's daughter the Princess Elizabeth, a darling of Englishmen, married to the Elector Palatine King of Bohemia, was a chief sufferer in this war. In 1630, after twelve years of uninterrupted Papal triumphs in the Thirty Years' War, a break came, when Gustavus Adolphus, the Protestant King of Sweden, began to take part in it. The army which he carried over into Germany succeeded by a series of battles and marches in turning the tide of victory in a glorious manner, and his name as the Protestant Hero of the North, born to retrieve a falling cause, became a household word in every corner of Europe. Brief as his career was, terminating by his fall at Lutzen in 1632, it had an immense effect, shedding a light that was never extinguished on the hopes of the Protestant princes. The spell cast by the Papal victories was broken for ever, and in the remainder of the contest the Protestant armies obtained their share of success. That thirty years' struggle, closely followed in England through all its vicissitudes, was the second great event after the Marian fires which served to endear the Reformation to Englishmen generally. In the first they bitterly suffered ; in the second, they were deeply moved and shocked. Within the thirty years occurred three frightful atrocities on a great scale, never to be wiped out of historic record. In 1620 the Protestant Alpine valley of the Valteline, and in 1631 the Protestant city of Magdeburg, were delivered up to massacre ;[1] in 1641 occurred the great massacre of Pro-

[1] Ranke, *Popes*, ii., 65-66 ; Schiller, *Thirty Years' War*, 143, ed. Bohn, 1846.

testants in Ireland. These tragedies went to swell the older list of the attempted destruction of the Court and nobility in England in 1604; the Armada invasion of 1588; the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572. A period marked by events like those was well calculated to popularise the Protestant name as designating the reform party everywhere. In the Church of England men of every shade of opinion described themselves by it, Laud and his school no whit less than others.

Queen Henrietta, the consort of Charles I., a French Romanist, held her own court in the palace of Somerset House[1] in the Strand, and there in a chapel added specially for her use, Roman Catholic worship was openly maintained by a staff of priests and confessors. This conspicuous mansion thus publicly identified with Romanism was a galling sight to Londoners in days when the celebration of Mass was illegal. King Charles himself was commonly suspected of being led in religious matters by the Queen.

Laud.

Laud Bishop of London, 1628-1633, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1633-1645, may be reckoned, in all intention, loyal to his Church. On 12th March, 1644, at his trial, he averred:[2] "I am as free from all practice, or so much as thought of practice, for any alteration to Popery, or any way blemishing the true Protestant[3] religion established in the Church of England as I was when my mother first bare me into the world". But Laud had little credit among the people for his Protestantism, and for two reasons: (1) He was a prime mover in the Arminian defection, in fact the pillar and support of the whole Arminian party. The adherents of the old opinions, now led by the Puritans, had the strongest suspicion, as the Montagu case shows, that with Arminian doctrine in their hearts, the governors of Church and State were veering towards Rome. It was not simply that they regarded Arminian views as logically issuing in Romanism. That might not have so deeply moved them had the times been ordinary times. But they were emphatically Romanising times, times of a prodigious and general Roman advance. Moreover, there was in the Roman ceremonial much that Laud desired to revive in the English Church. His extravagant proceedings in the consecration of St. Catherine Cree Church, Leadenhall Street, 16th January, 1631, a detailed description of which survives, created the greatest sensation, and

[1] Rebuilt A.D. 1776-86. [2] *Autobiography*, Oxford, 1839, p. 346.
[3] Laud frequently uses the word (see *ibid.*, 323, 347, 352, 354, 422, 426).

was never forgotten. In his zeal for ceremonies Laud not only enforced those which had been appointed by law, but took delight in increasing the number of them. A preacher once observed that night was approaching, since shadows were growing so much longer than bodies, and ceremonies regarded more than the power of godliness.[1] Perceiving a growing disinclination to ceremonies, he sought to remedy the evil by enforcing them severely, with all the determination of a despotic and arbitrary will. Without substituting altars for communion tables,[2] he directed the existing tables, simply by his own will, and without law, to be placed altar-wise behind rails. He caused various genuflections and bowings to be made on entering and leaving church. Bishop Short, in his summary of Laud's character and administration, remarks that more perhaps than any other individual he was the secret cause of the downfall of the Church of England as an establishment in the time of the Civil War.

The Puritan Triumph.

The process by which the Episcopalian model of Church government was supplanted by the Presbyterian in England should not be misunderstood. It was not that a Presbyterian constitution fully formed and officered took the place of the Episcopal at a given moment, so that one Church was in and the other out, each complete in itself. The change came much otherwise. The Episcopal system was very gradually disintegrated by its incoming rival, so that it could not exactly be said when it came to an end, if it ever did come quite to an end. It was like a dissolving view, one picture gradually vanishing, the other gradually emerging, while the change was never actually completed. Why it should be often said that more than any one man Archbishop Laud was responsible for the Presbyterian triumph, may be briefly explained thus. The Episcopal hierarchy in general, through Laud's masterful predominance, had energetically promoted, in some cases initiated, the measures in the civil government of which the whole nation was loudly complaining and which the people were determined to stop. The Church, thus identified with an advanced anti-national party in politics, had become involved in all the parliamentary danger which now beset the monarchy itself, and had to take a full share in the retribution rapidly approaching. Laud, whose genius and wonderful influence with the clergy had made the Church an integral part of the governing

[1] Short, ii., 107.

[2] A table of wood, in no way resembling an altar, is said to exist at Christ Church, Westminster, presented by Laud to an older church.

system, was the main cause of the disaster now in store for her. At such a juncture Laud was absolutely without any effective countervailing support in the nation at large. There was no help visible; for the people had ceased to love the Church and its forms, or trust the Church and its teaching. Laud's uncompromising enforcement of the ceremonies on a reluctant flock left him with the whole episcopate open to the attacks of their enemies. Church people, interpreting his policy, however unjustly to him individually, as a systematic intention to help on the Papal advance in England with the combined power of Church and State, were fleeing by shiploads for refuge to the colonies; and in those accumulating dangers where a people's affection is the sole and sufficient ultimate hope, Laud and his suspected colleagues stood without any popular sympathy whatever.

On 13th April, 1640, in a most serious crisis of national discontent, a new Parliament met, from which much was hoped, but on 5th May was dissolved by the King to the people's great vexation. The contemporary convocation under Laud, taking a course unknown to the constitution, continued its sittings as a synod and passed a body of seventeen canons,[1] which covered the most important ground. Every officiating minister was on some Sunday in every quarter to insist on the divine right of kings, and on their prerogatives, in which the power of taxing was indirectly implied. Great severities were decreed against Papists, Socinians and all sectaries. Every clergyman and person taking a degree was to swear "that he would not consent to alter the government of the Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, etc.," a form which made the oath known as the "*et cætera* oath".[2] It was ordered that the communion table should stand as in the cathedral church; that it should be railed in, people approaching the holy table when they received the sacrament; that on entering and quitting the church they should do obeisance. Lord Clarendon remarks very severely on the unconstitutional character of the acts of this Convocation, adding that they "drew the same prejudice upon the whole body of the clergy to which before only some few clergymen were exposed". Short observes: "The canons themselves are such as prove the violence of those

The Canons of 1640.

[1] Gee and Hardy, 535, give their titles, referring for the full text in ten folio pages to Wilkins, iv., 543-53.

[2] Gee and Hardy, 536.

who framed them, and who must have been actuated by despair or fatuity to select such a time for their publication ".[1]

On 11th December, 1640, a petition was presented to the House of Commons by 1,500 persons on behalf of 15,000 Londoners who had signed it,[2] complaining of the novel theory which had been set up of the divine right of episcopacy. They urged that the government of archbishops, lord bishops, deans, archdeacons, etc., with their courts, had proved dangerous to the Church and to the Commonwealth; for having formerly, until these later times claimed to exercise their jurisdiction on human authority, they have now asserted it to have come immediately from Christ, "which is against the laws of this kingdom and derogatory to his majesty and his state royal". Their prayer is "that the said government, with all its dependencies, roots and branches, may be abolished and the government according to God's word may be rightly placed amongst us". In a long list of mischievous consequences alleged, the first three are: (1) the subjecting and enthralling all ministers under them and their authority, and so by degrees exempting them from the temporal power; (2) the faint-heartedness of ministers to preach the truth of God, lest they should displease the prelates; as namely, the doctrine of predestination, of free grace, of perseverance, of original sin remaining after baptism, of the Sabbath; against universal grace, election for faith foreseen, freewill; against Antichrist, non-residents, human inventions in God's worship; all which are generally withheld from the people's knowledge, because not relishing to the bishops; (3) the encouragement of ministers to despise the temporal magistracy, the nobles and gentry of the land; to abuse the subjects, and live contentiously with their neighbours, knowing that they, being the bishop's creatures, shall be supported. Other things complained of are the turning of the communion table altar-wise, setting images, crucifixes, and conceits over them, and tapers and books upon them, and bowing or adoring to or before them, terming the altar the mercy-seat, or the place of God Almighty in the Church, "which is a plain device to usher in the Mass".

On 3rd and 4th May, 1641, a Protestation, in the form of a promise and vow before God to maintain "with life, power and estate the true reformed Protestant religion expressed in the

[1] Short, ii., 109.
[2] The "Root and Branch" Petition (Gee and Hardy, 537).

doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish innovations,"[1] was signed by each member in attendance at both Houses of Parliament, the Lower on the first day, the Upper (where several bishops were present) on the second day. They made their protestation, as the preamble declared, "finding to the grief of our hearts that the designs of the priests and Jesuits, and other adherents to the See of Rome, have been of late more boldly and frequently put in practice than formerly, to the undermining, and danger of the ruin, of the true reformed religion in His Majesty's dominions established,[2] and that divers innovations and superstitions have been brought into the Church, multitudes driven out of His Majesty's dominions, jealousies raised and fomented between the king and people".

The following extracts from the *Journals of Parliament* and Laud's *Diary* summarise the final fall of Episcopacy:—

6th February, 1642.—By a resolution of the House of Lords the bishops were deprived of their votes in Parliament.[3] Laud adds: "Great ringing for joy, and bonfires in some parishes".

22nd August, 1642.[4]—The royal standard was hoisted at Nottingham and civil war began.

1st September, 1642.—The House of Commons voted the abolition of bishops, deans and chapters, and that night there were bonfires and ringing all over London, promoted by the new Lord Mayor. 26th January, 1643.—A bill to abolish Episcopacy passed the Lords.[5]

2nd May, 1643.—The Cross in Cheapside taken down.[6]

Westminster Assembly of Divines, 1643.

The abolition of bishops, and of convocation with them, necessitated some substitute to prevent ecclesiastical anarchy. There naturally followed a synod, which was formed of 121 divines, with thirty laymen, not elected like convocation, but nominated by Parliament. The great majority were Presbyterians, some were Independents, and some moderate Episcopalians. The sittings commenced, 1st July, 1643, at Westminster, in Henry VII.'s Chapel, the members of both houses of Parliament being present,

[1] Gee and Hardy, 545.

[2] The journals of the Lords and Commons, for the days stated, give the names of every signatory.

[3] *Lords' Jour.*, iv., 564, Bps. of Winch., Roch., Worc., protesting; *Commons' Jour.*, ii., 414; Laud's *Diary*, 288, where 6th February is wrong.

[4] Laud's *Diary*, 291. This is the accepted date; 25th August in one place of Clarendon is corrected in another.

[5] Laud's *Diary*, 292, 296; *Commons' Jour.*, ii., 747-48; *Lords' Jour.*, v., 572.

[6] Laud's *Diary*, 300.

and like those of the Long Parliament continued in permanence. The functions of the synod were both deliberative and administrative. As a deliberative body it discussed such subjects as were submitted to it by Parliament. As an administrative body it licensed the preachers and directed all ecclesiastical affairs. Thus it co-operated with Parliament in re-settling, or as they would say reforming, the doctrine, worship and government of the Church of England.[1] The assembly lasted five and a half years being dissolved 22nd February, 1649, soon after the King's death.

Solemn League and Covenant.

The Parliament everywhere defeated in the field sought to turn the scale by an alliance with Scotland, then a separate nation under the same King. The Scots would give their support only on condition that the English Parliament should unite with them in their National Covenant, which had then for five years formed the basis of all Scottish policy, civil and religious. The Scots also stipulated that one uniform Church polity should be established in the three kingdoms. Parliament did not like the terms, but, being in straits, complied. On 15th September, 1643, Scottish commissioners were admitted into the Westminster Assembly, which body on 25th September, along with the Commons, and in the presence of the House of Lords, in St. Margaret's Church, swore to the Covenant, the title of which in this English edition was altered to Solemn League and Covenant, the addition of "League" denoting that the two nations were in league together on the basis of the Covenant. The document opens : "We noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel" ; they have in view "the honour and happiness of the king's majesty and his posterity," as well as the extirpation of "popery, prelacy (that is, church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons)". The parties to this covenant thus pledged themselves to the King and the aristocracy, but to no ranks of the clergy except simple ministers. The fundamenta article of it was the abolition of the Episcopal constitution of the Church. Every one accepting the Solemn League and Covenant engaged to abandon Episcopacy. But the substitution of the Presbyterian polity in the Church of England or the Church of Ireland is nowhere expressly asserted. Neither "presbyter" nor "elder" occurs anywhere in the document. As to England and Ireland, in distinction from Scotland, the signatories pledged

[1] Neal, iii., 43, 46, 51.

their endeavours to reform religion "in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed churches," language in which the Independent and Presbyterian alike could join; the ambiguity being by no means without its effect in the progress of this revolution. One sentiment, however, united them for the moment. The signatories professed that they gave their hands as "calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God against the true religion and professors thereof in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion".

On 1st October the clergy of the London churches had to make their choice; on 15th October the Lords swore; while on 5th February, 1644, an Ordinance of Parliament directed that the League and Covenant should be applied to the whole nation,[1] laity as well as clergy, the first time a religious test had ever been forced on the laity.[2] Every clergyman whose conscience refused consent to these terms had to retire from his church. Thousands retired accordingly, but many remained, believing that Episcopacy, though right and best, was not essential, and that their Church did not oblige them to say that it was.

On the accusation of Sir Henry Vane, Laud Archbishop of Canterbury was seized and conveyed to the Tower, 1st March, 1641. His trial began 12th March, 1644, ending 29th July.

Archbishop Laud beheaded.

In November the Commons passed a bill of attainder against him, to which the Peers assented in January, 1645. He suffered on Tower Hill, 10th January, 1645, at the age of seventy-one. "The charges of treason which were exhibited against him," writes Short, "are too absurd to merit much discussion. He had doubtless tried to render the Government as arbitrary as he could, not to overthrow the constitution; he had endeavoured to alter the Church of Scotland; and these were sufficient reasons why the people of England might dislike him as a Prime Minister, but amounted no more to treason than to any other crime."[3] "The course of justice," observes Short again, and most truly, "was never more sadly perverted than when he was consigned to the block;" but no man had done more than Laud himself to anger and provoke the times that struck him down.

On 3rd January, and more effectually on 23rd August, 1645,

[1] Laud's *Troubles*, 317-18; *Commons' Jour.*, iii., 254; text in Gee and Hardy, 569; Neal, iii., 62. 2nd February for the whole people seems incorrect.

[2] Herbert Skeat, *Free Churches*, 51.

[3] Short, ii., 132.

a Directory of Public Worship, drawn up by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, was ordered by Parliament to be used in the place of the Book of Common Prayer.[1] Containing no actual forms, it gave directions for the subjects of prayer, and these were to be carried out by the minister at his own discretion, extemporarily or otherwise, even the prayers of the Liturgy being allowable except in specified particulars. Baptism might not be celebrated with sponsors or the cross, nor matrimony with the ring. The next step of Parliament was to set up the Presbyterian system of rule, which in its completeness consisted of a gradation, a hierarchy, of synods or presbyteries; as (1) the parochial, formed by the minister and ruling elders; (2) the classical presbytery, comprising a group or "class" of parishes answering to our rural deaneries; (3) the provincial synod or presbytery, embracing a group of classes corresponding to our archdeaconry; (4) the General Assembly for the whole Church body. This system was not organised in England except in a very partial manner. The Presbyterians were in the high tide of their political power not more than five years, from 1643, when bishops were abolished and the Westminster Assembly instituted, to 1648, when the party lost its predominance and had to give way to the Independent sect. A Church system which had been rooted for centuries could not be practically revolutionised in five years, a five years of civil war. The following particulars will show the steps which were taken. On 14th March, 1646, when three out of the five years had passed, an order was voted for ruling elders to be elected in all parishes.[2] On 29th January, 1648, after nearly another two years, orders were issued for dividing England into classical presbyteries.[3] As to provincial synods, only two were ever legally formed, one for London, one for Lancashire; while a General Assembly was never attempted, the Westminster Assembly of Divines answering the purpose of one.

A brief view of this maimed and imperfect system in action will not be without instruction. The London presbytery comprised twelve "classes," and 138 parochial presbyteries. It gathered twice a year at Sion College, London Wall, in the city, and met

[1] *Commons' Jour.*, iv., 9, 251; Scobell; Cardwell, *Conf.*, 242.

[2] *Commons' Jour.*, iv., 475; Neal, iii., 248.

[3] The day is fixed as Saturday, 29th January, 1647-48 (*Lords' Jour.*, x., 8). Scobell (p. 139, with date 29th January, 1647 (O.S.)) gives the text of the ordinance, which he calls 16 Car. I., c. 104, with the title "Classical Presbyteries and Congregational Elderships shall be settled".

for the first time 3rd May, 1647, the Lancashire provincial presbytery began meeting twice a year at Preston on 7th February, 1648.[1] In other parts of England provincial synods or presbyteries were but informally set up, assembling in voluntary conventions, which had no sanction in law.[2]

We see then in these five years of dominance not one church dispossessed and disestablished, with another stepping into its place, but the old Church partially presbyterianised maintaining a measure of its ground (without its bishops) in some quarters, losing it in most. The dissolving view halts before the conclusion. The old is not gone entirely, nor the new quite in possession. The historic continuity of the old Church was not absolutely interrupted through all this period.

Presbyterian Divine Right.

The Presbyterians claimed direct and exclusive Scripture sanction for their polity, admitting of no question, no second opinion at all. The advocates of Episcopacy were modest in comparison. King Charles in the depth of his misfortunes had two conferences with leading Presbyterians on the subject of Episcopacy, one at Newcastle single-handed, with Mr. Henderson, from 29th May to 16th July, 1646;[3] the other at Newport, Isle of Wight, commencing 18th September, 1648, assisted by Usher, Sanderson, Sheldon, Duppa.[4] But all they argued for was that Episcopacy was *allowed* by Scripture, that it was ancient, that it was expedient. They asserted no higher ground than that taken by Hooker and other Elizabethan divines. But Charles, on the ground he did occupy, was inflexible, asserting his Episcopalian principles unhesitatingly. He is called a martyr for the Church of England. He was one in this way. Had he surrendered in these debates, abandoning Episcopacy and acknowledging the Presbyterian *jus divinum*, the Presbyterians would probably have done their best to save his life. It is not certain they could have succeeded, for the Independents were now leading. But Charles refused to purchase even a chance of escape by any surrender of honest conviction. That was his martyrdom, and we of the Church of England can never cease to respect his memory for it.

Two remarkable results followed from the pretension of the

[1] Neal, iii., 416. [2] *Ibid.*, iii., 418.

[3] Charles I.'s *Works*, London, 1735, fol., pp. 210-33.

[4] The King's Newport papers or letters are dated 2nd and 6th October, 1st November, 1648 (*Works*, pp. 341-91). His three questions are near the end of the 6th October letter (p. 354, "Whether Christ," etc.), further referred to at pp. 373, 390, as being left unanswered.

Presbyterians to a divine right for their polity. They would tolerate no dissent. In 1645-46, being resolved to enforce Presbyterianism *jure divino* on all England uniformly, they caused a strong representation to be presented to Parliament in the name of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London,[1] supported by the whole weight of the Scottish nation.

They aspired to be in ecclesiastical causes above the civil authority, insisting on there being no appeal to civil courts from the decisions of the Church presbyteries. The London provincial synods held at Sion College in May and November, 1649, distinctly asserted the *jus divinum* of the presbytery and its independence of the civil magistrate.

In the two pretensions just named, the Presbyterians met with a powerful check from Parliament and from the Independents. The Westminster Assembly of Divines, by the desire of Parliament, drew up a statement of their views in reference to Church polity, and these were to the effect that Presbyterianism was of divine institution, a position which Parliament refused to admit, voting that Presbyterianism was "lawful and agreeable to the word of God".[2] As to the supreme ecclesiastical power, the scheme drawn up by the Assembly put it in the hands of the Church. Parliament refused its sanction, declaring that there should be an ultimate appeal to the legislature.[3] In vain did the Scotch, now so influential, object and protest; Parliament was inexorable, while asserting its readiness to go to the full extent of the Covenant, which was not committed to classical presbytery, a vital feature in the presbyterian *régime.*

Parliament, in fact, must have seen that the hierarchy of presbyteries and synods if carried out was an engine of enormous power, as it had already proved to be in Scotland; and it is hardly possible not to perceive that this ambitious spirit working in the Presbyterian mind was one cause why Parliament was so slow to complete the Presbyterian organisation, which never got beyond the ruling elders, the classic presbyteries, and the two provincial synods of London and Lancashire. Those two synods were in fact experimental, and the experiments, from the point of view of the civil government, were by no means promising. Parliament had now succeeded to the supremacy of the Crown, and still the Puritan spirit fretted and protested. So it must ever

[1] *Lords' Jour.*, vii., 714; viii., 104, 20th November, 1645, 16th January, 1646.
[2] Neal, iii., 241.
[3] *Commons' Jour.*, iv., 310, 15th October, 1645; *Lords' Jour.*, vii., 649, 714, 20th October, 20th November, 1645; Neal, iii., 242, 244; Short, ii., 147.

be. The civil power, in whatever name exercised, monarchical or republican, will and must assert its supremacy over all causes and persons, civil and ecclesiastical.

In 1647 the Westminster Assembly drew up its *Confession of Faith* and its *Shorter Catechism*, in 1648 its *Longer Catechism*, composed with much ability and in doctrine strongly Calvinistic. Parliament sanctioned their use with the exception of those articles in the *Confession* relating to Church government.[1] Here again the Presbyterian Puritans equally with their episcopal rivals of preceding days resorted to Parliament for the national enactment of their faith, as previously of their worship. It is noteworthy that the English Reformation at the end of a century had thus become altered by public authority in two of its main particulars, its doctrine and its form.

[1] Short, ii., 143.

CHAPTER IX.

THE COMMONWEALTH CHURCH.

The Independents.

THE sect of the Independents in its leading principles may be traced back to the Brownists of Queen Elizabeth's time; but it was much later, not until about 1642, the year the Civil War broke out, that the name[1] arose. In 1644-47, the time when Presbyterian spiritual pretensions were so extravagant, when the hierarchy of presbyteries was being established and no dissent was allowed, the Independents came forward as the champions of toleration. As Puritans, opposed to the Episcopal Church, the two parties were agreed; but in Church life they were leagues apart from one another, the Presbyterian system requiring a hierarchy of synods, while the Independents asserted the very contrary, the self-control of each separate congregation. The scorn cast upon the entire organisation of the Presbyterians by their Puritan rivals equalled that which they unitedly poured upon the Episcopal system, if we may judge by the scathing verses of the great Independent poet, who thus addresses the "new forcers of conscience" apparently in 1647 or 1648:—

> Because you have thrown off your prelate lord,
> And with stiff vows renounced his liturgy, . . .
> Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword
> To force our consciences that Christ set free,
> And ride us with a classic hierarchy? . . .
> NEW PRESBYTER IS BUT OLD PRIEST WRIT LARGE.[2]

Thus when Episcopacy was in the dust and its mouth stopped her oppressor is told with a ringing voice that he is bringing in a more tyrannical edition of the Laudian priest.

The Independent triumph may be reckoned as dating from 6th December, 1648, the day on which, by a deed of violence called *Pride's Purge,* Cromwell's soldiery under Colonel Pride seized possession of Parliament and placed the Government

[1] Mosheim, iii., 370 *n.*, col. 1. [2] Milton's *Miscellanies.*

under the control of the Independents. This was even before the Presbyterian organisation had far advanced in the country, and doubtless must have hindered its completion. Milton's furious poem may be considered as having given the signal. On 30th January, 1649, occurred the tragedy of the King's death under the domination of the Independents, converting the Presbyterians, who had remained royalist on the whole, into the political opponents of Government once more, and to some extent therefore into allies of the Episcopalians, just six years after the parliamentary abolition of Episcopacy. As they were still numerically a powerful body in the country, their influence in Parliament continued strong.

6th February, 1649.—The House of Lords was voted by the House of Commons useless and dangerous.[1] On that day the *Lords' Journals* end with a very brief entry [2] until 1660.

22nd February, 1649.—The Westminster Assembly of Divines was abolished.[3]

17th March.—The kingly office was by a vote of the Commons declared abolished.[4]

19th March.—The House of Lords was by a vote of the Commons declared abolished.

On 11th October, 1649, it was decreed by Government that every person admitted to office in Church or State should subscribe a brief form engaging and pledging him to be faithful to the Commonwealth, "as it is now established without a King or House of Lords". This Engagement has been called the Independent covenant.[5] The Act abolished the obligation of subscribing the Solemn League and Covenant.[6] The effect of the Engagement was to draw Presbyterians and Episcopalians closer together, intensifying their united opposition to the Independents. The Presbyterians now began to hold communications with the adherents of Charles II., and on 22nd August, 1651, an active Presbyterian minister named Love was executed for intriguing with the royalists. This was a heavy blow to the Presbyterians, intended for their intimidation, and from that time their Church had no political power. They were still numerous and favoured above others, but were no longer able to carry out a coercive discipline within their body.

The instrument declaring Cromwell Lord Protector of the

[1] *Commons' Jour.*, vi., 132. [2] *Lords' Jour.*, end of vol. x.
[3] Neal, iii., 413, having lasted 5 years, 6 months, 22 days, holding 1,163 sessions.
[4] Scobell. [5] Gee and Hardy, 575, where dated "1650".
[6] *Ibid.*, 575.

Commonwealth, 16th December, 1653, allowed a free exercise of religion to all Christians except Papists and Prelatists.[1] Here, at length, was toleration, though a limited one. It produced a Babel of sects, in which the Presbyterians were hardly more important than any other.

Cromwell Protector, 1653.

Under the title of Triers, by an ordinance of 20th March, 1654, there was appointed a committee of examiners to test the fitness of all who should be appointed to Church preferment.[2] With very extensive powers the Triers were, in fact, a board of ecclesiastical administration, answering to the defunct Westminster Assembly. Effectual care was taken not to admit Episcopalians to livings, though those already in possession were not to be excluded. But on 28th August a new ordinance empowered the Triers to eject "scandalous" ministers, and by a wide interpretation of that word many clergymen were ejected of whose unfitness we can hardly feel sure.

On 27th November, 1655, a proclamation was issued forbidding any of the Episcopal clergy preaching after 25th December. This was the lowest point ever reached by the Episcopalians; but their depression in that extreme severity lasted for less than three years, as on 3rd September, 1658, Cromwell died.

Among the interesting personalities of this troubled period we may briefly refer to the following:—

Richard Baxter.—The principal inhabitants of Kidderminster, in whose hands Parliament had placed the temporalities of their church, that they might provide suitable preachers for themselves, appointed Baxter. He worked in the parish with the utmost zeal, ability and conscientiousness. Bringing together the neighbouring ministers of all opinions to take counsel together for the good of religion, thus constituting a sort of informal and voluntary presbytery, he carried on in the town a very useful and greatly prized pastorate, in the discharge of which he brought out in 1653 his *Saints' Everlasting Rest,* a book in which the spirit and doctrine of his ministry may be well seen. He was in Episcopal orders, and therefore friendly to the Episcopal constitution of the Church. The association, or quasi-presbytery, which he formed comprised moderate Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Independents, and so well did his plans succeed that societies, more or less similar to Baxter's, were formed in Cumberland, Wilts, Dorset, Hants, Somerset, Essex.

[1] Text in Gee and Hardy, 576.

[2] The Commission of Triers is given in Gee and Hardy, 577.

Jeremy Taylor, who was born in 1613 and died in 1667, had been chaplain to Laud and Rector of Uppingham. On the triumph of Parliament he was obliged to leave his living and withdrew into Carmarthenshire, where he was allowed to exercise his ministry in great obscurity. There he found a powerful friend in Richard Vaughan Lord Carbery of Golden Grove, Llanfihangel, east of Carmarthen, to whose family he preached many of his famous sermons, and for whose use he composed the Book of Prayers named after the mansion, *The Golden Grove*, 1654. His *Holy Living and Dying*, 1650-1651, also belongs to this period. After the Restoration he became Bishop of Down and Connor.

John Pearson, author of the *Exposition of the Creed*, held the rectory of St. Clement's, Clement's Lane, then reckoned as belonging to Eastcheap, during the whole of the Commonwealth, and preached in his church the sermons which in 1659 he printed in the form of the treatise we now possess. After the Restoration he was Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Bishop of Chester.

Mr. John Evelyn, who was born 1620 and died 1706, of Wotton, eight miles from Canterbury, and Sayes Court, Deptford, was a devout and staunch Churchman. His *Diary* is a mine of contemporary information.

Robert Sanderson, for forty years Rector of Boothby Pagnel, near Grantham, and at length Bishop of Lincoln, retained his living all through the Commonwealth period, even using the Common Prayer in church until the soldiers came and tore the book in pieces, after which he employed it in the occasional services when not in church. Being complained of, he gave up the Prayer Book altogether rather than desert his post, yet preserved the substance of the prayers while varying the language.[1]

George Bull, ultimately Bishop of St. David's, was one of the clergy privately ordained by Skinner the ejected Bishop of Oxford. Having independent means, he was able to accept from the parishioners the small living of St. George's, worth only £30 a year, on the outskirts of Bristol, and became a great favourite with the people, though he could use the Common Prayer only in the same way as Sanderson. Once, in baptizing a child, he used the Prayer Book office entirely, having got it by heart, even making the sign of the Cross, but of course without the sponsorial portions. The audience, being quite ignorant of the

[1] Life by Izaak Walton (Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.*, iv., 446).

Prayer Book and not recognising the service, expressed themselves as much edified with the beauty of the extemporary method of prayer, so much superior to a written form, whereupon he showed them the Baptismal Service, containing every prayer he had used. The sign of the Cross was the only thing they did not like.[1]

The Liturgy under the Commonwealth.

Twice in particular have English churchmen known their Prayer Book in adversity—once under Mary, just after its first compilation, and once under Cromwell. To those proscriptions is partly due that almost passionate attachment of its friends which has descended to modern days. The Vice-Chancellor of Oxford during the Commonwealth was the eminent Dr. John Owen, an Independent, who, though Cromwell's chaplain, made a by no means tyrannical use of his position at this university. By his connivance many gownsmen were wont to meet at a private house near Merton College and celebrate the Church offices in the strictest rubrical order. No fewer than three hundred attended this meeting unmolested all the days of the Commonwealth, and after the Restoration the leaders are found amongst professors and bishops, as Fell, Dolben, Allestry. A picture in the hall of Christ Church represents these divines celebrating the Church services in this furtive manner.

Yet another feature of Oxford life in the Commonwealth was the scientific coterie headed by the Hon. Robert Boyle, and consisting of many who after the Restoration founded the Royal Society, quiet men fleeing from the disorders of the times and the din of religious disputation to pursue science and philosophy by the paths which the genius of Bacon had opened to an awakening world. Musical gatherings made another feature of university life among oppressed Episcopalians at this time, when ejected organists, whose organs had been silenced, flocked to Oxford and made private houses, sometimes college rooms resound with their vocal and instrumental music, week after week, the chief manager being Anthony Wood the antiquary. Young Ken, with his lute and his voice, was to be met with in those recreations as well as at the gatherings near Merton College.[2]

Many friends of the Monarchy and the Liturgy found refuge at the French capital, where to their comfort the Common Prayer was regularly celebrated at the house of Sir Richard

[1] Nelson's Life of Bull in Bull's *Works*, 1816, p. 32.
[2] Undergraduate, 1656-61 (*Life of Ken*, by A Layman).

Browne, the Resident of Charles II. and Evelyn's father-in-law. The officiating minister was Dr. Cosin, a royal chaplain, ejected from the Deanery of Peterborough, who became after the Restoration Bishop of Durham. He frequently attended the services of the French Protestant church at Charenton, in the suburbs of Paris, where his young daughters attended regularly with their governess. Queen Henrietta, Charles I.'s widow, also an exile here with her court, used her opportunities to the utmost for the perversion of the English, the dean's own son being, to his extreme vexation, one of the victims.

While at Oxford leading men under a tolerant Vice-Chancellor were fostering a hearty loyalty to the proscribed Liturgy, at Cambridge the Commonwealth period was characterised by the rise of a new school in theology, that of the Cambridge Platonists. In and about 1453, when Aristotle had held undisputed sway in the Western Church for above nine centuries, an attempt was made by the founding of a Platonic academy at Florence to revive the much earlier though then long defunct interest in Plato. The academy ended in 1494, but not until Plato and the Platonic writers had, through Latin translations, laid hold of many minds. In 1513 all Plato's writings were printed in Greek, as in 1553 and 1580 were those of two Neo-Platonists, Hermes Trismegistus[1] and Plotinus.[2] It may be assumed that these Greek books found their way as soon as printed to the various universities, and among them to Cambridge. There seems reason to think, from one of Milton's poems, *Il Penseroso,* that they were being studied at this university at least as early as about 1630,[3] when the poet was a student there, if we may think that the following lines allude to his own midnight lamp :—

The Cambridge Platonists.

> Or let my lamp at midnight hour
> Be seen on some high lonely tower,
> Where I may oft outwatch the Bear
> With Thrice-great Hermes,[4] or unsphere
> The spirit of Plato to unfold
> What worlds, or what vast regions hold
> The immortal mind that hath forsook
> Her mansion in this fleshly nook.

The fathers of the Platonist school were some of the most studious and erudite men in Cambridge, high in academic rank,

[1] Third or fourth century, A.D. [2] Died, A.D. 270.
[3] Milton, of Christ's College, left Cambridge in 1632.
[4] Hermes Trismegistus.

Heads and Fellows of colleges. The chief of them was Dr. Benjamin Whichcot Provost of King's, once tutor of Emmanuel, where some of the others had been his pupils. Another was Dr. Ralph Cudworth Master of Christ's. There were also Dr. Henry More Fellow of Christ's, Rev. John Smith Fellow of Queens', Dr. John Worthington Master of Jesus. Though conformists by preference, they were submissive to the ruling powers, and continued to hold their positions without molestation. Some of them, having succeeded to places from which more uncompromising men had been ejected, were themselves superseded at the Restoration.

They were not formally a school for investigating the Platonic philosophy; they did not actually build on Plato; they were students of Plato, and more especially of the Neo-Platonist Plotinus, adopting their thought and language so far as it suited them. They were advanced scholars, with independent minds, so that while their writings abound with "as Plato says," "as Plotinus says," and with scraps of Plato's and Plotinus's Greek, it was only where those philosophers seemed in their judgment to harmonise with Christianity, or to illustrate it, or impart a further interest to it. The special attraction of the Cambridge men towards Plato as compared with Aristotle was his nearer approach towards the truths of revealed religion, of the existence of God, of the soul's immortality, this last especially appearing in the *Penseroso.*

As a Platonist, in the metaphysical sense we are attributing to the term, Henry More was very strong in various ways. In investigating the nature of the soul he expressly owns his obligation to the school of Plato, whose philosophy he regarded "as more than human in the chief strokes thereof".[1] Cudworth adapted Plato's doctrine of *Ideas* very ingeniously in illustrating the subject of Christ's union with the Church. Cambridge Platonists were very fond of so adapting the words and thoughts of Plato whenever they seemed fairly applicable, and hence their name. But men of this turn were not confined to Cambridge, and those living elsewhere are often spoken of as English Platonists. One or two were somewhat connected with Oxford. But the strength of this school was at Cambridge, as that of the Aristotelian was and is at Oxford.

The leaders were good and earnest men, bred for the most part in Puritan families, students in the new Puritan college,

[1] *Mystery of Godliness,* To the Reader, § 4, p. vi.

Emmanuel,[1] but weary of Puritan theology, and favourable to the Episcopal constitution of the Church, without very strongly supporting it, and ready to yield much for peace. Coming to particulars, we first enquire how Cambridge Platonism dealt with the vital doctrine of the Atonement, and then its attitude in regard to human reason. On the subject of the Atonement all do not seem to have taken the same line, but two of them closely resembled one another, Whichcot and Smith. Whichcot was the older, and when he was Tutor of Emmanuel Smith was among his pupils. Both were distinguished preachers, Whichcot at one of the town churches, Trinity, where his congregation numbered many gownsmen, Smith in his own College Chapel at Queens'. Neither published anything in his lifetime, but after the death of each a selection of sermons was issued by executors, Whichcot's from notes taken by hearers at delivery; Smith's adapted from his MSS. as treatises and called *Select Discourses.*

Their attitude to the Atonement.

In 1651 Dr. Anthony Tuckney, the venerable Master of Emmanuel, Whichcot's tutor there in former times, a learned divine of the old school, addressed a fatherly letter to him, expressing the pain with which he and some other of his oldest friends in the university sometimes listened to his sermons in Trinity Church. Salvation wrought by Christ *for* man was seldom if ever mentioned, and in one sermon even seemed denied, salvation *within* man being made all in all. In short, salvation through the atonement of the Cross seemed ignored in favour of salvation by an inward righteousness. Whichcot in his defence[2] denied any disbelief of salvation through the death of Christ, explaining that the reason of his keeping it so much in the background was its gross abuse by men who, pretending to rely on Christ's death for us, were in their lives careless or even wicked. The published sermons of Whichcot entirely bear out Dr. Tuckney's complaint, salvation by Christ's atoning sacrifice being very hard to find there in any clear statement.

In Smith's *Select Discourses* the same thing is distinctly observable. The salvation urged by him with great force and eloquence is the implantation of goodness in man's heart, only a partial truth, lacking its proper root and foundation, salvation by the Cross. Smith does not *deny* this last any more than Whichcot, saying in one place, "Far be it from me to disparage

[1] Founded in 1584 (*Camb. Calendar*).

