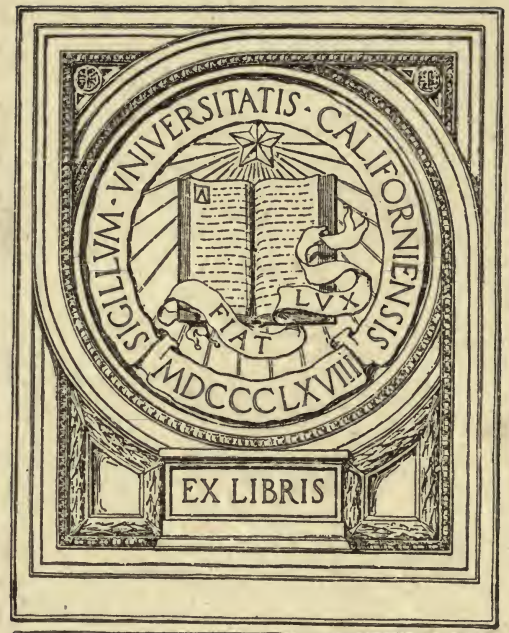
The Moorhouse Lectures, 1912

STUDIES IN THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

ARCHBISHOP OF MELBOURNE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CARDINAL WOLSEY. [*Frontispiece.*

The Moorhouse Lectures, 1912

STUDIES IN THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

BY

HENRY LOWTHER CLARKE, D.D., D.C.L.

ARCHBISHOP OF MELBOURNE

WITH PORTRAITS

LONDON

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE

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CONDITIONS OF THE LECTURESHIP

[*Extract from the Minutes of the Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne.*]

MOORHOUSE LECTURESHIP

1. THIS lectureship shall be called the Moorhouse Lectureship, in memory of the Australian episcopate of the Right Rev. James Moorhouse, D.D., St. John's College, Cambridge, Bishop of Melbourne, 1876–1886.

2. The annual income of the lectureship shall be the interest upon a sum of £2000 [1] held in trust by the Trusts Corporation of the Diocese of Melbourne for this purpose.

3. No lecturer shall hold the office more than twice, and at least ten years shall elapse between the first and second tenure. Any one in Holy Orders in the Church of England at home or abroad, or in a Church in communion with her, shall be eligible for election.

4. The electors shall be the Bishops of the metropolitan sees of Australia and Tasmania and the Primate of New Zealand; and the Archbishop of Melbourne shall hold the office of chairman.

5. The subjects of the lecture shall be (1) the defence and confirmation of the Christian faith as declared in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds; (2) questions bearing upon the history and authority of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; and (3) the social aspects of the Christian faith in their widest application.

[1] A further sum of £1000 has been added to this endowment by Bishop Moorhouse, with a view to the occasional appointment of a distinguished English scholar, and to cover the cost of travelling to Australia.

6. The Lectures, not less than six in number, shall be delivered annually in St. Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne, on such days as the Archbishop of Melbourne may approve. Each lecturer shall be required to publish his lectures in a form approved by the electors at his charges within six months of their delivery, and shall retain any copyright in them. He shall present a copy to each of the electors, and to every Diocesan Library in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand.

7. It shall be lawful for a majority of the electors to decide all questions arising out of the interpretation of these conditions.

PREFACE

THESE Lectures may appear to some students of Church History in England as scarcely worthy of their title, "Studies in the English Reformation." They are conditioned by the time allowed for delivery and by the needs of the hearers, to many of whom Church History is a largely unexplored region. The subject has found hitherto but a small place in the studies of Australian people. The strenuous life of the Commonwealth leaves little time or inclination for the pursuit of the fascinating story of the past.

When the Church of England was extended to Australia it came with all the prestige of the national religion, but under the conditions of doctrine and worship which ruled in England in the early years of the nineteenth century. The foremost energies of Church people were directed to the adjustment of administration to the requirements of a new country and to the provision of places of worship and vicarage houses. To Bishop Perry, of Melbourne, belongs the undying praise of being the first to introduce the laity into the councils of the Church, with a recognised place and vote in legislation and administration. He modelled his plans of government in accordance with the ideas of the early centuries of the Christian Church, and whilst conserving the rights of a Bishop he gave to the whole body of the Church a recognised place in the making of laws, and a constitution which provides representation of every parish through the clergy and laity.

This system, which has been extended from Melbourne to every diocese within the Commonwealth, has been the strength and stay of Church life, and has established a government which adapts itself to the

varying conditions of democratic expansion. Whatever difficulties arise, the essentially democratic character of the Church has been universally acknowledged. The questions which agitate the Church at home soon reproduce themselves in our Synods in Australia. Whilst the rapid growth of Australian sentiment demands freedom to adjust the Church to the requirements of a new country, and sometimes grows impatient under restrictions imposed by the relationship of the Church and State in England, there still exists a reverence for the Mother-Church and a resolve to claim our oneness with the Church of our forefathers. The controversies inseparably connected with ecclesiastical subjects are freely discussed in the Synods, whose members are as a rule quick in apprehension and fair in judgment as well as willing to learn. We, like the Church in England, have left behind us the days when Vestries discussed the question of using the surplice in the pulpit or whether the Canticles and Psalms shall be said or sung. Music, as an aid to worship, and all reverence in externals are welcomed everywhere.

In Australia the Church of England has no prestige which comes from its connection with Court or Parliament. For the most part it has no endowments, but takes its place amongst other portions of the Christian Church as an equal in needs, disabilities and work. It is the object of no special enmity or jealousy, but on all hands is regarded with respect by those outside and with affection by its own members. As time passes the great question of the position and authority of the Church of England is coming into more prominence, and the minds of our people are inquiring more than in the past into what the Church is in its origin and history. Does the Church date from the reign of Henry VIII, and is it the chiefest amongst Protestant bodies, or is it the ancient Catholic Church of the English-speaking people, reformed in doctrine and worship?

These Lectures are designed to answer these questions and to supply some reasons, which will enable our people to claim their heritage and share in a history of

many centuries. The hope of greater Church union has spread from Australia to other parts, and whilst we have not overcome the chief difficulty which arises from the position and claims of the existing ministries we have contributed to the cause of union a spirit of mutual respect and understanding, which is the condition of future advance and the presage of greater things. The evils which arise from division have been largely minimised, and much common Christian work is carried on in harmony and confidence. In social and personal life no professional jealousies mar religious questions. That God will in His own time and in His own way gather together all His children into One Holy Catholic Church is the hope of most of us. Meantime the spirit of schism has been replaced by that of corporate work and mutual respect.

These Lectures tell the story of certain lives prominent in our Church's history, both in their strength and weakness, and are offered as a small contribution to the question: "What was the English Reformation and what did it seek to accomplish?"

H. L. M.

Bishopscourt, Melbourne, E.,
March 1912.

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INTRODUCTION

The Reformation of the English Church includes a number of different events extending through nearly a century and a half of time, from 1534 to 1662. The story, therefore, is a long and complicated one, and contains numerous actors. It is interwoven with the political life of the nation, and the controversies raged throughout around civil as well as ecclesiastical questions. Whilst it is impossible to present the two sides separately, my attempt in these lectures is to dwell chiefly upon the religious and ecclesiastical side. For this purpose I have chosen a few of the chief actors, and endeavoured to group around their biographies the great questions which were discussed by them and in their time. The choice of names has been limited by the number of lectures, and I have selected them as representative men of the periods to which they belonged. Of these six men Thomas Wolsey died in disgrace, and broken-hearted at the failure of all he had attempted to do. Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Cranmer, and William Laud were put to death under circumstances which we shall have to consider. Richard Bancroft and Matthew Parker met difficulties just as great as the others, but were more fortunate in that they lived in times when less appeal was made to the block on Tower Hill and to burning for heresy.

The Reformation history has been written many times,

and volumes of defence and attack have come from both sides. My justification in inviting you to consider again some of these debated questions, is the fact that only in our own generation has it become possible to arrive at a more just judgment. The history of the English Reformation will continue to be studied for all time. Its tragedies were so great and its effect upon the religious life of the English-speaking people has been so permanent, that it can never lose its absorbing interest. But until a few years ago the writers dealt largely in invective. From the point of view of many writers it was a glorious series of events by which the power of Rome was finally crushed in England after some five hundred years of struggle, and on the side of Rome it was the foundation of a Church born of lust and passion. The events are so distant, that the time has surely come when we can more dispassionately examine what was done and why men acted as they did. For the reign of Henry VIII, at least from 1509 to 1530, we are indebted to the original documents edited some years ago by Dr. Brewer for the Master of the Rolls. The Prefaces to the four volumes of *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII* have been published in two large volumes, and no one can write of this reign without a careful examination of these works based upon the original documents. Permission was given to Dr. Brewer to examine and classify the Rolls Series of letters and official documents. He examined also the MSS. in the British Museum and those in Lambeth Library, as well as the treasures in the college libraries at Oxford and Cambridge. Before this work was undertaken everything was in confusion, but now a Calendar of Public Records and State Papers has been formed and students know where to go for information at first hand.

The Lords of the Treasury gave their sanction to the publication of Dr. Brewer's Prefaces on the condition it should be stated that "the Prefaces have no official character or authority, and that their republication is permitted at the urgent request of the friends of

Professor Brewer, on account of their literary interest." Dr. Brewer disclaims the credit of having written a history of the reign of Henry VIII. "It is not my business to write history," he says, "but to show the bearings of these new materials upon history."

No one doubts his literary skill and fine mental equipment. Whilst he had handled the musty documents which had lain in confusion for centuries he is no dull antiquary, but he clothes his conclusions in fascinating language and with a judgment which is the result of a desire to tell the truth. These are the characteristics of his great work, which renders impossible in the future the wild partisan statements upon which men's minds have been fed on both sides.