[2] The correspondence is extant in the British Museum, under Tuckney.

in the least the merit of Christ's blood"; and again, "I doubt not but the merit and obedience of our Saviour gain us favour with God and potently move down the divine influence of heaven upon us". Smith will not disparage it, does not doubt it; but we look in vain for his urging and recommending it. It is very painful to find Whichcot and Smith referring to Christ's atoning death *only* in connection with the Antinomian's false hopes, which they always describe in the most repulsive language, while never pointing by way of contrast to the help and happiness which the holy believer derives from it. Such a way of treating a doctrine, not denying it, yet associating it in the minds of their hearers with every sentiment of impatience and disgust, is as bad as denying it outright. Dr. Henry More, in his psychology a Platonist of the Platonists, drew his theology from diviner fountains, if we may judge from the following passages of his grand book, *The Mystery of Godliness*: "Christ Jesus himself became a sacrifice for us, making himself at once one grand and all-sufficient *κάθαρμα* or *piamen* to expiate the sins of all mankind, and so to reconcile the world to God".[1] This is as firm a statement of Christ's atoning Cross as the fine passage we have in our Consecration Prayer. Again, "Justification is a believing in God that He has accepted the blood of Christ as a sacrifice for sin, and that He is able through the power of the Spirit to raise us up to newness of life". These expressions are as clear as our eleventh Article, which connects justification with Christ's merits, not easy to find done in either Whichcot or Smith. Nor are these merely saving clauses, almost extorted from Henry More; they are enforced and enlarged on. The internal and subjective salvation is earnestly dwelt upon, not *alone*, as so much in Whichcot and Smith, but as resulting from the external and objective salvation of the Cross. Dr. Henry More, whose great folio, *Mystery of Godliness*, was published in 1660, was a writer rather than a preacher. Whatever the effect of the volume may have been after the Restoration, the leaders of thought at Cambridge during the Commonwealth were Whichcot and Smith, eagerly listened to Sunday after Sunday, and conversed with on other days by successive generations of Cambridge men; and one opinion that must have become prevalent among them was doubtless this, that they had best avoid in sermons all direct mention of the Cross and merits of Christ, which should be referred to only in the most guarded manner and the fewest

[1] *Mystery of Godliness*, 133.

words. Of the other leading Cambridge Platonists, Dr. John Worthington, the editor of Smith, makes no remark on the reticence we have dwelt upon, and probably approved of it. Cudworth in his great theological work, *The Intellectual System of the Universe,* directed his arguments against atheism in particular, and was not lead to deal with the doctrine now in hand.

Their attitude to human reason.

One recognised characteristic of the Cambridge Platonists was a shrinking from any doctrine that they could not verify by their understanding and reason. They would seem, if we may except Dr. Henry More, to have insufficiently realised that the foundations of Christianity are laid on *revealed* truths, to be believed in when we are unable to measure or sound them. Metaphysics and philosophy were required by them to have their share in determining what is to be received, Cambridge Platonists being thus true successors of the Alexandrian Neo-Platonists, and with them falling under the temptation of minimising or even ignoring doctrines like the atoning efficacy of Christ's death, which cannot be explained by the human mind, and have to be received on the sole authority of Scripture. Hence their impatience of the deeper mysteries and that preference for the *ethical* side of Christianity, in its effect on the conscience and conduct of men, which has attracted the observation of the historians of literature and opinion. The writings of the leading Cambridge Platonist Whichcot, remarks Hallam,[1] "are chiefly intended to exhibit the moral lustre of Christianity".

Another of this brotherhood, Nathaniel Culverwell, Fellow of Emmanuel from 1642 to about 1651, was the author of a volume of posthumous treatises, originally college sermons, the principal of which was *The Light of Nature.* His great object was to vindicate the use of reason in religion, yet making Faith the mistress, Reason the handmaid, giving each its due place, not to "advance the power of nature into the throne of Free-Grace". The volume was dedicated to Dr. Tuckney the Master and the Fellows of the college, Culverwell belonging more to Tuckney's and Henry More's side of the Cambridge Platonist school.

In writing of this period we cannot omit to refer to two Church historians whose works have found in recent times such able editors as Brewer and Robertson. Thomas Fuller, Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Salisbury, 1631, was chaplain to the Princess Henrietta Maria in

[1] *Lit.*, iii., 277, 1854 ed.

1643-46; in 1660 chaplain to Charles II., dying 15th August, 1661. Of his *Church History of Britain*, 1655, Burnet in 1679 writes rather slightingly in regard to the amount of light thrown by it on the English Reformation. "Fuller," he remarks, "got into his hands some few papers that were not seen before he published them; but being a man of fancy, and affecting an odd way of writing, his work gives no great satisfaction." [1] The other writer is Peter Heylin, whose work was edited for the Ecclesiastical History Society by the late Canon Robertson. Peter Heylin, of Oxford, chaplain to Charles I., 1628, Sub-Dean of Westminster, 1660, died 8th May, 1661. Of his *Examen Historicum*, 1658, Burnet in 1679 remarks: "Doctor Heylin wrote smoothly and handsomely; his method and style are good, and his work was generally more read than anything that had appeared before him; but either he was very ill informed or very much led by his passions, and he being wrought on by most violent prejudices against some that were concerned in that time, delivers many things in such a manner and so strangely that one would think he had been secretly set on to it by those of the Church of Rome, though I doubt not he was a sincere Protestant, but violently carried away by some particular conceits. In one thing he is not to be excused: that he never vouched any authority for what he writ, which is not to be forgiven any who write of transactions beyond their own time and deliver new things not known before. So that upon what grounds he wrote a great deal of his book we can only conjecture, and many in their guesses are not apt to be very favourable to him." [2]

[1] *Hist. Ref.*, Preface to vol. i.

[2] *Ibid.*, Preface to vol. i.

CHAPTER X.

THE RESTORATION CHURCH.

CHARLES II., 30TH JANUARY, 1649–6TH FEBRUARY, 1685.

The Restoration.

IN February, 1660, General Monk, commander-in-chief, finding the nation ripe for a restoration, assumed the lead in order to bring it about, issuing writs, 16th March, for a new Parliament and opening communications with Charles abroad. On 25th April the elected members met, forming a Convention Parliament, and by its decree Charles II. was on 8th May proclaimed in London, into which on 29th May he made his public entry. At that date nine bishops were living, though none were in possession of their Sees.[1] On 13th September the venerable Juxon, who had attended Charles I. on the scaffold, was elected to Canterbury, and on 22nd September Frewen was placed at York.

On 28th October five new bishops were consecrated, and on 2nd December seven more, all in Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster Abbey. The six remaining Sees were kept vacant in the hope that some of the moderate Presbyterians would accept them. One of these, Edward Reynolds,[2] did, becoming Bishop of Norwich. Baxter declined. The five Sees now left were filled at long intervals during 1661. On 22nd May, 1661, the Scotch Covenant was burnt by the hangman in divers places.

While the King was yet in Holland preparing for the Restoration, perhaps about the end of April or early in May,[3] the leading Presbyterian divines went over to sound him on the subject of the Prayer Book, and ventured to suggest that as the use of the Common Prayer had been long discontinued, many of the people having never heard of it, but having become familiar with an opposite method of public worship, he would be acting

[1] London (Juxon), L. and Cov. (Frewen), Bangor (Roberts), B. and W. (Pierce), Chichester (King), Ely (Wren), Oxford (Skinner), Rochester (Warner), Salisbury (Duppa, trans. to Winch., 10th September, 1660).

[2] Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, not to be confused with Dr. John Reynolds or Rainolds of Corpus, who died in 1607.

[3] After he had issued the Declaration of Breda.

agreeably with the wishes of the nation if he were to abstain from using the Liturgy in strict form in the royal chapel. The King replied with some warmth that whilst he gave them liberty he would not have his own taken from him; he had always used that service, which he thought the best in the world; when he came into England he would not severely enquire how it was used in other churches, though he doubted not he should find it used in many; but he was sure he would have no other used in his own chapel. They then besought him with more importunity that the use of the surplice might be discontinued by his chaplains, because the sight of it would give great offence and scandal to the people. The King resented this suggestion with equal warmth. The Presbyterians hoped to have found him compliant, but trusted that when he came to England their importunity would prove more effectual.[1]

Immediately after the return of the King to England the Liturgy was restored to the royal chapel; and a few days afterwards the two houses of the Convention Parliament ordered that prayers should be read before them according to the ancient practice.[2] The revival of the Liturgy in parish churches was necessarily gradual, the Presbyterian clergy being still largely in possession and the *Directory of Public Worship* legal. Yet as early as 8th July, 1660, Evelyn, speaking of a sermon he heard at church, observed: "From henceforth the Liturgy was publicly used in our churches, whence it had been for so many years banished". That, however, was still a beginning, as Pepys's *Diary* under 4th November, 1660, records: "In the morning to our own church,[3] when Mr. Mills did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer by saying: 'Glory be to the Father,' etc., after he had read the two Psalms. But the people had been so little used to it that they could not tell what to answer. After dinner I went to Westminster Abbey, where the first time that ever I heard the organs in a cathedral."

Evelyn's *Diary* shows the old services gradually re-entering. "19th August, 1660.—Our vicar read the Thirty-Nine Articles to the congregation; the national assemblies beginning now to settle and wanting instruction. 4th September.—I was invited to an ordination by the Bishop of Bangor in Henry the Seventh's chapel." On 28th October consecrations of bishops were held in

[1] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 246, 247. [2] *Ibid.*, 249.

[3] St. Olave, Hart Street, a back thoroughfare north-west of the Tower. Having escaped the Fire, it still stands, and in 1884 a monument to Pepys was erected in it (*Times*, 19th March, 1884, p. 6).

that chapel. On 25th November Evelyn attended the Chapel Royal, observing: "Now the service was performed with music, voices, etc., as formerly". On 21st April, 1661, the King was crowned in Westminister Abbey with the ancient ceremonies, which are described in Evelyn's *Diary* at full length.

The old question of Puritan grievances was not allowed to sleep, and frequent meetings were held with a view to a settlement. On 25th March, 1661, a royal warrant was issued for conferences to be held at the Savoy Palace in the Strand between twelve Episcopalian divines and twelve Presbyterians, to continue during four calendar months, *i.e.*, till 25th July.[1] They were unable to begin before 15th April, and when 25th July arrived without any result the conferences ended automatically. If it be asked what spirit animated them, the reply must be that instead of a consultation of brethren having a common aim, the Savoy Conference took the form of a battle between opposing forces. The Puritan party were so unreasonable that agreement was hopeless however conciliatory the Episcopalians might have been; while the Episcopal party were so unconciliatory that the Puritans could not have been won however reasonable they had been. The Puritan champion was Baxter, and Baxter's unreasonableness is apparent from the one fact that he wanted to supersede the Common Prayer in favour of a new book of his own composition. The champion of the Episcopal side was Gunning, the man of all others to have been selected if it was meant that the conference should not succeed.[2] It was therefore a failure from the very first.

The Savoy Conference.

The Convention Parliament having ended on 29th December, 1660, the first proper Parliament and the first Convocation of Charles II. met on 8th May, 1661, while the Savoy Conference was proceeding. When it ended without result, it was determined that the revision of the Prayer Book should be entrusted to Convocation. The first session of Convocation thereafter was on 21st November, 1661, and on that day the King's letter giving them authority to proceed in this work was read in the Upper House. On the previous day the bishops had been restored to their seats in the House of Lords. On 20th December, 1661, the revision was completed and subscribed by both houses of Convocation in both provinces. It is a fact to be borne in mind that this revision was the only one ever conducted by Convocation, and it was established on their

[1] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 257, 300, 302.

[2] *Ibid.*, 265; Short, ii., 246.

recommendation by Parliament. The two Prayer Books of Edward VI. were enacted by Parliament alone, without reference to Convocation, which in that reign was too unfriendly to the Reformation. The Prayer Book of Elizabeth, 1559, was considered by the Cannon Row Committee of divines under the Queen's authority, and was established by Parliament, Convocation being entirely ignored. The Prayer Book of James I. in 1604 was submitted neither to Convocation nor to Parliament, but was authorised by the King alone in virtue of his statutory authority in the Church. The revisers of 1661 take special notice of the fact we are here calling attention to, the part falling to Convocation, concluding their preface with these words: "We have good hope that what is here presented, and hath been by the Convocations of both provinces with great diligence examined and approved, will be also well accepted and approved by all sober, peaceable and truly conscientious sons of the Church of England".

Act of Uniformity, 1662.

The statute[1] of 1662, establishing the Prayer Book as revised in 1661, was the fourth and most memorable Act of Uniformity, and always the one meant when none in particular is specified. Like its predecessors, the "uniformity" in the title relates to worship only, not to doctrine, though it went beyond them in requiring the clergy to *subscribe* their assent to the Prayer Book. The nation has been resolved from 1549 that the worship conducted in its parish, its cathedral, its collegiate churches shall be uniform, and, in order to be uniform, of one regulated type. There have been Acts to secure a uniformity of doctrine, of opinion, on certain specified points or articles: the Act of Six Articles in 1539, the Act for ministers to be of sound religion (by obliging them to subscribe certain of the Thirty-Nine Articles) in 1571, were such in design, though not in title. Since the final repeal of the Act of Six Articles in 1547 the law has not required all people[2] directly to profess a uniform opinion on any point of religion as it does the clergy. We say "directly," because indirectly it does, requiring all to attend church and follow the services. But the law requires of clergy and people alike, and that directly, uniformity of worship in churches.

By this Act all ministers not subscribing to the Prayer Book by the Feast of St. Bartholomew, 24th August, 1662, stood

[1] 14 Car. II., c. 4, royal assent 19th May, 1662.
[2] Office-holders were required in 1673 to declare against transubstantiation.

deprived of their preferments. The sufferers on this account are reckoned to have numbered about two thousand, among whom were many of great worth and piety.

The Uniformity Act of 1662, though it has been censured on more than one ground, the chief of which seems to be its retrospective character, did, it must be remembered, in a great measure, reverse an injustice. The Solemn League and Covenant in 1643 and 1644, the Engagement in 1654, both of them likewise retrospective, must have deprived many more than two thousand beneficed clergy, many of them estimable men like those of 1662. A cruel wrong of less than twenty years' standing might well have seemed to call for reversal, which it was possible to designate an act of justice more than of vindictiveness.

Non-conformity excluded.

The word "nonconformity" has come to be so entirely associated with the act of formal secession that we are apt to forget it does not carry that meaning in itself. A person may dislike some of the rules of the body to which he belongs, offer them a passive resistance, clamour for exemption, demanding toleration for non-compliance, defying authority so far as possible ; authority, on the other hand, may seek to repress and reduce ; punishing the disobedient, but punishing him as one in communion with the body, and not as one who has been thrust out of it. Such was nonconformity before 1662 ; it was an internal disease, a battle for the mastery between the members and the heads of the same body. The Act of 1662 proceeded on another plan, the plan of thrusting off nonconformity to the outside when it refused to submit itself within. It must be noted, however, that the Nonconformists were by this statute thrust out, not from the Church, but from office and emolument in the Church. They were not excommunicated, but ejected from their ministry. Such an ejection of ministers could have but one issue when large bodies of people were adhering closely to them ; it was virtually, though not in form, an expulsion into schism, or a separation in Church life and worship.

Thenceforward nonconformity was a separation. This was its characteristic in Charles II.'s reign. It was "ejected," excluded, separative nonconformity. They had expected toleration for a nonconforming ministry within church walls and church homes, not without reason, it must be confessed, if the word of a King, speaking unofficially, could have weight. Charles II.'s Declaration at Breda on 14th April, 1660, in the prospect of coming back, is often quoted : "We do declare a liberty of tender consciences, . . . and we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parlia-

ment as shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence".[1] To the Presbyterian deputation about his chapel services the King also said he would not be particular as to the services in churches. Yet this amounted to little. He left the matter for Parliament to decide, and he could do no otherwise, as they should have known. As to the loss of two thousand ministers, Parliament must have foreseen it, and even desired it. With the history of an entire century in their knowledge, with all the memories their own generation could furnish, even those who could take a calm choice of difficulties and dangers could well have believed that the Church of England would be in greater peril with a vast party of dissidents within her ministry than to have them outside of it, and they must have enacted the subscription that would take effect retrospectively with the very deliberate purpose of getting them out. It seems a terrible indictment of the Church and of the nation to suggest this extreme view, and even to forgive or to acquiesce in it; but the appalling mistakes made on the one side and on the other, in the mar-prelate days, in the Laudian days, brought this tremendous retribution upon all concerned, the only remedy for which was, as it is in all Church disasters, a closer adherence in the future to a Scriptural divinity and to brotherly temper.

The maxim of the dominant party remained still one of repression and penalty. No one had yet learnt the virtue of toleration; only one party had professed it, the Independents, and they but partially, refusing to make any terms with non-Christians and Prelatists. With non-Christians (among whom were reckoned Unitarians) and with Papalists the nation now reckoned the Puritan Nonconformists, whom it was hoped that severities in course of time could not fail to wear out and extirpate. Penalty was heaped upon penalty and disability on disability. The Corporation Act had already been passed in 1661; and in 1663 there followed the Select Vestry Act; in 1664 the first Conventicle Act; in 1665 the Five-Mile Act; in 1670 the second Conventicle Act.

The fast changing by-ways of London still reveal to the inquisitive eye memorials of those times. Now and then up an old narrow street a narrower passage, under an archway perhaps, with "Meeting-house Yard," or "Meeting-house Court," inscribed on the wall, conducts to some inner recess where the furtive assemblies gathered to enjoy the ministrations of some pious and

[1] Short, ii., 223.

well-learned divine. One such may be seen up Miles Lane by London Bridge, where a stirring hymn-tune, still popular, may be assumed to have been often heard. Another may be found up Old Jewry on the right. The inscriptions survive on the walls, but the meeting-houses have disappeared. Perhaps the most remarkable of them all was the Fetter Lane meeting-house, which yet stands, but not unchanged, in its old place. A stranger was meant to have then, and a stranger still has, great difficulty in discovering it. Up Fetter Lane from Fleet Street, down an alley called Nevill Court under an arch on the right, through a door on the right again that seems the door of a dwelling-house, then up a tiny court and behind a projecting building, there, in nest within nest, is Fetter Lane meeting-house of famous memory in Nonconformist annals.

The Exclusion Bill and the Test Act.

The circumstance of Titus Oates inventing from his own head the "Popish plot" of 1678 for his own lucre need not discredit the undoubted fact that the Church and the State of England had need of all their vigilance against Roman design through this reign. So sober and authoritative a diarist as Evelyn affords us abundant and reliable evidence, if no other were forthcoming, of the growing boldness of the Roman Catholic party in England, and of the anxiety which the attitude of the Court towards them caused in the public mind. The apostasy of the Duke of York (afterwards James II.) greatly increased the popular alarm. Evelyn, who was present with his son at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, on Easter Day, 30th March, 1673, records in his *Diary* as follows: "At the sermon *Coram Rege* preached by Dr. Sparrow Bishop of Exeter, to a most crowded auditory. I staid to see whether, according to custom, the Duke of York received the Communion with the King. But he did not, to the amazement of every body. This being the second year he had forborne and put it off, and within a day of the Parliament sitting, who had lately made so severe an Act against the increase of Popery, gave exceeding grief and scandal to the whole nation, that the heir of it, and the son of a martyr for the Protestant religion, should apostatise. What the consequence of this will be God only knows and wise men dread."

Evelyn's *Diary* again records, 5th November, 1673: "This night the youths of the city burnt the Pope in effigy, after they had made procession with it in great triumph, they being displeased at the Duke for altering his religion and marrying an

Italian lady".[1] The "Exclusion Bill," 1680, to debar the Duke of York from the succession, indicates an alarm in the nation as well grounded as it was widespread. There was then no law to prevent a Papist inheriting the Crown, no instance of which had occurred since Mary Tudor, and the nation being without recent experience, resolved on facing the risk. Accordingly, the Exclusion Bill, after passing the Commons, was, on 11th November, 1680, rejected by the Lords.

On 29th March, 1673, the royal assent was given to an Act known as the "Test Act," the object of which was, in its title and opening words, "for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants, and quieting the minds of His Majesty's good subjects".[2] It enacted that every person, peer or commoner, to be capable of holding office under the Crown, civil, military or naval, or of being employed in the household of the King or the Duke of York, must take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, after delivering a certificate signed by a minister, churchwardens and witnesses of his having received on a certain day the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in some parish church on some Sunday immediately after divine service and sermon. On taking the oaths every one is to subscribe a declaration of his belief "that there is not any transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the elements of bread and wine, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever". The Corporation Act of 1661 and the Test Act of 1673, often spoken of together, levelled respectively at Nonconformists and Papalists in particular, between them kept out of public employment all who were not members of the National Church. The purpose of these Acts was not the ignoble one of giving Churchmen a monopoly of distinction and emolument, which would have been their real degradation and weakness; it was a sense of England's danger, for which there seemed at that time no other remedy. In 1661 a rescued throne was to be upheld in the face of threatened disintegration; in 1673 a richly prized Protestantism had to be watched over against an historic advance sapping it in its most cultured defences by all the arts of plot and proselytism, when a suffering but generous body of conscientious Nonconformists preferred to endure their own exclusion if it seemed the only practicable way of shutting the

[1] His first wife, Lady Anne Hyde, daughter of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon died a pervert, March, 1671, and on 21st November, 1673, he married Mary of Modena, a Roman Catholic.

[2] 25 Car. II., c. 2; *Statutes at Large*, viii., 389; *Lords' Jour.*, xii., 584.

door against England's untiring adversary. A highly respected English prelate, who could vindicate these excluding statutes, could also, and in due time did, fully justify their withdrawal.[1]

The Caroline Divines.

The theologians of Charles I. and II.'s reign are often called Caroline divines, from *Carolus*, the Latin for Charles. After the Restoration they had a great work to do in defending the foundations of Christianity against growing atheism, and in maintaining the Church of England against its Papal and Nonconformist opponents. In short, their business was to build up the restored Church in every way, both in its doctrines and its constitution. In describing them we have to avoid terms not then invented, high-churchmen, low-churchmen, broad-churchmen, words having their own meaning, denoting their own times, and not to be anticipated. The Caroline divines were strong churchmen, as against Nonconformists and Papists, warm claimants to civil support against them both like the high-church school of the following generation, but avoiding the extremes of the Laudian administration. In matters of doctrine some of them may have been biassed in a latitudinarian direction, like the Cambridge Platonists of the Commonwealth and the later broad-church, these two being analogous terms. It does not seem possible to define very exactly ; but it might be safe to say that we should expect to find the Caroline divines moderate high-church Protestants, laying as much stress on the word Protestant as on the word high-church, but in any case party names should not be pressed too far, and especially should the unfairness be avoided of first giving a man a title and then making him fit the title all over whether he likes it or not.

If with this restriction we should think well to tabulate the best remembered divines of the Caroline school, we may probably include most of those whose works were reprinted at Oxford in and about 1840, in a series of volumes called the "Anglo Catholic Library," thus regarding the Caroline divines as in tone of thought (we say nothing of literary power) early precursors of the Oxford school of the above date. This reckoning would give us Andrewes, Laud (in divinity only, not administration), Cosin, Wren, Jeremy Taylor, Gunning, Bull, Bramhall, John Johnson, Overall, Thorndike, Bishop Thomas Wilson, Patrick, Barrow, Sheldon, George Hickes, Nathaniel Marshall. They were men who assisted at the Savoy Conference, helped to revise

[1] Bishop Kaye's Speech on the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, 9th May, 1828 (*Works*, vii., 72, ed. Archdeacon Kaye).

the Prayer Book, to pass the Uniformity Act, penalise the Nonconformists, exclude Papists from public life by the Test Act. If we might include a layman, it should be John Evelyn, whose ideas stand out in his *Diary*, letters and books, showing the warm upholder of the Church of England against Pope and Papists. But another point must not be omitted. The Caroline divines were distinctly committed against transubstantiation, or the declaration against it would never have been inserted in the Test Act. That declaration formed the clearest possible tradition through the whole Church of England, among the laity and clergy alike.

On the other hand, Caroline divinity held strongly to the language of a real presence—in a certain sense. In their view Christ's body and blood were with the elements in their reception and use, not independently of use, not without faith. This was formulated in the Catechism of 1604. But in seeking to amplify and expand they added to the clear and intelligible catechetical words so many scholastic expressions undefined and undefinable, if not contradictory, as make it at times very difficult to be identified, or not to mean two or three things, as though men must needs make a sacrament mysterious because it is called a mystery.

James II., 6th February, 1685–11th December, 1688.

James II. succeeded to the throne 6th February, 1685, bent on the perversion of England to the Pope. For the accomplishment of this object he needed Roman Catholics in public offices of every branch, as ministers of state, officers in the army and navy, and as heads of colleges. The Test Act, however, so recent as 1673, was an obstacle, and its repeal could not possibly be looked for. But what could not be abrogated might, as he hoped, be neutralised. The Crown already possessed a certain constitutional right—not indeed of repealing any law, but of suspending its action, by way of indulgence, in the case of any particular individual expressly named. This prerogative was not sufficient for James's purpose, and the claim was pushed much further by relieving from legal penalties, not specially named individuals, but an entire class of his subjects, *viz.*, the whole Nonconformist body, which included Romanists, for whom alone in fact James cared. This indulgence seemed a great boon to the nonconforming Protestants, who, however, perceiving its design, refused, a large

The Declaration of Indulgence.

proportion of them at any rate, to encourage it. The King, resolved on carrying his point, issued, under date 4th April, 1687, a general Declaration of Indulgence, granting relief to all Nonconformists. That was the first declaration, but not the one which brought on the crisis. The second, 27th April, 1688, was the more famous. On 4th May an Order in Council was made that this should be read in the churches by the clergy during service, on certain specified days. Without loss of time Archbishop Sancroft summoned to Lambeth for Friday, 18th May, all the bishops who were within reach, for on 20th May the declaration was to be read. The assembled prelates drew up a memorial protesting against this Order in Council, and the same evening went in a body to Whitehall and presented it to the King, who was extremely angry at what he called their mutinous proceeding. As to reading the Indulgence in church both the London and the provincial clergy almost to a man refused.

On 8th June, 1688, the seven protesting bishops were committed to the Tower, on the ground that their memorial to the King was a libel on him. On 29th June they were brought to trial on that charge, and on 30th June they were acquitted. The description of their imprisonment, their trial, and their acquittal, amid the enthusiastic applause of all London, occupies some of the most stirring pages of Macaulay's *History of England*. The nation had been groaning under James's unconstitutional sway above three years, and his attempt thus to domineer over both Church and State at one time had brought matters to a crisis.

The prelates in question, Sancroft (Canterbury), Lloyd (St. Asaph), Turner (Ely), Lake (Chichester), Ken (Bath and Wells), White (Peterborough), Trelawney (Bristol), were the heroes of the country. Why there were no more was that the protest had to be arranged in a moment, and only those who happened to be within reach could be gathered together. On the very night of the acquittal an invitation signed by the heads of seven leading families of England, including those of Cavendish and Russell, was despatched to Prince William of Orange, with an assurance that England was prepared to receive him.

Flight of James.

On 5th November, 1688, the Prince landed at Torbay, and on 11th December James fled from Whitehall, seeking refuge at the French Court. On 22nd January, 1689, a Convention Parliament met to consider the situation. King James had neither abdicated nor been dethroned. He had *fled* and the question was whether or not the throne were vacant. A

King who had surreptitiously quitted his realm without public sanction, without the attendance of a minister of State, without providing a governor or regent in his absence, had crossed the sea unescorted by the national forces, placing himself at the mercy of England's enemies without the national consent, had abandoned the throne. One party favoured the course of appointing a regent, in the person of William, on the ground of the King being absent. The objection to that was that the King must be a party to a regency, while the government of a regent in the name of an absentee and unfriendly King whose sovereign title was acknowledged must prove a sheer impossibility. Nor would Prince William for one moment think of accepting the office of regent. If not King he would leave and return home.

The Convention, after long debates, declared the throne vacant and requested William to occupy it. The archbishop and some of his brethren felt it impossible to accept this solution for themselves, on the ground that James's absence did not release them from the allegiance they had sworn to him, and that any oath to a new King while James lived would imperil their souls. They were quite willing to *obey* a regent or a *de facto* King; but an oath was another matter, and they could not yield one. Prince William accepted the offer made to him, and on February 13, 1689, he and his wife Mary were proclaimed King and Queen.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REVOLUTION CHURCH.

WILLIAM AND MARY, 13TH FEBRUARY, 1689–8TH MARCH, 1702.

WILLIAM III., son of Charles I.'s daughter Mary and William II.; Prince of Orange; born 4th November, 1650; married 4th November, 1677, Mary of York; proclaimed with her 13th February, 1689; crowned with her 11th April, 1689; died 8th March, 1702.

Mary II., Stuart, daughter of James Duke of York and Anne Hyde; born 30th April, 1662; married William as above; proclaimed and crowned with him; died 28th December, 1694.

The War with France.—Louis XIV. of France, as an ally of James II., an exile at his Court, where he died 16th September, 1701, made war on Holland for having supported William's succession in England. William, bound to assist Holland, declared war against France, 7th May, 1689, Spain siding with England. Peace of Ryswick, 20th September, 1697.

Toleration of Nonconformity, 1689.

"It might naturally be conceived," writes Cardwell,[1] "that a change had been gradually coming over the spirit of the times in favour of the Nonconformists. The dread of a republic had subsided, the arrogance of the dissenters had gone, the recollection of the Protectorate had vanished, and instead of them had risen up from the increasing power of the Papacy a spectre as hideous as if it had been the creation of extreme terror, and yet as formidable as substance and reality could make it. It is evident that their common and imminent danger had inspired a general feeling in favour of a more complete combination, which might not only qualify Churchmen and Nonconformists for their approaching conflict, but might convert their mutual confidence as comrades into the basis of a lasting and cordial friendship. The memorable petition presented by the seven bishops to King James II.

[1] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 401, under A.D. 1688.

in the year 1688 made open declaration that there was no want of 'due tenderness to dissenters, in relation to whom they were willing to come to such a temper as should be thought fit when that matter should be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation'. Archbishop Sancroft, in the Articles [1] that he issued to the bishops of his province immediately after his trial, enjoined the clergy to have a 'very tender regard to our brethren, the Protestant dissenters,' and to manifest it by habits of friendly intercourse; concluding his Articles with this most comprehensive injunction, 'that they warmly, and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of peace for an universal blessed union at home and abroad against our common enemies, that all they who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of His holy word, may also meet in one holy communion and live in perfect unity and godly love'." Sancroft also joined in the Declaration issued from the Guildhall on 11th December, 1688, engaging to assist the Prince of Orange, one of the great objects specified being "a due liberty to Protestant dissenters".

In harmony with these sentiments the Toleration Act,[2] "for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws," was passed, and received the royal assent. It granted dissenters full liberty of worship, but this was not extended to Roman Catholics or to those who denied the doctrine of the Trinity, and it left all who did not conform to the worship of the Church of England under many disqualifications; they were not relieved from the Test Act or the Corporation Act.

Proposal for comprehension.

About a month after the proclamation of William and Mary a Comprehension Bill as well as the Toleration Bill was introduced into the Lords. The Comprehension Bill was debated and passed; but it was virtually rejected in the Commons, by their petitioning the King to summon a Convocation as the proper assembly for discussing ecclesiastical questions.[3]

On 13th September, 1689, a Royal Commission was issued to ten bishops and twenty divines to prepare such alterations in the Liturgy and Canons as would admit of the inclusion of Nonconformists.[4] The Commission commenced its sittings in the

[1] Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, ii., 325.

[2] 1 W. & M., c. 18, 24th May, 1689; Cardwell, *Conf.*, 409; Act in Gee and Hardy, 654.

[3] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 409.

[4] *Ibid.*, 411, 412.

Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey, on the 3rd October to frame suggestions to be submitted to Convocation, Parliament and the King.[1]

On 19th October, 1689, Dr. Comber, Precentor of York, and a member of the Northern Convocation, addressed a serious warning to Bishop Patrick, one of the Commissioners, in his own name and that of other Churchmen in the north. Observing the temper of the dissenters around, who with the exception of a few pious and moderate men were not disposed to union but only to victory, and would use every concession of the Commissioners as so many weapons for their own use, he expresses the opinion, "Our condescensions will only help them with arguments to upbraid us, not incline them to part with one opinion in order to a coalition". He further pointed out that they were chiefly Independents, not to be won but by concessions that would shake the foundations of the Church. A few false friends might be gained, but many true ones would be alienated.[2]

On 4th December, 1689,[3] Convocation assembled, and a trial of strength between the Court party, which advocated Comprehension, and their opponents, who resisted it, began immediately in the election of Prolocutor, their respective candidates being Dr. Tillotson the future archbishop, and Dr. Jane, Dean of Gloucester, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. Jane's election by a large majority indicated that the question of Comprehension was settled in the negative. The King discontinued the session, and prevented any future renewal of the strife by successive prorogations.[4]

Burnet and Cardwell, from different standpoints, have pointed out how this decision of Convocation was a beneficial one, as it turned out, for the Church of England. At that moment, and since 1st August, 1689, the archbishop, seven bishops, and hundreds of the clergy, were in suspension for having failed to swear allegiance, and would become liable on 1st February, 1691, to deprivation. Had the Liturgy and the whole system of the Church been very materially altered, this phalanx of Nonjurors could very plausibly have turned round upon the advocates of change, and while accusing them of having deserted the Church of England, could have claimed to be its true representatives.[5]

On 13th February, 1689, the Convention, by a bill, to which

[1] Cardwell, *Conf.*, 416-18.
[2] *Ibid.*, 414, 415.
[3] *Ibid.*, 434.
[4] *Ibid.*, 424, 425.
[5] *Ibid.*, 422, 423.

the royal assent was attached, declared itself a parliament, and an Act was then speedily passed requiring all office-holders in the realm, lay or ecclesiastical, to swear allegiance to the sovereigns. Clergy declining to swear by 1st August, 1689, incurred suspension, and if they persisted after 1st February, 1691, deprivation. Those who were thus deprived became subsequently known as nonjurors. Eight bishops refused the oath, but only six were alive when the day of deprivation came, *viz.*, Sancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, William Lloyd Bishop of Norwich, Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, White of Peterborough, Ken of Bath and Wells. The two who had died were Thomas of Worcester (25th June, 1689), Lake of Chichester (30th August, 1689). Five of the nonjuring bishops, Sancroft, Ken, Turner, Lake, White, were among the seven whom James II. sent to the Tower in 1688. Hundreds of the clergy, and many eminent laymen, cast in their lot with the bishops. If a new oath was a severe demand on consciences unable to recognise that essential change of conditions brings an essential change of obligation, we should remember that the excusing of an oath was also a great demand on a sovereign who, without allegiance sworn to him, was but half a king on a despised and tottering throne. William and his Parliament were pledged to as stubborn a contest in exacting this oath as ever were Sancroft and his clergy in withholding it.

The Nonjurors.

The deprived nonjuring clergy in many cases turned to literary pursuits, or were received as private chaplains in the houses of great laymen sympathising with their cause.[1] Having such chaplains to officiate in their mansions, these lords or gentlemen could modify the State prayers in the service to suit themselves. As a rule, no separate worship was for some considerable time attempted. The minor laity and the ladies of the party, who had no office to lose, went to their parish church like others, but made their nonjuring profession at the prayers for the sovereign, by rising from their knees, and shutting their books until the State prayers were ended, when they resumed their devotions.

On 8th March, 1699 (N.S.), when the religious societies of 1677 had been several years engaged in their valuable work, a small company of laymen led and inspired by Dr. Thomas Bray Rector of Sheldon, distinguished for his exertions in behalf of the Church of England, met in London and formed themselves into a voluntary society for promoting Christian knowledge by educating the

The S. P. C. K. and the S. P. G. founded.

[1] Ken found a home and an asylum at the seat of the Marquis of Bath at Longleat, in his old diocese.

poor and sending out clergy to the American colonies. The latter object it effected by founding in 1701 a distinct organisation, the S. P. G. The free Christian education of poor children, especially in London and Westminster, remained its own work. The S. P. G., by which familiar initials the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts is best known, owes its foundation to the continued exertions of Dr. Bray, and on his petition to the King a charter was obtained in the form of letters patent (June 16, 1701) incorporating a body of men to promote Christianity in the plantations or colonies by sending out English clergymen. The incorporated members, lay and clerical, were of high official standing, with Archbishop Tenison as president. A large number of members of the S. P. C. K. were included. The Church of England was far too divided to engage in such an enterprise through Convocation, but the thought of it was not altogether absent, for on 13th March, 1701, a Committee of Convocation was named to enquire into the means of promoting Christian religion in the foreign plantations, and on 15th March that committee met. Why the matter proceeded no further, and the work was left to a voluntary society like the S. P. C. K., may perhaps find some explanation from an entry in Evelyn's *Diary* under 17th May, 1701: "The bishops and convocation at difference concerning the right of calling the assembly and dissolving. Atterbury[1] and Dr. Wake[2] writing one against another."

ANNE, 8TH MARCH, 1702–1ST AUGUST, 1714.

Anne, daughter of James Duke of York and Anne Hyde his first wife, born 6th February, 1665, married, 28th July, 1683, George of Denmark, a Lutheran, who died 28th October, 1708. Her children died in infancy or childhood, the last of them, William Duke of Gloucester, on 10th August, 1700, aged eleven. As her sister Mary, William III.'s wife, had died childless, the crown on William's death passed to Anne, at the age of thirty-seven. Her father James II. had died 16th September, 1701, at the court of Louis XIV. of France, where he had resided since his flight from England, 11th December, 1688. Her half-brother the Pretender, James Francis Edward, then in his fourteenth year, being a Papist, was excluded from the English throne by the Act of Settlement, 1700, which appointed

Anne.

[1] Afterwards Bishop of Rochester. [2] Afterwards Archbishop.

Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover next in succession, she being, after Anne, the nearest in Protestant descent from James I. Sophia, born 1630, remained the heiress until her death on 28th May, 1714, about two months before Anne's, and then was succeeded in that capacity by her son George Elector of Hanover, born 1660.

Queen Anne, upon her accession, was completely under the commanding influence of Sarah Countess of Marlborough, a lady who thirty years before had, as Sarah Jennings, entered the court of her mother the Duchess of York, married in 1678, become her Lady of Honour in 1683, and accompanied her in her flight in 1688. The Earl and Countess, as private friends, were now in complete ascendancy over Anne, remaining so until 1711, when Mrs. Masham, a younger lady of the Court, supplanted them.

The War of the Spanish Succession, which distinguished the reign of Queen Anne, had been arranged and planned entirely by William, whose policy was to prevent the crowns of France and Spain being united, a union threatening to be a severe blow to the rising Protestant influence of England. The English share in the war began 15th May, 1702; Gibraltar was captured 23rd July, 1704; the victory of Blenheim gained by Marlborough and Eugene, 13th August, 1704; and the Peace of Utrecht was signed 11th April, 1713.

Queen Anne's Bounty.

In 1703 the House of Commons, having at the Queen's request taken into consideration the numerous ill-endowed livings of the Church, passed an Act[1] for augmenting them out of certain Crown revenues to be administered by a corporate body which the Queen was empowered to create. The incorporating letters-patent bear date 3rd November, 1703. The scheme is called Queen Anne's Bounty, and the statute Queen Anne's Bounty Act. The revenues thus appropriated to the benefit of the Church bore the name of "first-fruits," and were a tax levied on livings at every new incumbency. Before the Reformation they were paid to the Pope, but by an Act of Henry VIII.[2] were diverted to the Crown. The public revenue thus handed back to the Church had to be repaid to the Crown in some other way by the taxpayer, so that the real "bounty" was ultimately the nation's; the Queen's consisted in her friendly intention and motion, without which no Parliament would have taken the matter up. By means of the Q. A. B. Corporation

[1] 2 & 3 Anne, c. 11.

[2] 26 Henry VIII., c. 3.

the larger benefices (others not being liable) were thus made to help the smaller, and the wealth of the Church was to some extent in this way more equably distributed. The Corporation was also empowered to receive benefactions in aid from other sources. Altogether, by loans for building and repairing parsonages, loans for repairing chancels, and grants in aid of other legitimate needs, the Q. A. B. has proved a valuable auxiliary to the work of the Church of England from the time of its institution to the present day.

Another movement of great practical importance was the foundation of Charity Schools supported by subscriptions, to raise the lowest class out of its degradation and practical heathenism. Beginning casually and in a small way in St. Botolph, Aldgate Parish, in 1696, their number increased rapidly. Systematised by the fostering care of the S. P. C. K. from 1699, the movement was vigorously prosecuted, and became one of the noblest public features of Church of England work in the metropolis throughout the first half of the eighteenth century.

There was no scarcity of financial help, and this was augmented by handsome legacies and benefactions, which were invested in the purchase of the school premises or in other property, the value of which advanced rapidly until the first precarious tenancy became a well-endowed freehold descending to assist in later days great educational schemes for the endowment of primary education.

High Church and Low Church.

It was about A.D. 1698-1700 that the party names "High Church" and "Low Church" first began to be used, and they became more and more general as Queen Anne's reign advanced. Their rise was due to the great Revolution measures of Toleration and Comprehension. Men who resented the Toleration Act from the very first, and would not reconcile themselves to its action, gave to their ideal of Episcopacy a divine right, the effect of which was, if not to place dissenters and their worship under the ban of the State, at any rate to exclude them from the Catholic Church. Theirs was the "high" idea of Church life; and those who assented to the Toleration were, if brethren at all, brethren on a lower level, looked down upon, unworthy of promotion, "Low Church" men, ready to sacrifice the Church of England to any scheme of Comprehension, and even consenting to allow magistrates and Parliaments to dispose of benefices and bishoprics at their will. The men thus stigmatised as Low Church warmly approved the Toleration Act, defending it by voice and pen, refusing to rail at

the tolerated, but treating them on an equality as brethren, behaving towards the civil authority with all the submissiveness and subordination of the days of Parker and Hooker, repudiating the "Comprehension" attributed to them, reverencing Episcopacy, cleaving to it as a Church constitution allowed by God and descending from the earliest times. The High-Church and Low-Church theories, which arose largely in consequence of the Toleration Act, were held all through Anne's reign, in various degrees of strength, temper and consistency.

The bishops appointed by the Crown from 1689, when there were eight vacancies through the action of the nonjurors, were necessarily Low Church. The parochial clergy were never so rapidly influenced through Crown appointments, and consequently remained in a large measure High Church and Tory. This accounts for some of the strong oppositions in Anne's reign between the two Houses of Convocation. It will be observed that the term Low Church at this period implies no relation to Evangelical doctrine as that word is usually understood. The Evangelical Revival was of later growth.

Bishop Trimnell's Charge in 1709 [1] indicates the views which were put forward on behalf of the clerical party, and the grounds upon which they were opposed. He felt obliged to criticise three prevalent tenets, namely: (1) that the Church is independent of the civil power; (2) that it belongs to the clergy to offer sacrifice; (3) that the clergy have the power of forgiving sins. "These opinions," he says, "I am persuaded are erroneous in the manner they have been urged, and no way agreeable to the doctrine of the Church of England about them. The making more things follow our sacred function than can fairly and plainly be grounded upon it will never advance our character with wise and considering men, such as we should desire all men to be, but a real prejudice to us. Our pretending to an independent power in things within the compass of human authority, and a right to offer sacrifice, properly speaking, directly and immediately, may and will weaken the grounds and occasions of the Reformation, and give our adversaries of the Church of Rome, as well as others, great advantage against us, but can never, I am persuaded, advance the interest of the Christian religion in general or of our own Church in particular."

In 1709 Dr. Henry Sacheverell, the preacher at St. Saviour's, Southwark, was appointed to give the 5th of November sermon

[1] Charles Trimnell, Prebendary of Norwich, elected to the See, 23rd January, 1708; translated to Winchester 1721; *ob.* 1723.

at St. Paul's before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. He does not appear to have had any special celebrity as a preacher before this, though he was a well-known London clergyman. He had preached at Derby on 14th August, 1709, and the St. Paul's sermon was a repetition of what he said at Derby. He was a Tory and High Church man, and the Lord Mayor's individual opinions being of the same cast will account for Dr. Sacheverell's appearance in the metropolitan pulpit, the prevailing politics being of an opposite complexion. The sermon reflected the school to which the preacher belonged, vehemently denouncing Toleration, exalting passive obedience and non-resistance, reflecting severely upon the Government, the leading member of which he alluded to under the name of Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, "old fox". The majority of the aldermen, who were Whig and Low Church, were so displeased that the customary vote of thanks and request to print the sermon were withheld, but on the Lord Mayor's private encouragement the sermon was published and widely distributed. This daring attack on the Queen's ministers in the Cathedral of London was highly resented by the party in power; on 13th December the sermon was brought to the notice of the House of Commons, and on 15th December the preacher was impeached before the House of Lords. His trial lasted from 27th February to 23rd March, 1710, and a three years' suspension from preaching followed. Whether it was merely the prosecution itself, or that the people after twenty years were getting rather tired of Whig predominance, Sacheverell instantly became a popular hero, while the country resounded from end to end with the Tory and High Church cry. Queen Anne, who personally sympathised, saw in this agitation the opportunity for a change of parties, and on 14th June dismissed the Secretary of State, Charles Spencer Earl of Sunderland; for as yet ministers were engaged and dismissed individually, the days of Cabinets under a single head not having begun. On 8th August Sidney Earl Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer, who would now be called Premier, was dismissed, and on 21st September Parliament was dissolved. Marlborough was still abroad, engaged in routing French marshals and taking French towns. On 25th November the new Parliament met, the Tories being in a great majority. It was the dividing point in contemporary politics, which, being Whig before, now became, and remained, Tory. On 23rd May, 1711, Harley was made Earl of Oxford, on 29th May Lord High Treasurer and pilot of the new policy.

Sacheverell.

That policy rang with the name of the CHURCH. In 1712, when the period of Dr. Sacheverell's suspension ended, he was sent by the Queen triumphantly to the rich living of St. Andrew on Holborn Hill. "He possessed," as Burnet observes, "little religion, virtue, learning or good sense, but forced himself to preferment by railing at Dissenters and Low Churchmen."

On the night of 28th November, 1710, the roof of Greenwich Parish Church fell in, and on 14th February, 1711, the town petitioned the House of Commons for help to restore it on the ground that a large and poor population had been attracted to Greenwich by the necessities of the navy, so much increased by the wars of this reign. The petition was taken into immediate consideration, with the result that similar petitions began to pour in, one on 17th February, 1711, from the parishioners of St. Mary in the Strand, grounding their claim on the fact that their church had been taken from them in 1549 and demolished for the purposes of Somerset House. On 28th February, 1711, the Lower House of Convocation drew up an address to the Speaker regarding the want of churches in London and Westminster, and on the following day it was sent to the House of Commons. On 29th March, 1711, a royal message was brought to the Commons intimating the urgent need for building new churches in the metropolis, and the Commons in their reply assured the Queen of their willingness to co-operate. On 6th April they passed a resolution recommending the building of fifty new churches in London and Westminster, and on 9th April presented an address to the Queen to that effect, professing it as their object to remedy "the increase of schism and irreligion". The fact that Dissenters were issuing from courts and building their meeting-houses in the open streets, and occupying the city halls which they rented from the great companies, must have acted as a stimulus to Churchmen.

New Churches.

The result was that in 1711 this great Church Extension Act[1] received the royal assent. It was specially provided that one of the fifty churches was to be in the parish of East Greenwich. Funds were to be found, as in the case of rebuilding St. Paul's and the fifty city churches after the Fire, by levying an extra duty on coals. As the first fifty, rebuilt by Wren, were within the walls, this second fifty were to be beyond them. All that could be accomplished of such a vast scheme in the brief re-

[1] 9 Anne, c. 22.

mainder of Queen Anne's reign was to make a start with plans, sites and foundations. In building and architecture the fifty churches belong to George I.'s reign.

In 1711 the Church party sought to stop a common evasion of the Test Act by Dissenters, who attended the Sacrament at church on occasions, and thus by an occasional conformity qualified themselves for office in the eye of the law. An Act to prevent occasional conformity as a qualification for office received the royal assent 22nd December, 1711.[1] The "Schism Act," which received the royal assent 25th June, 1714, indicates the high tide of the Church party in Parliament five weeks before the Queen's death. It was "to prevent the growth of schism, and for the further security of the Church of England as by law established". Its purport was to increase the penalties on Nonconformists, and make dissenting academies, which were numerous and efficient, illegal. It was, however, never enforced, remaining a dead letter down to its repeal in 1719.

[1] 10 Anne, c. 2. Popular title, "Occasional Conformity Act"; parliamentary, "An Act for preserving the Protestant religion by better securing the Church of England as by law established".

CHAPTER XII.

THE HANOVERIAN CHURCH.

§ I.—George I., 1st August, 1714–11th June, 1727.

Sophia Electress of Hanover, granddaughter of James I.,
b. 1630, *d*, 28th May, 1714.

George I., 1714-27.

George II., 1727-60.

Frederick Prince of Wales, *d.* 20th March, 1751.

George III., 1760-1820.

George IV., 1820-30.	William IV., 1830-37.	Edward Duke of Kent, *d.* 23rd Jan., 1820.
		Victoria, 1837-22nd Jan., 1901.

George I. Welcomed.

The succession of George I. had been provided for in 1701 by the Act of Settlement. He was to succeed his mother the Electress Dowager Sophia, James I.'s granddaughter, and her death on 28th May, 1714, had made him heir to the English Crown. The whole official world, lay and clerical, as well as the nation, were by that Act pledged to him. There remained no single point to be settled on his arrival. The national position was fully understood by the public at large, who well knew how James the Pretender at the French court was scheming for what his party called his inheritance in England. To the mass of Englishmen the accession of George I., the last remaining Protestant of their ancient royal house, and the representative of the Protestant succession which a patriotic legislature under the deliverer of 1688 had secured in 1701, brought joyful hope. To the welcome dates 1688 and 1701 was now added 1714, when the blessings of the Reformation

already regained were pledged to their children tangibly and visibly. In his family, who speedily arrived, they beheld the promise of a stable dynasty standing for those blessings after a protracted and dangerous period of uncertainty.

Loyalty to the Hanoverian succession was not an entirely unanimous sentiment in the ranks of the clerical body, but a fine example of it is seen in the attitude of Tenison the Primate, who had followed Tillotson in 1694 before the Act of Settlement. No sooner had Queen Anne ceased to breathe on the morning of Sunday, 1st August, 1714, at Kensington Palace, than the Archbishop hastened to St. James' to head, according to his official duty, the proclamation of King George. In the person of the Primate, then, the Church of England took the first step in this momentous advance, and with an unfaltering promptitude committed herself to the Protestant succession. By the Primate's hand on 31st October in Westminster Abbey the Church placed the crown upon the sovereign's head. The coronation sermon by Talbot, Bishop of Oxford, in its every syllable confirmed the national feeling. The felicitations of the Canterbury Convocation, presented by the whole body of its members, breathed a loyalty not to be exceeded, as did an address of the London clergy to their diocesan and the congratulations of both universities personally presented to His Majesty. It would be too much to assert that addresses from public bodies like these represented without exception the unanimous sentiments of those in whose name they went forth, for there were divisions among the clergy as well as among the laity in matters which so deeply engaged the feelings ; yet the party of loyalty everywhere prevailed sufficiently to dictate the language finally adopted.

James II.'s son, James Francis Edward, the elder Pretender, "James III.," now twenty-seven, was on the death of Anne at the French court, which refused him open co-operation, but promised secret aid, for the recovery of his father's crown. On 3rd September, 1715, his partisans in Scotland, under the Earl of Mar, rose in arms, and on 4th October proclaimed him King. Marches and battles ensued in Scotland and in the northern counties, but by superior vigour in King George's counsels the rebellion was kept in check. We are concerned with it here for the light it throws on English Church history. It occasioned a fresh demonstration of Church of England loyalty to the Hanoverian throne. On 3rd November, 1715, appeared a *Declaration of Abhorrence* of the present rebellion, signed by the

Archbishop of Canterbury and thirteen bishops then in or near London. It calls King George their lawful and rightful sovereign. It says: "We are the more concerned to vindicate the honour of the Church of England because the chief hopes of our enemies seem to arise from the discontents artificially raised among us, and because some who have valued themselves and have been too much valued by others for a pretended zeal for the Church have joined with Papists in these wicked attempts. May not we in this matter appeal to the experience of all countries whether a succession of Popish princes have not ruined the Protestant religion wherever it has been planted?"

This rebellion inspired two sermons delivered on 5th November, when the bishops' *Declaration* was in all hands, one by Bentley before the University of Cambridge, the other by White Kennett, Dean of Peterborough, before the Lord Mayor at St. Paul's. Bentley says: "He that propagates suspected doctrines, such as praying for the dead, auricular confession, and the like, whose tendency is the gain and power of the priest, what is he but a negotiator for his partisans abroad? What does he but sow the seed of Popery in the very soil of the Reformation? For the double festivity therefore of this candid and joyful day, for the double deliverance obtained in it, for the happy preservation of our religion, laws and liberties, under the protection of pious and gracious princes, be all thanks, praise and glory to God." [1]

By other men of Bentley's fame and calibre, in powerful language like his, on the strong grounds of national urgency and of Scriptural warrant, was the Protestantism of that day supported; and because so supported, not left to declamation and wild tirade, Protestantism has both in name and in substance come down from many dangers a precious inheritance to us.

Clerical disaffection, where it did exist, was found chiefly in the parochial ministry and in the lower House of Convocation, where secret sympathy with Jacobites and Nonjurors was, if anywhere, to be found. Open and direct display of Jacobite opinions was not ventured on, for condign punishment was sure to follow. But veiled or *crypto*-Jacobitism was here and there unscrupulously indulged in by men who, having taken the oaths to King George, remained in possession of their pulpits. Specimens are to be met with among the sermons preserved in the British Museum, which show a wonderful art in conveying the most complete Jacobite sentiments in Bible language and Bible history without ex-

[1] Wordsworth, *Eccl. Biog.*, i., 161-63.

posing the preachers to penalties, while every allusion must have been understood and keenly followed by those in the secret.

Georgian Nonjurors.

At the accession of George I. there were four bishops among the Nonjurors, Hickes, Collier, Hawes, Spinckes—Wagstaff having died. There was also a priest ordained by Hickes, Laurence Howell. On 1st July, 1715, Dr. Thomas Brett senior, a clergyman, joined them. On 20th August, 1715, an Act enjoining oaths of allegiance and abjuration to be taken by all officials received the royal assent.[1] On 15th December, 1715, Bishop Hickes died, leaving three bishops. By 8th May, 1716, when a public thanksgiving for 7th June was appointed, the Pretender's rebellion was considered quelled. On 26th June, 1716, Gandy and Brett were made bishops by Collier, Spinckes and Hawes, and the Nonjurors had now five men of station, piety and literary ability, ready to encounter any extremity in piloting their cause. The rank and file also were prepared to yield up life and fortune with heroic devotion. Now began their open usurpation of the title *The Church of England*, and their taunting with being in schism the body from which they had separated. In a private way among themselves they had begun this practice earlier. Hickes in his will (executed 23rd November, 1713) declared that he died "in communion with the Church of England". He certainly so used the title, and in the work composed before his death (which occurred 15th December, 1715) he expressly gave it that meaning.[2] Brett joined the Nonjurors on 1st July, 1715, when an office for receiving penitents from schism [3] drawn up for such occasions was used.[4] The title appears to have been first publicly employed by them at Tyburn (13th July, 1716), when two Nonjurors of position, William Paul a clergyman and John Hall a magistrate, were executed for their share in the rebellion. They avowed themselves true members of the Church of England, while they were at much pains to explain that they did not refer to that "Revolution schismatical Church" so abhorred by them and commonly called the Church of England. It was afterwards proclaimed in formal conclave by responsible leaders, when negotiating with the Eastern Church, who then officially styled their body "the

[1] 1 Geo. I., st. 2, c. 13, for securing the Protestant Succession and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales and his abettors; *Statutes at Large*, xiii., 187; *Lords Journals*, xx., 176.

[2] Lathbury, *Nonjurors*, 270.

[3] Given in full in the *Weekly Journal's* account of Howell, 15th September, 1716, and in the *Daily Courant*, 10th September, 1716.

[4] Lathbury, *Nonjurors*, 249.

orthodox and Catholic remnant of the British Churches," and later in the same proceedings, "The remnant of the Britannic Churches in these Islands".

In August, 1716, while the rebellion was smouldering and the greatest anxiety prevailed among the friends of the Hanoverian succession, a secret press in London was surprised working off a tract by Laurence Howell, called *The Case of Schism.* He argued that the Nonjurors were the real Church of England, while the body commonly called by that name consisted of mere schismatics, who had separated from the Nonjurors, not the Nonjurors from them. The case of schism, therefore, said Howell, had to be reversed. This might have passed for a harmless impertinence, but when the tract went on to deny the title of King George, that was treason, for which Howell was condemned to pay a heavy fine.

In October, 1716, two months after Howell's tract and soon after the death of Hickes, there appeared under his name a substantial volume on the same lines as Howell's tract, but debating the point theologically and containing nothing treasonable that could cause the book to be suppressed. By its great ability, however, and specious arguments, it was calculated to damage the Church; for example it asserted the imperative duty of all true Christians (*i.e.*, Nonjurors) to come out from the schismatic body and join the true (*i.e.*, Nonjuring) Church. This was in fact a summons to Nonjurors to forsake their parish churches (which up to that time they had attended without, however, joining in the State prayers, of which they ostentatiously showed their disapproval) and form conventicles of their own. Historically these two publications of 1716, Howell's and Hickes', especially the latter, which furnished Howell with his main materials, led to the Nonjurors becoming a separate and seceding community. In 1689 they refused their allegiance to the Throne; in 1716 they forsook communion with the Church of England and formed a new sect.

In July, 1716, just when the Nonjurors, led by five zealous bishops, were on the point of openly assuming the proud title of Church of England, they accidentally came in contact with the Eastern Church in the following circumstances.[1] Arsenius, Archbishop of Thebais in Upper Egypt, within the Patriarchate of Alexandria, was in London soliciting pecuniary relief for his people who were then in poverty and great distress. With the

[1] Lathbury, *Nonjurors*, 310.

archimandrite or abbot in attendance on him the Nonjuring bishops soon became acquainted, and the idea struck them that here was an opportunity for the real "Church of England" and the Church of the East to unite, oblivious of the fact that as Westerns they themselves belonged essentially (in Oriental opinion) to the Western Patriarchate, and could not unite with any others. They also forgot that the corruptions of the Eastern Church were, as one of their own number reminded them, on a level with those of Rome itself. On 18th August, 1716, in London, the bishops of the "Orthodox and Catholic remnant of the British Churches"[1] addressed proposals for a *concordat* to the Eastern Patriarchs, formulated in twelve Articles, and accompanied by a statement of twelve points in which the signatories agreed with the Eastern Churches, as well as five others in which they differed from them, one of the five being transubstantiation. They suggested[2] that, if a *concordat* could be agreed on, "with some limitations and indulgences on both sides," a Church, to be called the *Concordia*, should be built in or about London, which might be under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and in which, at certain times to be agreed on, an English service approved or licensed by that Patriarch, or by the representatives of the Oriental Church, should be performed.

The Archbishop of Thebais had this application in his hands while all London was ringing with Howell and his *Case of Schism*. He was aware of the actual position held by his correspondents towards that Anglican Church whose alms he had come to solicit, and could not therefore hope for much support if he lent himself to secret negotiations for the establishment of such a schismatic body as the Church of the *Concordia*. The small amount of common sense possessed by these ardent confessors must be patent to all who peruse the voluminous correspondence in Lathbury's *Nonjurors*.[3]

An internal schism within a body actuated by such manifest unwisdom can surprise nobody; and one came through the action of Jeremy Collier, a man of literary ability and determined temper, who became the ruling spirit of the Nonjurors after Hickes' death. On the secession in 1716 the celebration of Holy Communion was continued unaltered; but Collier soon grew impatient for changes, and on 23rd July, 1717, the adoption of the Communion Office of Edward's First Prayer Book, 1549, was discussed by

[1] Lathbury, *Nonjurors*, 310, 311. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

[3] The Nonjurors' last letter is dated 11th April, 1725, the Russian Chancellor's last 16th Sept., 1725, and then the matter dropped: Lathbury, *Nonjurors*, 357.

the Nonjurors.[1] The innovating party aimed at introducing four things which the Church of England had discarded: 1. The mixed chalice; 2. A prayer for the dead; 3. A prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit on the eucharistic elements at consecration; 4. An oblatory prayer. The term *usages* employed in this movement embraced all these points, although the mixed chalice was the only ritual observance. In the course of 1717 appeared Collier's *Reasons* for adopting them, while an opposition was led by Nathaniel Spinckes, who was Collier's equal in earnestness of conviction, in obstinacy of action, and in sacrifices for Nonjuring principles. The two parties thus arrayed were named Usagers and Anti-usagers. On 19th December, 1717, a party headed by Collier and Brett declared for the usages. On 5th April, 1718, a new Communion Office, not that of 1549, but one adapted from it on Collier's plan, was printed, and on Easter Day, 13th April, 1717, in spite of all the remonstrances of the Anti-usagers threatening disruption, that office was brought into use by Collier and his friends. Nonjurorism thenceforward existed in two rival and irreconcilable camps, each having its episcopal succession. After this rupture the contest was carried on with much bitterness, and some of both parties sought refuge in the Church of England.[2] The Nonjuring cause was practically ruined; in the reign of George II. its adherents were a dwindling sect, but they were not actually extinct until the later years of George III.[3]

The Bangorian Controversy.

After several replies to Howell and Hickes, from various standpoints, some conceding the main principle of the Nonjuring contention while holding out on minor points, there appeared on 20th November, 1716, a pamphlet by Benjamin Hoadly Bishop of Bangor, entitled *A Preservative from the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors*. This challenged the entire Nonjuring position. No one of episcopal rank had as yet come forward in this dispute, and Hoadly's office as well as his ability caused his pamphlet to be scrutinised very closely, for the question opened was the actual constitution of the Church. Hoadly, like many other bishops then, was of the Low Church party, and many High Church clergy did not accept his arguments. For the moment, however, no direct opposition was offered to what he had written. The pamphlet will be further noticed as we proceed, and meantime another of his writings requires attention.

In 1717 Hoadly, who, before his elevation to the episcopate

[1] Lathbury, *Nonjurors*, 277. [2] *Ibid.*, 362. [3] *Ibid.*, 277.

as Bishop of Bangor, had been a London rector, and had not yet gone to his diocese, was among the Lent preachers at the Chapel Royal, St. James'. The selection was made by the Bishop of London from among the ablest divines of the day. Hoadly's turn to preach came on 31st March, when the King was himself present. In modern days the sovereign is seldom if ever present on these occasions; but George I., having been bred a Lutheran, was scrupulous in attending worship in this semi-public way, to avoid any accusation of being disaffected to the Church of England. Hoadly took up what had become one of the most interesting questions of the day, the nature of Church authority, his text being St. John xviii. 36, "My kingdom is not of this world". The sermon, entitled *The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ*, was immediately afterwards printed by express royal command. The keenest attention was instantly aroused, and Hoadly's two publications were criticised together. The *Preservative* maintained against the Nonjurors the two following points: 1. *The royal succession is not limited to the direct line*, a proposition traversing the whole Jacobite position, which asserted that the direct line of the Stuarts might not by any possibility be set aside in favour of the Hanoverian branch which was a younger one; 2. *The civil power may depose bishops*, a proposition vindicating the deprival by statute of those eight prelates who refused the oath to William and Mary in 1689. The sermon maintained that *No human power has a right to interfere by penalties in matters of faith.*

The Nature of Church Authority.

Hoadly was an able dialectician; but his style is prolix, tedious and hard to follow. He appears to content himself with negativing what is extreme without properly asserting his own views. He makes his position known not by open, fair and direct statement, but by a process of elaborately guarding and qualifying, which few have the patience to follow.

The silencing of Convocation for a very long period was one result of this sermon, and has given it an unusual interest. On 3rd May, 1717, it was brought before the Lower House, and a condemnatory resolution was passed upon it, on the charge of its tending to abrogate the civil authority in Church matters. An accusation of this kind from such a High Church quarter, if unexplained, might well cause surprise. The Lower House was not here deprecating any less civil control over itself. Its language as reported, but somewhat abbreviated, ran thus: "The Bishop of Bangor has given great offence by his sermon, the

tendency of which . . . is generally allowed to be to impugn . . . the regal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and the authority of the legislature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions". Hoadly's opponents keenly felt that if the royal supremacy did not deal with Church offences, all Church discipline was at an end. This was distinctly recognised by the Lower House on 10th May, when Hoadly's doctrine was said to have a tendency "to subvert all government and discipline in the Church of Christ and to reduce His Kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion". Neither the Lower House nor any of the hostile pamphlets charged Hoadly with impugning the royal supremacy in so many words, directly and explicitly. The House complained that the "tendency" of his doctrine was "generally allowed to be" to impugn it. Dr. Trapp urged that the sermon impugned the royal supremacy *consequentially*. Archdeacon Cannon said that no one in the House had the least doubt of the *evil tendency* of the sermon in prejudice of the royal supremacy. Hoadly himself stoutly denied any such tendency, asserting that such was not his meaning, and that his opponents had put an entirely wrong construction on his words, by overlooking all his modifying statements.

The Lower House on 10th May had just resolved that a statement of the charges made against the Bishop of Bangor should be entered in their Acts, when the Prolocutor was summoned to the Upper House, probably then sitting in the Jerusalem Chamber, which was entered from the Abbey Cloisters, while the Lower House sat in Henry VII.'s Chapel. It is evident that Archbishop Wake and the Government had paid close attention to all that had been going forward for a week among the members of the Lower House, and that the crisis had been provided for. The two Houses must have been in close communication sitting in such near proximity, and no sooner was the Bishop of Bangor's condemnation voted in the Lower House than the Prolocutor was summoned to the Upper. A deed of prorogation by the King, produced by the Archbishop, was read, and all proceedings suddenly stopped.

Any other issue is inconceivable. The Bishop of Bangor's sermon, preached before the King in person in the Chapel Royal, had been printed by His Majesty's express command; the Lower House of Convocation was about formally to record an emphatic condemnation of it—presbyters taking the matter out of the hands of the bishops—not for any positive statement the sermon contained, but for its *tendency*. A gross insult to the

King had been perpetrated, and the matter could not have rested there. Archbishop Wake, who had lived all through the heated debates of Convocation in Queen Anne's reign, must have foreseen a prolonged controversy. By this prorogation he determined to forestall it.

It is not to be understood that by this action of the Crown Convocation was suppressed. Convocation, as a part of the constitution of the realm, could only be suppressed by statute, and it continued as before to be elected with every new parliament, and to meet at the opening of every session. The difference was that Convocation, as soon as opened with all its venerable ceremonies, and before proceeding to real business of any kind, was immediately prorogued by the inherent right of the archbishop himself. Convocation was not suppressed, but merely silenced for the time being, and the power of discussion was not restored to it until the year 1852.

The Bangorian controversy lasted until 1724, when attention was diverted to other absorbing questions. The chief point of the discussion from the first was Church Authority, but it branched off in many directions. Almost all the Church questions that are being debated in our own times—the priesthood, apostolic succession, sacerdotal absolution, eucharistic oblation, vestments, ritual—were fully dealt with in the numberless pamphlets of the Bangorian controversy. The booklets bear a wonderful resemblance in their matter to similar productions at the present day, and in many respects the questions now thought so novel are but a revival of those so hotly contested then. The word "Bangorian" itself expresses nothing, and is only a convenient term covering the multitudinous topics originating from Bishop Hoadly's two brochures.

Jacobitism in the Church.

The charitable movement for the Christian education of poor and neglected children, begun by the S. P. C. K. under William III. and carried on so hopefully through Anne's reign, had to be saved by its founders and friends under George I. from being seized and controlled by a party. On the day of the royal entry into London, 20th September, 1714, the children (4,000 in number) of the Metropolitan Charity Schools were presented to the King.[1] The sight of those children as the procession rounded from Cheapside, deeply touched the King. Such a scene was probably then not to be met with elsewhere in Christendom, and the Church

[1] *Post Boy*, 25th-28th Sept., 1714, describing the scene.

of England was presenting to the world a great example. It revealed exceptional possibilities, as was suggested a few months later from the pulpit of Hereford cathedral. "The argument for Christianity," said the preacher, Dr. Richard Smallbroke,[1] a prebendary of Hereford, "is now by the labours of the ablest men of the age complete, the adversary has been beaten off at every point, the Christian Advocate is triumphant; yet there is no faith, and profligacy reigns supreme as before. Demonstration grows; ill morals keep pace with it. Why? Because the heart has not been won. Only the power of God can avail there. The world must be rescued in its young; the reformers of the age must seek the children, that new strength may be added to religion, God's praise be perfected by the mouths of babes, that so the enemy may at last be stilled and confounded." In 1716, although the Jacobite rebellion was suppressed, the Jacobite spirit burnt on, and an attempt was made to extend it among these 4,000 scholars of the Church. The most alarming fact was that their own teachers were in the plot. On 3rd October, 1716, the masters of Addle Hill, St. Anne Aldersgate, and St. Anne Westminster schools were pronounced "unfit to be teachers for their disaffection to His Majesty King George, which was plainly made appear against them".[2] On 6th October "several of the schoolmasters" were removed on suspicion of being disaffected.[3] Worse still, the offending masters were but co-operating with Jacobite clergy who were spreading disaffection under the pretext of preaching for charity schools. The archbishop however supported the trustees in their endeavours to check the movement, and it was in a short time completely suppressed.

Arianism Resisted.

English Arianism of modern times,[4] which in its later and more important stages belongs to the reign of George I., commenced in that of Anne. William Whiston, born 1667, successor in 1702 of Sir Isaac Newton in the mathematical chair at Cambridge, preacher in 1707 of the Boyle lecture, began to be suspected, in June, 1708, of being an Arian, and in August became known as such by his request to the Vice-Chancellor for permission to have an Arian essay he had written printed at the University Press. Permission was refused, and Whiston's Arianism was noised all over Cambridge. Notwith-

[1] Sermon, 4th Jan., 1715, from Ps. viii. 2, at St. Peter's, for the Charity School then recently erected in that parish.

[2] *St. James's Evening Post*, 6th-9th Oct., 1716; *Weekly Journal*, 13th Oct., 1716, p. 535.

[3] Salmon's *Chronological Historian* at date.

[4] John Whitaker, *History of Arianism*.

standing this rebuff, he formed plans for propagating his ideas through the University in the boldest manner.

Samuel Clarke, another Cambridge man, born 1675, was as great a classic as Whiston was a mathematician. In 1704, and again in 1705, he was the Boyle lecturer. In 1709 he became Rector of St. James', Piccadilly. The following year he proceeded to Cambridge to obtain the degree of Doctor in Divinity. There he met Whiston, who found him so much of an Arian that he strongly advised him to avoid taking the degree, as this would involve his signing the Thirty-nine Articles; but Clarke, being able to satisfy his own mind, declined the advice. Whiston himself, when the university met after the long vacation, was found so eagerly propagating his views that the authorities deprived him of his professorship, and on 30th October, 1710, banished him from the university. Settling in London, in Cross Street, Hatton Garden, he started an active propaganda, publishing books, setting up Arian worship, and forming an Arian association.

Clarke is principally remembered by his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity,* which appeared in 1712. When however its Arian character had become understood, it was strongly opposed. From 2nd June to 7th July there were many warm discussions on it in Convocation, but nothing was done. Towards the end of 1718, Clarke began to make significant changes in the service in his church. For his purposes the metrical psalmody appeared to offer an opening. Hymn books were unknown in the Church service, and only the metrical psalter by Tate and Brady was used, which had a few hymns at the end. Neither these hymns nor the psalms lent themselves to his views, but Clarke altered the metrical doxologies, which were then often sung at the end of the metrical psalms, as the *Gloria Patri* is after the prose psalms, to emphasise their Christian character. One of these authorised doxologies ran thus:

To God, through Christ His only Son,
Immortal glory be.

An Arian does not like the title "only Son" applied to our Lord, and Dr. Clarke altered thus:

To God, through Christ, His Son our Lord,
All glory be therefore.

Other doxologies were similarly changed, and although the substituted forms could not be pronounced wrong in themselves, the intent was obvious and the example dangerous. It was the re-

vival of the old battle of the doxologies in the fourth century.[1] Robinson Bishop of London, seeing the gravity of this movement, issued a letter, 26th December, 1718, to his clergy, not mentioning St. James' or its rector, but reflecting in the severest and most solemn terms on *new forms of doxology with more than a suspicion of heresy about them.*

Among Nonconformists also the writings of Whiston and Clarke soon began to unsettle people's minds, and matters came to a point in the so-called Presbyterian body. Presbyterian, the usual title then, inherited from early Stuart times, had become in England little else than a name, the Presbyterians being practically Independents. Two of their ministers at Exeter, Peirce and Hallett, were discovered by their flocks to have relinquished all hold of Trinitarian doctrine, and were observed to be suppressing such language as implied any belief in it. The Presbyterian community in the city took alarm, and opened communications on the subject with prominent Dissenters in London, who thereupon arranged for a conference or synod at Salters' Hall. The Salters' Hall Synod, a memorable assembly in dissenting history, was held from 19th February to 7th April, 1719, and was attended by about one hundred and fifty leading London ministers, many of them professed Independents. Their deliberations indicated that the mischief complained of at Exeter had largely penetrated the whole body in London. A resolution that the Synod should testify its own orthodoxy by subscribing to the first Article of the Church of England (on the Trinity), with the fifth and sixth Answers of the Westminster Assembly's Catechism, secured but sixty-nine votes against seventy-three, the majority alleging that the Bible was their only standard, subscription to creeds being inconsistent with their principles. Two parties, Subscribers and Non-subscribers, were thus constituted, the minority (Subscribers) seceding from the Assembly, and forming a separate one of their own. Each party drew up its *Advice for Peace* to the Exeter brethren, each published its own version of the Synod, and thus a war of recrimination began. Indescribable excitement now seized the whole dissenting world, the permanent result being thus stated by one of their modern writers: "From this time Unitarianism spread with unexampled rapidity".[2] Nearly every Nonconformist church in Exeter, and some of the principal

Arianism at Exeter.

[1] See an instance in *D.C.B.* under LEONTIUS (2) Bishop of Antioch.
[2] Herbert Skeats, *Free Churches*, 310.

churches in Devonshire and Somersetshire, lapsed from the orthodox standard. "The Presbyterian churches of London, Lancashire, Cheshire, became similarly infected. In less than half a century the doctrines of the great founders of Presbyterianism could scarcely be heard from any Presbyterian pulpit in England." [1] In other words, by about 1770 nearly all the Presbyterian congregations in England had adopted Arianism. Roughly speaking, in London the Congregationalists were "Subscribers," [2] the Presbyterians "Non-subscribers". It was now, *cir.* 1720, that the Unitarians became a separate denomination. They had previously worshipped with other Dissenters, among whom they had been considered only a school of opinion.[3] A large number of the present Unitarian chapels were not built and endowed as such, but simply lapsed from older and orthodox foundations.

Dr. Daniel Waterland, born 1683, was the chief opponent of modern Arianism. On taking his B.D. degree in 1714, he was required to maintain publicly in the schools, as an exercise, some point of divinity. Just then Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* was exciting keen debate, and Waterland adopted for his thesis the question of Arian subscription to the Articles, with special reference to a position laid down by Clarke in that work, namely, that one may subscribe "whenever he can in any sense at all reconcile them to Scripture". The essay was not published at the time, but it is included in Waterland's *Works*. In 1719, while the world was ringing with the Arian dispute, now aggravated by the Salters' Hall proceedings, Waterland's first published treatise appeared, *A Vindication of Christ's Divinity*. The same year Clarke brought out a second edition of his *Scripture Doctrine*, omitting the passage about subscription.

The Moyer Lectures, established to oppose the Arianism of the day, were founded in 1720 by Lady Moyer in memory of her husband, a merchant in the parish of St. Stephen Walbrook, London, and were continued yearly till 1797. The first Moyer lecturer was Waterland, who was appointed by Bishop Robinson of London. In 1720 his Moyer course was preached at St. Paul's, and published in the same year under the title, *Eight Sermons in Defence of the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ*. In their methods Waterland and Clarke entirely differed; Waterland adduced the most cogent texts of Scripture he could find, and interpreted them according to their generally

[1] Herbert Skeats, *Free Churches*, 311. [2] *Ibid.*, 306. [3] *Ibid.*, 311.

received and plain sense, while Clarke explained Scripture by what he called the maxims of right reasoning. Obviously the two combatants fought on different principles, and their arguments appealed to different orders of mind.

As an opponent of Whiston there appeared Daniel Finch Earl of Nottingham, son of Lord Chancellor Heneage Finch the first earl. He was a man of the highest character, who had taken an active part in politics, and now in his old age occupied the post of Lord President of the Council. Whiston had addressed to him (10th July, 1719) his pamphlet on the *Doxologies*. The earl replied in a book of over 160 pages, which did not appear until 21st November, 1720. The noble writer's position, reputation and literary talent attracted wide attention to his volume, which gave rise to much rejoicing on the orthodox side. From March to May, 1721, public thanks were offered to him on six occasions, the example having been set by both universities. The subsequent and larger treatise of Waterland on the subject, the *Second Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, 1723, was regarded with great satisfaction by those who were influenced by the weight of Scripture. It may be considered to have silenced all open Arian opposition. In 1724 appeared Collins's deistical *Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (noticed further on), assailing in the most daring manner Christianity itself, and attention was at once diverted to this new and greater danger. The Arian controversy was thus prominent only during ten years, from 1714, when Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine* was taken up in Convocation, to the publication of Collins's *Grounds and Reasons* in 1724. In the presence of this graver peril the Bangorian controversy was also forgotten. But although thus limited in duration and exceeded in importance by the deistical controversy which followed, the Arian attack led by Whiston and Clarke was disquieting in no small degree.