These Prefaces carry us only to the fall of Wolsey in 1530, but the investigations of recent years supply us with ample material for the rest of our period, and we will as far as possible keep to original documents or authority which is first hand.

In asking you to listen to these brief biographies, I must invite you to lay aside in some cases the convictions of a lifetime, or at all events to hear patiently the stories of those distant days. We have to transplant our thoughts into generations when tolerance was unknown, and when men sought to enforce religious opinions by fire and the sword. The impartial investigator of the Reformation History must come to the conclusion that there is little to choose between the two sides. If Queen Mary went to her grave embittered by disappointment because the fires of Smithfield resulted only in an abiding hatred of Rome, the treatment of some of the great abbots by Henry VIII was brutal and vindictive. Queen Elizabeth, with consummate skill and by using the feminine arts of delay and coquetry, succeeded in undoing all the acts of her sister's reign, and gained with it the enthusiastic admiration of the nation. The foul Gunpowder Plot of 1605, repudiated by Rome but hatched by the Jesuits, sank deep into the resentment of the people.

To the lasting disgrace of Rome it must be recorded that she plotted against the lives of Elizabeth and James I, and all the parliamentary measures of those days were passed in view of these dangers. The Puritan rebellion was a most real danger, which if successful would have changed the whole status and character of the English Church. Not until the Stuarts had been tried and found wanting in the persons of James I and Charles I, and the nation had experienced the days of Oliver Cromwell, was the final settlement of 1662 reached.

It would be an easy task to repeat the thrice-told tales of these days, but I feel we ought now to raise other questions, and to ask ourselves not only what was the nature and result of the Reformation, but still more, what was its cause?

The divorce case in the reign of Henry VIII, which looms so large in the mental horizon of many, was at the best or worst no more than an incident around which the great movement centred for a while. It raised questions which had been asked in England many times during the previous generations, and what other kings had done feebly or not at all, the imperious, passionate and self-willed Henry VIII did once for all.

Let us inquire into some of these underlying principles which emerged into world-wide prominence at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The English Church before its Reformation.

Let us clearly understand that we are speaking of the Church of England, the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, the Church of the English-speaking people. It suits the purpose of Roman controversialists to maintain that the Catholic Church existed in England till the time of the Reformation, and was then replaced by a new Church cradled in passion and nurtured by robbery. Against this view every true-hearted English Churchman must contend with all his might, and in doing so he has the support of history. When the Catholic and

Apostolic Church was first established in England is one of the doubtful things of history, but the existence of such a Church in very early times, largely missionary in character, is by no means doubtful.[1] British bishops attended the Council of Arles in 314.[2]

The evangelisation of the north of England from Holy Island had taken place before the advent of Augustine in 597, and all the holy memories of Iona and Lindisfarne, which lingered for so many centuries in the north, belong to us and not to Rome.

Theodore of Canterbury (668–690), though provided for us by the Bishop of Rome, became intensely national in his feelings, and when Wilfrid of York returned to England in 680, bringing with him the papal decision disannulling an administrative act of the Archbishop, the clergy and laity of Northumbria unanimously determined that the papal letters were an insult to the Crown and nation. Wilfrid was condemned to nine months' imprisonment, and the threatened excommunication of Theodore never came. This grand old man of the English Church came to his great administrative work at Canterbury at the age of sixty-six, and died at eighty-eight, after harmonising the discordant elements in the different sections of the Church. He was great as an

[1] Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* vii. [*c.* A.D. 208]. Parthi [et cet., as in Acts ii. 9, 10], . . . Gaetulorum varietates, et Maurorum multi fines, Hispaniarum omnes termini, et Galliarum diversae nationes, et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita, . . . in quibus omnibus locis Christi nomen Qui jam venit regnat, . . . Origen, *Homil.* xxviii. in Matt. xxiv. [A.D. 246], . . . Quid autem dicamus de Britannis aut apud Barbaros, Dacos, et Sarmatas, et Scythas, quorum plurimi nondum audiverunt Evangelii verbum, audituri sunt autem in ipsa saeculi consummatione?

[2] Their signatures are included amongst those of the Bishops of Gaul—

Eborius Episcopus de civitate Eboracensi provincia Britannia.

Restitutus Episcopus de civitate Londinensi provincia suprascripta.

Adelfius Episcopus de civitate Colonia Londinensium Exinde Sacerdos presbyter; Arminius diaconus.

(See *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, Hadden & Stubbs, vol. i., p. 7.)

administrator and scholar, and whilst he did not, as some suppose, divide England into parishes, he divided the larger dioceses, formed many parishes with parish churches, enforced moral discipline and laid a broad foundation for a more learned clergy.

The Venerable Bede of Jarrow, who died in 735, says of those days: "Happier times than these never were since the English came into Britain; for their kings were brave men and good Christians, and while, by the terror of their arms, the barbarians were kept in check, the minds of men were bent upon the joys of the heavenly kingdom which had just been revealed to them; and every one who desired instruction in the sacred Scriptures had masters at hand to instruct him (*Bede,* iv. 2).

Theodore found the Church in England missionary and he left it national. The Saxon Chronicle, under the year 690, in noticing his death, remarks: "Before this the bishops had been Romans, from this time they were English."

The Norman Conquest brought new ideas into English life both in Church and State. William the Conqueror and the Norman kings were as Erastian in their claims to rule the Church as was Henry VIII. Anselm suffered a martyrdom of pain in his championship of the spiritual rights of the Church, and Thomas à Becket, whose shrine in Canterbury Cathedral became the centre of some of the most powerful religious influences until the time of the Reformation, was the murdered victim of kingly tyranny. It was reserved for King John in 1213 to sacrifice English liberty and to surrender the kingdoms of England and Ireland to the Pope and his successors, and to receive them back from him as his feudal vassal. England thus became a fief of the Papacy, paying annual tribute to the Bishop of Rome as feudal lord. This, of course, was the darkest day of England's humiliation, and once more the champion of national liberty was found in the Archbishop of Canterbury. Stephen Langton, who had been forced upon the King by the Pope, was the leader of the barons and clergy and commons in preparing

the Great Charter, the signature to which was wrung from King John in 1215.[1]

Henceforth John was, in the eyes of Innocent III, a dutiful son of Holy Church, full of humility and moderation, the barons were insolent and impious, and Archbishop Langton avaricious and insubordinate.

Innocent III's wrath was unbounded. On August 25, 1215, he issued a Bull depicting John as a penitent servant of the Sovereign Pontiff molested by the barons at the instigation of the devil. The King was forbidden under the penalty of excommunication to observe the Charter: "We therefore altogether reprobate and condemn the charter"; "We altogether quash the charter and pronounce it, with all its obligations, to be null and void."

The victory of liberty, however, was not yet won. Church offices were not sold as freely as they had been in the past, but the vicious theory that bishoprics and

[1] The Church clauses of this famous charter are :—

1. Have in the first place granted to God, and confirmed by this our present Charter, for us and our heirs for ever, that the Church of England be free, and have her rights intact and her liberties uninjured; and so we will it to be observed, which appears from the fact that freedom of elections which is considered to be of chief moment and the more necessary for the Church of England, we have by our mere and spontaneous will, before the beginning of the discord between us and our barons, granted and confirmed by our Charter, and have had it confirmed by the lord the Pope Innocent III, which we will both observe and will that it be observed in good faith by our heirs for ever. We have also granted to all free men of our realm, for us and our heirs for ever, all the liberties mentioned before, to have and to hold for them and their heirs of us and our heirs.

63. Wherefore we will and firmly command that the English Church be free, and that the men in our realm have and hold all the aforesaid liberties, rights, and grants, well and in peace, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, to themselves and their heirs of us and our heirs in all things and places for ever, as is aforesaid. Moreover an oath has been taken, as well on our side as on that of the barons, that all these things aforesaid shall be observed with good faith and without evil disposition. The aforesaid and many others being witness. Given by our hand in the meadow which is called Runnymede between Windsor and Staines, on the fifteenth day of June in the seventeenth year of our reign.

Church benefices were the legitimate remuneration of the king's servants is found illustrated in every reign till the Reformation and afterwards. The kings kept bishoprics vacant in order that they might themselves use the temporalities. It is possibly not realised that in these days Parliament was composed wholly of the king's nominees, and the Charter of liberties was not effected until the establishment of representative government in the reign of Edward I (1272–1307).

All through the long period of the struggle the Church stood forth as the nursing mother of English liberty. The principle of representation was borrowed from the convocations of the clergy, and Langton and Rich of Canterbury, and Grosseteste of Lincoln, took a leading part in opposing tyranny and misgovernment. Henceforth in dealing with the affairs of the Church the voice of the representative House of Commons is always heard.

The story of persistent papal extortion is an astounding one.[1]

[1] In the year 1226 Honorius III demanded for himself the grant of two prebends in each cathedral. In 1229 Gregory IX claimed a tenth of all movables from both clergy and laity. Ten years later his legate, Otho, would not rest content until he had secured a fifth of all ecclesiastical revenues for his master. In 1246 Innocent IV asked for a third of the revenues of their benefices for three years from all resident incumbents, and a half from all non-residents. In 1253 he granted to the King a third of all ecclesiastical tithes for three years, on pretext of a crusade. In 1257 Alexander IV continued this grant for two years more. In the next year he excommunicated the clergy who had not paid it. Such were the worst instances of the direct taxation of the clergy of England at the irresponsible will of the Pope, but they were by no means the only instances of papal exactions. The sums actually paid by way of fees to officials of the Roman court were very considerable. But besides these, the Pope claimed the right of appointing to English benefices in public patronage. He used it by nominating friends of his own and officials of his court, who, of course, never went near their parishes, but received the emoluments through an agent, after making provision for the discharge of the necessary duties of the office by the assistance of a vicar. By this system of papal provisions, as it was called, the revenues of the most valuable benefices of England found their way into the hands of non-resident Italians. In 1231 Gregory IX

Alexander IV in 1256 claimed the firstfruits of the endowments of bishoprics and benefices, and these were faithfully collected by the papal agent in London. Whilst the nomination of bishops was in theory a prerogative of the Crown the Pope continually asserted his right to provide men for vacant sees, and the kings of England owing to political exigencies and diplomatic negotiations were continually worsted in their effort to maintain their rights.[1]

The case of the parish churches was even worse. When a vacancy occurred it was no uncommon thing for the lay patron to be told that the Pope, out of fatherly consideration for a parish shortly to be widowed, had made provision for its spiritual needs.

The English Church was the good milch cow which, through two or three centuries, was made to provide nourishment for the clerical officers of the Court of Rome. Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, raised his voice in vain.[2]

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forbade the English bishops to appoint to any benefices until some Roman friends of his had been provided for. In 1239 he tried to extend the system to benefices in private patronage. In 1240 he required the Bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury to find benefices for no less than 300 foreigners. During the rest of the reign of Henry III, and even during that of Edward I, the abuse continued to flourish. It was calculated by Grosseteste in 1253 that the revenue derived by foreign ecclesiastics from English benefices amounted to fully three times the whole royal revenue. In the reign of Edward II, Clement V extended the system to bishoprics. (*History of the Church of England*, Wakeman, p. 134.)

[1] See *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, by Bishop Stubbs, where the foreign names in the lists of bishops bespeak an Italian influence. In spite of frequent legislation, these provisions continued to be made until the time of the Reformation. At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries the see of York was held by Cardinal Bainbridge, who lived in Rome, and died from poison under suspicious circumstances.

Bath and Wells was held by Cardinal Adrian, Salisbury by Cardinal Campeggio, and the four immediate predecessors of Hugh Latimer at Worcester were all non-resident Italians: John de Gigliis, Silvester de Gigliis, Julius de Medicis, Jerome Ghinucci.

[2] Speaking to Innocent IV (1243–1254), Grosseteste said—

"The cause, the fountain, the origin of all this is this court of Rome, not only in that it does not put to flight these evils and

At last Parliament took the matter in hand, and in a series of acts endeavoured to put a stop to the papal provisions for benefices and the purchasing of benefices for aliens. In 25 Edw. III, A.D. 1350, an act against provisions to the court of Rome was passed—

"Item, because that some do purchase in the Court of Rome provisions, to have Abbeys, and Priories in England, in destruction of the Realm, and of holy Religion: It is accorded, that every man that purchaseth such Provisions of Abbeys or Priories, that he and his Executors and Procurators, which do sue and make execution of such Provisions, shall be out of the King's Protection. And that a man may do with them, as of Enemies of our Soveraigne Lord the King and his Realm. And he that offendeth against such Provisors in Body or in Goods, or in other Possessions, shall be excused against all People, and shall never be impeached nor grieved for the same at any Man's Suit."

This act refers to the clergy in England who bought Provisors and then pleaded their force as against the law of the land. The Italians who never came to England were equally mulcted upon entering upon their benefices.

In 7 Hen. IV, 1405, there is an act providing that no provision, licence or pardon shall be granted of a benefice full of an incumbent, which was directed against the King as well as against the Pope—

"Item, To eschew many dissentions, discords, and debates, and divers other mischiefs very like to rise and grow, because of many provisions made and to be made by the Pope and also in respect of Licences granted

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purge away these abominations when it alone has the power to do so, but still more because, by its dispensations, provisions, and collations to the pastoral care it appoints, before the eyes of this sun, men such as I have described, not pastors but destroyers of men, and, that it may provide for the livelihood of some one person, hands over to the jaws of the beasts of the field and to eternal death many thousands of souls, for the life of each one of which the Son of God was willing to be condemned to a most shameful death."

upon the same by the King our Sovereign Lord: It is ordained and established that no Licence or Pardon so granted before this time, nor to be granted in time to come, shall be available to any Benefice full of any Incumbent, at the day of the date of such Licence or Pardon granted." [1]

The Statute of Praemunire deals with another question which is expressed in these words: "The grievance of being drawn out of the Realm for Judgment, in causes belonging to the King's Court, and already determined." The subject of appeals was long a fruitful source of oppression and hardship. No one ever knew when his case in an ecclesiastical court was ended, and the frightful abuses in costs and fines had created burdens hard to be borne. The Statute of Praemunire, passed 27 Edw. III, 1353, dealt very sternly with the abuse. Whoever of all the people owing allegiance to the King, of whatever condition they might be, who shall appeal from a judgment in the King's Court, or sue in any other court, to defeat or impeach this judgment, are to be out of the King's protection and their lands, goods and chattels are to be forfeited to the King. Their bodies are to be taken and imprisoned and ransomed at the King's will. If they surrender themselves within two months they are to be admitted to a trial by law.

This is the act which was so cruelly and unjustly used against Wolsey in 1529.

It would seem that all this legislation ought to have maintained the independence of the English Church and the rights of the English Courts, whether civil or ecclesiastical. To understand the position, however, we must remember that every bishop and abbot, in addition to

[1] Concerning the exercise of the Regal Authority in dispensing with the Statutes of Provisors, and pardoning the breach of them, I have observed two entries in the Records of Canterbury: one, a Process of Institution upon a Papal Bull, with the King's Writ of Pardon for the contempt, notwithstanding the Statute of Provisors; the other, a general Dispensation of the King with all the Statutes of Provisors, upon a Papal Provision directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. (Bishop Gibson's *Codex*, vol. i., p. 88.)

the oath of homage he was required to take to the King, took also an oath of obedience to the Pope.[1]

[1] Oath to the Pope:—

"I ——, bishop or abbot of ——, from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to S. Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, and to my lord the pope and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of counsel nor consent, that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken, or suffer any violence or any wrong by any means. Their counsel to me credited by them, their messengers or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person: The papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regality of S. Peter, I shall help and maintain and defend against all men. The legate of the see apostolic, going and coming, I shall honourably entreat. The rights, honours, privileges, and authorities of the Church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I shall not be in counsel, treaty, or any act in the which any thing shall be imagined against him or the Church of Rome, their rights, seats, honours, or powers. And if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and commandments apostolic, to my power I shall keep, and cause to be kept of others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The thresholds of the apostles I shall visit yearly personally or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my possessions without the pope's counsel. So God help me and the holy evangelists."

Extracts from Cardinal Adrian's oath of fidelity to King Henry VII for the bishopric of Bath and Wells:—

"Cum omnes et singuli Archiepiscopi et Episcopi hujus nostri inclyti Regni, quorum omnium nominationes, et promotiones, ad ipsas supremas dignitates, nobis attinent ex regali et peculiari quadam Praerogativa, jureque municipali, ac inveterata consuetudine, hactenus in hoc nostro Regno inconcusse et inviolabiliter observata, teneantur et astringantur, statim et immediate post impetratas Bullas Apostolicas, super eorundem promotione ad ipsam nostram nominationem, corum nobis et in praesentia nostra, si in hoc Regno nostro fuerunt, vel coram Commissariis nostris, ad hoc sufficienter et legittime deputatis, si alibi moram traxerunt, non solum palam, publice, et expresse, totaliter cedere, et in manus nostras renunciare omnibus, et quibuscunque verbis, clausulis, et sententiis in ipsis Bullis Apostolicus contentis, et descriptus, quae sunt, vel quovis modo in futurum esse poterunt, praejudicialia, sive damnosa, nobis, haeredibusque de corpore nostro legittime pro-

We are told that "no man can serve two masters," and this impossible task becomes possible only when the spheres of allegiance are accurately defined. Such definition was never possible, and we find the bishops and abbots doing their best to adhere to their twofold allegiance. In the Provisor's Act of 1365 they recorded a caveat that they "assented to nothing that could be turned to the prejudice of their own estate or dignity." In that of 1390 they attached a protest against anything that should tend "*in restrictionem Potestatis Apostolicae aut in subversionem enervationem seu derogationem ecclesiasticae libertatis.*"

Besides all this the position was complicated by the fact that the laws in England were twofold in their authority and origin. The statute law came from King and Parliament, and the canon law rested upon a papal authority and decretals. Whilst the Archbishop of Canterbury was made *Legatus Natus*, no English bishop or English provincial synod had any power to repeal or override the constitutions of the *Legates a latere* who were sent to England, or to put a statutory interpretation on them in a case of ambiguity.[1]

No one knew where canon law ended and statute law began; nor what subjects might not conceivably belong to the former.

An illustration of the working of the whole system is

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creatis Angliae regibus, Coronae aut Regno nostro, juribus vel consuetudinibus aut Praerogativis ejusdem Regni nostri, . . .

"Bullasque et alias Literas Apostolicas validas et efficaces in debita Juris forma, super eisdem causis et negotiis impetrare et obtinere absque fraude, dolo aut sinistra quavis machinatione quantum in me erit, cum omni effectu enitar, operam dabo et conabor; ac easdem valiter expeditas, cum ea quam res expostulat diligentia, suae Serenitati, transmittam aut per alios transmitti, tradi et liberari curabo, et faciam. Servitia quoque et homagia pro temporalibus dicti Episcopatus, quae recognosco tenere a sua Celsitudine tanquam a Domino meo supremo, fideliter faciam et implebo. Ita me Deus adjuvet et haec Sancta Dei Evangelia. In cujus, etc. T. R. apud Westm. 13 die Octob.

"Per Ipsum Regem."

[1] Maitland, *Canon Law in the English Church*, Essay I.

afforded in the questions which arose touching the "benefit of clergy."