Pulpit Teaching.

Preaching of a semi-Pelagian character had more or less prevailed in English churches from the time of the Restoration; this was especially the case in Anne's reign, when Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica* was received without question, and normal orthodoxy meant justification by works. Moral essays putting forward the *Whole Duty of Man*, without Christ or the Holy Spirit, were no safeguard against popular Arianism. It becomes therefore especially interesting to watch the growth of a more evangelical tone in public teaching, in sermons, popular treatises, and the charges of clergy and bishops. As early as 1700 the treatise of Benjamin Jenks of Harley, Salop,

Submission to the Righteousness of God, had appeared; in 1701, 1704 the same author's *Evangelical Meditations,* consisting of two hundred brief expositions of the doctrines and practical duties of the Christian religion, were issued. In 1722 Bishop Boulter of Bristol[1] said in his sermon before the S. P. G. in London: "The faith and repentance that are requisite to the remission of sins are themselves the gift of God for the sake of Christ and wrought in us by His Holy Spirit, which is part of the purchase of His blood". Similar teaching was heard in Bristol in the middle of the century, and was strongly represented there later by Biddulph. In 1724 the learned Bishop Gibson told his clergy in London: "We are *Christian* preachers and not barely preachers of morality. . . . The main end of Christ's coming was to establish a new covenant with mankind, founded upon new terms and new promises; to show us a new way of obtaining forgiveness of sins and reconciliation to God and eternal happiness. . . . These are without doubt the main ingredients of the Gospel, those by which Christianity stands distinguished from all other religions. . . . It would seem strange if a Christian preacher were to dwell only upon such duties as are common to Jews, heathens and Christians, and were not more especially obliged to inculcate those principles and doctrines which are the distinguishing excellences of the Christian religion. And yet so it is, that these subjects are too much forgotten among young preachers; who, being better acquainted with morality than divinity, fall naturally into the choice of moral rather than divine subjects. . . . This partiality seems to have had its rise from the ill times when, the pulpits being much taken up with some select points of divinity, discourses upon moral heads were less common; and after those times were over, their successors, upon the Restoration, desirous to correct that error and to be upon the whole as little like their predecessors as might be, seem to have fallen into the contrary extreme, so that probably the heads of divinity began to be as rarely treated of as the heads of morality had been before."

In most delicate though most unmistakable manner, this Bishop of London invites his clergy to make their preaching more evangelical. He does not actually use that word, but employs the terms "Gospel," "Christian," in all the meaning which they strictly bear. The moral-essay style was in possession of the English pulpit. It had become increasingly the

[1] Hugh Boulter, consecrated for the See of Bristol, 15th Nov., 1719; translated to Armagh, 1724.

fashion since the Restoration, at which period appeared the *Whole Duty* and Bull's *Harmonia.* Such a call for more evangelical preaching among the English clergy from a prelate so high in rank, so scholarly, so wide-read, before the days of the Evangelical leaders, should not pass unobserved.

The Government and the Church.

Hardly was the new reign begun when a cry of "Church in danger!" made itself heard. Many honestly believed that the Church of England's position would be seriously impaired; others meant only by a factious alarm to discredit the party in power and represent it as inimical to the Church.

Some anticipation of danger was fairly excusable. The King had been nurtured in the Lutheran system. But that system was not anti-episcopal or Presbyterian. The constitution of the Lutheran Church has always been in principle mainly Episcopal. In some countries where it is established it is even called occasionally by that title, although its ordaining chief pastors are named Superintendents not Bishops. A Lutheran king need not have more difficulty in adapting himself to English Episcopacy than the English S. P. C. K. of the period had in acknowledging and working with Lutheran superintendency in Denmark. Another honest cause of disquietude was the circumstance that the Dissenters were ardent supporters of the new régime and were sure to be in some manner requited and favoured by it. The fact that the enemies of the Church were elated at the prospect presented by these circumstances might well excuse the forebodings of anxious friends.

The King and his ministers foresaw all this, and from the earliest moment the royal word was solemnly pledged that while the Toleration Act would be respected and even extended, the position of the Church would be upheld. No opportunity was missed of reiterating this assurance in the most emphatic manner. It will be useful therefore to review the status of the Church of England during the thirteen years of this reign; to see to what extent the forebodings of danger were realised, and the assurances of safety carried out.

Measures reckoned adverse to the Church were :—

(1) The Quaker Affirmation Acts, 1715, 1722. The first[1] merely perpetuated an Act of William III., and being no novelty was scarcely noticed. The Act of 1722[2] caused much uneasiness among Church people, for reasons which require explanation. The

[1] 1 Geo. I., st. 2, c. 6, 20th July, 1715, *Statutes at Large*, xiii., 147.
[2] 8 Geo. I., c. 6, 12th Feb., 1722, *Statutes at Large*, xiv., 377.

Act of William and that of 1715 made the formula of affirmation to run : "In the solemn presence of Almighty God". In 1722 these words, which Quakers felt to be a grievance, were omitted, and the anticipated danger to the Church was that as the Quakers were strenuously opposing tithes, an affirmation which did not even mention the name of God would be treated lightly by them in a court of law in any evidence on a tithe case. It was likewise urged that to encourage a people who repudiated the Christian sacraments was imperilling the safety of the Church. On both grounds the new affirmation was warmly contested. The London clergy petitioned against it. Both archbishops were against it; but several bishops supported the bill, showing that the Church was divided as to the reality of the danger.

(2) The silencing of Convocation in 1717 was regarded as a blow aimed at the Church by the Government.

(3) The repeal in 1719[1] of the Occasional Conformity Act of 1711 allowed Dissenters their old evasions of the Test Act, and it became quite common again for them to hold public offices.

(4) In 1719 the Schism Act of 1714 was repealed.[2] That Act had never been enforced, and its repeal could hardly have been any real danger.

(5) The deposition of a bishop by the civil power in 1724. The bishop was Atterbury of Rochester, who was accused of high treason, as he had engaged in correspondence with the Pretender. There had been earlier instances of such deposition in the case of the eight nonjuring bishops under William III., and the papalist bishops who refused Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy.

On the other hand the Church's position was secured and its prospects improved in various ways:—

(1) Whitehall was made a Chapel Royal open to the public and served by graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. They were called Chaplains in Ordinary to the King and the first appointments were made on 18th February, 1715. A different chaplain was appointed for each Sunday in the year, and many university men of standing were thus brought into public notice.

(2) In 1715 Queen Anne's Bounty Act of 1703 was confirmed.[3] On 8th December, 1719, the Governors gave notice

[1] 5 Geo. I., c. 4, 18th Feb., 1719, for strengthening the Protestant interest, *Lords' Journals*, xxi., 74.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] By 1 Geo. I., st. 2, c. 10, 2nd Aug., 1715, *Statutes at Large*, xiii., 150.

of their intention to augment the incomes of sixty-three small livings with £200 each.[1]

(3) In 1715 the Fifty Churches Scheme of 1711 was supplemented by a measure of endowment, the Commons being requested by a royal message[2] to provide a maintenance for the ministers of eleven new churches out of the fifty. An Act to that effect received the royal assent on 21st September, 1715. The Fifty Churches design could not advance under Anne beyond the preparation stage. The number of new churches that were actually built fell far indeed short of fifty. Among those that exist as a result of this movement are St. Paul Deptford, St. Mary-le-Strand, St. John Westminster, Christ Church Spitalfields, St. George-in-the-East, St. George Hanover Square, St. George Bloomsbury, St. Anne Limehouse. The enormous sums needed for those first taken in hand limited the "fifty" to a very modest number. About half the money allowed for the entire set was spent on six or seven, £18,000 going to St. Mary-le-Strand, and £40,000 (through the sinking of the ground) to St. John Westminster. To specify completely what was accomplished would be no easy matter, as supplemental Acts complicated the original scheme, extending its effects to churchyards and to adaptations or rebuilding of existing fabrics. Although therefore far from fifty new churches were built, it must not be imagined that the princely vote of the Commons was squandered on a few edifices.

(4) On 20th March, 1724, the King ordered[3] that the duty of preaching at Whitehall should be performed by twenty-four clergymen, two for each month. They were to be Fellows of colleges in the two universities, recommended by the Dean of the Chapel Royal, and were to receive a salary of £30 a year. They were to commence their duties on Easter Day, 5th April, 1724.

Whitehall Preachers.

(5) The Test and Corporation Acts, upon which the friends of the Church laid very great stress, and which it was at one time proposed to repeal, were deliberately maintained.

Upon the whole, as George I.'s reign proceeded, its supporters, who staked their credit on predictions that the Church would not be endangered by it, held warmly to all they had

[1] *London Gazette*, 8th Dec., 1719.

[2] *Commons' Journals*, 16th, 17th, 23rd, 26th, 31st Aug., 1715. The Bill began in the Commons, 31st Aug.; the Act was 1 Geo. I., st. 2, c. 23, *Statutes at Large*, xiii., 254.

[3] In the *London Gazette* of 20th March, 1723 (O.S.).

advanced, withdrawing nothing, qualifying nothing. They might indeed have confidently affirmed that as the Church of England by her ministry heartily supported the House of Hanover and the Protestant Succession, so the country stood by the Church, confirmed her position and upheld her status.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE HANOVERIAN CHURCH (*Continued*).

§ II.—GEORGE II., 11TH JUNE, 1727–25TH OCTOBER, 1760.

ENGLISH deism, which in its main developments belongs to this period in our history, requires that for its first beginnings we should go back to 1624 to the treatise of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *On Truth, De Veritate,* the argument of which, though respectful in language, tended to destroy the whole Christian position. Its author, who was a brother of the Christian poet George Herbert of Bemerton, died in 1648, and lies buried in the chancel of St. Giles in the Fields, beneath a conspicuous tomb recording that he was the author of *De Veritate.* The work occasioned no open controversy in the troubled political period which followed its appearance, and the first public answer it received was that of Baxter's *Animadversions* in 1672, when deism was greatly on the increase. In later years, after the Revolution, the *De Veritate* was controverted by Locke and Halyburton.

Deism Controverted.

The Boyle Lecture, established by the will of the Hon. Robert Boyle in 1691, was a sign that the deistic movement begun by the *De Veritate* and matured in Baxter's day bore a threatening character. Mr. Boyle, an elder contemporary of Sir Isaac Newton, and an earnest Christian, was the son of an Earl of Cork, and an eminent experimental philosopher on the lines which had been laid down by Lord Bacon. The idea of his foundation (the first one of its kind in the Church of England) was that every year, or two years, a preacher competent to present the Christian argument should deliver a course of sermons adapted to the ever-changing requirements of the times. While opponents sought new ground as science and knowledge advanced, he desired that a defender should be also forthcoming, equally equipped with the best knowledge of his age. Boyle's lecturer was to deal with non-Christians only—"Atheists, Theists, Pagans, Jews and Mahometans,"—without entering upon the points on which

Christians differed among themselves. By "theists" Boyle meant those now called "deists,"—those who, while they deny the divinity of Christ, acknowledge the existence of a deity. A "Theist" is any believer in God as opposed to an "Atheist". One reason for both hope and anxiety in Boyle's time may have been the appearance in 1687 of Newton's *Principia;* for hope, in the new demonstration of a Lawgiver and living Governor in the material universe; for anxiety, in the adverse use which irreligious philosophers might make of the new demonstration of Law.

Richard Bentley, the first Boyle lecturer, 1692, choosing for his subject *The Folly and Unreasonableness of Atheism,* undertook to demonstrate the existence of God, and made use of the argument of the *Principia.* The mathematical proof there given by Newton of the planetary movements being in great part due to some central attracting force acting according to the law of the inverse square of the distance, was bringing the whole mechanism of the heavens before men's minds in a new and most impressive light. Bentley, a Cambridge man, one of the first to master the beautiful method of Newton's proof, expounded in a lucid and convincing manner the arguments for the evidence of the design of a Creator. He was a young man quite unknown, but the power he displayed in the Boyle lecture brought him fame and advancement. In 1700 he was made Master of Trinity College; in 1717 Regius Professor of Divinity. In 1742 he died.

Charles Leslie (*b. cir.* 1650, *d.* 1722) was an Irish clergyman, who was made chancellor of the diocese of Connor in 1687. In 1689 he became a Nonjuror, and the same year brought out the first of a series of able treatises in support of Christianity, *A Short and Easy Method with the Jews;* but the first we are concerned with here, *A Short and Easy Method with Deists,* appeared in 1694. Leslie was then known only as a defender of Christianity; in later years he wrote on subjects connected with the nonjuring controversy.

John Toland (*b.* 1669, *d.* 1722) brought out in 1696 his *Christianity not Mysterious,* the aim of which was to prove that there was nothing supernatural in Christianity. Toland, an M.A. of Edinburgh, 1690, possessed great powers of mind, and most actively assailed the Christian religion. In 1718 he brought out *Nazarenus,* a particularly violent attack on Revelation. In 1720 he advocated materialistic views in his *Pantheisticon,* based on the old Stoic notion that God was nothing but an *Anima Mundi* (soul of the world). It is considered by William

Jones of Nayland[1] to have indicated a design among the philosophers of that day to introduce materialism into England.

Samuel Clarke, M.A., who later adopted Arian views, was twice Boyle lecturer; in 1704, when his subject was *The Being and Attributes of God;* and in 1705, *The Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion.* He was then a Norwich clergyman and chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich. As in the case of Bentley, his Boyle lectures made him famous, and but for his subsequent Arianism he would probably have reached the highest positions in the Church.

William Whiston in 1707, while professor at Cambridge, preached the Boyle lecture, on *The Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies,* supporting all that Toland was then assailing.

William Derham, F.R.S. (*b.* 1657, *d.* 1735), Rector of Upminster in Essex, was one of the most useful members of the Royal Society, in whose *Philosophical Transactions* a large number of his communications appear. He was Boyle lecturer in 1711 and 1712, taking for his subject *Physico-Theology.* His aim was to show God's being and attributes from nature, on much the same lines as Paley adopted in his *Natural Theology* many years after. Derham was an enthusiast in astronomy, and his next book, *Astro-Theology,* in 1714, sought to prove the being and attributes of God from the star-world.

Anthony Collins, a lawyer and treasurer of the Middle Temple, brought out in 1713 his *Discourse on Freethinking,* in answer to which, the same year, appeared Bentley's *Remarks on a late Discourse on Freethinking.* Mr. Collins' next celebrated work, *Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion,* came out in 1724, and the sensation it created in the theological world was great enough to end two acute controversies, the Bangorian and the Arian, the combatants on both sides of which united their efforts to combat this formidable assault. Some extremely able defensive works soon appeared.

Thomas Sherlock (born 1678, Master of the Temple, 1704, Bishop of London, 1748, till his death in 1764) was the son of William Sherlock Dean of St. Paul's. His sermons in four volumes have always been much admired for their classical style. In the deistical controversy his principal work was *The Use and Intent of Prophecy,* the substance of six lectures at the Temple in April and May, 1724, in reply to Mr. Collins. It exhibits a regular series of the prophecies, presented in a connected

[1] In his *Life of Bishop Horne,* 1795.

view, marking out the various degrees of light communicated in such a manner as to answer the great end of religion and the designs of Providence until the events to which they pointed should receive their accomplishment. This valuable work has passed through several editions.

Edward Chandler, born 1671, Bishop of Lichfield, 1717-30, and of Durham from 1730 till his death in 1750, brought out in 1725 *A Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament,* against Collins' *Grounds and Reasons* in 1724. It went rapidly through three editions. Thus two masterly treatises on the prophecies, by Thomas Sherlock and Edward Chandler, were secured to the Church without delay and in quick succession, by the attack of Mr. Collins, compelling him in 1727 to bring out his *Scheme of Literal Prophecy Considered;* and this again was speedily answered, in 1728, by Chandler's *Vindication of the Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament.* Bishop Chandler's *Defence* and *Vindication of the Defence* are two very elaborate and learned works.

John Shute Viscount Barrington (*b.* 1678, *d.* 1734), father of Shute Barrington Bishop of Durham, was a neighbour of Mr. Collins in Essex. Lord Barrington once asked him how it was that with his opinions he was so particular in requiring his servants to attend church. Mr. Collins replied: "To prevent their robbing and murdering me,"[1] showing that Christianity could not be spared after all. Besides being a close thinker, and a student extensively acquainted with classical and historical literature, Lord Barrington was deeply interested in theological questions and well versed in Scripture. His *Miscellanea Sacra,* 1725, in two volumes, consists of essays dealing with the Scripture history of the apostles and early preachers of Christianity, tracing their methods in propagating the faith, and explaining the several spiritual gifts by which they were enabled to discharge their office. Thence he derived an argument for the truth of the Christian religion.

Thomas Woolston, B.D. (*b.* 1669, *d.* 1733), a fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, delivered his principal attack on the Christian faith in *Six Discourses on the Miracles of Christ,* 1727-8-9. He was a man of the coarsest type; the merriment, profaneness and blasphemy of the *Six Discourses* excited horror and indignation. He treated our Lord's miracles as allegorical fables, using the most ludicrous and indecent language, which brought him

[1] Related in the *Life of Lord Barrington.*

within the law. Being sentenced to a year's imprisonment, with a fine of £100, which he was unable to pay, he was confined in the King's Bench Prison, where he died in 1733.

Matthew Tindal, LL.D., Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, was the author in 1706 of *Rights of the Christian Church asserted against Romish and all other Priests,* a subtle assault on the authority of the Church ; and in 1730 of *Christianity as Old as the Creation, or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature,* a most plausible and artful attempt to set aside revealed religion and to show that there is no other revelation than that of the law of nature imprinted on the heart of all mankind. The first-named, *Rights of the Christian Church,* was not the only work levelled by the deistical writers against the Church. There was one in 1710 by Collins, *Priestcraft in Perfection.* These men hated the Church of Christ as they hated the Scriptures ; but they often got an effective handle for their assaults in the exaggerated and unwarrantable lengths to which some clergymen went in the authority they claimed for the Christian ministry.

John Coneybeare (born 1692, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, 1733-55, previously Rector of Exeter College, Bishop of Bristol from 1750 till his death on 13th July, 1755) was a close and original thinker, whose sermons before the University of Oxford resembled Butler's at the Rolls Chapel. The first of them, preached 24th December, 1721, on *The Nature, Possibility, and Certainty of Miracles,* was printed in 1722, soon after Toland's *Pantheisticon.* In 1732 appeared his *Defence of Revealed Religion* in answer to Tindal's *Christianity as old as the Creation.* It has been thought the ablest of all the replies made to Tindal. Warburton called it one of the best-reasoned books in the world. Coneybeare is reckoned among the very strongest vindicators of Revelation that England has produced.

Joseph Butler (born 1692, preacher at the Rolls Chapel, 1718-26, Bishop of Bristol, 1738-50, of Durham, 1750, till his death in 1752) produced in 1736 his great work, the *Analogy of Religion Natural and Revealed to the Constitution and Course of Nature.* It was designed to show that the objections and difficulties alleged against natural and revealed religion are usually not more than may be brought against the world about us. If therefore what we see with our eyes is a reality and the work of God notwithstanding certain difficulties and objections, we need not deny God in revelation and in natural religion on account of *analogous* difficulties met with there.

William Warburton (born 1698, Bishop of Gloucester from

1759 till his death in 1779) was a man of immense erudition, a keen and able controversialist on every literary subject. In 1738 appeared the first part of his famous *Divine Legation of Moses*, designed to prove that the legation or mission of Moses to the Jews was from heaven. The basis of his argument was, as it was expressed in the title-page, "the omission of the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments from the Jewish dispensation"; arguing thus: "Whatsoever religion and society have no future state for their support must be supported by an extraordinary Providence. The Jewish religion had no future state for its support. Therefore the Jewish religion and society were sustained by an extraordinary Providence and the mission of Moses rested on God's miraculous assistance." By this line of argument Warburton encountered a host of enemies on his own side, and many pamphlets appeared in refutation of the statement that a future state of rewards and punishments was unknown to the Jews.

West and Lyttelton.

Gilbert West (*b. cir.* 1705, *d.* 1756), of Eton and Oxford, Clerk to the Privy Council, celebrated for his translation of Pindar. He agreed with Sir George Lyttelton (*b.* 1709, *d.* 1773) to attack Christianity, but at different points, West taking up the resurrection of Christ and Lyttelton the conversion of St. Paul. Upon studying their subjects with a view to action, each became convinced of the truth of what he was about to assail, and the result was two masterly treatises in defence of Christianity, both of which appeared in 1747, namely *Observations on the Resurrection*, by West, who was in consequence made LL.D. by Oxford University; and *Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul*, by Lyttelton, upon whom were bestowed as a reward the blessings of his father. Both treatises were warmly welcomed by the friends of Christianity, and have since been widely useful.

Methodism within Church Order, 1729-39.

In November, 1729, four Oxford men, of whom two were John Wesley, M.A., fellow and lecturer of Lincoln, and his younger brother, Charles, of Christ Church, undergraduate, began to meet at one another's rooms, for mutual encouragement in study, conduct and religion, John Wesley from his age and station naturally taking the lead. The little band began without rules, name or ulterior views; its members attended the Oxford parish churches whenever there was Holy Communion there, except on the single day in each term when it was celebrated in College Chapel. In the summer of 1730, led by circumstances, they began a system-

atic visitation of the prisoners confined in the gaol called Bocardo, and from that time prison visiting became prominent among their works. Early in 1732 some able and vigorous associates joined them, such as Benjamin Ingham, Thomas Broughton, John Gambold, James Hervey, bringing up the number to twenty or more. Now was adopted a practice, which they intended for a testimony, though it was interpreted as ostentation, of walking in procession on Sundays to the parish church of St. Mary, to attend the sacrament. In 1732 they also began to observe the "fasts of the Church," by which expression they meant both the Anglican Friday abstinence and the Wednesday fast of early times. A system of rigorous fasting was thus adopted. Letters in the newspapers now appeared, and pamphlets came out, one of the latter, in February, 1733, being entitled *The Oxford Methodists.* This is the earliest literary occurrence of the name Methodist, which had probably arisen in 1732. It was an old word conveying no reproach, borne by the *Methodi,* a philosophical sect who acted by rule and method as the Oxford friends began to do more especially in 1732.

George Whitefield of Gloucester, a young man of limited means, had gone up to Pembroke College as a *servitor* on 29th November, 1732. Witnessing the behaviour of the Methodists, he longed to be acquainted with them, but a sense of his inferior college standing made him reluctant, until about February, 1734, Charles Wesley, who had noticed his diffidence, sent him an invitation to breakfast, with the result that in the autumn of 1734 the poor Pembroke servitor was formally admitted a Methodist. Asceticism developed in Whitefield with an intensity which left his companions far behind. Following the counsels of the Roman Catholic book, Castanza's *Spiritual Combat,* he set about the task of overpowering the corruptions of the flesh by the most rigorous exercise of the will until he completely broke down and about April, 1735, fell ill. Prostrated for seven weeks, he had an opportunity of reviewing the plan he was going on, and what he found was somewhat as follows. His whole effort had been to combat his evil, almost forgetting the need to have it pardoned. He now saw, in quite a new light, that Christ's atoning sacrifice was the grand foundation. He had been looking to the power of the Holy Spirit for the subduing of his evil apart from, and in fact instead of, the Cross of Christ; whereas he should have looked to both conjointly to save from sin's guilt and power. As soon as this discovery was made, Whitefield became another man, and his days of mourning ended. In June,

1735, he left for the long vacation. John Wesley had left Oxford in April, 1735, just as Whitefield's illness began, and Whitefield had not received from him, nor from any other Methodist, the least help in discovering the prize he had found. The friends of his soul as he lay ill in his Pembroke College chamber were the Greek Testament and *Hall's Contemplations*, lent him by the tutor.

In October, 1735, John and Charles Wesley sailed as missionaries for the new American colony of Georgia. When Whitefield left Oxford in or about June, 1735, he returned to his home at Gloucester, where in due time he set up among his fellow-townsmen a religious society of the Woodward type.

Whitefield at Gloucester, attracting, by his constant attendance at the cathedral, the notice and affection of the pious diocesan Martin Benson, was by him admitted to deacon's orders in Gloucester Cathedral on Trinity Sunday, 20th June, 1736. On 27th June, in his own parish church, St. Mary Crypt, beneath the cathedral, he preached his first sermon, delighting the townspeople by his striking presence, wonderful voice, and splendid natural eloquence. In December, 1736, urged by letters from the Wesleys, he offered for Georgia and was accepted, but his departure was delayed for twelve months. During this period he acquired a great reputation as a preacher both in the West and in London; and he was in constant request as a preacher of charity sermons even from many who did not agree with the doctrine he taught.

In these beginnings of Methodist history the year 1737 should be remembered especially as Whitefield's year. As a Methodist, Whitefield had England all to himself in 1737. His leader John Wesley was absent in Georgia. Charles had indeed come back, but for want of health or spirits, or for other reasons, was living in retirement.

It may be also noticed that in this year 1737 Methodism first developed a preaching power. Neither of the Wesleys had as yet acquired any pulpit popularity. They had none in America.

We note again that the Wesleys produced Oxford Methodism, Academic Methodism, before Whitefield was heard of, but it was Whitefield who started, in 1737, popular English Methodism.

Yet once more. Whitefield was the earliest of the three chief leaders to determine the doctrine of his later life. He did this mainly at Oxford in 1735, but more completely when he got home after his illness. His views on justification are here

specially meant, that doctrine being the foundation of all his preaching. On election his thoughts matured later; but that subject was never prominent in his popular addresses. The doctrine he was preaching in 1737, was substantially that of all his after-life as a Methodist.

The Wesleys were in some of these respects a great contrast to Whitefield. The day Whitefield finally sailed from the Downs, 2nd February, 1738, John Wesley landed there from America, never to go out again. His mission had been a failure. His own indiscretions had compelled a sudden and hasty retreat. After landing in the Downs he proceeded at once to report himself to the Georgia Trustees in London, and while he waited for them an important incident occurred; his accidental acquaintance on 7th February with Peter Boehler, a young German of the Moravian Church, aged twenty-five, recently ordained, on his way out to America as a missionary. Intimacy sprang up, and Wesley in his *Journal* under 5th March, 1738, records that by Peter Boehler he "was clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved," a most remarkable confession by one who had been a leader of the Oxford Methodists and a missionary. In another conversation, on 22nd April, Boehler explained to Wesley the nature of that faith which he lacked, describing it as "a sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that through the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God". Wesley acknowledged that to be precisely what the Church of England taught. Boehler then proceeded to instruct his disciple in three more tenets: "That conversion is instantaneous, that assurance accompanies a living faith, that sinless perfection does likewise". It was 23rd April, 1738, when Wesley accepted this doctrine. Ten days afterwards, 3rd May, Charles Wesley received the same teaching from Boehler, and the two brothers were in doctrinal accord. In his *Journal* Wesley relates the actual circumstances of his conversion on 24th May, 1738, as well as that of his brother three days previously.

Methodism Outside Church Order, 1739-43.

During the year 1738 the Wesleys were principally engaged in connection with a body of worshippers which met in the Moravian Meeting House in Fetter Lane, while Whitefield returned from Georgia at the end of the year and was ordained priest at Oxford on 14th January, 1739.

Whitefield's position in England in 1739 was that of a Georgia clergyman delaying his return to the colony that he might col-

lect a sufficient sum to found an orphanage, and seeking pulpits in which he might preach for that object. In London he was granted some, but with difficulty, complaints being made that his preaching was less for the Georgia Orphanage than for the conversion of London congregations. A scene at St. Margaret's, Westminster, where the parishioners overbore the vicar who vainly sought to debar him the pulpit, became the talk of London. He left London on 7th February, 1739, for the West; but on his arrival at Bristol, he was received coldly by the clergy. In the outskirts of Bristol was the coal-field of Kingswood, with a large mining population. Here on 17th February, 1739, Whitefield addressed a company of two hundred miners, and this marks the commencement of Methodist open-air preaching. Soon enormous crowds gathered wherever he was to preach, and thus at Bristol, in February and March, 1739, the public inauguration, as it might be called, of popular Methodism, from which present-day Methodists count their departure, took place. It was in 1839 that the Methodist world kept its centenary celebration.

Whitefield, whose main purpose as a colonial missionary was to gather funds and return to Georgia, urged Wesley to come and continue the work which had thus sprung up; and Wesley, leaving Fetter Lane to take care of itself for awhile, arrived on 31st March, 1739, in the city which was to become in his hands the centre of Methodist work. These were the circumstances which led him to Bristol, a place till then unknown to him. It was Whitefield's country; Whitefield founded the work, Wesley his successor built it up. On Sunday, 1st April, Wesley beheld the novel sight of a clergyman in his canonicals preaching in the open air, and he saw it with dislike, having been all his life tenacious of every point of order. Whitefield left the next day, but Wesley remained in Bristol for ten weeks carrying on the work on the lines of his younger comrade.

Whitefield on his way to London continued the practice which had thus begun of addressing open air gatherings wherever the people assembled. His work was much opposed by the clergy, but was eagerly welcomed by the people.

Sermon on Free Grace.[1]

While at Bristol, Wesley received an anonymous letter telling him that as he failed to insist on the doctrine of election he was not preaching the Gospel. It then occurred to him that it would be desirable to preach a sermon for publication on that special subject; but not being quite clear as

[1] No. 55 in *Wesley's Collected Sermons*, undated.

to his duty, he cast lots according to his wont, and the answer was "Preach and Print". He accordingly preached[1] a sermon, which he entitled *Free-grace*, from Rom. viii. 32. Its opening passage gives its purport: "The grace or love of God whence cometh our salvation is free in all and free for all; free in all as independent of merit, free for all as independent of election". The sermon dealt expressly with election and predestination, treating of those doctrines from an Arminian point of view.

Whitefield, who had heard of the sermon and the lot, implored Wesley not to print it, as it would certainly launch a most troublesome controversy. Whitefield did not at that time *preach* the Calvinistic views attacked in the sermon; but he believed in them, and foresaw that when they were openly assailed his opinion would be asked and must be given. He did not want Wesley to preach the Calvinistic view, but to refrain from attacking it. On 14th August, 1739, Whitefield embarked for Georgia, having so far prevailed with Wesley that at that date the sermon was still unprinted. In September, while Whitefield was on the Atlantic, it was given to the world. From that day Methodism was divided into two parties, and there have ever since existed a Calvinistic Methodism, first headed by Whitefield, and an Arminian, first led by Wesley.

Wesley's Itineration.

The idea of making "all England his parish," as he expressed it, dawned upon Wesley by degrees and as circumstances pointed the way. At first, in 1739, his movements were confined to journeys between Bristol and London, at which places two distinct spheres of labour required his watchful care. The Fetter Lane flock, which gave him continual uneasiness, called him up from Bristol four times in 1739. Now and then, during his journey up or down, he preached, and thus the idea of a roving ministry became habitual to him. During the next few years Wesley visited various parts of England, preaching in the open air, till in 1743 his *systematic itineracy* had begun.

At Bristol a Meeting House was erected in the parish of St. James. Here the members of Wesley's Society met. This became the first instance of a separate community existing apart from the parochial organisation of the Church.

Soon after, a Preaching House was opened at the Foundery (near what is now Finsbury Circus), in London, not as another society room, not a chapel for worship, but for field preaching

[1] Probably in May, 1739, certainly between 25th April and 25th June.

under shelter, emphatically a *preaching house*, the first of its kind in Methodism. On 23rd July, 1740,[1] ceasing to attend Fetter Lane, he began, in a room fitted up at the Foundery, to meet his disciples who followed him from that place, and that was his own first society room in London. He likewise built himself a dwelling-house at the Foundery. Here therefore were the London headquarters, the cathedral, of Wesley's Methodism; and that was the character of the Foundery for some forty years until the lease expired. The whole establishment was legally Wesley's own, the funds creating it having been advanced on his personal security, the lease being vested in him.

The Wesleyan Class comes next into view. On 15th February, 1742, at a meeting in Bristol, it was decided that the whole Methodist society there should be divided into little companies or classes of twelve, every individual of which should contribute one penny weekly, making a shilling for the class, to be received by the leading member and paid to the steward to the account of the building debt on the Bristol society room. Thus the Methodist Class began as a fund-collecting agency in support of buildings, a financial, not a pastoral institution, to relieve Wesley of his heavy pecuniary responsibilities undertaken on his people's behalf, and in its origin it applied to Bristol only. In London, on 25th March, 1742, a meeting of the society resolved that they likewise should be divided into classes, but for pastoral and spiritual purposes alone. "They all agreed[2] that there could be no better way to come to a *sure, thorough knowledge of each person* than to divide them into classes like those at Bristol, under the inspection of those in whom I could most confide." That remained the type of a Methodist Class, with an inspecting class leader, whereby Wesley was kept informed of the general spiritual condition of his people.

The office of Lay Preaching was not formally instituted by Methodism, and its origin is not chronicled, a sign that it sprang up imperceptibly. Methodist tradition makes Thomas Maxwell the first lay preacher, in 1741; Methodist research has discovered John Cennick preaching to the Kingswood colliers in June, 1739, during Wesley's absence in London. Perhaps Cennick was the first occasional preacher, Maxwell the first regular one.

By the time then that Wesley's itineracy seriously commenced, in 1742 and 1743, his organisation of Methodism was substantially complete, society rooms, lay preaching, preaching

[1] *Wesley's Journal*, 23rd July, 1740.
[2] *Ibid.*, 25th March, 1742.

houses, classes, had all been originated, and must have been carried by Wesley wherever he went, from Newcastle to Cornwall. His second preaching house, the first actually built as one, was that of Newcastle, begun 20th December, 1742, opened no doubt in 1743. After 1743 preaching houses, society rooms, classes, lay preachers, gradually became familiar things all over England.

Wesley was extremely jealous of his preaching houses being ever called chapels. That word was an old and strictly ecclesiastical one, indicating a Church of England place of worship. Still less would he let them be called "meeting houses," the word in use among Dissenters. Nevertheless Methodism did possess chapels. In West Street, Seven Dials, there stood a proprietary chapel, previously belonging to the French Protestant refugees, but then used, under licence, for episcopal worship. Wesley took it on lease, and on Trinity Sunday, 29th May, 1743, commenced a regular service according to the English Prayer Book, continuing to do this to the end of his life. On 26th August, 1743, he was offered another like building in Snowsfields in the neighbourhood of Guy's Hospital, and this was his second chapel. In both these John and Charles Wesley regularly officiated with the Prayer Book, allowing none but those in orders, as they were, to do so. The brothers never celebrated Church worship in a mere preaching house. The chapel *built* in the City Road opposite Bunhill Fields, was built as a substitute for the Foundery. It was opened on 1st November, 1778, and since then has been the cathedral of London Methodism. Wesley's tomb stands in the chapel grounds.

Wesleyan Chapels.

Wesley professed Churchmanship to the end of his life, repeatedly telling his people that whoever separated from the Church of England separated from him. He certainly did prefer the service of the Church of England, and would not tolerate the imputation of being in "dissent". The name of Churchman was his pride, and he jealously asserted it. He thought no prayers so good as those of the Church of England, and he used them invariably in his London chapels. So far he was a Churchman, just as any layman might be. As to how far he was a clergyman of the Church of England, it may be said that, when unmarried, he was a college fellow in English orders. There it ended, for he would accept no preferment and held no curacy. In his chapels he was responsible to none: he was not licensed by any bishop; he was not summoned to visitations by bishop or archdeacon; he was under no Church control; he could have had Nonconformist worship of any kind in his chapels,

or have shut them up, or have officiated in any meeting house, without being officially called to account. He was a clergyman by the single fact of his being ordained; he was a Churchman by merely saying that he was, it being but a matter of words.

Wesley's addresses to the multitude in the open air, simple calls to faith and godliness, were admirable, and it is always those we think of when we acknowledge the vast good that Wesley did. If Wesley's All-England ministry had been confined to such addresses, his visits would have been hailed with welcome, as time went on, by many who were sorely exasperated by the other branches of his work.

Among Wesley's more ambitious preachers there was a constant tendency to assume the ministerial office. In 1754 some of them commenced to administer the Lord's Supper. Charles Wesley, who was shocked at this encroachment, remonstrated with his brother for declining to reprove the offenders, whose actions however he had not authorised.

The remaining events in the history of the Wesleys belong to the reign of George III.

Another movement calls for brief notice.

Hutchinsonianism.

John Hutchinson, one of those who had deeply pondered and were thoroughly dissatisfied with all that was being taught in their day both in physics and in classics, became convinced that the true theory of the physical universe was revealed in Scripture, but that to get at it we must go straight to unpointed Hebrew, that being the only pure Hebrew he would acknowledge. This, when rightly studied, divulged, as he maintained, many physical truths missed by the Newtonians. Moreover the Hebrew Scriptures were, in Hutchinson's eyes, the true remedy for classical paganism. He believed that unpointed Hebrew was the original language; that the classical tongues were derived from it, and that the classical mythology was a corruption of Revelation. From time to time Hutchinson published treatises in this sense, and several thoughtful men, anxious to see how the downward tendencies of the age could be checked, gave heed to what he said. The man, however, was a devout thinker and an original genius, who produced from time to time some true grain among much chaff. One of his followers was Duncan Forbes, a Scotch Lord of Session, who in 1732 gave a sketch of Hutchinson's leading ideas in a pamphlet of very attractive style and spirit.

Hutchinsonianism entered a new stage on the appearance in 1749 of Hutchinson's collected writings in twelve octavos, edited

by two admirers, one of them the Rev. Julius Bate. By this publication Hutchinson's ideas became much better known, and quite a school of Hutchinsonians was produced at Oxford, making its existence apparent in 1750 through a volume of Dr. Walter Hodges, Provost of Oriel, one of those who early became interested in Hutchinson's thoughts. The title was *Elihu*, and it treated of the Book of Job, which gave the author an opening to expound and defend the system. In 1752 Dr. Hodges brought out his *Christian Plan*, as exhibited in the interpretation of the word ELOHIM, the Hebrew name of God. This treatise, considered in its main features and quite apart from his etymology of that single word (probably unsound), corresponded in great measure with the Evangelical school of doctrine then rising.[1] As years went on this school was often denounced as Hutchinsonianism, which it had become the fashion to ridicule. In 1753 George Horne, another Oxford Hutchinsonian, a young fellow of Magdalene, published *State of the Case between Newton and Hutchinson*, showing that Hutchinson had no dispute with Newton's *Principia*, but only with his speculations in physics. In 1756 Horne brought out an *Apology for Certain Gentlemen at Oxford*, vindicating those Oxford men who approved of the views of Hutchinson. These and other works produced a sharp pamphlet war, continuing for about ten years (1750-60), the last ten of George II. An interesting sketch of the whole controversy and the points involved can be seen in the *Life of Bishop George Horne* by his chaplain, William Jones of Nayland. Jones says that between 1750 and 1760 the Oxford Hutchinsonians were spoken of with more than ordinary contempt and acrimony as the most mistaken in their opinions and the most dangerous in their attempts that ever infested the Church, and that in 1799 much of this feeling against them survived. Romaine was taunted with Hutchinsonianism. Like Jones and Horne he went part of the way with Hutchinson. He also, like Horne, said some stinging things against the Newtonian philosophers; but it must not be thought that he opposed Newton's *Principia*.