By canon law the clergy were exempt from civil jurisdiction. A man might commit murder, robbery, theft, or any crime against the State, and claim exemption from civil jurisdiction if he belonged to the ranks of the clergy. The peculiar privilege called "benefit of clergy" came to be extended far beyond priests, deacons and monks, and included all who had taken orders of any kind, including door-keepers and minor church officers. Most persons guilty of crime preferred to be dealt with by the Church. Here the theory of punishment was to bestow it *pro salute animae,* and whilst bishops and abbots had prisons of their own, the usual form of punishment was fine or penance, and there was always a hope of escaping from these by obtaining an indulgence. The system had extended so as to become a peril to national well-being. Early in the reign of Henry VIII a temporary act was passed limiting the power to claim clerical privilege. The Abbot of Winchcombe denounced the act in a sermon at Paul's Cross as contrary to the law of God. Henry VIII called a council to consider the matter, and one voice alone, that of the Warden of Greyfriars (Dr. Standish), maintained that the act was no invasion of the Church's privileges. Dr. Standish was summoned before convocation to answer for his heresy, and against this he appealed to the King. The judges declared their opinion that the clergy in convocation by the part they had taken against Dr. Standish had incurred a Praemunire. Wolsey then appears on the scene, kneeling before the King and imploring him to send the question for decision by the Pope. Henry VIII's answer was memorable, "We are, by the sufferance of God, King of England; and the Kings of England in times past never had any superior but God. Know, therefore, that we will maintain the rights of the Crown in this matter like our progenitors. And as to your decrees, we are satisfied that even you of the spiritualty act expressly against the words of several of them, as has been well shown you by some

of our spiritual counsel. You interpret your decrees at your pleasure; but, as for me, I will never consent to your desire any more than my progenitors have done."

This took place in 1515, some twenty years before the final repudiation of Rome was carried through Parliament. It would have been well for Wolsey if he had remembered these words. The speaker was young, fascinating in person and manner, the idol of his court and people, and the very embodiment of kingly qualities. They bespeak that same imperious will which triumphed over kings and emperors and popes. This is not the place in which to speak of Henry VIII; Froude attempted to reinstate him in public confidence, but his treatment of Catherine of Arragon and his unbridled lust, passion and greed in later years write him down as immoral. Our contention, however, is that apart from the question of the divorce or the immorality of Henry VIII there were just and sufficient causes for the Church legislation in his reign, and that the beginnings of the English Reformation were the result of the pent-up feelings of indignation against oppression which had been persistently pursued in the name of Rome through many centuries of time. The mental ideas of the Middle Ages had come to their end at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The new learning had established itself in England, and the whole atmosphere was charged with the spirit of inquiry. Institutions like the monasteries were on their trial. A profound mistrust of many doctrines taught by the Church had entered men's minds. The moral law had been degraded by the shameless use of indulgences and by the greedy exaction of fines and payments to Rome for benefices and bishoprics. A new era had come, and in the light of it the agelong abuses loomed large in their hideous deformity.

It is not necessary that we should credit all the stories of immorality which gathered round the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Though they had fallen from their high estate, and the worst forms of worldliness had invaded these ancient homes of piety and learning, there were plenty of faithful and devout monks and nuns.

The parish priests, though ignorant, could be found throughout the country serving their parishes well, and the bishops were not all hypocrites and time-servers. The English Church in the Middle Ages produced many noble bishops and abbots who served God in both Church and State.

What was done in the Reformation Period?

It is time now that we ask ourselves what the Reformation was. The final settlement did not come until 1662, when, the Commonwealth days having ended in general disgust, the country welcomed King and Church as rulers in civil and ecclesiastical life.

The Reformation was the reform of the English Church, whose legal continuity was preserved and whose ecclesiastical continuity was maintained in the succession of the ancient Orders. There was not, as some people suppose, any single act called the Reformation.

Under the one name most people include many events extending over many years. "In popular language," says Dr. Freeman, "the Reformation sometimes means the throwing off of the authority of the Pope, sometimes the suppression of the monasteries, sometimes the actual religious changes, the putting forth of the English Prayer Book and the Articles of Religion. Here are three sets of changes, all of which are undoubtedly connected as results of a general spirit of change; but, as a matter of fact, they were acts done by different people at different times, and those who, at any stage, wrought one change had no thought that the others would follow."

On the legal side he adds, "No act was done by which legal and historical continuity was broken. Any lawyer must know that, though Pole succeeded Cranmer, and Parker succeeded Pole, yet nothing was done to break the uninterrupted succession of the Archbishopric of Canterbury as a corporation sole in the eye of the law."[1]

[1] "We must take some pains to understand a fact which more than any other differentiates the English Reformation—I mean the continuity of the Anglican Church. There is no point at which

We must also rid our minds of the idea that the State took endowments from the Roman Catholics and gave them to the Church of England. The ecclesiastical endowments in England grew up in successive ages, and always belonged to the particular bishopric or abbey or parish to which they were given. The Church was often robbed during the Reformation period, but the legal tenure of the property of the parishes was continued throughout the whole time without any moment of abrupt transition.

The doctrinal changes were, of course, great, and yet even in these the links with the past were maintained. The Book of Common Prayer was the successor to the various diocesan liturgical uses.[1] The object of the Reformation was to reform, and the standard by which

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it can be said, here the old Church ends, here the new begins. Are you inclined to take the Act of Supremacy as such a point? I have already shown that Henry's assumption of headship was but the last decisive act of a struggle which had been going on for almost five centuries. The retention of the Episcopate by the English Reformers at once helped to preserve this continuity and marked it in the distinctest way. I speak here as an historian, not as a theologian, and I have nothing to do with that doctrine of apostolical succession which many Churchmen hold, though the Articles do not teach and the Prayer Book only implies it. But it is an obvious historical fact that Parker was the successor of Augustine, just as clearly as Lanfranc and Becket. Warham, Cranmer, Pole, Parker—there is no break in the line, though the first and third are claimed as Catholic, the second and fourth as Protestant. That succession, from the spiritual point of view, was most carefully provided for when Parker was consecrated: not even the most ignorant controversialist now believes in the Nag's Head fable. The canons of the pre-Reformation Church, the statutes of the Plantagenets, are binding upon the Church of England to-day, except where they have been formally repealed. There has been no break, unless by what we may call private circumstances, in the devolution of Church property."—*Hibbert Lectures*, 1883, by C. Beard, p. 311.

[1] "And whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in Churches within this Realm; some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, and some the use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln; now from henceforth all the whole Realm shall have but one use."—*Book of Common Prayer.*

doctrine and worship were judged was that of the early Christian ages. The chief reformers throughout the whole period were deeply versed in the Scriptures and the writings of the early Fathers, and the doctrines rejected were those not contained in the former nor sanctioned by the teachings of the latter.[1] There are just as good reasons for saying that the Church-Catholic of the West became a new Church when it introduced doctrines and customs unknown to the primitive ages, as for saying that the Church of England lost its identity with the past and began as a new Church when it purged itself from the accumulated abuses and the false doctrine of the Middle Ages.

The Roman controversialist fixes upon the consecration of Matthew Parker in 1558 as a chief event of the foundation of the new Church. Cranmer took the oath of obedience to the Pope, though he qualified it by the reservation of the right to work for the reformation of the Church. The story of Parker's consecration, with all due solemnity and rites, according to the ordinal adopted by the Church of England in 1549,[2] is established beyond doubt. The Nag's Head fable, that fruitful source of insult to the English Church, has at last been relegated to oblivion, and no respectable Roman Catholic writer now refers to it.[3]

[1] "First and foremost to take heed, that they do not teach anything in their sermons as though they would have it scrupulously held and believed by the people, save what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and what the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have gathered from that doctrine."—Instructions to "Preachers," in the Canons of 1571.

[2] See Ordinum Sacrorum in *Ecclesia Anglicana Defensio*, by T. P. Bailey, 1870.

[3] "A word needs to be said about the legend of the Nag's Head. The fact of the consecration of Archbishop Parker in the chapel of Lambeth Palace seems to be as reliably attested as any one other fact in English history. Hence the Nag's Head story is mentioned only for the sake of repudiating it. At one time grave doubts were cast on the reliability of the record in Parker's Register, and, indeed, on the allegation that any function whatsoever had taken place at Lambeth. A fable gained currency, and did duty in controversy for many long years, to the effect

Leo XIII's Bull of September 1896 wisely makes no reference to this fable, and passes by the history of Parker's consecration in complete silence, basing its objection to Anglican orders upon the fact that their intention is different from the intention of Rome in bestowing orders.[1]

The argument is a familiar one in all controversy with Rome, and can be summed up in these words, You do not do what we do, nor accept all our doctrines, and therefore you stand outside the Catholic Church of Christ. The answer of the English Church is, We have carefully preserved our continuity with the orders conferred upon our Church from early times, and the very object of the Reformation changes was to confer these orders and to maintain both worship and doctrine according to the customs and beliefs of the Apostolic Age and the immediately succeeding times.

This answer never satisfies Rome, but if the English

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that the individuals who were deputed to carry out Parker's consecration met him at a tavern in Cheapside, called the Nag's Head, and there went through a travesty of the sacred rite. Low as may be our opinion, on legitimate grounds, of Barlow or Scory, little as Coverdale may have believed in the efficacy of Orders as a sacrament, we have nevertheless the known piety, soberness, moderation, and integrity and the general uprightness of Matthew Parker himself to fall back upon, and these alone should shield him from the imputation of having lent himself, or that he could possibly lend himself in any way, to the perpetration of such a meaningless and impious act. The Nag's Head fable, the source of so much bitter feeling in the past between Catholics and Protestants in their controversies and differences, has been long ago exploded. As a serious cause of dispute it should never again waste time and space."—*The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, 1907, by H. N. Birt, O.S.B., p. 249.

[1] See Leo XIII's *Apostolicae Curae*, 1896, and the English Archbishops' Reply in 1897. "The defective intention of those who drew up the Ordinal is inferred from the alleged fact that in the whole Ordinal not only is there no clear mention of the sacrifice; of consecration, of the sacerdotium, of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice, but, as we have just stated, every trace of these things, which had been in such prayers of the Catholic rite as they had not entirely rejected, was deliberately removed and struck out."