A revival of Hebrew learning in England was one happy fruit of Hutchinsonianism, due to the circumstance of its laying emphasis on Hebrew etymology. In 1747 and 1748 appeared Romaine's new edition of Calasio's *Hebrew Concordance*, really a Hebrew lexicon, a ten-guinea work in four noble folios. Horne at once possessed

[1] James Hervey, on 2nd Oct., 1750, considered that Dr. Hodges's *Elihu* urged with becoming zeal some of the grand peculiarities of the Gospel. *Letters*.

himself of it, and his *Commentary on the Psalms*, long a favourite book, was a consequence. The Hutchinsonians also produced a Hebrew grammar in 1751 by Julius Bate, and two Hebrew lexicons for general use, Parkhurst's in 1762, and Bate's, a quarto, in 1765.

The Mystics.

The mystics of modern times derived their name from the ancient Greek *mystæ,* men initiated into religious mysteries. A leading mystic of his own time was the German visionary Jacob Behmen, who died in 1624. Behmen's *Mysterium Magnum* or *Exposition of Genesis* is called by Wesley a book of sublime nonsense.[1] English mystics of succeeding days were only a school of imitators, being disciples, expounders and propagators of Behmen's ideas. The English Behmenist, John Pordage of Bradfield (*d.* 1698), was the most famous one of his day, being also an astrologer and an alchymist. The title of his little book in 1683 will make the name of his sect more intelligible: *Theologia Mystica, or the secret and mystic doctrine of the invisible and eternal described, not by the art of reason but by intuitive knowledge.* Georgian mystics, now to be spoken of, were led by William Law. Swedenborg (*d.* 1772), an original visionary of an advanced type, was not an Englishman. Law, born in 1686, gave up in 1716 a Cambridge fellowship and a London cure rather than take the oaths to George I., and retiring to King's Cliffe, Northants, devoted himself like many other Nonjurors to literature. In 1717 he threw himself into the Bangorian controversy. In 1726 appeared his *Unlawfulness of Stage Entertainments* and his *Christian Perfection.* In 1729 appeared the work by which he is now best remembered, *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, which did much good so far as it taught that inward heart holiness, not merely the visible form of it, was what God required, so leading the way towards spiritual religion. Nothing of Behmenism appeared in that treatise; but there was the grave fault of inculcating that the spiritual holiness he spoke of was the ground of man's acceptance with God. This was in other words justification by works—if works in their holier sense.

The more distinctive characteristics of the mystic school visible in Law's time are apparent from the *Journals* of Wesley,[2] who saw much of them and never spared his censures. They

[1] *Wesley's Journal*, 4th June, 1742, i., 323.

[2] *Wesley's Journal* under 9th Jan., 18th March, 24th May, 1738; 16th July, 1740; 3rd Sept., 18th Nov., 1741; 4th June, 1742; 15th May, 1746; 10th April, 2nd Sept., 1747; 5th Feb., 1764; 30th Dec., 1767; 29th March, 1774.

affected a life of seclusion and contemplation, cultivated obscurity of diction, supercelestial and unintelligible, as Hervey termed it,[1] veiling shallow ideas in dark expressions which were made to sound like mysterious depths, active and energetic duties avoided on the plea of higher holiness in solitude. This is a record of decadence from the standard of the *Serious Call;* but if Law's foundation in that work, or the foundation of the *Imitation of Christ* and the *Theologia Germanica,* medieval mystic works then much read along with the *Serious Call* on Law's recommendation, was unsound, decadence was inevitable. If the doctrine stops half way, so must the life. An illustrative instance of the mystic writers leaving their disciples helpless occurs in Adam of Wintringham, who about 1736 under their teaching ended a ministry of worldly indifference for one of earnest pains, until in or about 1745, to his dismay, he became convinced that he had no real acquaintance with the Gospel. Shutting himself up in his study like a true mystic recluse, but now with St. Paul on his desk before him, he discovered for himself the missing half, justification and acceptance with God by faith in Christ as the only ground of a holy life. He thus found out, what he told his friends afterwards, that the mystics dropped Christ at the threshold of the temple. Their grand error was, as Hervey similarly represented it, that being intent only on what God is to do in us, they wholly neglected what He has done for us in Christ.[2]

Law's Behmenism became patent in his later works, *Spirit of Prayer* (1749, 1750), dealing with the fall and recovery of man, and *Spirit of Love,* an Appendix to it in two parts, November, 1752, February, 1754. In the former, the central idea of man's restoration is a new birth of his soul through the Holy Spirit, enforced by a long passage containing "the words of the heavenly illuminated and blessed Jacob Behmen". In the second part or volume of this work Christ's name becomes more prominent. "Christian redemption by a birth from above" is argued with much pains; the inner life of the soul is elaborately described in every aspect, by every text, with every illustration, and the question irresistibly occurs whether the writer is not setting forth the Holy Spirit as taking the place of that Christ whom it is his great office to glorify.

Law's *Spirit of Love* is an elaborate essay on the Atonement. The first part is devoted to the proposition that God is all love and knows no wrath, appealing once more to "our Behmen, the

[1] Letter to Lady Fanny Shirley, No. 62, 3rd Sept., 1753, speaking of Hartley.
[2] *Letter*, 4th March, 1752.

illuminated instrument of God". In the second part propitiation through the death of Christ, previously treated with absolute silence, is formally and elaborately assailed. Law at once reveals his source of inspiration when he proceeds "to explain the matter something deeper according to the mystery of all things opened by God to His chosen instrument Jacob Behmen". His view of the Atonement is sufficiently evident from the passage[1] beginning "Christ is the atonement of our sins when by and from Him living in us we have victory over our sinful nature". Christ "is in no other sense our full, perfect and sufficient atonement than as His nature and Spirit are born and formed in us".

In conclusion we mention a few of Law's contemporaries. Henry Venn the elder, Vicar of Huddersfield, who had been greatly indebted to the *Serious Call* and the *Christian Perfection* about the time of his ordination in 1747, continued in all his early ministry Law's warm admirer, until the appearance of either the *Spirit of Prayer* or the *Spirit of Love*, Venn's biographer does not decide which. Venn, having engaged with the publisher for the very earliest copy, sat up all night with it; but when he reached a passage which appeared to represent the blood of Christ as of no more avail in procuring man's salvation than the excellency of his moral character, he was shocked beyond measure and renounced Law from that moment.[2]

Thomas Hartley, Rector of Winwick, Northants, a pious man, able preacher and active clergyman, appears as a friend in 1750 in the letters of James Hervey of the same county. In 1752, much to Hervey's disquietude, he began to be a follower of Law, whose ardent admirer he soon became. A volume of Hartley's sermons in 1754 has a preface full of the ideas of Law and the mystics. Venn of Huddersfield, who had known Hartley as a very able and profitable preacher, said that mysticism proved to him a terrible error, and that five years after his becoming a confirmed mystic his mouth was shut and he preached no more, saying that he gave up the ministry because his call was to a contemplative life.

Just as Law's positive errors were becoming so marked the earliest of the Evangelical clergy were rising into prominence, Hervey, Thomas Jones, Romaine, Adam, Walker, Venn; and if one or two of these were indebted to Law for impressions, the doctrine of them all was developed under the wholesome influence of the Church of England—her formularies

[1] Law's *Spirit of Love*, 3rd edit., pt. ii., pp. 98-100.
[2] *Life of Venn*, 5th edit., p. 20, 1837, 8vo.

and her work. These men were now in a position to lift up the banner that was falling from the hands which for a time had so usefully upheld it. What Law's school in its best days, its *Serious Call* days, so earnestly taught, the succeeding Evangelical school taught quite as earnestly and better. Where Law's school so grievously failed, the Evangelical which followed it conspicuously succeeded. The school of Law made, as Venn said, incredibly little of the sacrifice of Christ. It was exactly in the preaching of this theme that the Evangelical school made its name. Fortified with the lore of Bentley, Waterland, Sherlock, Butler and their compeers, in support of natural religion and revealed, of Old Testament prophecy, of Christ's divinity and miracles, of the Apostolic primitive Church, those divines of the second rank, true to the name they bore, a Reformation name, could and did stand between the experts and the people, carrying the conclusions of science and research from the head into the heart, that unbelief and vice might no longer keep pace with demonstration, as when Smallbroke spoke at Hereford. They succeeded in reforming town life in London, Huddersfield, Truro, as their successors did in other towns, recovering the Church of England there; by persisting in the points of Christianity indicated by Boulter and Gibson;[1] by better loyalty to Church order and to Church doctrine than Methodists and Mystics had shown; by being determined within their own bounds, the bounds of their mission, to press spiritual conversion and know nothing apart from or inconsistent with Christ and Him crucified.

[1] *Supra*, p. 348.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE HANOVERIAN CHURCH (*Continued*).

§ III.—GEORGE III., 25TH OCTOBER, 1760–29TH JANUARY, 1820.

The Countess of Huntingdon.

FOREMOST among those who took part in promoting the revival of religion in the eighteenth century, of which we have seen the earlier stages, was a lady of high rank and great devotion, whose name still survives in connection with a small religious community of which she was the founder. Lady Selina Shirley, daughter of Washington Shirley second Earl of Ferrers, was born on 24th August, 1707, and on 3rd June, 1728, was married to Theophilus Hastings ninth Earl of Huntingdon. She and her husband were among the people of rank who attended the Fetter Lane meetings in and after 1738, she in particular taking a warm interest in Methodism, a movement then professing adherence to the Church. In 1748 she became more closely acquainted with the Calvinistic side of Methodism, to which her own mind ever afterwards more and more inclined, and in that year Whitefield was appointed her chaplain.

In the autumn of 1758 she went to Brighton and prepared the way for Whitefield, who went there in 1759, and established a religious society, for which Lady Huntingdon built a small chapel in North Street. This was the first of a succession of chapels that formed her "Connexion".

At Oathall, Lewes, Bath, Tunbridge Wells, Reading, and Basingstoke chapels were provided, and among those who ministered in them from time to time were Romaine, Venn, Madan, Berridge, Shirley, Townshend, Toplady, and Haweis, clergymen of the Church of England.

On 28th March, 1779, her Spafields chapel, Clerkenwell, was opened. The perpetual curate of St. James's, incumbent of Clerkenwell parish,[1] challenged her claim to have it served as

[1] The Rev. Wm. Sellon. He died in 1790, and was the father of Mr. Serjeant Sellon.

her private chapel by clergymen, and on 26th May, 1780, a sentence of the Ecclesiastical Court was given in his favour. She felt obliged to place the chapel, as well as her other chapels, under the Toleration Act, which she did in 1783, when her whole connexion became in law a dissenting body and the officiating clergymen retired from it; but the services of the Church of England were always used.

Attack upon the Articles.

A movement having for its object the relaxation of the law regarding clerical subscription was caused by the publication in 1766 of a work dealing with Confessions of Faith or Articles of Religion, and entitled *The Confessional.* The author was Francis Blackburne, Archdeacon of Cleveland (*b.* 1705, *d.* 1787), and his design was to obtain for the clergy of the Church of England relief from the obligation of subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles.

In 1771 a body of two hundred and fifty persons, clerical and lay, who were of Archdeacon Blackburne's opinion, formed themselves into an association at the Feathers Tavern in the Strand, and drew up a petition to Parliament, known as the Feathers Tavern Petition, embodying their views, but when presented to the House of Commons on 6th February, 1772, and again on 24th February, 1773, it was both times rejected by large majorities.

The Feathers Tavern Association was substantially an Arian body, Arianism being then very prevalent both within the Church of England and without it.

The Separation of Methodism.

On 3rd November, 1787, Wesley decided to place all his "chapels" and preachers under the protection of the Toleration Act. Some of the preachers had already from time to time taken out licences as local necessities arose. Now all were to do so; not however as dissenters, but as preachers of the gospel.[1] By this distinction Wesley thought to save the Church character of Methodism. He wished to retain his connection with the Church of England and to enjoy at the same time the independence of dissent. The step he now took, however, as his biographer remarks, "virtually involved a separation from the Church of England".

When John Wesley died on 2nd March, 1791, the condition of Methodism was that of a body long familiarised with the idea of secession from its parent stock. It had become a compact body, completely equipped, with its own ministers, its own property, its

[1] Tyerman, *Life of Wesley*, iii., 511, 512.

own central government, *viz.*, the Conference, fully formed, with an accumulated tradition of a generation or more. It now held on to the parent Church by a mere thread. For half a century their leader had been loosening one tie after another that bound his converts to the Church, while building up a new organisation which had been long completed by 1791. The only thing left to be done was simply to change the hour of public prayer on Sundays. This was done; the last slender thread was cut, and Wesley's work was complete. Every detail went on just as before. A formal act or vote of separation was not needed, and has never been passed to this day.

The tide of the evangelical revival, though it thus broke through the bounds of the Church of England, yet continued to flow within its borders. The influence of Wesley and his followers was great, but their methods did not meet with the approval of some who sympathised with the good which the movement accomplished. Among these were several who must be reckoned as leaders of the Revival.

Among the precursors of the movement were James Hervey (1714-1758), Samuel Walker (1719-1760), and Thomas Adam (1701-1784). Hervey was one of Wesley's pupils at Oxford, and after a short period as curate to his father he succeeded him as vicar of the parishes of Weston Favell and Collingtree in Northamptonshire, of which the combined incomes amounted to £180 a year. His life was uneventful, and his influence was due to his writings which were at one time well known. They included *Meditations among the Tombs*, *Reflections on a Flower Garden* and *Theron and Aspasio*, or A Series of Dialogues and Letters on the Most Important Subjects. Humble, devoted, and conscientious in the discharge of his duties to the villagers among whom he lived, he had but one ambition, "to recommend his Dear Redeemer to all". His strong Calvinistic views received severe criticism from Wesley. Samuel Walker was curate at Truro before the Evangelical movement had developed. Far removed from the great centres of religious life and owing little to the influence of the Methodist leaders, his teaching and life transformed the character of the parish in which he worked and largely influenced the whole of Cornwall.

His intimate friend Thomas Adam was a man of similar spirit. Adam was appointed to the living of Winteringham in Lincolnshire at the age of twenty-four, and although he received many offers of preferment he remained there for fifty-eight years. He exercised a wide influence and was consulted by men like John

Thornton, Henry Venn and Lord Dartmouth on questions of theology and life. The secret of his power was revealed by the publication of a portion of his diary after his death. These *Thoughts on Religion* became a guide to devotion among the Evangelicals.

In connection with the evangelical movement in the country, two names are prominent—William Grimshaw (1708-1763) and John Berridge (1716-1793). They were men of strong character, with pronounced peculiarities. In other days their sayings and doings might leave them open to ridicule, but their earnestness made up for many deficiencies, and the results of their work have to be taken into account in the religious life of the time. William Grimshaw was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and was ordained in 1731. He went to Haworth—a small village in the moors of Yorkshire at a later date associated with the Brontë family—in 1742. He found there a people altogether regardless of religion, and within a short period he had so completely changed their character that he was the spiritual leader of a community in which it was the chief interest. The number of communicants increased from twelve to nearly twelve hundred. So great, we are told, was his influence that the village blacksmith on one occasion refused to shoe the horse of a rider who was performing an act of charity until he had received the vicar's permission. Frequenters of the public-houses fled at his appearance, and horsewhip in hand he compelled attendance at the services of the Church. His self-denying work won the people in spite of his stern methods, and his death was due to an illness contracted from a parishioner whom he was visiting. He was in general sympathy with Wesley's methods, and provided a Methodist preaching house in his own parish. He adopted the itinerant system, and went on preaching tours in some of the neighbouring counties, for which breaches of ecclesiastical order he suffered a mild reprimand from his diocesan. In views he was a Moderate Calvinist. John Berridge was less severe and more cultured than Grimshaw. He was closely associated with the Countess of Huntingdon and John Wesley. He was a Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and in 1755 was appointed to the College living of Everton in Bedfordshire, where he remained for thirty-eight years. Like Grimshaw he itinerated in the Midland counties, and his devotion and singleness of purpose won for him considerable influence. At the services conducted by him occurred some of those physical manifestations which at times accompanied the work of the revival. His epitaph in his Church

speaks of him as "an itinerant servant of Jesus Christ who after running of His errands many years, was called to wait upon Him above".

The most remarkable man of the movement was probably William Romaine (1714-1795). He was of French extraction, his father having come to England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He graduated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1734, and was ordained two years later. Before coming to London in 1748, he had engaged in controversy with Warburton. He had been University preacher at Oxford, and had published an important edition of Calasio's *Hebrew Lexicon and Concordance*, which was a work of considerable learning. His attainments as an astronomer led to his appointment as Gresham Professor of Astronomy. His chief work in connection with the evangelical revival was in London. For a considerable time he was without any benefice, but held lectureships at St. George's, Botolph Lane, St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, and at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. He was also for a short time morning preacher at St. George's, Hanover Square. Wherever he preached immense crowds thronged to hear him, and much jealousy was raised among the clergy of the parishes. His treatment at St. Dunstan's indicates something of the persecution which the Evangelicals had to suffer. He was refused admission to the Church for his lectures at the usual hour in the afternoon, and while the authorities could not prevent him lecturing, they would only allow him the use of the church at 7 P.M., and while the courts were sitting. As the church doors were only opened at seven, the crowd with Romaine had to wait outside till the hour struck. They had then to grope their way in darkness, as all light was refused to them, to their seats, while Romaine, with a single taper in his hand, preached to them. The scene, although not intended to be so by his enemies, must have been one of peculiar impressiveness. After this had gone on for some years, the Bishop of London, Dr. Terrick, preaching one Sunday at the church, and observing the crowd waiting for admission, caused an end to be put to the scandal. Romaine was a determined Calvinist in his views, and was for some time associated with the Countess of Huntingdon in her work. In 1766, at the age of fifty-two, he was appointed by the parishioners to the living of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, with St. Andrew's-by-the-Wardrobe, and for twenty-nine years he attracted masses of the people here, as he had done in the other churches. The church had to be enlarged, and, on occasions, he had as many as 500 communi-

cants. Romaine has been described as the strongest and ablest of the evangelical leaders. He was a man of culture and learning, and although he had not the gifts which make for wide popularity, his earnestness and zeal attracted numbers to him. He lived, his biographer says, "more with God than with men, and in order to know his real history, or the best part of it, it would be requisite to know what past between God and his own soul". His best-known books were *The Life of Faith*, 1763, *The Walk of Faith*, 1771, and *The Triumph of Faith*, 1795. These works, although not popular in style, had a great influence upon thoughtful and religious people throughout the country. His biographer says, "The author knew by experience what it was to live by faith, to walk by faith, and to triumph in faith".

Another name that figures prominently among the evangelical leaders of this time, is that of Henry Venn (1725-1797). In several points he resembled Romaine—a man of culture, quiet and dignified. Like Romaine, he was chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon until her secession from the Church of England in 1783. He was a son of a High Churchman, the Rev. Richard Venn, rector of St. Antholin. He was ordained in 1747, and two years later was elected a fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge. He acted as curate for a time at Clapham, where he came in close connection with John Thornton, one of the leaders of the "Clapham Sect," and he was appointed vicar of Huddersfield in 1759. From this time, Huddersfield, although little resembling the busy town of to-day, became a centre of the evangelical movement. At the time the parish included a large country district, and Venn, like Grimshaw, spent a good part of his time on horseback searching out his people in remote portions of his parish. He remained at Huddersfield for twelve years, when, owing to ill-health, he retired to the village of Yelling near Cambridge. It was here that Simeon visited him on one occasion, and writing of him at a later date to one of Venn's grandsons, he said: "The only thing for which he lived was to make all men see the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ". Shortly before his death he returned to Clapham, and there ended his days. Venn's book, *The Complete Duty of Man*, has always been placed in contrast with an earlier work by an anonymous writer, *The Whole Duty of Man*. Sir James Stephen, in his *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, says of Venn: "He was one of the most eminent examples of one of the most uncommon of human excellencies, the possession of perfect and uninterrupted mental health".

One of the most representative characters of the revival was John Newton (1725-1807). He was the son of a sea captain, and his earliest surroundings, according to his own account, were of the most degrading character. His early life was one of adventure—at one time a sailor on a merchant vessel, at another a servant of a slave trader on the coast of Africa, where he saw something of the horrors of that trade. "My whole life was a course of most horrid impiety and rejection, neither judgments nor mercies made the least impression upon me." During this dark period of his life his love for Mary Catlett, whom he afterwards married, was a link with better things. His own narrative of his life enlarges upon these events of his early days. In 1755 he settled at Liverpool as a Customs House officer, and in 1764 he was ordained by the Bishop of Lincoln, and went to the curacy of Olney, where he worked for sixteen years at a stipend of £60 a year, which John Thornton, of Clapham, augmented by £200. The record of his work there indicates a life as fully occupied as that of any modern parish clergyman. It was at Olney that he published the *Olney Hymns* in 1779; *Olney Sermons,* 1767; *Review of Ecclesiastical History,* 1770; *Letters of Omicron,* 1774; and *Cardiphonia,* not published till 1781. In 1780 he was appointed to St. Mary Woolnoth, with St. Mary Woolchurch, Lombard Street. He bore throughout his life the marks of his early experience, and, when every allowance is made for their effects, Newton stands out as a man of remarkable character and power, and is one of the brightest examples of the religious life of this period.

Intimately associated with Newton is Thomas Scott (1747-1821). After an irregular and somewhat defective education he was ordained by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1772 for the curacy of Stoke Goldington, near Olney. In his *Force of Truth* he tells of his intercourse with Newton, and the influence that his powerful character exerted on his life. He succeeded Newton as curate in Olney, and came to London in 1785 as one of the chaplains of the Lock Hospital. While here he began his remarkable *Commentary on the Bible,* which he hoped would relieve him of some of the strain of poverty from which he suffered, but although the work had an almost unprecedented success, it only added to his financial burdens.

Of quite a different type was Richard Cecil (1748-1810), who was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, ordained by the Bishop of Lincoln, and appointed to St. John's Church, Bedford Row, in 1780, which church became from that time a centre

of the evangelical movement. He was one of its intellectual leaders, and, although not a prolific writer himself, influenced the thought of the school very considerably.

Two brothers complete the list of those who stood in the foremost rank of the revival. Joseph Milner (1744-1797) was educated at Cambridge, and was afterwards Head Master of the Grammar School at Hull, which, largely through his influence, became an evangelical centre. His great work was, however, his *History of the Church of Christ.* He carried the history down from the time of the Apostles to the middle of the thirteenth century, and his brother published two additional volumes on the same plan, and in part from the manuscripts which he left.

Isaac Milner (1750-1820) attained greater distinction than his brother. He was head of the Mathematical Tripos in 1774, and had the special honour of being described as *incomparibilis.* He rapidly succeeded to positions of importance—a Fellowship at Queen's in 1776; First Jacksonian Professor of Natural Experimental Philosophy in 1783; President of Queen's in 1788, and, finally, Dean of Carlisle in 1791. He is distinguished as being the only leader of the evangelical movement who attained to the higher dignities of the Church. The influence of Milner for the evangelical cause was chiefly felt in Cambridge, where he made Queen's College the centre of the movement. He was a man of strong character, of robust constitution, and manly disposition.

The plan and object of Milner's history must be carefully noted unless the real merit of his work is to be missed.

It was to follow in the wake of history with the instinct of a biographer. Leaving general facts and events, he watched for the spiritual life; and wherever he saw signs of this, under whatever garb working, in a father, in a monk, in the canon of a council, there he recognised material for what he called, not an ecclesiastical history, but, emphatically, a *History of the Church of Christ.*

Dr. Isaac Milner, referring to his brother's treatment of Bradwardine's work against the Pelagians, said that all his acquaintance had "expressed both delight and astonishment at reading the extracts given". Even at this day the ordinary student of English Church history, wishing to acquaint himself with the writings of this important schoolman, can hardly do better than turn to Milner's pages. No other English Church history gives so full an account of him. The Pelagian revival, so lamented by Jenks, had not passed away in Milner's day, and Bradwardine's *Cause of God against Pelagius,* laying such stress on the doctrine of justification by free grace, was to him especially welcome.

Milner calls it "an admirable performance". "In reviewing it," he says, "it gave me great satisfaction to observe that the Spirit of God had not forsaken the Church, but, on the contrary, in one of the darkest periods had raised up a defender of divine truth who might have done honour to the brightest."[1]

Occupying less important places in the movement were Thomas Robinson, of Leicester (1749-1813), and William Richardson, of York (1745-1821).

A number of prominent laymen who lived at Clapham—at that time an important suburb of London—gave rise to what was known as "The Clapham Sect". It contained men of wealth who devoted their means to the alleviation of distress and the support of religious work. John Thornton, a merchant prince of London, was one of the most prominent of them. Henry Thornton, his son, continued the benevolence of his father. He was said to have devoted two-thirds of his income to the various religious and charitable works in which he was interested.

The most important member of the group from a public point of view was William Wilberforce, an intimate friend of William Pitt, the younger, and chiefly known for his efforts towards the abolition of the slave trade. An eloquent speaker, with extensive stores of knowledge, and an indefatigable member of Parliament, his support to the evangelical cause gave it a position and prestige that it would not otherwise have had.

The influence of the poet, William Cowper (1731-1800), also gave prominence to evangelical work, while Lord Dartmouth and Lord Teignmouth gave their hearty support to the work.

The activity of the evangelical leaders in social matters was a prominent characteristic of their work.

About the year 1780 Mr. Robert Raikes, a native of Gloucester, noticed the number of noisy children that filled the streets on Sunday, and was in consequence moved to organise the system of Sunday schools, which has since spread throughout the country and become an ordinary feature in the life of every parish.

Other movements in connection with the evangelical school will be considered in the next chapter.

Steady Growth of the Revival.

The evangelical revival grew, as is seen in the lives of its leading promoters, by the accretion of those who, on grounds of individual and personal conviction, arrived at by many means, in various circumstances, in widely scattered places, without the least attempt at common action, were drawn into sympathy with its chief principles. With

[1] Milner, *Church of Christ*, iv., 79 (ed. 1827).

full freedom on many subjects of lesser importance they had one supreme point of agreement and recognition—the desire to yield their hearts to God, which they regarded as their turning or conversion to Him. In regard to doctrine the movement encouraged truths which were then commonly treated with contemptuous neglect, if not avowedly repudiated. In particular, justification by free grace through faith in Christ's atonement had returned with the old power and authority of Reformation times, instead of the prevalent gospel of a bare acceptance of Christ's Messiahship with common attention to neighbourly behaviour and the Church prayers. The Augustinian view of election as given in the Articles was generally in favour with the evangelical school, but usually with the caution which so solemn a subject demanded, avoiding one-sidedness, dogmatism and undue insistence.

In respect of preferment, the members of the evangelical school were at a constant disadvantage, being, in spite of their endeavours to awaken people to the life of Christianity, and to an interest in Reformation principles, regarded coldly by all the dispensers of public patronage, whether Episcopal or other. If evangelical clergymen ever obtained livings it was seldom, and quite exceptionally, through public patronage. Yelling, a chancellor's living, came to Henry Venn the elder through a Commissioner of the Great Seal; St. Mary's, Leicester, also a chancellor's living, through the influence of a powerful friend of the revival, Lord Dartmouth; St. John Horsleydown to Abdy, from Lord Chancellor Eldon, not without hesitation, after an urgent petition from the parish. Ryder would not have obtained his canonry at Windsor nor the see of Gloucester had not his brother Lord Harrowby been a Cabinet minister. Evangelical clergymen usually obtained livings or sole cures either through private patrons, or sometimes through next presentations having been purchased for them, or through the system of proprietary chapels, or in other ways; but they could not look to the Government or to the bishops for their appointments.

How the deanery of Carlisle came in 1791 to Isaac Milner, during Pitt's ministry, and through Bishop Pretyman's warm advocacy and great influence with Pitt,[1] requires some explanation. Milner in 1791 had not thrown in his lot with the evangelicals in any public manner. The bishop probably desired to oblige Wilberforce, who was greatly attached to Milner. Pitt, moreover, was member of Parliament for the University, and

[1] Milner's *Life*, by Mary Milner, p. 71 (ed. 1842).

would find the influence of Milner, who was then President of Queen's, a foremost scientist, a leading man, socially valuable to him.

The conception of the Church as a spiritual fellowship of true believers, not limited by time or race, had an absorbing interest for the friends of the evangelical revival, if the popularity among them of Milner's *History of the Church of Christ* may be reckoned one token of it and their zest in the extension of Christ's Church amongst Jews and Gentiles at home and abroad another. It was taught by them that a place in this spiritual fellowship was attainable by individual belief and conversion to God, however arrived at, and by that alone, while a merely registered membership, answering to no vital engraftment, was but a nominal privilege. In that sense they might be called individualists. That the Church was the means of their incorporation into Christ was also their conviction, in this sense, that the ministry of God's word and sacraments was ordinarily the instrument by which the flock were gathered in, as illustrated by missionary literature. They did not consider that membership with Christ came only through a registered place in a visible ecclesiastical body claiming the exclusive title of the Catholic Church and the sole possession of valid sacraments on the ground of being a body in regular historical succession from an episcopal ancestry traceable to the apostles.

As Churchmen the promoters of the evangelical revival were loyal to the English Constitution both in Church and State, and were cordially attached to the Prayer-book, Articles, and Homilies of the Church of England.

Yet it was no uncommon thing for this whole class of Churchmen to be taxed with loose and insincere churchmanship.

The accusation of promoting dissent was apparently justified sometimes in this way. When an evangelical minister was succeeded by one of a totally opposite school, individual parishioners made no scruple of withdrawing to the dissenting chapel till better times, and there was always a danger that they or their families might become permanently lost to the Church. Or a large bulk of the congregation would build a new chapel for the continuance of their favourite teaching along with the Church service, without intending or wishing any formal secession, though through the force of unforeseen circumstances in the lapse of time secession would be the final result.

In numbers the clergy of the evangelical revival were never anything approaching a majority, or even any large minority, of

their brethren. A marked increase in adherents began about 1800, as the Church Missionary Society was forming. Who they were, in what nooks and corners buried, of what spirit they were, can probably now be nowhere seen except in the letter-cases of that Society. By the end of George III.'s reign, 1820, though a small minority still, they had taken a share in the Bible Society, made a good start with missions to the heathen, begun missions to the Jews, and were perhaps effecting in amount above half the good done by the Church of England at home and abroad.

CHAPTER XV.

THE HANOVERIAN CHURCH (*Continued*).

§ IV.—GEORGE III. (CLOSING YEARS), GEORGE IV., 29TH JANUARY, 1820–26TH JUNE, 1830.

AT the end of the eighteenth century the most active section of the Church was the Evangelical. Lecky[1] states that "By the close of the century the Evangelical party were incontestably the most numerous and the most active party in the English Church,"[2] and that they "gradually changed the whole spirit of the English Church, they infused into it a new fire and passionate devotion, kindled a spirit of fervent philanthropy, raised the standard of clerical duty, and completely altered the whole tone and tendency of the preaching of its ministers". They paid less attention perhaps to the more formal observances of religion than to the cultivation of the life-giving and inspiring forces which are its true reality.

Organised work of the Evangelicals.

And although the Evangelical revival originated and was maintained rather by individual effort than by concerted and corporate action, yet it created many associations for deepening and diffusing its principles. In 1772 the Elland Society was started. It was originally a body of clerical friends within reach of Huddersfield, meeting at the vicarage there in Mr. Venn's time. After his departure they met at Elland, a township of Halifax, of which George Burnett, a former curate of Venn, was minister; and there in or about 1772 the members started a fund to assist in providing the college expenses of candidates for orders. In time the headquarters removed from thence, but the fund continued and the name of "Elland Society" was preserved. The Bristol Clerical Education Society was instituted with a similar object on 11th

[1] *History of the Eighteenth Century.*

[2] Mr. Gladstone questioned this in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, to which Lecky replied maintaining his view effectively.

December, 1795, under the auspices of Mr. Biddulph,[1] and the London Clerical Education Society was founded on or about 4th June, 1816, by the Rev. Charles Simeon, apparently on receiving his brother's legacy.[2]

The Simeon Trust, which has had considerable influence in the maintenance of Evangelical principles, was instituted by Mr. Simeon, whose brother, Mr. Edward Simeon, died on 14th December, 1812, leaving him a considerable sum. He commenced, on his sole initiative, a project of purchasing advowsons, which were immediately vested in trustees. The earliest purchase seems to have been in 1816. Other moneyed persons, on hearing of this scheme, contributed largely towards it. The patronage was exercised by Simeon in his lifetime, and afterwards by his trustees. Between the years 1799 and 1815 several great organisations, including the Church Missionary Society, the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, and the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, were brought into existence.

Among the most prominent of the Evangelical clergy at the opening of the nineteenth century was Charles Simeon. He was born at Reading in 1759, was educated at Eton, and at King's College, Cambridge, of which he became a fellow in 1782. In the same year he was ordained Deacon, and appointed Perpetual Curate of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Cambridge. He held both his Fellowship and the living until his death on 13th November, 1836. Simeon's long career in Cambridge marks a period of growing Evangelical influence, not alone in the University but throughout the Church. The influence exerted by his teaching and life upon the undergraduates of the University was carried by them throughout the country. He was deeply interested in India, and helped to secure the appointment of chaplains for the Anglo-Indian communities. Of his work at Cambridge one who is competent to judge [3] writes: "I cannot but think that not a little of the revived consciousness of corporate life and duty in the National Church, often attributed almost wholly to the movement which Simeon lived to see begin at Oxford, is due to his persistent work and witness at the other centre of academic influence," and Bishop Charles Wordsworth was of opinion that he "had a much larger following of young men than Newman, and for a much longer time".

Among the Societies founded at this time there are some

[1] *Early History of the Church Missionary Society* (1896), pp. 25, 62, 64.
[2] *Life of Simeon*, p. 432 (ed. 1847). [3] *Ibid.*, by H. H. Moule, D.D.

which have grown far beyond what their originators could have anticipated. The Society which has the foremost place among the missionary organisations of the Church owed its inception to the enthusiasm of a small group of Evangelicals in London at the close of the eighteenth century. John Venn, its first chairman, says :—

Church Missionary Society.

"The immediate origination of the Church Missionary Society is closely connected with the history of a Society formed by a few London clergy for religious intercourse and improvement, whose leading object was the investigation of religious truth, in reference to which design they adopted the title of 'The Eclectic Society'. This Society held its first meeting, 16th January, 1783, at the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate Street, and consisted of the Rev. John Newton, Henry Foster, Rev. R. Cecil, and Eli Bates, Esq." The attention of its members was soon directed to the question of propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, in Botany Bay, in the East Indies and in Africa. A legacy of £4,000 that was left "to be laid out to the best advantage to the interests of true religion" led the Eclectic Society to discuss the question: "With what propriety and in what mode can a mission be attempted to the heathen, from the Established Church?" This was proposed by Charles Simeon, and led at a meeting held on 18th February, 1799, to the chairman, John Venn, proposing the formation of a Missionary Society for this object, and on 12th April the project was carried out. At first the Society was known as the "Society for Missions to Africa and the East," and it was not till 1812 that the title Church Missionary Society was adopted. Venn was elected chairman, Thornton treasurer, and Thomas Scott acted as secretary. The early difficulties of the Society were great. It was impossible to secure men to go out as missionaries. After two years Scott was succeeded in the secretaryship by Josiah Pratt, an office which he held till 1824. It was through his ability that many of the early problems were solved. He was joined in the secretaryship in 1815 by Edward Bickersteth, and to these two is due the laying of the foundation of the great work of the Society.

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which had already engaged in missionary work, had been compelled to secure the services of some Lutherans from Germany. The Church Missionary Society was obliged to follow its example, and the first sphere of its operations was Sierra Leone. Efforts were soon made among the Maoris of New Zealand, and very

shortly afterwards attention was directed to India, where Charles Simeon's efforts secured the appointment of chaplains to influence the Anglo-Indians, and through them obtained an opening to the native population. The most famous of the early missionaries to India was Henry Martyn, who went out in 1805. It is impossible to pass over the life of one who has been described as "the one heroic name which adorns the annals of the Church of England from the days of Elizabeth to our own". He was born at Truro in 1781, and went to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1797. In 1801 he was Senior Wrangler, and the following year was chosen a Fellow of his College. Ordained the following year, he served as curate to Simeon at Holy Trinity, and in 1805 left England for India. He rapidly mastered Hindustani, and translated the New Testament into that language, and soon after studied Sanscrit, Persian and Arabic. About Easter, 1811, he went to Persia in order to improve his Persian translation of the New Testament, but there signs of consumption began to show themselves, and he determined to return to England. He was on his way back by an overland route to Constantinople when he died at Tocat, 16th October, 1812. No career has inspired more missionary enthusiasm than that of Henry Martyn.[1]

Other Societies.

About the same time as the C. M. S. two Societies came into existence, in which Churchmen co-operated with dissenters for the dissemination of the Bible and of useful literature. The Religious Tract Society, founded May, 1799, carried on the work of publishing and circulating tracts, with which the name of Hannah More is associated. The British and Foreign Bible Society owed its origin to the difficulty which the people in Wales experienced of obtaining Bibles in the Welsh language. In 1804 this Society was founded, with Lord Teignmouth as President, William Wilberforce as Vice-President, Henry Thornton as treasurer, and Josiah Pratt as one of the secretaries. Within a few years it had rendered versions of the Bible accessible in various languages throughout the world.

The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews was founded in 1809, and soon became one of the most popular. Of Simeon it is said that "the conversion of the Jews was the warmest interest of his life,"[2] and others shared his enthusiasm. Its work began in London, extended to Poland, and in 1823 was established in Palestine.

[1] *Life of Henry Martyn*, by Sargent.
[2] *Life of Simeon*, by H. H. Moule, D.D.

Although somewhat later in date, it will be convenient to mention here the work begun in the colonies.