Church had been satisfied with the days of its allegiance to Rome, there would never have been any Reformation brought about.

Sooner or later every controversy upon this subject resolves itself into the question whether or not there is by Christ's command or the Holy Spirit's sanction one visible Head and Universal Bishop of the Church militant here on earth to be out of communion with whom is to be guilty of sin and schism. We go back to the distant days and ask if this headship was proclaimed in New Testament times or insisted upon as an article of faith, and we find no evidence of this. Nor do we find it for six hundred years after. Polycarp knew nothing of such supremacy in Pope Anicetus, nor Cyprian and the African Bishops in Pope Stephanus, and the Bishops of Rome themselves were so far from knowing anything of such supremacy in themselves or any one else that Gregory the Great, a name deservedly held in honour by the English Church, denounced the title of Universal Bishop as proud, wicked, insane, schismatical, blasphemous and anti-Christian.[1]

[1] Nullus unquam decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit — Si enim hoc dici licenter permittitur honor Patriarcharum omnium negetur. Quis est iste qui contra statuta evangelica contra canorum decreta novum sibi usurpare nomen præsumit?

Utinam sive aliorum imminutioni unus sit qui vocari appetit Universalis! Sed absit a cordibus Christianis nomen illud blasphemia in quo omnium sacerdotum honor adimitur dum ab uno sibi dementer arrogatur. Ego fidenter dico, quia quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat vel vocari desideret in elatione suâ ante Christum præcurrit quia superviendo se cœteris, præponit.— (Gregorie Magni, Pontificis Romani, Epistolæ.)

There are many passages similar to the above in his letters. This was the Bishop of Rome who sent Augustine on his mission to Canterbury in 597, and who wrote the immortal treatise upon the *Pastoral Charge*, a book which King Alfred the Great turned into English, because, as he says, Augustine brought with him this storehouse of his master's spiritual gifts over the salt sea into our island.

Other Controversies.

The English Church, however, during the Reformation period, had other controversies than the one with Rome.

Wolsey, if he had remained in power, would have reformed the Church educationally, but would never have separated from the Pope. Henry VIII, having wrung from Parliament his national independence and from an unwilling clergy his title of "Supreme Head of the Church," left doctrine largely alone, though as Cranmer and Latimer became bishops in his reign he must have known that changes of doctrine were coming. The appearance of the first Book of Common Prayer two years after his death showed a marvellous development in changes of worship as well as of doctrine. Cardinal Pole's success under Queen Mary, though proclaimed in extravagant language in the Acts of Parliament,[1] was more in seeming than in reality. England tried once more the yoke of Rome, and repented of its penitence after five years' experience.

Upon Queen Elizabeth and Matthew Parker fell the full brunt of maintaining the true Catholic heritage of the English Church. The former contributed an unbend-

[1] See 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, cap. 8.—"An Act repealing all articles and provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII and for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity."

The laity, however, were too powerful, and resisted both Queen and Cardinal. The Act passed decreeing by the dispensation of the Cardinal and the will and determination of the Queen that: "Our Sovereign Lady, your heirs and successors, as also all and every other person and persons, bodies political and corporate their heirs successors and assigns now having or that hereafter shall have hold or enjoy any of the sites of the said late monasteries &c. . . . shall have hold possess retain keep and enjoy all and every the said sites &c. . . . which now be or were standing in force before the first day of this present Parliament."

All acts and writings concerning conveyances of Church lands were to remain in full force.

ing will, which prevailed because her people trusted her and saw in her reign the new splendour of the emancipated nation. The latter—as Whitgift afterwards—pursued his thankless task of administration with wisdom and patience, and bore as well as he could the rude outbreaks of the great Tudor Queen.

On February 25, 1569, Pope Pius V launched his Bull (Regnans in Excelsis) against Elizabeth, declaring her a heretic and a favourer of heretics, and absolving her people from their oaths of allegiance. All citizens who continued to show obedience were placed under anathema.[1] Elizabeth answered this ban in Latin verse, scoffing at the apostolic authority, and saying that the barque of Peter should never enter a port of hers. This final breach caused by Rome itself proved to be "worse than a crime, because it was a blunder." Its unwisdom was recognised by Urban VIII, who when besought to excommunicate the Kings of France and Sweden, said: "We may declare them excommunicate, as Pius V declared Queen Elizabeth of England, and before him Clement VII the King of England, Henry VIII . . . But with what success? The whole world can tell: we yet bewail it with tears of blood. Wisdom does not teach us to imitate Pius V or Clement VII, but Paul V, who, being many times urged . . . to excommunicate James (I), King of England, never would consent unto it."[2]

At home the opponents of both Elizabeth and Parker were the Nonconformists, to use the term in its true sense as describing clergy and laity who remained in the Church and refused to conform to its laws and

[1] The opening words of the Bull show the claim to authority in which it was promulgated.

"Regnans in excelsis, cui data est omnis in cœlo et in terra potestas, unam sanctam Catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, uni soli ni terris videlicet apostolorum principi Petro, Petrique successori Romano Pontifici in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc unum super omnes gentes et omnia Regna Principem constituit qui evellat destruat disperdat plantet et edificet, &c."

[2] Public Record Office, Foreign, Italy, 1641–1645.

usages. Hence the uncertainty of what was done in this reign as the norm or rule for all future time.

Meantime Richard Bancroft was rising into prominence and power. Born and brought up in Lancashire in an atmosphere of strong radicalism, he knew well the tenets and literature of the Puritans, and in later years he became the most astute opponent of their schemes for establishing in the Church the Genevan discipline and doctrines. His lifelong adversary on the Roman side was Robert Parsons, who was educated at Oxford, and after starting life as a student and teacher of Calvinistic theology, became the greatest English Jesuit of his time. Bancroft constantly exposed his plots, and played off the archpriests Blackwell and Birkhead against him. Parsons became a source of peril to the Roman policy, and when he died in 1610 the Pope was reported to have said, "We shall all be more quiet now that Parsons is dead."

The two great antagonists were not long separated in their death, for Bancroft died in the same year, and yet the struggle continued after the two great leaders were gone. After thirteen more years of effort William Bishop was in 1623 consecrated titular Roman Catholic Bishop of Chalcedon to exercise episcopal functions in England, though it took another fifty years before Roman Catholic bishops were firmly established in England with the right to minister to their own people. The story of the Stuarts and the final settlement in 1662 will be sketched in the lecture upon William Laud. And as a supplement to the whole I will endeavour to set out in a brief summary the doctrinal changes of the Reformation period which have left the Church of England, and as it has ever since been, Catholic in its adherence to the faith of the Scriptures and the early Church, and Protestant in its unfailing opposition to the errors which had gathered around its own life in the centuries before the Reformation.[1]

[1] "The Church of England as a Church is as old as Christianity. Her Protestantism is indeed comparatively recent, and this for a good reason, because the Romish errors and corruptions against

which she protests are recent, but the fact is that as the Universal Church for the maintenance of her Catholicity was protesting at the first from General Councils; as she protested at Nicæa against the heresy of Arius and at Constantinople against Macedonius; as she protested at Ephesus against Nestorius and at Chalcedon against Eutyches, so the Church of England became Protestant at the Reformation in order that she might be more truly and purely Catholic; and as far as papal errors are concerned, if Rome will become truly Catholic, then, but not till then, the Church of England will cease to be Protestant."—*Theophilus Anglicanus,* by Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, first published 1865.

THOMAS WOLSEY[1]

1471—1530[2]

I WANT a single name around whose personality I can discuss some of the leading ideas in religious matters in England on the eve of the Reformation, and for this

[1] Wolsey always spelt his name Wulcy. In the Register of Magdalen College, Oxford, it is variously written at Wolsey, Wulcy, Wolsy, Wolcy, Wulsey and Woulsey. It has no connection with "Wolseley," which is the place-name of a hamlet in the parish of Colwich in Staffordshire. Wolsey is the modern form of the personal name Wolsi or Wulsi. The Hundred Rolls (1273) give the name William Wulsi, co. Cambridge, and the first Abbot of Westminster bore the name of Wulsy. It is not an uncommon name in early English days, and is supposed to be Teutonic in origin and to have some connection with Wulf or Ulf.

[2] The day and hour of death are certain. S. Andrew's Day, November 1530 at 8 a.m.; the date of birth has not been definitely settled and possibly cannot be. Some put it two or three years later than 1471. Wolsey was ordained to the priesthood on March 10, 1498, and twenty-seven years old is quite unusually late for ordination. On the other hand, Cavendish states that on Maundy Thursday (1530) Wolsey, on his way north to take possession of the Archbishopric of York, made his Maundy in the Lady Chapel of Peterborough Cathedral, washing, wiping and kissing the feet of fifty-nine poor men, a number supposed to correspond with the years of his age. A mistake might easily be made either in estimating the number presented or in the Cardinal's years. All that is certain is the numbers were intended to correspond.

He took his degree of B.A. at Oxford at the age of fifteen. If born in 1471 this would be in 1486, but the records of Magdalen College, Oxford, are said not to mention his name until 1497, when he appears as a Master of Arts and fourteenth on the list of Fellows. This entry is confirmed by the record of his ordination to the priesthood in 1498, when his Fellowship gave him his title to Orders.

purpose I have chosen Thomas Wolsey. I am not concerned to maintain that he was either a hero or a saint, but I am convinced that he was a great ecclesiastical statesman, who has suffered centuries of wrong at the hands of historians. Our great English dramatist exhibited him as an example of the folly of ambition, and the suddenness of his fall from high estate is the one prominent fact popularly known about him.