The condition of English colonists in religious matters at this time was, in many ways, deplorable. The attention of the Church of England was drawn especially to Newfoundland by Samuel Codner, a merchant engaged in the trade with that part. As a result of his effort, a Society was formed in 1823 for educating the poor of Newfoundland. In Western Australia, a few years later, crowds of emigrants were pouring in, and cities were rapidly being built, while no provision was made for the religious needs of the people. In 1835 Captain Irwin, who was acting as Governor, appealed for help, and with the assistance of Lord Teignmouth, the Australian Church Missionary Society was formed, which three years later changed its name to the Colonial Church Society, and enlarged its scope. In 1839 it established its first Continental chaplaincy at Lucca, then a notorious gambling resort; this necessitated the addition to the title of the Society of the words "to British residents in other parts of the world," and in 1851, this and the Newfoundland Society were joined into one, forming the Colonial and Continental Church Society.

In the eighteenth century the distinction between the parties in the Church became more clearly defined. The terms "High Church" and "Low Church" which had first appeared in Queen Anne's reign, bore a different significance from their present use (see p. 328). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the term "Low Church" was applied almost exclusively to the latitudinarian party which is more nearly represented in our own day by the Broad Church School. The High Churchmen were mostly Church and State men. The "Orthodox" and the "Evangelicals" were terms used to indicate lines of division. The chief representatives of the Orthodox when the century opened, were William Jones, Vicar of Nayland, 1726 to 1800; William Stevens, 1732-1807; Joshua Watson, 1771-1855. He lived for a considerable time at Clapton, and was the moving spirit of the "Clapton Sect," as the more representative of the High Church School were called, in contrast to the Evangelical leaders who derived their title of the "Clapham Sect" from the fact that so many of them lived at Clapham. John James Watson of Hackney; Henry Handley Norris, 1771-1850; Christopher Wordsworth, 1774-1846, whose influence was largely due to his positions as Master of Trinity and Chaplain to the Archbishop (Manners-Sutton) of Canterbury; Charles Daubeny, 1745-1827; Thomas Sykes, 1767-

1834; Hugh James Rose, 1795-1838, of whom more will be said in connection with the Oxford Movement; Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, 1769-1823, Rector of St. Pancras until his appointment as first Bishop of Calcutta in 1814; Charles Lloyd, Bishop of Oxford, 1827-8; and Alexander Knox, the well-known correspondent of Bishop Jebb of Limerick, belonged to the same School. The latter is regarded as a precursor of the Oxford Movement.

Besides those already mentioned as representative Evangelicals, were John Venn, 1759-1813 (son of Henry Venn), first Chairman of the Church Missionary Society, who was Rector of Clapham for twenty-one years; Thomas Gisborne, 1758-1846, one of the most popular preachers of his day; William Farish, 1759-1837, Jacksonian Professor of Chemistry at Cambridge, and Vicar of St. Giles; Legh Richmond, 1772-1828; Edward Bickersteth, 1786-1850; James Scholefield, 1789-1853, for a time Simeon's curate, Fellow of Trinity, Incumbent of St. Michael's, and Regius Professor of Greek; Joseph Jowett, 1752-1813, and his nephew William Jowett, 1787-1855 (the first English missionary of the Church Missionary Society), both at Cambridge; William Dealtry, 1775-1847, a Fellow of Trinity and Venn's successor as Rector of Clapham in 1813; Basil Woodd, for forty-six years (1785-1831) at Bentinck Chapel, Marylebone; and Josiah Pratt, 1768-1844, the first Editor of the *Christian Observer*, and the second Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, who remained unbeneficed until he was fifty-eight years of age, when he was appointed Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street. No member of the Evangelical School was appointed to a Bishopric until the Hon. Dudley Ryder was promoted to the See of Gloucester in 1815. Sumner, who was appointed Bishop of Winchester, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, belonged also to that School. During the first quarter of the century, the Evangelical party continued to increase rapidly in numbers and influence, and were "the dominant spiritual force in the Church".

To them is due the introduction of Sunday evening services, week-day services, and many of those features which are now regarded as in the ordinary routine of parochial life. Many of these innovations were, however, received with strong opposition at the outset by the High Church party. Biddulph of Bristol had to defend himself against such attacks. A pamphlet was published complaining that he imitated dissenters, nor could the facts on which the charge was based be altogether denied. It was true that he had occasionally substituted a Canonical Chapter

for the Apocrypha when the Apocrypha was more than usually unedifying. It was true he had introduced an unauthorised Psalmody which all his people were singing. As to a Sunday evening church service, Biddulph defended himself by pointing out that his parish had a population of 9,000, with church accommodation for only 1,500. This justified a third service, as the church was well filled at all three.

In Waterloo year, when Englishmen were relieved from one topic of absorbing anxiety another Church war suddenly sprang up. A tract by Dr. Mant, an Oxford fellow, a London rector, and a chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1815 commenced a long controversy in the Church of England on the subject of regeneration in baptism, and may be regarded perhaps, especially in conjunction with the wearisome Arminian dispute still on foot, as an active precursor of the *Oxford Tracts*. That a clergyman of Dr. Mant's standing should have ventured on the statement made in this tract, that baptism "rightly administered" is never separated from regeneration, that no baptized person is unregenerate, and no unbaptized person regenerate, greatly alarmed the Evangelical clergy and laity. Their alarm was increased by the adoption of the tract by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which discarded in its favour the one previously circulated, a very old one, composed by Bishop Samuel Bradford early in the eighteenth century, a tract which had hitherto so pleased the Society that a seventh edition had been issued as recently as 1810, its teaching being declared "judicious and scriptural".[1] Bradford's view[2] satisfied many of the Evangelical clergy, among them Mr. Biddulph, who was himself in the habit of explaining the baptismal service in the same way as Bradford, namely, that the Prayer-book speaks of a relative change only,[3] a change of state, distinct from the change of heart; so that there is a baptismal regeneration which the Church of England recognises, differing from a proper spiritual regeneration which goes much deeper. That was not the teaching of Mant's tract, which asserted that regeneration followed when baptism was "rightly administered". Biddulph, considering, with many others, that this amounted to the Roman view of *opus operatum*, issued a substantial volume entitled *Baptism the Seal of the Christian Covenant*, preceded by a very earnest letter to the archbishop, dated 1st January, 1816. Mant's tract, with "rightly administered," supplemented by the words "and

Baptismal questions.

[1] *Christian Observer*, 1838, pp. 438-39. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 438. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 438.

rightly received," was retained by the Society, which also restored the old tract of Bradford, and Biddulph, deeming the point of his remonstrance gained, let the matter drop.

In 1815 there commenced in the western counties a small secession from the Church of England. It was fortunately limited in extent, and ended after a short period. The seceders were Evangelical clergymen. The scholar of the party, a preacher of ability, was James Harington Evans, an Oxford fellow, curate of Milford on the Hampshire coast, aged thirty. One whom his memoir calls the Rev. G. B. seceded with him, and there were others. Their stumbling-block was infant baptism, though some of them also wandered in doctrinal divinity. Evans himself was one of these, though ultimately he completely recovered, remaining however a Baptist to the end. The movement, circumscribed and evanescent as it was, attracted notice so far as to get the name of the Western Schism, proving for the time vexatious and hampering to stauncher brethren.

Secessions.

Just about that period the Baptists were particularly active in disseminating their denominational views, and the Church of England being on her part apathetic lost many of her most earnest people to them. One advantage which Churchmen unfortunately gave their opponents was the general omission to baptize, as the Rubric orders, during the service. Children were, as a rule, baptized not in church at all, but at home. The practice had existed from Commonwealth times, when for those who made a point, like Evelyn, of having their children baptized according to the Prayer-book office, there was no alternative but their own houses. The habit continued long after the necessity, and many protests of the clergy against it from time to time could be quoted. The triennial confirmations, too, were managed often in a manner little suited to solemnise young people's minds. It is little wonder then that men and women beginning to have religious impressions in adult years should believe what they read in the Baptist tracts, that they had not been baptized at all.

Mr. Evans's companion in secession was the Rev. George Baring of Walford House, near Taunton, hard by Mr. Biddulph's country parish of Durston (held with St. James', Bristol, with a curate in charge). Mr. Baring before his secession was curate, and his successor was a young man from Oxford just ordained, William Henry Havergal, of sacred music fame. In January, 1816, Mr. Evans leaving Milford went with his family to Walford House on a visit of some months, and here was baptized by

immersion. During his stay Mr. Evans preached in the neighbourhood and conferred with other seceders on future plans. Havergal, and Mr. Biddulph himself while in residence, had hard work to keep the Durston people out of the schism. Little is known of the other members of this secession, nor how long they held together. But the birth-date and birth-place of the earliest proceedings of the sect seem here fixed. A few tracts, one of them very useful for the occasion, by Mr. Biddulph, could be cited. The secession itself, and the state of neglect in which it found the baptismal question on the side of the Church of England, it may be useful thus to record.

Church Teaching and Church Activity.

In the reign of George IV., but beginning earlier and extending later, systematic efforts were made, especially at Bristol, to promote among the people an attachment to the Church of England on principles which recognised no less the spiritual welfare of Churchmen than the interests of the Established Church. In 1796 the Rev. T. T. Biddulph began a series of popular addresses, which in 1798 he printed in substance under the title of *Practical Essays on Select Portions of the Liturgy*. The times called for teaching like this in the pulpits of the Church of England. The sentiment of Churchmanship was a ruling force, as was likewise the sentiment of Nonconformity, the sentiment being in both cases political. But while in this respect there was a parallelism, in respect of religion there was a marked contrast. Churchmen were supine, dissenters warm and active, one inevitable result being that poor and middle-class Church people, and not those only, when once aroused from their spiritual torpor, were apt to regard dissenting worship as alone real, and dissent as their natural home.

Mr. Biddulph therefore founded his lectures on the morning and evening services of the Church, pointing out the various excellences of the Liturgy, from his own point of view, its spiritual character, its Evangelical tone, its general propriety, its thorough adaptation to the needs of the spiritual worshipper. At Cambridge, in November, 1811, under the Regency, the Rev. Charles Simeon preached from the university pulpit a course of sermons *On the Excellence of the Liturgy*,[1] and in 1818, still in the Regency, Mr. Biddulph published *Ecclesiastica, a Collection of Tracts on the Doctrine and Discipline of the United Church.* These were called forth by a trying outbreak of the "Western

[1] Carus, *Life of Simeon*, pp. 293, 298 (ed. 1847), published in the spring of 1812.

Schism" at Bristol, through the fault of a curate and the impatience of an unsympathetic non-resident diocesan in dealing with it. In the course of another tract of the same year[1] dealing with those circumstances, Mr. Biddulph said: "For my own part, I must avow, what every new dogma and every new schism in the school of theology confirms, my thankfulness for the fixed creed and the fixed liturgy of the Church to which I belong".

In 1823 the same writer began to contribute tracts for publication by the Bristol Church of England Tract Society. In these, expressly composed from a Church of England point of view, the Church is warmly and powerfully recommended, his ruling thought being that people should understand the scriptural beauty of their Church; how the gospel of Christ pervades its offices and prayers; how thoroughly, under its care, they may be nurtured in all the truths that bring salvation and comfort. The Churchman's duties, the Churchman's standing, the Churchman's privileges, so precious to himself, Biddulph sought to make precious to others, for their growth in grace, and advance in divine life. In this way Biddulph sought to make the Church a life-giving and a saving power among the people, whose hearts, desires, and faith were in its offices pointed directly to the Redeemer of mankind.[2]

Ecclesiastical Legislation.

In spite, however, of the efforts of Biddulph and others to explain the character and life of the Church to the people, there is evidence of a growing alienation between the Church and State, although some of the legislation of the time was intended to benefit the Church. Some of the Acts of Parliament passed in the early years of the century show the nature of this legislation. In 1801 an Act was passed that no one in priests' orders should be a member of the House of Commons. This was due to Horne Tooke's election as member for Old Sarum. In 1802 two Acts were passed with the object of remedying prevailing abuses. One was an Act for restraining clerical farming, the other an Act for authorising residence of Incumbents on their cures, and encouraging the building of churches. In 1803 the Stipendiary Curates Bill and the Curates Relief Bill were intended to do away with the abuse of non-residence, and to make provision for

[1] *Search after Truth*, 1818.

[2] Biddulph's tracts, thirty-four in number, from 1823 to 1835, were collected after his death in 1838 in a volume that will be found in the British Museum catalogue under his name, entitled *Select Tracts of the Church of England Tract Society*.

the curates who would be affected. Another Clergy Residence Bill was passed in 1808 through the influence of Perceval, to whom was also due the Curates' Salary Bill of the same year. This effort to improve the stipends of the curates was followed in 1809, when Perceval had become Prime Minister, by an Act which granted £100,000 a year to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty for the augmentation of livings under £150. Unhappily the assassination of Perceval in 1811 ended the career of one who was deeply interested in the welfare of the Church, and although Sydney Smith sneered at him as "the Evangelical Perceval," and "the Little Methodist," the Church could ill afford to lose so good a friend. In 1804 the Priests' Orders Bill enacted that no person should be admissible to the Sacred Order of Deacon and Priest till he should have attained his twenty-third or twenty-fourth year respectively. In 1813 a bill for the augmentation of Curates' Stipends was passed. In 1814 the Clerical Penalties Suspension Bill, and in 1816 the Clergy Bill, which was described as "of greater consequence than any ecclesiastical law which has been made since the Reformation". It was practically an Act to consolidate previous legislation, and in 1832 an Act was passed to restrain and regulate the holding of a plurality of dignities and benefices by spiritual persons.

The rise in England of an interest in the early Fathers of the Church much anterior to the Oxford Movement is not to be lost sight of in a history of the English Church. The first serious shock given to the established reputation of the Patristic writers was by the French Protestant divine, John Daillé, in his *Right Use of the Fathers*,[1] his intention being not to bring the Fathers into disrepute, but to reduce their authority, often inordinate, within just limits.[2] In England the first writer of note to depreciate the Fathers was Dr. Daniel Whitby in his *Dissertation*[3] (1714), designed to show that their ignorance in matters of criticism made them but little deserving of attention as interpreters of Scripture. John Barbeyrac, in his *Spirit of the Fathers as to the Doctrines of Morality*,[4]

Patristic study.

[1] *Traicté de l'employ des saincts pères pour le jugement des différends qui sont aujord'hui en la religion*, etc. (1632). It had also Latin titles.

[2] Professor (afterwards Bishop) Kaye, *Works*, viii., 13, ed. Archdeacon Kaye, 1888.

[3] *Dissertatio de S. Scripturarum interpretatione secundum Patrum Commentarios.*

[4] *The Spirit of Ecclesiastics of all Sects and Ages as to the Doctrines of Morality, and more particularly the Spirit of the Ancient Fathers of the Church, examined.* Translated from the French, 1722.

sought to prove that they were no safe guide.[1] Their most formidable assailant, however, was Dr. Conyers Middleton, in his *Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church* (1749), seeking to destroy their authority in matters of fact by reason of their excessive credulity.[2] On the other hand, Dr. Nathaniel Lardner, in his very valuable work, *The Credibility of the Gospel History* (1727-1755), proved their great utility in evidence of Scripture.[3] Dr. Kaye, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, lecturing in 1818, asserted that the charges against the Fathers were greatly exaggerated, that the contempt and obloquy into which they had fallen were unmerited, and that a perusal of their writings would prove of advantage to the student.[4] Professor Kaye "was the first to recall theological students to the study of the Fathers".[5] In successive courses he subjected the early Fathers to the closest examination and analysis, drawing from them the most authentic materials available for the history of the early Church. In 1826 he brought out his volume, *Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian;* in 1829 he published *Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr;* in 1835 *Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria.* On these most important works Dr. Kaye was a safe and learned guide to the theological students of his day, stimulating and rewarding their researches into the doctrines, the spirit, the archæology, of that remote period of the Church. It was not until 1853 that he could bring out his *Some Account of the Council of Nicæa in Connexion with the Life of St. Athanasius.* A few years after his death was published his *Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius,* which in its complete form did not appear until 1888, in vol. iv. of his son Archdeacon Kaye's edition of his *Works.*

On 9th May, 1828, the repeal of the Corporation Act and the Test Act[6] admitted dissenters to public life and civic honours. Times had altered; Englishmen had altered. Laws which could be rightly enacted under Charles II., being intended not as punishments but for restraint, as Bishop Kaye argued,[7] might be properly repealed under George IV. In the course of his instructive survey of the whole history of the two Acts, Bishop Kaye remarked:[8] "I am persuaded that the toleration which

[1] Professor Kaye, *Works*, viii., 15. [2] *Ibid.*, viii., 15.
[3] *Ibid.*, viii., 29, ed. 1888, as above. [4] *Ibid.*, viii., p. 28.
[5] *Dictionary of National Biography* (Kaye).
[6] Corporation Act, 1661, Test Act, 1673, both repealed by 9 Geo. IV., c. 17.
[7] Speech for the second reading, 17th April, 1828 (Kaye's *Works*, 1888, vii., 76).
[8] *Works*, vii., 78.

the Protestant dissenters have enjoyed since the Revolution has produced its natural effect, of softening the hostile feelings entertained by their ancestors against the Established Church. The angry passions which induced men to contend for a trifling rite or ceremony with as much bitterness as if religion itself was at stake, have long since subsided; and I believe that many of those who are called orthodox dissenters are sincerely anxious for the preservation of the Established Church, which they regard as a powerful bulwark against the aggressions of the Church of Rome."

These events were a sign that the days of Church exclusiveness were numbered. Churchmen were put on their mettle in all directions, and a new stimulus was added to church-building in populous places under the recent Act of 1818. A Bristol newspaper of 28th November, 1829, reports three churches and two Church of England chapels then in course of erection. In London the opening of "London University" in 1828 woke up Churchmen to found King's College, which was incorporated that same year, before the erection of its buildings and three years before it was opened for business.[1] The royal charter of 1828 said: "And we do hereby will and ordain that the various branches of Literature and Science, and also the Doctrines and Duties of Christianity as the same are inculcated by the United Church of England and Ireland, shall be taught in the said College".[2]

On 13th April, 1829, the Roman Catholic Relief Act,[3] admitting Romanists to the House of Commons, received the Royal assent, after a contest and successful resistance of several years, by those who were persuaded that the concession would prove dangerous both to the Church and State of the United Kingdom. Many were persuaded that the measure would arm the Romanists with fresh weapons to a more daring attack on the United Church, and more especially in Ireland, where it would prove the greatest danger to the Protestant establishment and even to the Protestant faith, as the priesthood were not obscurely threatening to make it. It was particularly on this ground that the measure was resisted in the Lords by Bishop Kaye of Lincoln.[4]

[1] Founded by royal charter in 1828; re-incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1882. Opened for lectures October, 1831.

[2] *King's College Calendar*, p. 21.

[3] 10 Geo. IV., c. 7, *Statutes Revised*, iv., 877.

[4] 9th June, 1828 (*Works*, vii., 81). On 25th March, 1829, Simeon preached before Cambridge University on the subject. Much of the sermon appears in his *Life* by Carus (p. 630, ed. 1847). He blames not Government, believing the measure necessary, but anticipates much evil from it to the nation.

All three measures, however reasonable and fair the two of 1828, however inevitable the third in 1829, filled the hearts of earnest Church people with serious forebodings. The Church of England was losing her old dominant position, and the language of her foes grew ever more menacing and insulting at every concession. Under the name of "reform" a revolutionary spirit had since the peace been rising, and many, with reform on their lips, had destruction in their hearts for both Church and Throne.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE HANOVERIAN CHURCH (*Continued*).

§ V.—WILLIAM IV., 26TH JUNE, 1830–20TH JUNE, 1837.

The Reform Bill.

THE reign of William IV. opened at a period of transition, unrest, and anxiety. The "Three Days," or Second French Revolution, in Paris, July, 1830, dethroning Charles X., whom Wellington's victories had restored, immensely advanced that party in England whose adherents, calling themselves reformers, hardly concealed their hopes of revolution. The friends of the Constitution had now become extremely anxious as to the stability both of the Church and the Throne. The Reform Bill, introduced by Lord John Russell on 1st March, 1831, in a form greatly modified from its first draft, received the Royal assent in 1832. Many of the proposed changes were found to be really wise and desirable by moderate men, who yet feared to concede them to a clamorous multitude in a revolutionary temper.

The condition of the country was such that we cannot wonder at the general feeling of hopelessness with which the course of events was regarded. The Church of England seemed to be specially singled out for attack, and many of her friends used language which was almost that of despair.

On 1st March, 1832, appeared the *British Magazine and Monthly Register of Religious and Ecclesiastical Information*. Its editor, the Rev. Hugh James Rose, rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk, a Cambridge man, bore the highest character. Newman said of him: "He was gifted with a high and large mind and a true sensibility of what was great and beautiful; he wrote with warmth and energy, and he had a cool head and cautious judgment. He spent his strength and shortened his life *pro Ecclesiâ Dei*, as he understood that sovereign idea."[1] His name frequently occurs in the earlier history of the Oxford Movement; but he first became really known to the present

[1] *Apologia*, p. 105 (ed. 1864).

generation through a memoir of him by Dean Burgon, who distinguished him among his "Twelve Good Men" by the special title of "restorer of the old paths". Applied to in 1831 by a London publisher, who agreed to take all the risk, Mr. Rose had consented to edit this venture, hoping, doubtless, to make it instrumental in the cause he had at heart,—the strengthening of the Church of England in popular affection and support.

Rose is to be classed among the "Orthodox" clergy who did not disavow Protestant sentiments or the Protestant name. He desired to save the Church of England on High Church principles, being convinced that they alone were equal to the task. He believed in no others, and was quite out of sympathy with the Evangelical school of his day. In view of the utter ignorance prevailing as to all Church matters, Rose was most anxious that people should learn something of Church of England history. Only let them see that the English Church was no birth of yesterday, no creation of Parliament, but a Church rooted in the earliest antiquity, in the great councils, in the writings of the Fathers, and Rose felt perfectly convinced that Englishmen would, like himself, never cease to venerate her, never consent to see her lowered. Seeking for contributors who could bring out such ideas, he fell in with the Rev. William Palmer[1] of Worcester College, Oxford, who was engaged in investigating the original sources of the English Liturgy, the result of which, his important volume, *Origines Liturgicæ*, appeared in the year 1832. Thus Rose would save the national Church by making people understand how venerable, how apostolic, how true, she really was. His grand aim was in fact to meet Church dangers by a revival of Church life.

The cause of Church life, and of the Church of England herself, was thus being advocated in different parts of England by two men of equal earnestness, equal singleness of aim, but of such opposite schools as Rose of Hadleigh and Biddulph of Bristol. When Biddulph began in 1796, there did not appear that imminent danger to the Church which so impressed Rose. What Biddulph beheld at Bristol was a very zealous dissenting ministry and a very cold and dull ministry in the Church, causing earnest Church people far too frequently to seek their spiritual home in dissent. What he saw a quarter of a century later, when engaged on the Bristol *Tracts*, was an able Unitarian attractively preaching against the Atonement, the very central doctrine

[1] Burgon, *Twelve Good Men*, i., 85.

of the Church of England. In his desire to win people to the Church, Biddulph like Rose was influenced by his surroundings. The thought ruling Biddulph was to bring home to men's conviction the power and beauty of a Scriptural worship which directed them through the Gospel to Christ. In a word, while Rose aimed to call on the people to save the Church, Biddulph's one thought was to make the Church save the people. Both aims were good, and should never have been separated. Yet separated they were by a long, long way. Not a single writer of Biddulph's school was invited by Rose to contribute to the *British Magazine,* and probably none of that school subscribed to it. The two stood far apart, not trusting each other. Such was the antagonism of Church parties in the hour of the Church's sore needs.

After the Reform Act.

After the Reform Bill had become law on 7th June, 1832, men watched anxiously to see what line would be taken in Church matters; for though parliamentary reform was the chief and only direct business of the Bill, its real interest to the country lay in the assurance that it was to pave the way for a thorough renovation of everything, and especially of the Church. The statesmen of the Reform were credited by anxious Churchmen with little aptitude, indeed, if any, in dealing with so serious a business as theirs. Apt or inapt, the statesmen proceeded with caution. Quietly beginning with a measure affecting at once the Church and the commercial marine, they proceeded to bring the Delegates of Henry VIII.[1] into William IV.'s council chamber, with no little practical result, by an Act[2] which appears to have excited very little attention, if the absence of any prominent reference to it in the controversies of the time is any indication.

The Irish Church Reform Bill, the Tithe Commutation Act, and Acts relating to the non-residence of the clergy and to pluralities followed in their turn; but each step was closely and anxiously watched. The subject of reform in one shape or another occupied the attention of every one, and the uncertainty as to what would come next caused much of the anxiety which is reflected in contemporary writings. It was at this time that Hurrell Froude began (1st November, 1832) to publish in the *British Magazine* the series of articles on Becket which, as sub-

[1] This was the Court of Delegates which had supreme jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters from the time of Henry VIII. A further step was taken, see *infra*, p. 404.

[2] 2 & 3 Will. IV., c. 92. The Act may be seen in *Ecclesiastical Courts Commission Report* (1881), p. 336.

sequently embodied in Froude's *Remains,* doubtless originated that change of sentiment which made "St. Thomas" once more a champion of Church authority. Becket's contention with Henry II. for the promotion of the freedom of the Church from civil control kindled the writer's enthusiasm for his subject. In the later version, in the *Remains,* the language employed is plainer, and Becket's fight with his king in behalf of "the original independence granted to the Church"[1] is held up as a fine enterprise; while king and nobles were attempting to "overthrow Church authority".[2] The titles of the concluding articles in the magazine, Henry's "Project for Uniting Church and State," conveyed the thought that the modern phrase, union of Church and State, represented simply a tyrannical civil power absorbing and enthralling the Church.

The Christian Year.

John Keble had as far back as 1823 written a great number of poems for most of the holy days and many of the Sundays. In 1827 they appeared in a small volume with the title *The Christian Year*, and from the first served in a remarkable degree to increase among cultured Church people an interest in the ecclesiastical year, with its round of thought and worship. The idea did not originate with him, as Heber's *Poems,* which appeared in 1812, had a somewhat similar plan. Keble's verses were especially consolatory to the class for whom they were written, when indifference and hostility to the Church's worship were so painfully prevalent. The opinions associated with Keble's name in later days are strikingly absent from this volume, which remained unaltered until after his death. The well-known lines under "Gunpowder Day" are a special instance of this :—

> O come to our Communion feast;
> For there within the heart,
> Not in the hand, the eternal Priest
> Doth His true self impart.

On that doctrine at any rate there was at that time no contradiction apparent among thinking Churchmen. Yet Keble was something more than a High Churchman. Dr. Lock of Keble College, makes the statement, too interesting to be overlooked, that the family traditions were cavalier and nonjuring.[3] Keble, he says, remarked to Pusey : "I cannot think that the Nonjurors' position was so very bad or useless an one; I seem to trace our

[1] *Remains,* ii., 23. [2] *Ibid.*, 49.
[3] Lock, *John Keble*, p. 3 (1893).

present life in good measure to it".[1] The date of this remark would have added to its value. Keble was at heart even strongly Jacobite, holding that the Stuarts were wrongly dethroned, an opinion to which he also won Pusey.[2]

Keble's Assize Sermon.

On Sunday, 14th July, 1833, Keble, who was a Fellow of Oriel and professor of poetry, preached before the judges of assize at St. Mary's, Oxford. His sermon turned mainly on the dark aspect of public affairs, with a special reference to the Irish Church Bill,[3] which had passed the Commons and was awaiting its second reading in the Lords. Assuming that the Bill would pass, and confronted with the widespread hostility against the United Church, the preacher was intensely solemn and pathetic. Taking for his text Samuel's denunciation of Saul's rebellion (1 Sam. xii.), his whole tone was one of warning to the nation against completing an act of apostacy. While he prepared the sermon for the press the dreaded step was taken, and the second reading passed by a large majority. The sermon appeared with the title *National Apostacy*, a crime now accomplished, as intimated in a prefatory advertisement dated 22nd July. The leading thought of both sermon and preface is not so much that of grief for injury done to a sacred national institution, the crippling of an agency for the people's good; it is that a secular body like Parliament should have dared to lay hand on an apostolic priesthood. The word "apostolical" thus applied occurs frequently. The sentiment of the following passage runs all through: "How may those members of the Church who still believe her authority divine continue their communion with the Church *established* (hitherto the pride and comfort of their lives) without any taint of those Erastian principles on which she is now avowedly to be governed? What answer can we make henceforth to the partisans of the Bishop of Rome when they taunt us with being a mere parliamentarian Church?"[4] Yet Parliament was not interfering with any doctrine, or any spiritual function, of the Irish Church. The measure was entitled "Irish Church Temporalities Bill," and with temporalities alone it dealt. Its suppression of the "ten bishoprics," however regrettable, should not be misunderstood. Ten *sees* were not suppressed, nor ten dioceses, nor

[1] Lock, *John Keble*, p. 3. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 4.

[3] Irish Church Temporalities Bill, brought into the Commons by Lord Althorpe, 11th March, 1833; second reading in the Commons, 6th May, 317 to 78; second reading in the Lords, 19th July, 135 to 81; third reading, 30th July; before the country above twenty weeks.

[4] Advertisement.

one; as each see fell vacant in the ordinary course, the see and its diocese were annexed to some adjoining one, so that when the process was complete the Irish Church had ten bishops fewer, but the same number of sees, cathedrals and dioceses as before. Similarly the sees and dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol were once united, and again severed, by Parliamentary authority, and no one in England complained of secular encroachment.

Keble's sermon, so far as can be known, had nothing to do with Rose, with whose "movement" it is, however, generally connected. In fact the sound of the voice of the Nonjuror which seems to echo in the sermon and its preface would indicate a total lack of sympathy with Rose, whose tone, though strictly High Church, breathed nothing of Nonjuring traditions. On some points, however, the two men agreed, and Keble was a contributor to the *British Magazine*.

But with the ideas of Newman Keble's sermon had the closest possible affinity. Newman heard it, and in later years made it known that he ever observed the day of its delivery as that which started "the religious movement of 1833".[1] The religious movement of 1833 was emphatically Newman's, not Rose's, and the statement means that Newman heard in the sermon a new Church note sounded which it was not in Rose's instrument to produce. As a High Churchman Rose would accept as a verity all that Keble proclaimed as to the apostolical succession, but he adhered loyally and warmly to the Church of England as by law established, not seeing in her relation to the law and the civil power any undue interference with her rightful spiritual claim. To that extent Keble and Rose, the incoming new High Churchman and the old-established High Churchman, were diverging. This was how Keble and Rose, as Newman said, "represented distinct parties, or at least tempers, in the establishment";[2] this was how there were points of "discordance," described by Newman,[3] between Rose and those who were in Newman's full confidence. Keble's music entered Newman's soul; Rose's did not.

A reader of this sermon will be led to ask where in it is that holy body of which the glorious Head is our Lord Himself. The question is asked inasmuch as at the present day it is assumed that only through the movement which commenced from that assize sermon did the corporate life of the Church become recognised in England, being neither understood nor cared for by even

[1] Newman's *Apologia*, p. 35 (ed. 1873).
[2] *Apologia*, p. 108. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

the spiritual members of the English communion in the Georgian period. Yet it is certain that many of them clearly understood the Pauline conception of the Church, and the Prayer Book teaching, which made intelligible that title of their Master, "The Great Head of the Church". With much against them in mundane Church relations and with the tarnished Church before their eyes, they thought, for their consolation and hope, on St. Paul's glorious ideal. Keble's sermon, however, lacks this, while it displays the spirit of the party champion—for this, with all his unquestioned goodness Keble was—who in the much-abused name of the Holy Catholic Church creates unnecessary antagonisms. Such was the limit of his ideas ; such was his attitude, typical of all that have followed in the path which was opened on that day.

A little more than a week after Keble's assize sermon was preached, Rose had a meeting at his Suffolk rectory of the clergy whom he was seeking to enlist in the great cause. There were present besides himself Richard Hurrell Froude, A. P. Perceval, W. Palmer. Keble had also been invited, but domestic reasons prevented his attending ; and also Newman,[1] but he, bent on independent action, purposely kept away. The Hadleigh meeting holds a prominent place in the accounts of what was then taking place. Dean Burgon says it gave "a definite form and substance to the idea of *united action*".[2] Among themselves they were spoken of as a society.[3] The Rev. Thomas Mozley wrote of it thus: "They were rallying round the Church of England, its Prayer-book, its faith, its ordinances, its catholic and apostolic character, all are more or less assailed by foes and in abeyance even by friends".[4] Rose, says the same writer, describing him in the warmest terms, was the only Churchman capable of leading, "the rallying point of frightened and discomfited Church people".

Though Rose was the best-known man for a leader, the Hadleigh conference came to nothing. Those present could not agree on any united plan of action, and they separated with the understanding that each was to do what he could by himself.

It was very soon after this abortive conference was held, *viz.*, on 14th August, 1833, that the Privy Council Judicial Committee Act was passed. It had reference to the Act of 1832, which transferred the powers of the Court of Delegates for ecclesiastical cases to the King in Council. Thus the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was formed.

[1] Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, i., 175. [2] *Ibid.*, i., 176.

[3] J. B. Mozley, *Letters*, pp. 33, 36, 37, quoted in Burgon, *Twelve Good Men*, i., 177.

[4] Rev. T. Mozley's *Reminiscences*, i., 309.

Through the movement which now began a new party arose in the Church of England. Its leading spirit was John Henry Newman. Born on 21st February, 1801, he was trained under Evangelical,[1] as Keble had been under Nonjuring, influences. He matriculated at Oxford from Trinity College on 14th December, 1816, and in 1822 became Fellow of Oriel. Ordained on 13th June, 1824, he was vice-principal of St. Alban Hall, 1825-26, under Whately the principal, both retaining their Oriel Fellowships. He was tutor of Oriel from 1826 to 1831.

The Oxford Movement.

Newman attributed his early impressions[2] as to religious doctrine in large measure to Thomas Scott of Aston Sandford. It was about 1823[3] that a change began, and he learned the view of apostolical succession which afterwards governed his whole religious life. He began in the long vacation of 1828 to read the Fathers, for his knowledge of whom he had until then depended on Joseph Milner's *History of the Church of Christ*,[4] which had deeply impressed him when first read at home in the autumn of 1816. His *History of the Arians of the Fourth Century*, a work undertaken on commission, which had led on to this patristic study, was ready for the press in July, 1832, and issued late in 1833.

In 1826 Newman became acquainted with Richard Hurrell Froude of Oriel, a pupil of Keble, and maintained a close friendship with him from about 1829 till Froude's death in 1836. Froude was smitten with the love of the Theocratic Church. He caused Newman to look with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation.[5] He "professed openly his admiration of the Church of Rome and his hatred of the reformers". He delighted in the notion of an hierarchical system, and sacerdotal power. He felt scorn of the maxim, "The Bible and the Bible alone the religion of Protestants," and gloried in accepting tradition as a main instrument of religious teaching. He maintained with zeal the doctrine of the Real Presence. The medieval Church, but not the primitive, was his ideal.[6] Froude regarded the union of Church and State as Erastianism, and believed that until that union was dissolved Christian doctrine could never be safe.[7] These three Oriel Fellows, Keble, Froude and Newman, initiated the Oxford Movement, Keble being its first father and founder,

[1] *Apologia*, pp. 59-63 (ed. 1864). [2] *Ibid.*, p. 60. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 72. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 87. [6] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86 (ed. 1864).
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

inspired probably by the nonjuring traditions of his family. Froude comes next, and but for him the movement would probably have expired in its infancy. In genius Newman was superior to his two comrades; in will their inferior, their convert.

In December, 1832, Newman and Froude, both of them being out of health, went abroad, and in the course of their travels visited Rome, where at their own request they had an interview with Dr. Wiseman, as to which Froude wrote as follows, under date 13th April, 1833: "We got introduced to him to find out whether they would take us in on any terms to which we could twist our consciences, and found to our dismay that not one step could be gained without swallowing the Council of Trent as a whole".[1] Froude's editors, Newman and Keble, append a note to this to say that Froude is not to be taken literally, and only took a jesting way of saying that the two friends availed themselves of the opportunity to ascertain the ultimate points at issue between the two Churches. The reader of the *Remains* will judge how much weight is due to this qualifying remark.

Under the same date Froude wrote: "I think that the only τόπος now is 'the ancient Church of England,' and as an explanation of what one means, 'Charles the First and the Non-jurors'".[2] His intention was that their efforts should be directed to revive the medieval, the Laudian, and the Nonjuring models of the English Church. Under somewhat later dates there occur a few other approving references to the Nonjurors showing the trend of Froude's mind. They are worthy of note. On the 12th February, 1834, he writes: "I begin to think that the Nonjurors were the last of English divines and that those since are twaddlers"; 8th April: "I am becoming a more and more determined admirer of the Nonjurors"; 23rd November: he calls Andrewes, Cosin, Overall, "Apostolic divines of the Church of England, a genus which came into existence about the beginning of James I. and seems to have become extinct with the Nonjurors";[3] 10th January, 1835: "Would that the Nonjurors had kept up a succession, and then we might have been at peace, proselytes instead of agitators!"[4] Froude wished that Ken had had the courage of his convictions and had excommunicated the Jurors in William III.'s time, setting up a little

[1] Froude's *Remains*, i., 306, quoted in Burgon's *Twelve Good Men*, i., 170.
[2] *Remains*, i., 308. [3] *Ibid.*, i., 381. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 395.

Catholic Church like the Jansenists of Holland.[1] As an instance of his leading Keble away from his old eucharistic doctrine in the Nonjuring direction, he once said to him in reference to the "Fifth of November" lines in *The Christian Year*: "How can we possibly know that it is true—'Not in the hands'?"[2]

Newman, on his way home after parting from Froude, who continued his travels to the West Indies, composed the lines "Lead, kindly light," giving expression to an idea which haunted him abroad, that there was a mission awaiting him in England.[3] He reached home in time to be present at Keble's assize sermon at St. Mary's, Oxford,[4] and was deeply moved by it, but he declined attending Rose's Hadleigh conference on 25th July, 1833. He was already being attracted in another direction.

Newman describes his own state of mind about the victory of the Reform Bill in the following language: "I felt affection for my own Church, but not tenderness; I felt dismay at her prospects, anger and scorn at her do-nothing perplexity. I thought that if liberalism once got a footing within her, it was sure of the victory in the event. I saw that Reformation principles were powerless to rescue her. As to leaving her, the thought never crossed my imagination. Still I ever kept before me that there was something greater than the Established Church, and that was the Church Catholic and Apostolic, set up from the beginning, of which she was but the local presence and organ. She was nothing unless she was this. She must be dealt with strongly or she would be lost. There was need of a second Reformation."[5]

Newman might well say "not tenderness"; and without tenderness what "affection" can there be? Little enough of it breathes in these unfilial sentences. Liberalism, that indefinite position which opened the Church's home to every wind of doctrine, was of course a real danger, and was certainly nothing new if the name was novel. Reformation principles, the principles of the Prayer Book and the Articles of the Church of England, the principles of Hooker, could have kept the Church of the Reform period true and firm if her official members had been faithful to all that they put their hands unto; while that second Reformation which Newman and Froude were thinking of, in fact a counter Reformation which Saunders and Harding,

[1] Lord Blachford's *Recollections of Froude* (1884), quoted in Dean Church's *Oxford Movement*, p. 55.

[2] *Remains*, i., 403. [3] *Apologia*, p. 100. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 95 (ed. 1864).

and Campian and Heylin, would have welcomed and the Non-jurors pined after, was a Reformation destined not to exclude liberalism but to bring on the worst forms of it. The defenders of the faith who contended with Deists and Arians under the earlier Georges, and preserved the Articles under the third George, did not ask for a new Reformation. It was enough for them that they felt their feet on the ground prepared by Cranmer, Jewel and Hooker. Newman and Froude could have found a sure footing there too, by the side of Rose, if their recreant hearts had not failed them.

Newman was bent on working such ideas as those into the souls of a clergy as lacking in sympathy with the principles of the English Reformation as were Hurrell Froude, Keble and himself. He had been closely studying the victory of the Catholic faith that worships one God in Trinity and Trinity in unity over a rampant and persecuting Arian heresy. In that stirring contest he might have taken this lesson more to heart, that the triumph was under God achieved by a close co-operation of the laity and the clergy of the Church together, the imperial sceptre of a Theodosius leading forward a clergy and a people whose fidelity to apostolic belief was more conspicuous than was the steadiness of bishops in the army of Athanasius. Newman might also have remembered in those responsible days when he listened to the assize sermon, penned his first and second tracts, and published his book, that if the English constitution in Church and State from the time of the Reformation was an intolerable Erastianism, it was hard to deny that epithet as applying with equal severity to the constitution in Church and State established after the catholic triumph by Theodosius in his empire. An imperial decree dated 27th February, 380, declared who were to be reckoned catholic and who heretic,[1] and that decree was followed everywhere in the East in the distribution of Church offices.[2] The Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were not more Erastian.

The Earlier Tracts.

Late in August, 1833, Newman, entirely on his own responsibility, and consulting no one, sent to the press the first three of the tracts, which bear date 9th September, 1833, and are anonymous. The titles of these Tracts, which were No. 1, *Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission;*

[1] The decree occurs in full in Justinian's Codex, lib. i., tit. i., in vol. ii. of *Corpus Juris Civilis*, ed. Kriegel, 1848-49, the opening passage of the Codex and the volume.

[2] Substance of the decree and further account in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv., 961 (*a*).

No. 2, *The Catholic Church*; No. 3, *Thoughts on Alterations in the Liturgy*, suggest something besides Church defence.

Such passages as these show how entirely they echo Keble's assize sermon.

From No. 1: ". . . I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built—our Apostolical descent. . . . A notion is gone abroad that they (the people) can take away your power. They think that they have given and can take it away. They think it lies in the Church property, and they know that they have politically the power to confiscate that property. They have been deluded into a notion that present palpable usefulness, produceable results, acceptableness to your flocks—that these and such like are the tests of your Commission. Enlighten them in this matter. Exalt our Holy Fathers the Bishops as the representatives of the Apostles and the Angels of the Churches, and magnify your office as being ordained by them to take part in their ministry."

From No. 2: "The legislature has lately taken upon itself to remodel the Dioceses of Ireland; a proceeding which involves the appointment of certain bishops over certain clergy, and of certain clergy under certain bishops, without the Church being consulted in the matter. . . . Are we content to be accounted the mere creation of the State, as schoolmasters and teachers may be, or soldiers, or magistrates, or other public officers? Did the State make us? Can it unmake us?"

Keble's share in the tracts began, anonymously, with No. 4, *Adherence to the Apostolical Succession the Safest Course*, dated 21st September, 1833. It ran entirely, like Newman's first two, in the sense of the assize sermon, and Newman seems to have been quite justified in saying that that sermon started the tract movement.

The four productions taken together constituted a revival of the doctrine of apostolical succession, belief in which, if a saying attributed to Bishop Blomfield about that time was true, had gone out with the Nonjurors.[1]

On 1st October, 1833, began Newman's papers in the magazine headed *The Church of the Fathers*, afterwards collected in a volume.

Other tracts followed rapidly, and by the end of 1833 No. 20 was reached. No. 21 on 1st January, 1834, and all subsequent numbers were dated by a Church festival. With No. 32, 25th

[1] *Apologia*, p. 94 (ed. 1864).

April, 1834, *Tracts for the Times* became the main heading. The last in 1834 was No. 50; the last in 1835, dated 28th October, was No. 70. Several of the tracts were not original compositions but reprints, some from the Caroline divines, Beveridge, Cosin, Bishop Thomas Wilson, others from the Fathers. Newman had written eighteen altogether, Keble ten, Pusey five. Pusey's contributions had either his initials [1] or his name [2] attached; but all the others were anonymous. Pusey's tracts, Nos. 67, 68, 69, commenced, in regard to length, a new departure, being long treatises or pamphlets instead of penny or twopenny tracts. The three, all on one subject, Holy Baptism, made a thick volume of three hundred pages.

Edward Bouverie Pusey was Regius Professor of Hebrew, and the great weight of his name added to the reputation of the tracts, though Newman was by far the abler writer. Moreover, as Pusey's was the only name published, and as his contributions were so prominent, the movement often went by his name and was called "Puseyism".

It may be observed that in and about this time three distinct voices were speaking of the Church: Biddulph's, through essays and tracts from Bristol, to lay people; Rose's, through a magazine from London, also to the laity; Newman's, through tracts from Oxford, to the clergy. The first Oxford tract was "respectfully addressed to the clergy"; throughout the clergy were chiefly or entirely in the writer's mind, and many of them were influenced by the new teaching. The laity were not in any number won by Rose's monthly magazine. At Bristol, through the Church of England Tract Society there, supported by a self-devoting, popular and much-respected ministry, the laity were being taught to value and love their Church when officered and ministered by those who evidently sought their highest welfare. If the laity as a body have listened to any voice discoursing of the Church, it has been to that of Biddulph's School.

Royal Commission.

While these earlier tracts were creating among the clergy a new Church language, new divinity, new watchwords, a new party in short, the heads of the nation were manifesting an anxious desire for the Church's welfare, and great practical wisdom in dealing with the crisis. The prime leader was Sir Robert Peel, who after returning to office as

[1] *Viz.*, No. 18, late in 1833, undated; and No. 66, Passion Week, 1835, both on fasting.

[2] Nos. 67, 68, 69, 24th August, 29th September, 18th October, 1835, and others later.

Premier in December, 1834, must have taken immediate steps for a Royal Commission of inquiry into the Church's needs and the possibility of redressing them. Archbishop Howley's co-operation was gained, and had the project been defeated by his refusal, it was the opinion of Bishop Kaye that the very existence of the Church of England as an establishment would have been endangered. Bishop Kaye, then of Lincoln and formerly of Bristol, assisted the Primate. On 3rd February, 1835, the King in Council ordered a commission under the great seal to the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst; the Archbishop of York; Dudley Ryder Earl of Harrowby; the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Gloucester; the Right Honbles. Sir R. Peel, Henry Goulbourn, Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, Henry Hobhouse, Herbert Jenner.[1] By letters patent, dated 4th February, 1835, these were appointed royal commissioners for the following purposes: 1. For considering the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales, with reference to the amount of their revenues, to the more equal distribution of episcopal duties, and to the prevention of the necessity of attaching by *commendam* to bishoprics benefices with cure of souls. 2. For considering the state of the several cathedral and collegiate churches within the same, with a view to the suggestion of such measures as may render them most conducive to the efficiency of the Established Church. 3. For devising the best mode of providing for the cure of souls, with special reference to the residence of the clergy on their respective benefices.

Sir Robert's term of office was very short, and on 18th April, 1835, Viscount Melbourne was Premier. In the Church things looked at that moment as black as ever. A solemn visitation sermon of Hare,[2] 19th May, 1835, thus opened: "Two friends of the Church of England, who take any interest in her welfare, can hardly talk together in these days, but their conversation is sure to fall before long on the dangers that threaten her. . . . Indeed a month seldom goes by, but the sound of some fresh crack in the walls of our Church seems to pass from one end of England to the other."

Under a change of politics the Royal Commission continued, only the *personnel* varying, the objects remaining identical. On 6th June, 1835, fresh letters patent were ordered in council and

[1] *London Gazette*, 3rd Feb., 1835.

[2] *Christ's Promise the Strength of the Church*, Matthew xxviii. 20, "Lo, I am with you," preached at Hastings. Hare's *Sermons on Particular Occasions*, 1858, p. 151.

on 9th June they were issued. The commissioners now were the Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir Christopher Pepys, a commissioner of the Great Seal; the Archbishop of York; Marquess of Lansdowne; Earl of Harrowby; Viscount Melbourne; Lord John Russell; the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Gloucester; the Right Honbles. Thomas Spring Rice, Henry Hobhouse, Herbert Jenner.[1]

The issue of this commission on the sole authority of the sovereign, acting with his council on the advice of his cabinet, provoked a widespread displeasure in clerical circles, as though it were a prelude to robbery and confiscation of the Church's patrimony. The very legality of such a commission was challenged. The absolute previous certainty of all this opposition was indeed the very thing which constituted the difficulty of Church reform, colouring the gloomy anticipations of Arnold, Bickersteth and Budd in 1831, 1832, 1833. But the promptitude of the step, the firmness and the courage of the Minister and the Primate, and the integrity of their motives, triumphed over all obstacles. To have awaited synodic reform would have been a most hopeless design in the existing situation of the Church, and nothing but the whole weight of the Crown and the initiative of the Prime Minister saved the Church of England from grave disaster. One man was, under God, its salvation, and that man was Peel, who believed it his business as first Minister of the Crown, as a Churchman, and a Christian, to care and to plan for the nation's spiritual good. Peel's brief ministry at that juncture was, in this light, providential. Four reports were made by the commissioners, the first very speedily, on 17th March, before he went out of office. The other three came out in the Melbourne ministry; the final one on 24th June, 1836.

A piece of parliamentary Church reform, dated 9th September, 1835, and referring to town corporation livings,[2] deserves notice. It was contained in a section of the Municipal Reform Act, and obliged civic corporations to dispose of their Church patronage, the retention of which became objectionable after the repeal in 1828 of the old Corporation Act of Charles II., and consequent opening of municipal office to dissenters. The disposal was made gradually as opportunity and purchasers offered. During 1841-48 the nine Bristol corporation livings passed into private hands.

[1] *London Gazette*, 9th June, 1835.

[2] 5 & 6 Will. IV., c. 76, sec. 139, *Statutes at Large*, lxxv., 453.

The Later Tracts.

At the opening of the year 1836, with tract No. 71, on Romanism, began, as Rose and Dean Burgon considered, a change in the tone, and even in the principle, of the *Tracts for the Times.* Burgon speaks of "the fatal direction given to the Tractarian movement about two years after its beginning, *viz.*, in 1836," and calls No. 71 "the first of its class". Up to that time Rose, as Dean Burgon says, had approved of and had praised all the tracts,[1] a remark confirmed by what is found in the *British Magazine,* which by Froude's various articles was committed to the Becket spirit of Church resistance to the civil power, while another, on 1st June, 1834, which readers were invited in a note to disseminate as a leaflet, endorsed to the full all the spirit of the earliest tracts on apostolical succession and the power of the priesthood. Advance in that direction would not have dissatisfied Rose, only the course must be kept strictly within the limits of the Established Church of England. Newman and Keble had been as indifferent to such limits as Hurrell Froude. Newman's expression in the *Apologia* hinting that Rose understood the "sovereign idea" of the *Ecclesia Dei* otherwise than did Newman finds its explanation most probably here. It was on 30th April, 1836, that Rose in a letter to Pusey gave the earliest expression to his disappointment and vexation. Correspondence ensued. On 1st May Newman, answering the letter to Pusey, conjectures that Rose, without bringing any definite charge, is not satisfied. Rose wrote anxiously and strongly to Newman as to the course the *Tracts* were taking, expressing his disagreement, after doing which he withdrew and refused all further countenance to the movement. He made no public remonstrance; all his letters were private, and nothing would have been known of them, and very little of Rose's personal history, but for the memoir given by Burgon among those of the *Twelve Good Men.* That memoir is material for the history of the Oxford Movement, and has not been adequately, it might even be said fairly, made use of since 1888.

What then was Rose's objection? It is to be gathered plainly enough from his letters, and it possesses a striking interest.

When he was rallying to the defence of the Church of England and enlisting writers for the *British Magazine,* what he specially wanted was to have clearly brought out those various

[1] *Twelve Good Men,* i., 281.

details of her worship and her system which she had inherited from primitive antiquity. Now as a matter of fact the Church of England had not adopted *the whole* of "primitive" antiquity, but only such portions of it as she deemed scriptural and profitable. What, however, were the *Tracts* now doing? Instead of exhibiting how very much of antiquity the Church of England had preserved, they were bent on showing how very much she had failed to preserve. Instead of teaching their readers to rejoice in what they did find of antiquity, they led them only to complain of not finding more, and to discover what fresh doctrines and customs of antiquity needful for catholicity their Church was deficient in. Here was a complete change of front. The younger clergy of the High Church school, instead of having their confidence in the catholicity of their Church strengthened, as Rose was anxious it should be, had it shaken; and in the place of that enthusiasm for the English Church which it was Rose's grand object to promote, Newman's party were adopting a tone of murmuring, hesitation and apology. Safety in the Church of England there might be, but nothing more. Any port in a storm. In their Church they could see a good deal to deplore, much to need toleration, little or nothing for the heart to love. Thus, after 1835, in the minds of young High Churchmen, who ought to have been Protestant lovers of their Church of the type of Rose and the Caroline divines, were sown seeds without end of distrust and suspicion. The surprising thing is that Rose had not the penetration to discern Newman's and Froude's inner mind from the beginning. There seems nothing to show that Newman ever had Rose's love for the Church of England or Rose's confidence in her. What he did not possess he could not distribute.

The noble efforts made by Rose *pro Ecclesiâ Dei* on High Church principles failed of their effect because in that day High Churchmen could not be induced to take sufficiently harmonious views on the English Constitution in Church and State. From Newman, Keble, Froude, whom he chose, Rose was as really remote as from Biddulph and Simeon, whom he avoided. On 13th May, 1836, Rose after reading Tract No. 71 observed, "The hearts and affections of these writers are not with us".[1]

The year 1836, in which the *Oxford Tracts* under Newman, Keble and Pusey were beginning a process of cooling the attach-

[1] *Twelve Good Men*, i., 112.

ment of the clergy to the constitution of their Church, saw on the other hand some steps taken to restore many of her waste places, and make her an increased blessing to the nation. On 19th February in that year was instituted the Church Pastoral Aid Society, designed to carry the Church's ministrations into the neglected parts of her populous parishes and to gather under her wing those who had been there taught by agitators of the most violent type to cry "Down with her!" Its first annual meeting was held on 9th May, 1836; its first annual sermon was preached on 11th May at St. Bride's, Fleet Street, by Hugh Stowell of Manchester.

The Pastoral Aid Society.

The leaders of the new society were among the foremost laymen in the country interested in the home mission work of the Church of England, and included Lord Ashley, M.P., afterwards the Earl of Shaftesbury, president; Lord Sandon, M.P.; Mr. William Ewart Gladstone, M.P., who had not then written his *Church and State,* and many others. Here were men of the upper ranks, animated by the truest desire of Church reform. Without such a spirit abroad among the nation's leaders the Royal Commission could have but little hope of real success. The existence of that spirit as indicated by the foundation of the Church Pastoral Aid Society, and the existence of the reforming determination in the governing class as indicated by the Royal Commission, was an encouraging coincidence. The committee were not losing sight of what their efforts meant on their Church's behalf. In their report on 9th May they spoke of looking to God to strengthen the influence of the Church and "through that influence to bring souls to Christ and bless the country at large".[1] That these sympathies and these efforts of their Church were not likely to be thrown away seemed hopeful from Stowell's sermon. Stowell, who at Salford was as closely in touch with the working classes as any parish clergyman in England could be, however convinced that the Church had then "to struggle almost for her existence," recognised that she still occupied "a vantage ground peculiarly and exclusively her own". "Through all her vicissitudes she has never betrayed the truth; she has kept it inviolate from traitors within as well as from assailants without. She has yet, too, we are persuaded, a hold on the reverence and the affections of the nation, not only beyond what her enemies will admit, but even beyond what most of her friends imagine. The moral weight of the country

[1] *Report*, 9th May, 1836, p. 3.

is hers; and we do not hesitate to assert that, if this kingdom is to be saved from impending destruction it will be saved by the Church of England."[1] The Society, he again observed,[2] "had arisen at a most critical juncture—a juncture when the exigencies of our country had been brought out into affecting display, and when the imperfections and deficiencies of our Church had been bitterly exhibited by her enemies and, we trust, fairly and faithfully recognised by her friends—a juncture when God had been imparting to the establishment a fresh hold upon the sympathies and affections of all classes of the community, the lower as well as the higher".

In this year, 1836, was passed on 13th August the Tithe Commutation Act,[3] a measure of great importance to the rural clergy whom it relieved from the irritating disputes which often prevailed with their parishioners. Instead of tithes in kind this Act substituted money payments varying in amount annually according to the average prices of corn announced by authority at the beginning of the year.

Financial Reform.

Another statute of considerable importance was the Ecclesiastical Commissioners Act,[4] 13th August, 1836, by which the commissioners appointed by the King on 4th February and 9th June, 1835, were with some variations in the members made a permanent corporate body under parliamentary, instead of royal, authority, with the title of "The Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England". This body was composed of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London for the time being; John Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln; James Henry Monck, Bishop of Gloucester, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol; the Lord Chancellor, the President of the Council, the First Lord of the Treasury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Secretary of State nominated by the King, if members of the Church of England; Dudley Ryder Earl of Harrowby; the Right Honbles. Henry Hobhouse and Sir Herbert Jenner. All the recommendations of the royal commissioners were adopted, constituting a large number of reforms extending through the whole country. Some important ones may be specified.

Up to this time the landed estates furnishing the episcopal revenues were the bishop's freehold, and varied much with the sees, some of which were wealthy, others poor. A result of this inequality was that the poorer bishops were constantly seeking

[1] Sermon annexed to *Report*, pp. xxvii., xxviii.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. xxix.
[3] 6 & 7 Will. IV., c. 71, *Statutes Revised*, v., 869.
[4] *Ibid.*, v., 888.

translation to the richer sees, and in the meantime eking out their incomes by holding good livings which they served by curates. One great reform consisted in the episcopal estates being transferred to the commissioners, who took over their sole management, allowing the bishops a fixed annual sum. In this arrangement there was some risk of the bishops being reckoned stipendiaries of the State rather than landed freeholders; but the change was accepted to avoid worse evils. It had at least this advantage, that the episcopal incomes could be more generally equalised, the process being facilitated by a revision of diocesan limits and the consequent expenses of administration. Another advantage was that the *commendam* livings being no longer necessary were all abolished, and the perpetual translations of bishops ceased. These reforms had been recommended by the royal commissioners, who also advised the erection of two additional bishoprics in the most densely populated parts of England, as the West Riding in the diocese of York, around Ripon, and a part of Lancashire containing Manchester in the diocese of Chester, both Ripon and Manchester possessing ancient and handsome collegiate churches suitable for conversion into cathedrals.

Thus was constituted under the title of "Ecclesiastical Commissioners" what might be called a standing Church Council for the whole body of the Church of England for revenue purposes, able to deal with departments which did not fall under the action of the Queen Anne's Bounty board. The two institutions together have proved of great benefit to the Church, and must be considered permanent monuments of Church reform for their respective periods, and, like the Tithe Commutation Act, not to be forgotten when cries for reform are raised with a passion and an urgency which would appear to mean that nothing had ever been accomplished in the path of administrative amendment. By those measures alone, and they are not the only ones, many crying abuses have been ended; both bishops and clergy have been freed from many a difficulty in the management of their revenues. Moreover, the animosity against the Church was largely modified as these various measures of reform were successively carried out.

Victoria, 20th June, 1837–22nd January, 1901.

The year 1837 brought another sign of Church activity, in the foundation of an institution, the Additional Curates Society, having objects similar to those of the Church Pastoral Aid

Society, but under the management of a different theological school.

Soon after Queen Victoria had ascended the throne Dr. Pusey preached before the University, on 5th November, 1837, against the Revolution; "the first time," adds J. B. Mozley, "of the Revolution being formally preached against since Sacheverell". When Mozley recorded this event the sermon was making a great stir,[1] as well it might. The young sovereign's accession was quite recent, and here, in such a place, before such an audience, Pusey, under Keble's prompting,[2] had the temerity to parade the very central tenet of the Nonjuring and Jacobite disaffection. The Tract party were thus openly and for a long while committed through its leaders to the sentiment of disloyalty to the reigning house and to the Protestant Succession.

Tractarian Advance.

That same year, the year before his death, the father of the evangelical revival in Bristol, Mr. Biddulph, who had discerned a Romeward tendency in the Tractarian theology from the beginning, brought out a small book for popular use in reply to Pusey's three tracts of 1835 on baptism. He distinctly perceived the change coming in the ecclesiastical world by which divines of the evangelical school would have to face a new order of opponents, men who, besides being able writers, were possessed of an earnest, religious spirit. He already perceived, too, what has come more distinctly to light since his time, how much the authors of this movement were bound together by a formal tie pledging them to counteract the doctrine and thwart the influence of the Evangelical revival in the Church of England.[3] Mr. Biddulph and his school appear to have been fully aware of their great polemical disadvantage in having for assailants a combination of picked men with an academic centre and acknowledged leaders of no common mark. Biddulph's book, *The Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration*, sought to confute the teaching "that the inward and spiritual grace represented in baptism is connected exclusively and inclusively with the outward and visible sign of the baptismal ordinance". This appeared to him to involve the essential error of Romanism, and the circumstance

[1] J. B. Mozley's *Letters*, p. 70; Liddon's *Life of Pusey*, i., 26-27.

[2] Lock's *Keble*, p. 3.

[3] The first tracts were by "The Society established for the dissemination of High Church principles," which later on became "The Apostolical Party" (J. B. Mozley, 3rd Sept., 1833, and 12th Nov., 1836, *Letters*, pp. 33, 60). The bad taste of contrasting *Apostolical* with *Evangelical* must have been seen, as the designation did not long survive.

that there was a body of skilled writers engaged in propagating year after year these and kindred doctrines alarmed him far more than did the action of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1816. "The danger to the Church," he wrote, "appears to be greatly increased by the zeal and energy with which . . . vital error is now propagated among candidates for the ministry and throughout the country by the *Tracts for the Times* in course of publication at Oxford."

The first volume of an important literary venture, *The Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church anterior to the division of the East and West, translated by members of the English Church,* appeared in 1838. The volume consisted of the *Confessions of St. Augustine,* translated by Dr. Pusey. In 1839 a volume of Chrysostom by Keble appeared. There appeared fifty volumes down to 1885, a large number of them being from Augustine and Chrysostom. There were also included portions of Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Cyprian, Tertullian, both Cyrils, Ambrose, Athanasius and Gregory the Great.

It was on 13th December, 1836, that Keble, Pusey, Williams and Copeland met at Oxford "for the purpose of talking over the new translation of the Fathers".[1] On or about 27th April, 1838, Newman took a house to be formed into a reading and collating establishment, to help in editing the Fathers. Mr. Thomas Mozley, referring to the translators, wrote in 1882: "Some of these men had to write articles on subjects they knew or cared little about; to learn as they went on, and perhaps to know just so much at the end as to repent of having ever begun".[2] This somewhat ungracious observation of a friend, while it may remind us that the Oxford Tract men did not originate the taste for patristic literature in the English Church, will not blind us to the fact that they had a share in advancing it and helped to propagate the good principles which Newman received from Milner's wholesome *Church of Christ* and must have been deepened in him by the Cambridge lectures of Kaye.

In 1840 the Parker Society was instituted in London, "for the publication of the works of the fathers and early writers of the Reformed English Church," named from Archbishop Parker, a great collector of ancient and modern writers, who, says Strype, took especial care of the safe preservation of them for all succeeding times.[3] Many of the originals are preserved at Corpus

[1] J. B. Mozley, *Letters*, p. 63.

[2] Rev. Thomas Mozley's *Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement*, ii., 38.

[3] See Strype's *Life of Parker*, ii., pp. 477-79, ed. 1821.

Christi College, Cambridge, of which Parker was master. The volumes, four each year, began to appear in 1841.

On 7th August, 1840, the Royal assent was given to an Act for better enforcing Church discipline, otherwise entitled, "For proceeding against a clergyman for any ecclesiastical offence".[1] The Bishop issues a commission of enquiry to determine whether a *primâ facie* case can be made out against the accused. If it can, the trial takes place. This procedure corresponds to that of the grand jury in criminal civil cases.

The last and most famous of the Oxford Tracts, No. 90, appeared on 25th January, 1841. It argued that the Thirty-nine Articles might be subscribed by those who accepted the decrees of Trent. After the outcry which was raised against it all over England, and the strong remonstrance of the Bishop of Oxford, it became obviously impossible to proceed any further with the *Tracts*. Their publication ceased, though the system of divinity which had been advocated in their pages advanced further and further in the direction which Newman had given to the movement.

On 31st July, 1842, Mr. Gladstone in a confidential talk with his friend Mr. Robert Williams, then a sympathiser in the Oxford Movement, learnt something which startled and amazed him as to the views of the advanced Tract party. It was that no great progress of the "Catholic" idea which had been started in the Church of England was hoped for in any free scope given to the Anglican rubrical system, and that its health, if not its very life, depended mainly on reunion with Rome. Within the English Church, for the cultivation of this reunion, the party were determined to abide, but only upon the basis of Tract 90, on which after a mental conflict they had steadily settled down. Their own Church, it was added, awakened in their minds but little special love, nor did the existing evils of the Roman Church arouse any real repulsion. This discovery, while fresh in his recollection, Mr. Gladstone at once committed to writing, to be produced to the world some sixty years later from his memoranda by his official biographer.[2]

About the end of 1842, Newman, having resigned his church, St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, secluded himself, with a few young men, his disciples, in a *quasi*-monastic abode in the neighbouring

[1] 3 & 4 Vic., c. 86, *Statutes at Large*, lxxx., 287. Analysis in *Ecclesiastical Courts Commission Report*, p. xlv.

[2] Mr. John Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, 1903, vol. i., p. 309.

village of Littlemore, from which place, on 9th October, 1845, he made his act of submission to the local Roman authority.

Newman's secession helped greatly to strengthen the position of the Roman Church in England. The leadership of the party which he left behind him in the Church of England fell to Pusey, who rallied its shattered forces. His influence and the growth of a sacerdotal spirit among the clergy led them soon to adopt a more aggressive attitude, and to pass beyond the claim for toleration which they at first made. They did not as yet appeal to the Ecclesiastical Courts to assert their position, but the action of Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter in the Gorham case is an instance of the treatment which was inevitable if the teaching of the party led by Pusey was to be recognised as that of the Church of England. The Rev. G. C. Gorham was presented by the Lord Chancellor to the living of Brampford Speke in North Devon. The Bishop of Exeter refused to institute him on the ground that his views on baptism were not sound. Gorham did not accept what is generally called "Baptismal Regeneration". After procedure in the Court of Arches, and before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in 1850 he won his case. The trial gave rise to acrimonious party discussion, which embittered the struggle between the opposing sections of the Church. The Church of Rome at the same time—seizing what seemed to it a favourable opportunity—established a territorial episcopate throughout England. The prospects thus created, combined with the decision in the Gorham case, led to further secessions, including those of Henry Edward Manning, Archdeacon of Chichester, who became afterwards a Cardinal and R.C. Archbishop of Westminster, and Robert Wilberforce, Archdeacon of Yorkshire. These departures helped to deepen the suspicion with which those who had been associated with them and shared their views were regarded, and increased the discord which affected the religious life of the Church.

SUMMARY, 1850-1910.

The activities of Church life in modern times have been very varied. It is impossible to deal with them chronologically. For the purpose of a summary it is necessary to choose some of the chief characteristics and to state the main lines of development. We commence with the expansion of Church work at home.

CHURCH EXPANSION IN ENGLAND.

Church Expansion.

The population of England in these sixty years has increased by about 16,000,000. This vast increase is largely in the manufacturing districts, and it has necessitated an extensive reorganisation of Church work. The principal step in meeting the new conditions has been the subdivision of the old parishes into new ecclesiastical districts. About 4,000 such new districts have been formed during this period. The change has also necessitated a large increase in the number of clergy. It is estimated that in 1841 their number was over 14,000, while the estimated number in recent years, including schoolmasters, is close on 25,000. There has naturally followed an increase in the number of bishops.

Diocesan Extension.

Ten new dioceses have been formed, special statutes being obtained for the purpose. A diocesan bishop has frequently one or more assistant bishops, often called his suffragans, as the diocesan bishops themselves are the suffragans or subordinates of the archbishop, though on a level as to orders. They are appointed without statute, by private arrangement with the diocesans whom they assist and by whom they are remunerated, frequently in part by being preferred to opulent livings. If not already bishops, returned from the colonies or the mission field, they readily obtain consecration from the archbishop by permission of the Crown. A diocese can be created by statute alone. The statutes which from time to time formed these ten dioceses, made no provision for their endowments, which were left to the private liberality of the promoters and others influenced by them. The various Acts provided that so soon as the requisite capital was obtained to provide a minimum income, in the case of any particular bishopric, an order in council might issue declaring that bishopric erected. Its first occupant was appointed direct by the Crown, in the necessary absence of a chapter to elect. The new bishopric had to wait its turn before its possessor could enter the House of Lords, as it was a rule that the original number of spiritual peers was not to be exceeded. The ten bishoprics came in this order: Manchester, 1847; Truro, 1876; St. Alban's, 1877; Liverpool, 1880; Newcastle, 1882; Southwell, 1884; Wakefield, 1888; Bristol constituted as a separate bishopric, 1897; Birmingham, 1905; Southwark, 1905; and in a short time the dioceses of St. Alban's and York will also be divided.

The normal working of Church life has been supplemented

in many directions by special efforts. Several of the colleges in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, as well as a large number of public schools, have made themselves responsible for special mission work in the poorer districts of the large towns, and the Church owes much to the interest thus created. Societies have been founded and other devices adopted to cope with the increased work. An Order of Readers has been established to assist the clergy in the conducting of services and in the work of the parishes. In addition to these voluntary workers, lay readers, many of them working men, trained at the S. P. C. K. Lay Readers' College in Stepney, are appointed to work in parishes. The Scripture Readers' Association has also a number of men at work in London, and in some of the other large towns. Special missionary work is undertaken by such societies as the Missions to Seamen, and the Navvy Mission, while the Church Army, in addition to its social work, has a large number of "captains" and sisters at work under the direction of the parochial clergy. The demand for specialisation has resulted in the growth of a number of brotherhoods and sisterhoods, some of which are bound by vows of celibacy, poverty and obedience. Many of them have adopted the characteristics and dress of the similar institutions in the Roman Church. On the other hand, scope is given for women's work in loyal conformity to the Church of England in such sisterhoods as the Mildmay Deaconesses and the Church Sisters' Home. To the women workers falls the great movement for the care of girls. Many Church people take an active interest in the Young Women's Christian Association, while the Girls' Friendly Society is a strictly Church organisation for the same purpose, and its branches are to be found in about half the parishes in the country. The Church of England Men's Society has formed a widespread organisation for bringing men into close contact with Church life. These and numerous other home missionary organisations serve to illustrate the varied activities of the Church. They include the Church of England Temperance Society, with its system of Police Court Missions, the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society, which provides homes for destitute children, on the lines of the work associated with the name of Dr. Barnardo. Another branch of work is represented by the Church Penitentiary Association and similar organisations, such as the Ladies' Association for the care of Friendless Girls. These are but a few of many branches of work that have been taken up by Church

people in their desire to apply the principles of Christ with practical effect to the conditions of modern life.

EDUCATIONAL WORK.

We turn now to educational work both in its higher and elementary branches. The older Universities are no longer exclusively confined to members of the Church of England, yet the Church continues to influence their life to a very large extent. The University of Durham was founded in 1832, and King's College, London, in 1828 (see page 396). The large increase in the number of clergy necessitated extensive provision being made for their education. The following are the chief of the Institutions founded for this purpose:—

Education of the Clergy.

Theological Colleges already existed at St. Bees from 1816, at Lampeter from 1822, at Chichester from 1839, at Wells from 1840, at King's College, London, from about 1850. St. Aidan's at Birkenhead, under the Rev. Joseph Baylee, who laboured there from 1840, took shape in and about 1845, sanctioned by Bishop Charles Sumner of Chester and Augustus Campbell the rector of Liverpool in the Chester diocese, until the present handsome premises, erected by Mr. Baylee's exertions, were inaugurated 4th November, 1856.[1] On 15th June, 1854, Cuddesdon College was opened by Bishop Samuel Wilberforce of Oxford,[2] near his palace. In 1857 a college began at Lichfield and in 1860 one at Salisbury. In 1863, by the munificence of the Rev. Alfred Peache and his sister, the London College of Divinity, St. John's, was founded at Highbury under Dr. Boultbee, principal. On 20th January, 1869, Bishop Ellicott of Gloucester and Bristol opened a college under the Rev. W. H. Girdlestone[3] from Ryde.

Theological Colleges.

In January, 1874, a college was opened at Lincoln, when the Rev. E. W. Benson, chancellor of the Cathedral (afterwards Bishop of Truro and Archbishop of Canterbury), finding that his ancient predecessors conducted "chancellor's schools," *Scholæ Cancellarii,* revived them under the same Latin name, to train candidates for orders, carrying on lectures by permission in the

[1] From a full account in a tract "Aidan, St., Birkenhead," in the British Museum.

[2] Ashwell's *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, ii., 245.

[3] *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 9th February, 1869, p. 216.

Old Palace belonging to the see of Lincoln, but not then the episcopal residence.[1]

In 1876 began the college at Ely, the clergy school at Leeds, and St. Stephen's House at Oxford. In the October term of 1877, Wycliffe Hall, at Oxford, was opened for graduates, under the Rev. R. B. Girdlestone, Canon of Christ Church, principal; lectures and the residence of students beginning early in 1878.

In the beginning of October, 1878, at Truro, Bishop Benson, the former Lincoln chancellor, opened a college with the old Lincoln name, *Scholæ Cancellarii*, in two rented houses in Strangeways Terrace, putting it in charge of an honorary cathedral chancellor.[2]

On 1st February, 1881, Ridley Hall, Cambridge, was opened for graduates, under the Rev. Handley Carr Glyn Moule (now Bishop of Durham), principal. The buildings were ready except the chapel, and the inaugural service was held in that of Corpus Christi College.

In 1892 was founded St. Michael's College, Aberdare; in 1897 the House of Sacred Mission, at Mildenhall; and in 1899 was founded Lightfoot Hall, Birmingham, Rev. John B. Harford, principal, by the Midland Clergy College Corporation.

In January, 1901, Bishop's College was opened in two private houses, under Dr. Henry Gee, principal, chiefly for graduates. In 1900 it had begun as a small hostel with a few students reading for orders under the bishop. This college and Lightfoot Hall, Birmingham, were amalgamated at Ripon, under the Rev. J. B. Harford of Lightfoot Hall as principal. The united college is for graduates only.

There are theological colleges likewise at Bishopthorpe under the Archbishop of York; at Bishop Auckland under the Bishop of Durham; at Liverpool a hostel for graduates, in the Bishop's palace, to be trained for work in his diocese; at Manchester, the Bishop's *Schola Episcopi*. In 1893 the bishops united in requiring that all non-graduates wishing to be accepted at the theological colleges as candidates for holy orders should pass a common or "central" entrance examination of a given standard.[3] The

[1] *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 13th Jan., 1874, p. 94; 8th Dec., 1874, p. 77; 14th Feb., 1879, p. 115.

[2] *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 10th April, 1879, p. 138.

[3] The first central examination recorded in the *Record* and the *Guardian* was held in Sept., 1893—*Record*, 29th Sept., 1893, p. 948; *Guardian*, 27th Sept., 1893, p. 1488.

average number of non-graduates thus entering the ten or twelve colleges open to them is about forty or fifty in each of the three terms in the year.

In 1909, St. John's Hall was opened at Durham. It is in connection with St. John's Hall, Highbury, and enables students to proceed to the degrees of Durham University and at the same time continue their theological studies.

Several public schools have been founded in connection with the Church of England, the principal being those in connection with the Evangelical Church Schools, which include St. Lawrence College, Ramsgate, Cheltenham College, Trent College, Weymouth College, and those in connection with the Woodard Foundation, while girls' schools have been founded by the Church Education Corporation, including Sandecotes School at Parkstone, Uplands School at St. Leonards, and Milham Ford School at Oxford, close to Cherwell Hall, the Training College for Secondary Teachers which has been founded by the same Corporation.

Elementary Education.

A large share in the elementary education in the country has fallen to the Church of England. The old Charity Schools which were founded and maintained by the S. P. C. K. were the earliest effort of this kind. The foundation of the National Society in 1811 was a step in advance, and numbers of Church Schools were founded under its auspices. In 1833 the State made its first grant towards elementary education, and contributed £20,000 for the foundation of new schools. In 1839 the Education Department was established, and Government inspection began. Under its fostering care, elementary education spread till in 1870 a new departure was made. School Boards were formed and "Board" Schools were established in which no distinctive religious doctrine could be taught. The competition between the two classes of schools continued much to the disadvantage of Church Schools, until an Act was passed in 1902 which placed the Church Schools, in financial respects, on an equality with the Board Schools, while allowing a large measure of control to the managers of the schools, of whom four were to be Churchmen, and two representatives of the educational and parochial authorities. To meet the demand for teachers in these schools, the National Society and the S. P. C. K. have founded a large number of training colleges for masters and mistresses, and these have provided an adequate supply of highly trained teachers.

The Church Abroad and in the Colonies.