His first biographer was George Cavendish, his gentleman usher, a member of the family afterwards ennobled which has been so prominent in English history. He tells his story simply and pathetically, neither extenuating nor setting aught down in malice, and at the end of his narrative he, too, reflects sadly upon the vanity of human ambition:—

"Here is the end of all pride and arrogancy of such men exalted by fortune to honours and high dignities; for I assure you, in his time of authority and glory, he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings that then lived, having more respect to the worldly honour of his person than he had to his spiritual profession; wherein should be all meekness, humility and charity; the process whereof I leave to them that be learned and seen in divine laws." [1]

Another biographer a hundred and seventy years afterwards, Richard Fiddes, in 1724 wrote: "There have been few persons if any to whom mankind has been obliged for any considerable benefactions that have met with such ungrateful usage in return for them, as Cardinal Wolsey." [2]

Until quite recent years the Roman Catholic writers abused him more severely than any others. To them he was the prime instigator of Henry VIII in the matter of the divorce, and they blamed him by inference for

[1] See Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, written between 1554 and 1558.

[2] Fiddes's reward for his attempt to vindicate the great Cardinal's memory was to be told that he was "throwing dirt upon the happy reformation of religion among us."

all the anti-papal legislation of Henry's reign. We shall see presently how unjust this charge has been; but now we address ourselves to the task of calling for evidence upon which to base our own judgment of the man and his deeds.[1]

First of all, biography demands personal and family history, and these shall be given in the briefest possible form.

Thomas Wolsey was born at Ipswich in March 1471 (?) and was the son of Robert and Joan Wolsey. He was "an honest poor man's son," says Cavendish. His father, as evidenced by his will, was a man of good position with relatives well to do, and was probably a grazier and wool-merchant. This was quite enough to give rise to the contemptuous slander which called Wolsey a butcher's son. The extraordinary ability of the boy marked him out, by his father's consent, for the priesthood. At eleven he left Ipswich Grammar School and went to Oxford, where he graduated B.A. at fifteen. At twenty-five, if not earlier, he has become Fellow, and

[1] As we shall rely much upon Brewer's *Introductions to the Calendars of State Papers*, 1507–1530, edited for the Master of the Rolls, we give here Brewer's own judgment:—

"No statesman of such eminence ever died less lamented. On no one did his own contemporaries pile a greater load of obloquy; not one stone of which has posterity seriously attempted to remove —yet in spite of all these heavy imputations on his memory, in spite of all this load of obloquy, obscuring our view of the man and distorting his lineaments, the Cardinal still remains and will ever remain as the one prominent figure of this period—the violent calumnies resting on his memory have in some degree been already lightened by juster and clearer views of the events of his time and the characters of the chief agents. It need not apprehend an examination still more rigid and more dispassionate. Not free from faults by any means, especially from those faults and failings the least consistent with his ecclesiastical profession, the Cardinal was perfectly free from those meaner though less obtrusive vices which disfigure the age and the men that followed him—vices to which moralists are tolerant and the world indulgent. Magnificent in all his designs and doings, he inspired a grandeur and a loftiness into the minds of Englishmen of which he himself was a conspicuous example" (*Reign of Henry VIII*, 1509–1530, by Dr. Brewer, vol. ii., p. 457).

in 1498 his name appears in the College Register as third Bursar. His father died in the autumn of 1496, and in his will made a few days before his death, he says: "Item, I will that if Thomas, my son, be a priest within a year next after my decease, then I will that he sing (*i.e.* say mass) for me and my friends by the space of a year and he for to have for his salary 10 marks."

I have not been able to discover when or by whom he was ordained a deacon, but his ordination to the Priesthood took place at the Lenten Ordination, 1498, held in S. Peter's Church, Marlborough, the ordaining Bishop being Augustine Church, titular Bishop of Lydda and suffragan to the Bishop of Salisbury.[1]

In 1499 Wolsey became Senior Bursar of Magdalen and about the same time Master of the Grammar School connected with the College. He is reported to have been required to resign the office of Bursar for applying funds for completing Magdalen Tower without sufficient authority.[2] The following year, 1500, he was appointed Rector of Lymington in Somerset. For some unrecorded reason, but probably because of some dispute about tithes, a neighbouring squire (Sir Amyas Poulet) put the young rector in the village stocks, and found many years afterwards that this affront was not forgotten

[1] The entry in the Salisbury Register is:—

"M. Thomas Wolsey artium magister Norwicens dioc.: diaconus, socius perpetuus collegei beate Marie Magdelane universitatis Oxon.: per literas &c. ad titulum ejusdem collegii in presbyterum &c."

The words "Norwicens dioc." refer to his birthplace, then, as now, in the diocese of Norwich.

Oxford was at that time in the diocese of Lincoln, and Wolsey, in the usual course, should have been ordained deacon by the Bishop of Lincoln.

[2] This tower, which is one of the glories of Oxford, was begun in 1492, and Wolsey was not, as is often stated, the builder of it. The story of misappropriation of funds must be received with caution, if not dismissed as untrue. Wolsey's enemies invented every kind of slander against him. Other slanders connected with the stocks at Lymington, which assigned at one time incontinence and again drunkenness, have no shadow of evidence to support them. These were not mentioned until after his death, when the malice of his enemies freely invented stories to injure his memory.

when he stood before Wolsey as Chancellor of England. From this time Church preferments began to be heaped upon him, and it is difficult to keep pace with his rapid promotions.

A single year of country life was Wolsey's only experience of strictly pastoral duties, and in 1501 he entered, as chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Deane), upon his great career of statesman and diplomatist. His unusual capacity for business soon attracted attention, and in 1506 he entered the Royal service as chaplain to Henry VII. Thus at a little more than thirty years of age did the brilliant boy, from a humble home in Ipswich, by force of ability and character, win for himself the opportunity of his subsequent great achievements. He entered the service of Henry VIII as Almoner in 1509. Wolsey was about thirty-eight and Henry eighteen when they first came together in public affairs. He had been made Dean of Lincoln by Henry VII in February 1508,[1] and Royal Almoner to the King in November of the same year.

To complete the story of Wolsey's promotions we record the chief offices he afterwards held: Bishop of Tournai in France (1514)[2]; Bishop of Lincoln (1514)[3];

[1] The list of his Church preferments about this time is a formidable one, though it was no more than a presage of greater things: Rector of Lymington (1500), a dispensation to hold two other benefices with it a week or two later; Rector of Redgrave in Suffolk (1506); Vicar of Lydd in Kent (1508); Prebendary of Lincoln (1508); Prebendary of Hereford (1510); Rector of Torrington in Devonshire (1510); Canon of Windsor (1511); Prebendary of Goole (1512); Dean of S. Stephen's Collegiate Church, Westminster (1512); Dean of Hereford (1512) (resigned); Dean of York and Precentor of York (1513).

[2] This was Henry VIII's reward for the success of Wolsey's diplomatic services in the campaign of 1513, which gave the King the power to appoint. The mad ambition of English kings to rule in France was a legacy from the days of the Norman kings, and amongst his other titles Henry bore that of King of France. Wolsey shortly surrendered the bishopric in consideration of a pension for life paid out of its funds.

[3] Wolsey was consecrated to the episcopate at Lambeth on March 26, 1514, by Archbishop Warham, being designated by

Archbishop of York (1514–1530); Bishop of Bath and Wells (1518–1523); Bishop of Durham (1523–1529); Bishop of Winchester (1529); Abbot of St. Albans (1521–1529)[1]; Cardinal (1515–1530); Lord Chancellor (1515–1529); Legate (1518); confirmed for life in 1524 with faculties never before heard of.

It is well known that Wolsey aspired to the Papacy. As a last effort, and when many other attempts had failed, he wrote in 1528 to two Roman cardinals upon his election. Henry VIII urged it by letters and through his ambassadors, with the sinister purpose of profiting himself in the matter of the divorce. On three different occasions Wolsey's name was before the College of Cardinals, but members of this body deceived him with false hopes, and there was never the remotest chance of his selection. He has been charged herein with overweening ambition, but a Roman Catholic priest[2] justly remarks that there was nothing very extraordinary in this, for almost every one of the cardinals

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Leo X. He resigned Lincoln upon his appointment to York. The King asked that the heavy fees for the Bull to Lincoln might be remitted, but Leo X replied that the request could not be granted because it was detrimental to the Holy See. Cardinal de Medici wrote to Wolsey to say that the Consistory would not listen to the application, as the Church of Lincoln was very rich, and had always paid the tax, and that the Pope was greatly in debt, especially for his coronation, and had intolerable daily expenses. The election to York later in the same year brought the demand for more fees, and Wolsey had to pay about £25,000 of our present money to the Court of Rome for the expenses of his promotion. He had to borrow, by giving a bond to three merchants.

[1] Wolsey had secured the promise of an imperial son-in-law for the infant Princess Mary, and an indemnity against all pecuniary losses incurred by a rupture with France. "By God!" said Henry VIII, "the Lord Cardinal hath sustained many charges on this his voyage, and expended £10,000" (£120,000 of present money); and so the King added to Wolsey's other dignities and emoluments the most ancient mitred abbey in England (Brewer, *Henry VIII*, vol. ii., p. 428).

[2] *Thomas Wolsey, Legate and Reformer*, by E. L. Taunton, 1902, p. 142. Father Taunton adds this significant note: "Since Wolsey's days Italians only have sat in Peter's Chair, and the

did the same, that he had nothing to gain by his election, as the position of the Papacy was in those days so critical that Wolsey as Cardinal Legate, Archbishop and Chancellor held a more powerful and effectively greater personal position in the eyes of the world than did the Pope of Rome.

The Proud and Haughty Prelate.

To argue against Wolsey because he never visited his dioceses and devoted himself wholly to the high offices of State, counts for very little. Herein he was no better nor worse than many other ecclesiastics. The revenues of the Church were shamefully raided in the interests of the State. But this alone renders it impossible for us to regard him as a whole-hearted reformer, while in his own person he offered the most conspicuous example of the abuse of pluralities. He has with justice been described as the greatest statesman England ever produced. He was more than a match for the astutest schemers at Rome. The successive popes disliked him with the hatred of fear. The Emperor and the King of France well knew the extent of his influence and courted his support. He served his king with unbounded zeal, and made the names of Henry VIII and England regarded as never before in the councils of Europe. At home and in public he was fond of display. The gorgeousness of his household and the multiplicity of his servants more than rivalled the splendour of the Court. What wonder, then, the nobility, whether the older families or those recently ennobled, looked upon him with envy! In personal surroundings he eclipsed them all, and in the extent of his influence none of them could even approach as a rival.

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government of the universal Church has been practically in the hands of that nation. Although the principle of nationality is vehemently decried as being opposed to the catholicity of the Church, it can hardly be denied that never has a more striking example of this principle been shown to the world than at Rome for the last three hundred years or more."

Every feeling of resentment against a proud and haughty ecclesiastic, and such feeling was very strong throughout all classes, gathered around his devoted head. "Not that Wolsey," says Dr. Brewer, "was the slave of a vulgar vanity. A soul as capacious as the sea, and minute as the sands upon its shores when minuteness was required, he could do nothing meanly. The last great builder this nation ever had, the few remains which have survived him show the vastness of his mind and the universality of his genius. He could build a kitchen, or plan a college, or raise a tower, as no man since then has been able to build them."

Hampton Court, which he afterwards gave to the King, the original designs for Christ Church, Oxford, and the gateway of his projected school at Ipswich—which alone remains of all he proposed to do for his native place—bespeak him as the consummate architect. The expenses of his household were more than £30,000 of modern money, and yet out of his vast revenue he was able to find money for his great designs. Perhaps the proudest day of his life was the one when he proceeded to Westminster Abbey to have his cardinal's hat placed upon his head by Archbishop Warham, after which he was conducted by two dukes to the western door of the Abbey and from there to Charing Cross, followed by a procession of nobles, bishops and gentlemen. The proceedings of the day ended with a magnificent banquet, graced by the presence of the King and Queen and attended by all that was great in Church and State.

What wonder that this spoilt child of fortune, this son of an obscure home, should have swollen with pride and have been overwhelmed with vanity! Let all this suffice for his outward pomp and inward love of power. In the end he suffered bitterly for it all, and when his fall came he fell never to rise again. He looked for some to have pity upon him, and most men rejoiced. We shall see that the King whom he had served so well did feel a secret respect for his greatness; but in his day of humiliation not a single word of comfort or sympathy

came from the Pope for whose prerogatives he fell, and in whose defence he had fought an unequal battle and lost it.

The Divorce.

In an evil day good Queen Catherine—and let this phrase stand as expressive of her character and conduct throughout the cruel persecutions to which she was subjected—was induced to admit to the list of her gentlewomen at Court Anne Boleyn, then a girl in her sixteenth year. She had already spent some time in France. Cavendish states that "Mistress Anne Boleyn, being very young, was sent into the realm of France and there made one of the French Queen's women." She writes to the Queen a letter of the most extraordinary spelling: "I beg of you to excuse me if my letter is inaccurately written, for I assure you that it is entirely my own." The sentiments and phraseology betray the hand of a master, but the "ottograpie," as she spells it, is all her own.

This was the girl whose fascinating eyes and black hair sent the whole Court, including grave ecclesiastics as well as the young nobility, into transports of admiration. Henry VIII was then thirty-one. It is said that an idle gallantry betrayed him into an uncontrollable passion; if this be so, the passion was no temporary one. The King's marked attention to the young maid of honour warned the young men of the Court to be careful in their own conduct. No one at first thought seriously of the matter. Henry VIII was never a faithful husband, and the latest intrigue was expected to end like many others. We shall have occasion to refer again to the matter when we come to speak of Cranmer, but at present we are concerned only with Wolsey's part in the great affair.

The King began to speak, especially to Wolsey, about his conscience and his doubts as to the legitimacy in God's sight of his marriage with Queen Catherine. Could not the marriage which had brought him no male heir be disannulled? Was not the absence of such an heir an evidence of divine disapproval? Out of other children born to him the Princess Mary alone remained.

Had the dispensation been right, and ought it not to be reviewed? The term "Divorce" is a misnomer, for all the prolonged proceedings, so humiliating to King, Queen and Pope, and so disastrous to Wolsey, were only an attempt to set aside a marriage which, it was contended, ought never to have taken place. When Prince Arthur died, April 1502, a boy of sixteen, the young widow, who was nineteen, had been the wife of a sickly husband for five months. Henry VII, lately a widower, offered, April 1503, to marry her himself, sooner than part with her dowry, but her mother declared it to be "a thing not to be endured." In June 1503 she was betrothed to Henry, then a boy of twelve. Two years later his father caused him to refuse to fulfil the contract, though a Dispensation had been obtained from the Pope; but in 1509, when he succeeded to the throne, Henry married Catherine of his own free choice. Thus did the grasping father and the yielding Pope, who wished to offend neither Ferdinand of Spain nor Henry VIII playing with the sacredness of marriage, weave the meshes of the net within which the papal authority in England was finally entrapped.[1]

Henry VIII's scruples and his idea of having his marriage disannulled were first expressed in 1514, five years after his marriage.[2] Wolsey first became aware of the real state of the King's mind in 1525, when, in

[1] The Bull of Julius II in 1503 granting Dispensation had been all too carefully drawn up. Ferdinand wrote to his ambassador at Rome to say "it is well known in England that the Princess is still a Virgin, but as the English are much disposed to cavil, it has seemed to be more prudent to provide for the case as though the marriage had been consummated, and the dispensation of the Pope must be in perfect keeping with the said clause of the treaty." So, to leave no loophole, the words "forsitan consummatum" were introduced.

At the time of her trial Queen Catherine declared that she entered into her marriage with Henry as *virgo immaculata*. What troubles might have been avoided if the one alone able to speak had been believed! Her married life for five months with a sickly and dying boy makes her solemn declaration the more probable.

[2] Sanuto's Diary mentions a report that Henry meant to annul his own marriage, and would obtain what he wanted from the Pope (Venetian State Papers).

the words of his dying speech at Leicester Abbey, he spoke of what he did then and on other occasions: "I assure you I have often kneeled before him (the King) in his privy chamber the space of an hour or two to persuade him from his will and appetite, but I could never bring to pass to dissuade him therefrom." [1] When husband or wife begin to talk about divorce there is always some one else involved, and Wolsey, who could not contemplate the King's marriage with a subject, thought of a French princess.

As we are concerned only with Wolsey and must speak of other things in his career, we leave this matter. History must acquit him of responsibility for either raising the question or urging it on. He was foolish enough to think he could have served the King if he had become Pope himself. The Pope was powerless to undo what his predecessors had done so carefully, under prudential motives and without much regard to the sacredness of marriage, and so the cause drifted to its close. The greatly wronged Queen was put away. Anne Boleyn, eleven years after coming to Court, took her place in 1533, but went to the block in three years, at the age of twenty-nine, judged guilty of adultery, though protesting her innocence from the Tower.[2] Wolsey, whose powers of fine statesmanship were ruined by all the miserable proceedings of the case, fell in 1529, and entered upon the last year of his life, in which all the best qualities of his nature were shown in the school of adversity.

[1] See also an important letter from Wolsey to Henry VIII, when the King suspected him of being unfavourable from the very first (State Papers, i. 194). Also at the time of the trial the Cardinal addressed Henry in court: "Sir, I most humbly beseech Your Majesty to declare me before all this audience whether I have been the chief inventor or first mover in this matter unto Your Majesty, for I am greatly subjected of all men therein."

"My Lord Cardinal," quoth the King, "I can well excuse ye therein. Marry! ye have been rather against me in attempting on setting forth thereof" (Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*).

[2] See Queen Anne's last letter to King Henry (Burnet's *Collection of Records*, book iii., 4). The records of the trial no longer exist, and are said to have been destroyed by the order of Queen Elizabeth.

Educational Reformer.

Before we sketch this last year we must look at Wolsey in his most honourable character, viz. that of educational reformer. Wolsey's astute and far-seeing mind made him by nature a reformer, though in certain directions he was powerless. How could he reprove the evils of pluralities when he was himself the greatest pluralist in England? How could he raise his voice against the levity of Henry VIII's Court when the King could taunt him with having a "bed-fellow" of his own?[1] Or how protest against the exactions of the Papal Collector's office in London when his eyes were turned to Rome in the hope of one day ruling at the Vatican, and meantime, as Cardinal, he was pledged to maintain all fees? When he tried his hand at reforming the abuses amongst the Friars Minor, Clement VII wrote in 1524 to say "the Order seemed to suspect he was about to visit and reform them, but, while sure of Wolsey's wisdom, he begs him not to attempt any such thing, because the Order is very great and much esteemed throughout the world; and though good may be done in England, it would occasion disturbances elsewhere."

The Friars thus secured two years' delay.

While Wolsey never visited his diocese of York until the last year of his life, he issued in 1518 Provincial Constitutions containing a number of wholesome injunctions and enforcing residence on all the clergy, under the penalty of the loss of income, until they had papal dispensations or were absent with the Bishop's leave.[2] However zealous their Archbishop was, he laid himself open to the reply, "Physician, heal thyself!"

In the matter of educational reform Wolsey was free, and herein we see him at the best.

Archbishop Warham was Chancellor of Oxford from 1506 till his death in 1532, and the saintly and ascetic Bishop Fisher of Rochester held the same office at Cambridge. It is humiliating to read the language of flattery

[1] On the "Celibacy of the Clergy" see Appendix A, p. 193.
[2] Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii., p. 662.

with which both universities approached the powerful minister.[1]

Oxford surrendered its statutes into Wolsey's hands to be remodelled by him. The constitutional Warham protested, but Wolsey loved nothing better than to humiliate his brother archbishop. At Fisher's suggestion Cambridge offered him the chancellorship, and when for once he refused a high office Fisher was re-elected for life.