The constant emigration from the British Isles during the sixty years under consideration, has led to the organisation and development of the Church in British colonies and in lands under the rule of other nations. Unfortunately, however, the growth of these colonial and foreign Churches has not been in proportion to the number of the emigrants and the increase in their descendants. The number of colonial and missionary bishops is now over one hundred, and the Church's Year Book supplies particulars of the numbers of Church people under the jurisdiction of these bishops. The Protestant Episcopal Church in America is in full communion with our Church, and its Bishops attend the meetings of the Lambeth Conference. The means of intercommunication between the different parts of the world has led to small English colonies being formed in various parts of the world, more especially on the Continent of Europe, and in many cases chaplains have been appointed who are under the jurisdiction of bishops specially appointed for the purpose.

Missionary Work.

Missionary Activity.

The following are among the missionary institutions for the foreign field that have been founded since 1845, the Church Missionary Society's College at Islington having existed from 1825: in 1848, St. Augustine's, at Canterbury; in 1860, the Missionary College of St. Boniface, at Warminster; in 1860, the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, the first missionary party sailing under Bishop Mackenzie, in October, 1860.

In 1869 a Preparatory Training Institution for Church Missionary Society missionaries began at Reading under the Rev. Robert Bren, removed in 1887 to Clapham Common, and in 1902 to Blackheath. In 1877 began the Cambridge Mission to Delhi in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; in 1878, St. Paul's Mission House, Burgh, in connection with St. Augustine's, Canterbury; in 1878, St. Peter and St. Paul's Missionary College at Dorchester-on-Thames; in 1880, the Oxford Mission to Calcutta; in 1880, the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society.

An important official step in connection with the foreign missionary work of the Church was taken in July, 1884, when a board of missions was appointed by the convocation of Canterbury, consisting of twenty-four bishops, twenty-four priests and

twenty-four laymen, all nominated by convocation, its functions not being to receive funds, but to enforce generally the responsibility of the Church in regard to missions, give advice when asked to colonial and missionary Churches, and act as referee when called on by home societies.

The Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Assyrian Christians was inaugurated in 1886 by Archbishop Benson.

In 1888, the Church Missionary Society began to receive female candidates, which led to the formation of "The Olives" as a training institution. In the autumn of 1891 a Church Missionary Society Medical Missionary Auxiliary was formed.

On 21st January, 1901, the Church Missionary Society's Medical Mission at Bermondsey in Surrey, was opened to give elementary medical instruction to female missionaries before going out or while home on furlough.

Organisation at Home and Abroad.

Church organisation and co-ordination have been largely helped through the various representative bodies that have been either resuscitated or founded to give expression to the Church's voice. The Convocations of York and Canterbury were revived after being practically in abeyance for one hundred and thirty-four years,— that of Canterbury in 1852, and that of York in 1861. Since then, although having no independent legislative power, they have on many occasions given expression to opinions more or less representative of the Church's views on questions of biblical criticism, of the essentials of the faith, on ritualism, on the relationship of the Church of England to the Church of Rome, and non-episcopal bodies. An effort to give the laity of the Church a representative Chamber was made by the creation in 1887 of the House of Laymen, which, without any legislative power, discusses and gives expression to views similarly more or less representative of the opinions of the laity. Although not elective nor perhaps altogether representative, the Church Congresses which have been held each year for the last fifty years, give a truer expression of the Church's life and opinions. The Church Congress—the first of which was held in Cambridge in the year 1860—is held each year in the autumn, in some suitable town to which the assemblage is invited. The bishop of the diocese presides, and at the meetings, which are held on the four days of the Congress Sessions, papers are read and discussions held on all the most important matters of current interest, while the devotional life of the Church is not neglected.

The Lambeth Conference is an attempt to bring the various portions of the Anglican Communion throughout the world into closer relationship with one another. Its members consist of all the bishops of the Anglican Communion, that is of all Churches in communion with the Church of England, and its meetings are held every ten years. The first was summoned by Archbishop Longley in 1867, when seventy bishops out of a total of one hundred and forty-four met at Lambeth, and at the conclusion of their Sessions issued a series of resolutions and a pastoral letter.[1] The second Conference was held in 1878. One hundred bishops out of a total of one hundred and seventy-three took part; at its conclusion the reports of the various Committees were published. The third Lambeth Conference met in 1888 under the presidency of Archbishop Benson. Two hundred and nine bishops were summoned, one hundred and forty-five were present. This Conference issued an encyclical letter and resolutions of considerable importance. In 1897, when Archbishop Temple presided, the number of bishops was one hundred and ninety-four out of a total of two hundred and forty invited. One of the chief matters under discussion was the then recent declaration of the Pope on English Orders, to which the Archbishops had drawn up a reply. In 1908 the most remarkable of the Lambeth Conferences was held, under the presidency of Archbishop Davidson, when the number of bishops was two hundred and forty-three out of two hundred and forty-nine dioceses in existence. The numbers show how largely the Anglican communion increased during the forty years. In the same year the first attempt to bring together representatives of the clergy and laity of the communion from all parts of the world was made in the Pan-Anglican Congress, which was held in London. This great gathering served to display thediversity of opinion in the manifold interests of the Church of England, and the Churches in communion with her. In the report of the Congress[2] interesting particulars are given of the numbers who attended—six delegates were invited from each diocese throughout the world, and in addition to these there were a large number of other members—of the subjects discussed, and of the results of the meetings.

Church and State.

We turn now to the relation of Church and State. The controversies which arose out of the Oxford Movement, and the desire

[1] See *Reports of Lambeth Conferences.*
[2] Published in 7 vols. by S. P. C. K.

on the part of some to change the ceremonial of the Church, gave rise to a number of cases in the Ecclesiastical Courts. Since the Reformation it has been recognised that the right of appeal in all ecclesiastical cases lies to the Crown. This final Court of Appeal was known as the Court of Delegates, a body appointed by the King for the trial of particular cases. By the Act in William the Fourth's reign (see pp. 400 and 404) this jurisdiction was transferred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and to this body appeals have constantly been made. "When the idea of going into Court was first suggested, the suggestions were all from the Rubricians and not from the Bishops or the Protestant party." [1]

Important cases in the Ecclesiastical Courts.

The first case to be tried was that of Westerton *v.* Liddell, in 1854, when, after the decision of the Consistory Court in 1855 and of the Arches Court in 1856, Mr. Liddell appealed to the Privy Council. The points at issue were the presence of a cross and screen, of a cross behind the Holy Table, and of the use of a Credence Table. After the decision of the Judicial Committee on this case some of the clergy began to introduce pre-Reformation vestments, on the plea that the same dresses and the same utensils or articles which were used under the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. may still be used. Soon the representatives of both sides formed organisations to support their views. The English Church Union was founded in 1860, and the Church Association in 1865, the former to support the innovations and the latter to oppose them.

The next important case brought before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was that of Martin *v.* Mackonochie in 1867. On this occasion the points at issue concerned the more advanced practices of genuflections, candles used as "lights before the sacrament," and mixed chalice, which at the trial before the lower courts had been declared to be illegal. The vestments and eastward position, as well as the use of wafer bread and the mixed chalice, were raised in the case of Hebbert *v.* Purchas. The Court of Arches decided in favour of them (3rd February, 1870), but the following year, 23rd February, the Judicial Committee reversed the decision. After these decisions the Ritualist party began to be dissatisfied with the jurisdiction of the Privy Council. They claimed that it was a secular court, which ought not to deal with spiritual matters.

[1] Evidence of Archbishop of Canterbury (*Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, vol. 2, p. 348).

In 1874 a Public Worship Regulation Act was passed with the object of simplifying the procedure in cases of the introduction of ornaments into the services without a faculty. The same plea of a secular court was raised against the new procedure which was then instituted, and owing to five clergymen being imprisoned for disobeying the decisions of the Court, a prejudice was raised against it. If, however, these offenders had been deprived, the work of the Court would probably have been effective. Archbishop Tait declared imprisonment for contumacy in matters ecclesiastical was never contemplated when Parliament passed the Public Worship Regulation Act. The first case under this Act was the Ridsdale case, in which the matters under consideration were vestments, wafer bread, and the eastward position. Mr. Ridsdale appealed to the Privy Council, and on 12th May, 1877, the vestments were declared illegal. The decision against wafer bread was modified, and the eastward position was declared not illegal, provided the manual acts were visible. This was the last case of real importance in the Ritual controversy. A commission on the Ecclesiastical Courts sat in 1881, but its conclusions were not acted upon except in the case of the Clergy Discipline Act, 1892 (see p. 437).

In 1888 the Church Association decided, "most people will say, I think, rightly and bravely from their point of view,"[1] to make a test case with regard to the Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. King. The points in the trial were the use of the mixed chalice, the eastward position during the ante-Communion, the hiding of the manual acts, the singing of the Agnus Dei, ablutions, two altar lights, and the signing of the cross in the air at the absolution and benediction. The decision, which was given on 21st November, 1890, declared the mixed chalice legal if not ceremonially mixed, the eastward position not illegal, the Agnus Dei legal if sung as other hymns, ablutions if outside the actual service not wrong, and the two lights not illegal if the lighting of them was not made a ceremony. The signing of the cross was illegal. On appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, it confirmed this decision on 2nd August, 1892, except with regard to the altar lights, for the use of which it was held that the Bishop was not personally responsible. A further stage in the Ritual dispute occurred in the year 1899, when at the request of the Bishops of London and Norwich, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York decided to hear a case on incense and

[1] Archbishop of Canterbury's evidence, *Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline.*

processional lights, which was submitted to them. This was done in deference to those who had objections to a secular court, and who thought that a spiritual court only should represent the church. The decision of the Archbishops, who heard the cases together, but gave judgment separately, was given on 31st July, 1899, and forbade the use of incense and processional lights. A case of reservation was tried by the Archbishops and it was also forbidden. These Lambeth "Opinions" have, however, received no more respect than the decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

In 1904 (23rd April) a Royal Commission was appointed in consequence of a resolution in Parliament to the effect that "if the efforts now being made by the Archbishops and Bishops to secure due obedience of the clergy are not speedily effective, further legislation will be required to maintain the observance of the existing laws of Church and Realm". The Commission examined a large number of witnesses, who reported on the services held throughout the country, and put in evidence manuals in use in a number of parishes. The report of this Commission decided that a number of practices plainly significant of teaching repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of England, and certainly illegal, should be promptly made to cease by the exercise of the authority belonging to the Bishops, and if necessary by proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and that letters of business should be issued to the Convocations to consider the preparation of a new rubric regulating the ornaments and to frame various modifications in the existing law relating to the conduct of divine service, with a view to their enactment by Parliament. The letters of business have been issued, and Convocation is at the present time (1910) considering the alterations.

In addition to these chief points of ecclesiastical and legal procedure, many Acts of importance have been passed, of which the following is a brief summary :—

The Divorce Act.

(*a*) 28th August, 1857. The Divorce Act[1] provided that persons whose marriage had been dissolved might be married to others in their own or in a different parish church, by their own or by some other clergyman willing to perform the ceremony. Previously an Act of Parliament was required in each separate case.

(*b*) 17th January, 1859. The "Three Solemn Days" of State observance, 30th January, 29th May, 5th November, were

[1] 20 & 21 Vic., c. 85, Act to Amend the Law relating to Divorce and Matrimonial Causes in England, *Statutes at Large* xcviii., 532.

deprived by a simple warrant of the Queen in Council of their special Church services,[1] which standing on the royal authority alone and not being required by the Act of Uniformity establishing the Prayer-book, could thus be summarily dropped by a similar act of council. The public observance of those days rested on different ground, being enjoined by statutes, which Parliament forthwith repealed.[2]

(*c*) 31st July, 1868. The Act abolishing compulsory Church rates[3] affected the Church of England in her constitution by denying her the legal right to enforce a tribute from parishioners for the maintenance of the parish church in its fabric, its burial ground, and its worship.

(*d*) 26th July, 1869. By the Act to put an end to the establishment of the Church of Ireland,[4] the legal title, "United Church of England and Ireland," which had stood since the Act of Union in 1800, dropped.[5]

[1] *London Gazette*, 18th January, 1859.

[2] 22 Vic., c. 2; Phillimore, i., 809; Royal assent, 25th March, 1859; *Lords' Journals*, xci., 44, 52, 72, 79, 125.

[3] 31 & 32 Vic., c. 109, 31st July, 1868, *Statutes at Large*, cix., 500.

[4] 32 & 33 Vic., c. 42, 26th July, 1869, *ibid.*, cx., 119.

[5] The disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Ireland which was effected by this Act, led to a necessary reorganisation of that Church. With great skill the establishment of a system of Synods was effected, and a complete and successful Financial Scheme inaugurated. All the parochial clergy are members of the Diocesan Synods, together with two lay representatives for each clergyman in a parish. The General Synod which meets yearly in Dublin, is composed of clerical and lay representatives from each diocese. There are two "houses"—the House of Bishops, and the House of Representatives, which usually deliberate together, but votes are taken by orders. The final control of all matters rests with the Synod. Appointments to parishes are made by a board consisting of three Diocesan, and three parochial nominators, with the Bishop as chairman. The Bishops are elected by the Diocesan Synods.

After the passing of the Act "The Church Representative Body" was incorporated by Royal Charter. It consists of the bishops and representatives, elected and co-opted, from each diocese. To it were transferred the churches and burying grounds adjoining, and it bought in the rectories for the use of the Church. The life interests of the clergy were valued at over £7,500,000. This amount was paid over to the Representative Body, which paid the claims of those who wished to "commute and compound". The balance was apportioned to the parishes throughout the country, and became the nucleus for the unique Sustentation Fund, by which the incomes of the clergy are paid. Each parish contributes in proportion to the amount it is able to offer its incumbent, and this is met by a proportional sum from the interest on the capital invested.

The vitality of the Irish Church under many disadvantages has been remarkable, and the Church is to-day in a prosperous condition. It has increased the number of Bishops, has inaugurated, built or restored several of its Cathedrals, and has displayed zeal in all departments of church work, especially in the mission field. The Divinity School in connection with Trinity College, Dublin, sends out well-trained candidates for Holy Orders to all branches of the Anglican Communion.

(*e*) 16th June, 1871. By the Universities Tests Act[1] the Church of England lost the exclusive position so long enjoyed at Oxford, Cambridge and Durham. Except in the faculty of divinity, in which she retained all her ancient rights, every emolument and honour, both of university and college, could be enjoyed by persons of any creed.

(*f*) 13th July, 1871. By the Prayer-book Table of Lessons Act[2] it was sought to make the public reading of Scripture in church more profitable by various changes in detail, and especially by reducing the number of lessons from the Apocrypha. The task of arranging new tables was entrusted to the Royal Commissioners on Ritual appointed on 3rd June, 1867, who in a special third report, 12th January, 1870, exhibited the result of their recommendations, which they had framed after private consultations with the archbishops, bishops, deans, and divinity professors, of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, and Durham. The new table, which can be seen in their third report, was legalised by the above Act, which likewise contains the whole new table without any alteration. In this matter we have an excellent example of how the Prayer-book is altered by Parliament. The legislature, though theoretically omnipotent, never, on any consideration, seeks to interfere with the text of the book; but as the book itself stands part of an Act of Parliament (Uniformity Act, 1662), Parliament will jealously insist that no single letter of it be changed without its permission by an amending Act; and this permission, if in the free exercise of its judgment it sees good, is never refused. In the preamble Parliament acknowledges taking action in consequence of the report of the royal commissioners; but the enactment is an independent one of its own.

Uniformity Amendment Act.

(*g*) 18th July, 1872. The Act of Uniformity Amendment Act[3] permitted the use in parish churches of shortened services, special services on special occasions, additional services on Sundays and holy-days, all within strictly defined limits, leaving as little as possible to individual discretion. This Act further illustrates our remarks under the preceding one. The preamble shows Parliament coming forward by reason of the commissioners' report of 31st August, 1870, and by reason likewise of a further report by convocation, which had

[1] 34 & 35 Vic., c. 26, *Statutes Revised*, xii., 982.

[2] 34 & 35 Vic., c. 37, *ibid.*, xiii., 1001.

[3] 35 & 36 Vic., c. 35, *ibid.*, xiii., 85; *Law Reports, Public General Statutes*, vii., 237.

been authorised by Parliament to consider this report of the commissioners. Both these students are highly instructive as to the joint action of Church and State when dealing with the Prayer-book. We are practically, if not theoretically, safe from the arbitrary meddling of either.

(*h*) 7th August, 1874. By clause vii. of the Public Worship Regulation Act [1] an alteration was made in the accustomed mode of appointing the presiding judge in each of the two provincial Church courts, called Arches Court in the province of Canterbury, Chancery Court in that of York. In each of these courts the archbishop's representative, called his official principal, was the presiding judge, the official principal of the southern court being likewise, and more commonly, called Dean of Arches. By long-established usage each archbishop, independently of the other and of the crown, appointed the presiding judge of his own court; but it was now enacted that the same person should be judge in both courts, and that his appointment by the archbishops should be subject to the approval of the crown. The first person thus appointed under the Act was James Plaisted Wilde, Baron Penzance, on 20th October, 1875.

(*i*) 11th August, 1876. Section xiv. of the Appellate Jurisdiction Act [2] required that a number of archbishops and bishops, to be fixed by an order in council, should attend the judicial committee as assessors in ecclesiastical appeals, to obviate some objections felt to the predominantly lay character of that body. An order in council subsequently provided for five assessors in rotation, three at least to attend.

(*j*) 7th September, 1880. By the Burial Laws Amendment Act [3] legalising Nonconformist burial rites in churchyards, with certain restrictions, the exclusive privileges of the Church of England were curtailed. In practice very few such burials occur, partly from the closing of churchyards by law, partly from traditional prejudice in favour of old custom.

(*k*) 16th May, 1881. A Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts was appointed to inquire into the constitution and working of the ecclesiastical courts as created or modified under the Reformation statutes of 24 & 25 Henry VIII. and any subsequent statutes.[4] First sitting, 30th May, 1881, seventy-fifth and last,

[1] 37 & 38 Vic., c. 85, *Statutes Revised*, xiii., 599; the Act *verbatim* in *Ecclesiastical Courts Commission Report*, 1881, p. 243 and p. xlviii.

[2] 39 & 40 Vic., c. 59, *Statutes Revised*, xiv., 202; cp. *Ecclesiastical Courts Commission Report*, 1881, vol. i., p. i., beg. "Various Acts".

[3] 43 & 44 Vic., c. 41, *Statutes Revised*, xiv., 1271.

[4] Not a law, but conveniently placed here.

13th July, 1883, on which day the report was settled. The proceedings, published as a Blue Book in 1883,[1] containing historical appendices by the late Bishop Stubbs and others, is of much importance to the historical inquirer.

Patronage Legislation.

A measure relating to the sale of Church Patronage, which was designed to augment the income of certain livings in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, was passed on 28th July, 1863.[2] It authorised the disposal of the Lord Chancellor's small livings as a means of increasing their value by adding the purchase money to the endowment. The chancellor may employ the accumulations, which are invested by the ecclesiastical commissioners until the living receives its augmentation at the next avoidance, in meeting local contributions by equivalent grants, and in building parsonage houses, as well as in augmenting incomes. There has thus accrued for the benefit of the Church's small livings since 1863 a capital sum of £55,826.[3]

Another measure dealing with Church Patronage, the Benefices Act,[4] which was passed 12th August, 1898, obliged the sale of advowsons to be registered, invalidated the sale of next-presentations, and required notice of new incumbents previous to institution to be given to parishioners. Whatever abuses may have arisen from the sales referred to in this Act, it should not be forgotten that at the period of the Evangelical revival in the Church of England, when the purchase of next-presentations and advowsons was quite legal and undisguisedly resorted to by men of the highest character, it was the means of incalculable blessing not otherwise obtainable, securing spheres for clergymen, John Venn of Clapham and Biddulph of Bristol amongst them, whom it was the general rule with the governors of Church and State to exclude. John Thornton the philanthropist in next-presentations, and Charles Simeon in advowsons, were purchasers to an immense extent.

Clerical Subscription Act.

While the administrative and financial work of the Church was being dealt with, several Acts relating to the clergy were passed. By the Clerical Subscription Act,[5] 5th July, 1865, the old form of subscription on ordination and institution, "I declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the

[1] By the king's printers.
[2] 26 & 27 Vic., c. 120, *Statutes at Large*, civ., 554.
[3] *The Times*, 19th February, 1902; *The Record*, 7th March, 1902.
[4] 61 & 62 Vic., c. 48; *Law Reports, Public General Statutes*, xxxv., 224.
[5] 28 & 29 Vic., c. 122, *Statutes at Large*, cvi., 368.

Book of Common Prayer," was made less stringent, becoming[1]: "I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion and to the Book of Common Prayer. I believe the doctrine therein set forth to be agreeable to the Word of God, and in Public Prayer and administration of the Sacraments, I will use the form in the said Book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority."[2]

By the Clerical Disabilities Act,[3] 9th August, 1870, clergymen desiring to relinquish their priests' and deacons' orders are released from the legal obligations and civil disabilities previously connected with those positions; but the Act does not touch the question as to whether a clergyman has any power to divest himself of holy orders.[4]

By the Burial Law Amendment Act,[5] 7th September, 1880, the officiating clergyman may, at the request of the representatives of the deceased, use instead of the burial office a form of service taken only from the Prayer-book or the Bible and approved by the ordinary.[6]

By the Clergy Discipline Act,[7] 27th June, 1892, it was provided, in accordance with the recommendation of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, 1881,[8] that any guilt in regard to offences against morality established against a clergyman in a temporal court may be used by his diocesan as a valid ground on which to pronounce an ecclesiastical sentence upon him.

Theological Thought.

The period has been one of great intellectual activity which has in many ways affected the theological outlook of the Church. Archbishop Whateley and Dr. Arnold of Rugby represented in the earlier part of the century two conceptions of the Church. Dr. Arnold regarded it as the state organised for religious purposes, Whateley considered it a body founded by Christ and living

[1] With slight abbreviation.

[2] By another Act, 31 & 32 Vic., c. 72, 31st July, 1868, the oath was further altered (Phillimore, i., 103), but only by being shortened in form, *Statutes at Large*, cix., 296.

[3] 33 & 34 Vic., c. 91, *Statutes Revised*, xii., 906; *Law Reports, Public General Statutes*, v., 572.

[4] Cripps, *Law relating to Church and Clergy*, 6th ed., 1886, p. 19.

[5] 43 & 44 Vic., c. 41 ("The Burial Act"), sec. xiii.; *Statutes Revised*, xiv., 1275; *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 15th October, 1880, p. 54.

[6] Cripps, *Law relating to Church and Clergy*, 6th ed., 1886, p. 661.

[7] 55 & 56 Vic., c. 32, *Law Reports, Public General Statutes*, xxix., 296.

[8] *Report*, p. lvi., "If in any trial".

its life apart from the State. In a wider field, Arnold inaugurated a new method of dealing with the Bible, approaching it from its human side. In this, he was followed by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Dean of Westminster, in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Corinthians, and by Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol, who applied the same method in his edition of the Epistles to Thessalonians, Galatians and Romans. The publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 gave prominence to the idea of evolution, which soon affected every sphere of thought, and was applied by Herbert Spencer to social life and ethical principles. A severe controversy ensued, as many believed that Darwin's teaching was incompatible with the Divine revelation. The well-known volume *Essays and Reviews*, which was published in 1860, aimed at giving a new expression to truths which the authors felt were liable to suffer from "conventional language and traditional methods of treatment". This volume was condemned by Convocation in 1864, but the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (8th February, 1864) held that none of the statements in it constituted an ecclesiastical offence. A volume by Bishop Colenso of Natal on the Pentateuch, which appeared in 1862, aroused strong disapprobation, and led to his deposition by the Metropolitan of South Africa. The judicial authorities in England refused to uphold this decision, and in the eyes of the law Colenso remained Bishop until his death in 1883, though unrecognised by the strictly canonical party in South Africa. Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-72), whose theological and philosophical works have exerted a profound influence upon the English Church, and have deepened and widened its thought, may be regarded as a successor of Arnold on the broad Church side, while with Charles Kingsley (1810-75) he represents the development of the interest of English Churchmen in social questions, and the condition of the poor. This department of Church work was also largely undertaken by members of the Evangelical School, headed by the most representative philanthropist of his time—the Earl of Shaftesbury. One of the greatest preachers of the nineteenth century belonged to the broad Church School, Frederick William Robertson of Brighton (1815-53). At a later date an important school of theological thought arose at Cambridge, and is associated with the names of Bishop Lightfoot, Bishop Westcott and Dr. Hort. The works of these scholars on the text and the interpretation of the New Testament opened a new era in Biblical studies, and in great measure led to the

production of a Revised Version of the Bible in 1881. The theological position of the younger High Church School found expression in a volume of Essays published in 1880 under the title *Lux Mundi.* This volume was intended to give prominence to the teaching of that school on the Incarnation, but the essay of its editor, Dr. Charles Gore, afterwards Bishop of Birmingham, fell under the condemnation of the older members of his school, chiefly on account of its acceptance of the supposed results of the Higher Criticism of the Holy Scriptures. The emphasis on the Incarnation led to a development of the idea of Divine Immanence, and the meaning of personality, which has been represented by the works of Dr. Illingworth on *Personality, Divine and Human,* and *Divine Immanence,* and Dr. Moberly's *Personality and Atonement.* These represent a prominent phase in modern theology, though a more mystic element is largely affecting the thought of the present decade. The subject, however, upon which interest centres is the person of Jesus Christ, and the best method of expressing the truth which the Church holds regarding Him.

The great increase in the number of books published, and in the cheap editions and libraries which make them accessible to the people, has rendered it necessary for churchmen to take measures to secure that the position and teaching of the Church of England shall be adequately represented.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A.D.	
304.	Martyrdom of St. Alban (first historical event of the British Church).
314.	British bishops attend Council of Arles.
cir. 412-432.	Ninian evangelises the Southern Picts.
429.	Public debate at Verulam on Pelagianism.
cir. 450.	St. Patrick's Mission to Ireland.
563.	Columba evangelises the Northern Picts from Iona.
597.	Italian mission under Augustine lands in Kent.
601.	Augustine receives the pall from Pope Gregory I.
602-3.	Conference of British bishops with the Italian mission.
625-7.	Northumbria Christianised by Paulinus, Italian bishop.
630.	East Anglia Christianised by Felix, Italian bishop.
633.	Northumbria devastated by Mercians and Christianity uprooted.
634.	Wessex Christianised by Birinus, Italian bishop.
635.	Christianity restored in Northumbria by Celtic missionaries.
653.	West Saxons Christianised by Celtic missionaries.
653-7.	Mercia Christianised by Celtic missionaries.
658.	Roman usages introduced into Northumbria by Bishop Wilfrid.
664.	Whitby Conference decides on adoption of Roman Easter; Colman, Celtic Bishop of Lindisfarne, resigns his see.
673.	Synod of Hertford convened by Archbishop Theodore; birth of the Church of England.
678.	Northumbrian bishopric partitioned, and Wilfrid's power restricted to sees of Hexham and Lindisfarne; power of Canterbury proportionately increased.
680.	Synod at Hatfield; Church of England accepts decrees of first four General Councils.
735.	Egbert, Bishop of York, receives the pall from Rome.
758.	Edbert, King of Northumbria, ordered by Pope to restore three monasteries to Abbot Forthred; first instance of Papal administrative intrusion.

A.D.

787. Legates sent by Pope Adrian attend a council at Cealchyth for the creation of Lichfield Archbishopric.

801. Archbishopric of Lichfield terminated.

910-930. Revival of Benedictine rule in Europe.

943. Glastonbury Abbey rebuilt by Dunstan for Benedictine monks.

964. Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, expels secular (married) clergy from cathedral, and founds a monastery.

968. Council of Winchester; monastic party gain the day.

978. Council of Calne; monastic party gain the day.

980-1080. Gradual growth of parochial system, especially in Northern Province.

1066. The Norman Conquest leads to supersession of English by foreign bishops.

1070. Lanfranc becomes Archbishop of Canterbury; Transubstantiation first taught in Church of England.

1071-1086. Revival of ecclesiastical Synods, which had become disused under the Anglo-Saxon monarchy.

1075. Synod of London authorises removal of sees from villages to cities—Church acting independently of civil power—many removals follow.

1080. William I. refuses to do homage for his crown to the Pope.

1081. Archbishop Lanfranc refuses to obey Papal summons to Rome.

1085. William I. enacts three anti-Papal ordinances.

1085. Exclusive Church courts set up by William—first separation of Church and State.

cir. 1092. "Sarum Use" compiled by Osmund Bishop of Salisbury.

1093. Anselm appointed Archbishop of Canterbury; reversal of Lanfranc's policy.

1095. Papal Synod at Clermont forbids ecclesiastics to receive investiture from temporal princes.

1100. Anselm opposes Henry I. on question of investiture.

1107. Henry relinquishes right of investiture, but retains that of receiving episcopal homage.

1125. John de Crema, Papal Legate, is allowed to enter England and presides at Synod of Westminster—second instance of Papal intrusion.

1126. William of Corbeuil, Archbishop of Canterbury, appointed Papal Legate.

A. D.

1127. Legatine Synod convened at Westminster by the Archbishop in the Pope's name, its decrees running "By the authority of St. Peter and our own"—third instance of Papal intrusion.

1135. Stephen at his coronation confers on the bishops all jurisdiction over ecclesiastical persons and their property.

1138-1143. Legatine Synods become fully established.

1150. Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, appointed Papal Legate, and that office inseparably attached to the Primacy.

1163. Henry II.'s attempts at legal reform met by claim for the trial of all clerical persons in Church courts.

1164. Constitutions of Clarendon drawn up to define prerogatives of Church and State respectively; Archbishop Becket, supported by the Pope, refuses to be bound by them, and retires to France.

1169. Bishop of London excommunicated by Becket for his obedience to the king.

1170. Henry II. surrenders to the clerical claims.

12th Cent. Development of monastic life—Cistercians, Carthusians, etc.; and exemption of many abbeys from Episcopal control.

12th Cent. Study of Civil Law at Oxford University leads to supersession of the monasteries as seats of learning.

1221-1252. Invasion of the Mendicant Orders—fourth instance of Papal intrusion.

1279. Clergy allowed to vote their own taxation in Church Synods.

1296. Papal Bull forbidding ecclesiastics to pay taxes imposed without permission of Rome—fifth instance of Papal intrusion.

cir. 1340. Bradwardine's work, *The Cause of God against Pelagianism,* the first precursor of doctrinal reform.

1350. Statute of Provisors passed—first parliamentary enactment ever made against the Papacy.

1352. Statute of Præmunire forbids appeals to Rome.

1365-1384. John Wyclif prepares the way for the Reformation.

1378-1382. First translation of the Bible into English.

A.D.	
1384-1431.	Growth and persecution of Lollardy.
1401.	First statute imposing death for heresy (De Hæretico Comburendo).
1413.	Four Articles, headed "The Determination of the Archbishop and Clergy," put forth—first *formal* identification of the Church of England with that of Rome.
1498.	Renaissance movement begun in the Universities.
1510.	Erasmus appointed Greek Professor at Cambridge.
1517.	Publication of Luther's theses against Indulgences. Practical commencement of the Reformation.
1525-1526.	Publication of Tyndale's New Testament, the main source of the Reformation.
1529-1536.	"Reformation" Parliament of Henry VIII. forbids payment of Firstfruits; authorises consecration of bishops independently of Papal Bulls; passes Act of Submission for control of Convocation and clergy; abolishes Papal dispensations and payment of Peter-pence; repeals Act of 1401 against heresy; suppresses the monasteries, and declares the King the Supreme Head of the Church of England.
1532.	Submission of the clergy made in Canterbury Convocation.
1534.	Court of Delegates created for hearing of ecclesiastical appeals (present Judicial Committee of the Privy Council).
1539.	English Bible ordered to be set up in parish churches.
1539.	Statute of six articles.
1544.	Litany drawn up in English.
1547.	Images removed from churches.
1547-1552.	Parliament of Edward VI. authorises Communion in both kinds; confers on Crown the power of appointing bishops; repeals Statute of Six Articles and Act forbidding translation of the Bible; dissolves chantries; passes First Act of Uniformity; and authorises marriage of clergy.
1549.	First Prayer-book of Edward VI. brought into use on Whit Sunday.
1550.	New Ordinal published, and altars replaced by tables.
1551-1553.	Forty-two Articles drawn up.
1552.	Second Prayer-book of Edward VI. put forth, wholly

A.D.	
	superseding the "Mass"; Second Act of Uniformity.
1553.	King's Primer put forth, containing first part of Church Catechism.
1554.	Marian reaction; England "reconciled" to the Pope.
1555.	Mary's Second Act of Repeal.
1555-1558.	Marian Persecution—284 victims burnt.
1559.	Act of Supremacy and Third Act of Uniformity.
1559.	Injunctions of Elizabeth issued.
1563.	Thirty-eight Articles signed by Convocation—Reformation virtually completed.
1566.	London non-conforming clergy deprived.
1566.	Book of Advertisements put forth.
1572.	First English Presbytery formed.
1576.	Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles required from clergy.
1604.	Hampton Court Conference.
1604.	Jacobean Revision of the Prayer-book; second part of Church Catechism added.
1611.	Authorised Version of the Bible.
1613-1626.	Rise of Arminianism in the Church of England.
1640-1642.	Presbyterian revolt against Episcopacy.
1643.	Bishops temporarily abolished; Convocation superseded by Westminster Assembly, and Solemn League and Covenant sworn to by Parliament.
1643.	Prayer-book superseded by Directory of Public Worship.
1647.	Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechism drawn up.
1648-1649.	Presbyterians ousted by Independents.
1655.	Episcopalians forbidden to preach.
1660-1661.	Episcopacy restored under Charles II.
1661.	Convocation restored and Prayer-book again revised.
1662.	Fourth Act of Uniformity; Nonconformists definitely separated from Church of England thereby.
1664.	Conventicle Act.
1665.	Five-mile Act.
1673.	Test Act.
1687.	James II. attempts to restore Roman Catholicism.
1688.	Declaration of Indulgence, and trial of Seven Bishops.
1689.	Protestantism secured by accession of William III. and Mary; Toleration Act passed, but scheme for reunion of Episcopalians and Nonconformists

A.D.	
	rejected by Convocation; Oath of Allegiance refused by Non-Jurors.
1691.	Boyle Lectures founded to oppose Deism.
1696.	First Charity School founded.
1698-1700.	Terms "Low Church" and "High Church" brought into use.
1699.	S. P. C. K. founded.
1701.	S. P. G. founded.
1703.	Queen Anne's Bounty Act.
1709.	Whig Government attacked by High Church party under Sacheverell.
1711.	Fifty Churches Scheme.
1711.	Occasional Conformity Act.
1714.	Schism Act (never enforced).
1714-1724.	Rise of modern Arianism or Unitarianism.
1715.	Declaration of Abhorrence against Jacobite Rebellion signed by Primate and thirteen Bishops; Non-Jurors' Schism.
1716.	Union with Greek Church proposed by Non-Jurors.
1717.	Usagers and Anti-Usagers.
1717-1720.	Bangorian Controversy.
1717.	Convocation silenced (until 1852).
1719.	Salters' Hall Synod.
1720.	Unitarians form a separate denomination; Moyer Lectures founded to oppose Arianism.
1722.	Quaker Affirmation Act.
1724.	Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, deprived for high treason.
1724.	Deistic controversy rendered acute by publication of Collins's *Grounds and Reasons*.
1729.	Publication of Law's *Serious Call*; rise of the Behmenists or Mystics.
1729-1735.	Rise of Methodism at Oxford.
1736.	Publication of Butler's *Analogy* in refutation of Deism.
1738-1742.	Establishment of Wesleyan Methodism.
1747-1765.	"Hutchinsonianism" revives the study of Hebrew.
1754.	Rise of the Evangelical School begins.
1772.	Elland Society founded.
1780.	First Sunday School opened by Robert Raikes.
1782-1830.	"Clapham Sect" dominates English Church life.
1783.	Eclectic Society founded.
1787.	Methodists become a separate denomination.
1795.	Bristol Clerical Education Society founded.

A.D.	
1799.	Eclectic Society founds Society for Missions to Africa and the East.
1799.	Religious Tract Society founded.
1801.	Clergymen rendered ineligible for seats in House of Commons.
1804.	British and Foreign Bible Society founded.
1809.	Act for augmentation of livings under £150.
1809.	London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews founded.
1812.	Society for Missions to Africa and the East becomes the Church Missionary Society.
1815.	Western Schism.
1815.	Tract by Dr. Mant inaugurates controversy on Baptismal Regeneration.
1816.	Simeon Trust instituted.
1818.	Interest in the writings of the Fathers of the Church revives.
1823.	Newfoundland Society founded for education of the poor.
1827.	*Christian Year* published.
1828.	Test and Corporation Acts repealed; London University founded and King's College charter granted.
1829.	Roman Catholic Relief Act.
1832.	Oxford Movement begins.
1833.	Irish Church Temporalities Act passed for reducing number of bishops.
1833.	Judicial Committee of the Privy Council replaces Henry VIII.'s Court of Delegates.
1833-1841.	Issue of Oxford Tracts (*Tracts for the Times*).
1834.	Royal Commission of Enquiry into the Church's Needs appointed.
1835.	Australian Church Missionary Society founded.
1836.	Church Pastoral Aid Society instituted.
1836.	Tithe Commutation Act.
1836.	Members of Royal Commission formed into permanent body by Ecclesiastical Commissioners' Act.
1837.	Additional Curates' Society instituted.
1838-1885.	Issue of the *Library of the Fathers*.
1840.	Parker Society instituted.
1845.	Newman secedes to Church of Rome.
1847-1850.	Gorham Case.

A.D.	
1851.	Australian and Newfoundland Societies amalgamated to form Colonial and Continental Church Society.
1852.	Canterbury House of Convocation revived.
1854.	Westerton *v.* Liddell suit.
1856.	Publication of F. D. Maurice's Theological Essays.
1857.	Divorce Act.
1860.	First Church Congress held at Cambridge.
1861.	York House of Convocation revived.
1867.	First Lambeth Conference summoned (held decennially).
1867.	Martin *v.* Mackonochie suit.
1867-1870.	Royal Commission on Ritual.
1872.	Act of Uniformity Amendment Act.
1874.	Hebbert *v.* Purchas suit.
1874.	Public Worship Regulation Act.
1876.	Ridsdale *v.* Clifton suit.
1881.	Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts.
1884.	Board of Missions constituted.
1887.	Houses of Laymen created.
1888-1892.	Prosecution of Dr. King, Bishop of Lincoln.
1899.	Lambeth Opinions on Incense and Processional Lights.
1900.	Lambeth Opinion on Reservation.
1904-1906.	Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline.
1908.	Fifth Lambeth Conference and first Pan-Anglican Congress held in London.

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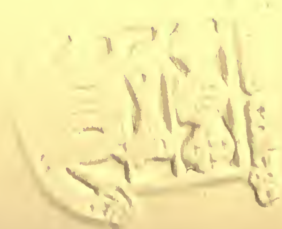

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