The Cardinal founded seven lecturerships at Oxford, namely, Theology, Civil Law, Physics, Philosophy, Mathematics, Greek and Rhetoric, and made excellent appointments to each chair.[2] His greatest educational scheme was the joint foundation of Christ Church, Oxford, and the Grammar School at Ipswich.[3] Of the school no more need be said than that the foundation was destroyed by Henry after Wolsey's fall. The college remains to this day as one of the noblest educational institutions in England. Convocation wrote to him "not so much as a founder of a college, but of the University itself." This language is gross flattery and unpardonable exaggeration. Wolsey's scheme was magnificent. The corporate body was to consist of a dean and sixty canons, six professors, forty minor canons, thirteen chaplains, twelve clerks, sixteen choristers and a teacher of music. The dean and

[1] Erasmus says, "Wolsey clearly reigned more truly than the King himself."

In 1519 the Venetian ambassador wrote: "This cardinal is the person who rules both the King and the entire kingdom. . . . All State affairs are managed by him let their nature be what it may. . . . He is in very great repute, seven times more so than if he were Pope. On my first arrival in England he used to say, 'His Majesty will do so and so.' Subsequently by degrees he went on forgetting himself, and commenced saying, 'We shall do so and so.' At present he has reached such a pitch that he says, 'I shall do so and so.'"

[2] Wolsey was the adviser of Henry VIII in the foundation of the Royal College of Physicians in 1518.

[3] The first name of the college was "The College of Secular Priests," which name Henry changed to Cardinal College out of compliment to Wolsey. After Wolsey's fall the name was changed once more to King's College, though Henry's part was that of a despoiler rather than founder.

canons were to be natives of England. The statutes displayed a large-mindedness and power of administration worthy of Wolsey's great mind. The buildings were to excel all others at both universities in their splendour. Whence then came the wealth required for buildings and endowments? Wolsey himself bestowed many gifts, and persons who wished to propitiate him or who sincerely admired his great scheme added others. But the money for permanent support was obtained by the suppression of twenty-two smaller monastic establishments.[1] No act of parliament was sought for the suppression. Clement VII in 1524, at Wolsey's request, sent a bull authorising it. Wolsey paid the heavy fees charged, the King consented and the deed was done. The Royal licence allowed the college to hold lands in mortmain to the clear annual value of £2,000 (about £25,000 present money). The religious houses protested, but all to no purpose. Writers unfriendly to Wolsey state that the poor wretches were expelled from the dissolved monasteries without compensation. This is not true; they were provided for in other monasteries. These proceedings have been severely criticised. The Church historian, Fuller, says they "made all the forest of religious foundations in England to shake, justly fearing the King would finish to fell the oaks, seeing the Cardinal began to cut the underwood." Others have charged Clement VII and Wolsey with teaching Henry VIII how to lay unholy hands upon monastic property, and thereby to commit sacrilege.[2]

This subject will come before us in the next lecture, and meantime it is sufficient to say that the principle of using monastic lands for schools and colleges had been accepted at the dissolution of the alien priories in 1414. Much earlier in English history the Knights

[1] The religious houses suppressed for the purpose were: Tyckford, Bradwell, Ravenstone, Daventry, Canwell, Sandwell, Tonbridge, Lesnes or Westwood, Bayham, De Calcets, Wykes, Tiptree, Blackmore, Stanesgate, Horlesley, Thoby, Poughley, Wallingford, Dodenash, Snape, S. Frideswide Oxford, and Littlemore.

[2] See "Doom of Sacrilege," Appendix B.

Templars were dissolved by Parliament in 1285, though the King and Lords were declared in 1323 to have no right to retain the property.

With regard to Wolsey's general attitude towards the monasteries, he was far-seeing enough to discern that they had ceased to fulfil their original intention, and he cherished a great and statesmanlike scheme of establishing episcopal sees in some of the larger monasteries and annexing to them smaller monasteries to provide great revenues.[1]

As regards his college at Oxford it is well known that after his fall Henry VIII appropriated to his own use very much of the munificent provision for endowment. Wolsey in his closing days of sorrow and sickness lamented the ruin of his educational schemes more than his own downfall.[2]

The Fall of Wolsey.

After interminable arguments before Campeggio and Wolsey, July 23, 1529, was fixed for concluding the course of the divorce. The King's Proctor attended the court and demanded sentence, whereupon Campeggio rose and stated in a Latin speech that it was the custom of Rome to suspend all legal proceedings from the end of July to October 1. "I will therefore," he added, "adjourn this court for this time according to the order of the court of Rome, from whence this court and jurisdiction is derived."

The Duke of Suffolk, the King's brother-in-law, gave a great slap on the table, and said: "By the mass! now I see the old-said saw is true that there was never legate nor cardinal that did good in England." Before the

[1] Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii., p. 715.

[2] Writing to Thomas Cromwell in 1530, he said: "I am in such indisposition of body and mind by the reason of such great heaviness as I am in, being put from my sleep and meat for such advertisements as I have had from you of the dissolution of my colleges; with the small comfort and appearance that I have to be relieved by the King's highness in this mine extreme need, maketh me that I cannot write unto you, for weeping and sorrow."

adjournment on July 15 the Pope had revoked the cause. However unpopular the divorce proposals had been in the country, this last step offended the nation. The spectacle of the King on his trial before the two cardinals had excited the resentment of the people, and now their Sovereign had to appear in person before the pope in another country, and in the capacity of an inferior and a vassal.

Henry's pent-up wrath broke forth. On September 19 Campeggio paid a visit to the King before his departure. Instructions were given to search his luggage, for fear he might carry off some of the treasures belonging to the Cardinal of York. Campeggio complained to Henry of the insult to him as Legate, and of the long delay in allowing him to depart. Henry replied, "As to your Legateship, no wrong has been done you by me or mine. Your authority only extended to the termination of my cause. . . . I wonder you are so ignorant of the laws of this country, seeing you are a Bishop here (he was Bishop of Salisbury), and bound to respect my royal dignity, as not to be afraid to use the title of Legate when it has become defunct."

Campeggio sailed on October 26. Meantime the wrath of Henry had fallen upon Wolsey. He was indicted in the court at Westminster on October 9 for praemunire.[1] The charge was shameful, though Wolsey in his abject

[1] About this time he wrote to the King: "Most gracious and merciful Sovereign Lord, Though that I, your poor heavy and wretched priest, do daily pursue, cry and call upon your Royal Majesty for grace mercy remission and pardon, yet in most humble wise I beseech your Highness not to think that it proceedeth of any mistrust that I have in your merciful goodness nor that I would encumber or molest your Majesty by any indiscreet or importune suit but the same only cometh of an inward and ardent desire that I have continually to declare unto your Highness how that, next unto God, I desire nor covet anything in this world but the attaining of your gracious favour and forgiveness of my trespass. And for this cause I cannot desist nor forbear but be a continual and most lowly suppliant to your benign grace. For surely, most gracious King, the remembrance of my folly, with the sharp sword of your Highness' displeasure, hath so penetrated my heart that I cannot but lamentably cry and say, '*sufficit; nunc contine, piissime rex, manum tuam.*'"—Brewer's *Henry VIII*, vol. ii., p. 379.

fear signed an indenture acknowledging his guilt, and saying that he deserved imprisonment at the King's pleasure, and forfeiture of all his lands and offices.

It was shameful, because he had exercised his powers as Legate with the knowledge and consent of the King. Henceforth there is neither justice nor clemency in the proceedings. On October 19 the great seal was taken from him. It is true that in his confession he had prayed the King to take into his hands all his temporal possessions, pensions and benefices, but nothing less than this had been determined. Anne Boleyn and her relatives were in the ascendant, and Wolsey left the Court for ever—a fallen and disgraced minister and bishop. Passing by the proceedings in Parliament and the demonstrations of joy at his fall, we follow him through the remaining thirteen months of his life when the greatness of his character asserted itself in adversity. Wolsey was sacrificed to the papal pretensions in which he had been educated, and of which he was the most conspicuous example in England. Out of his vast possessions very little was left to him. At the King's command he retired to Esher, a manor house belonging to his bishopric of Winchester.

Henry promised at the prorogation of Parliament on December 17 to make some provision for his future course of living, but did nothing.

Wolsey was taken ill at Esher, and his Italian physician (Augustine), of whom we shall hear again, reported the sickness at Court. The royal physician visited him and reported that the sickness was of the heart. "Forsooth, sir, if you will have him dead, I warrant your Grace he will be dead within these four days if he receive no comfort from you shortly and Mistress Anne." "I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds," said the King, and sent him a ring as a token of comfort. Anne, at the King's request, but certainly with no good will of her own, sent him "very gentle and comfortable words."

When all his possessions had been handed over he received, on February 12, 1530, a full pardon, and two days later he was restored to the possessions of York with

the exception of York Place, the London house of the see.

Nothing now remained but to go north and enter for the first time upon those episcopal duties at York which he had neglected since his appointment in 1514. The difficulty about the expense of the journey being met by a gift of £1000 from the King, he started from Richmond and stayed with the Abbot of Peterborough for Holy Week and Easter, taking part in the services there. At Southwell there was a manor-house belonging to his archbishopric.[1] "My Lord continued at Southwell," says Cavendish, "until the latter end of grease-time,[2] at which time he intended to remove to Scroby, which was another house of the Bishoprick of York." Here he continued until Michaelmas,[3] when he journeyed to Cawood, a few miles from York, where was another house belonging to his see. The Dean and Chapter of York visited him here and made arrangements for his enthronement in the Minster on Monday, November 7.[4]

[1] This house, after being in partial ruin for centuries, has now been restored as the residence of the Bishop of Southwell.

[2] That is, at the end of the hunting season, which was then called grease-time.

[3] "Who was less beloved in the North than my Lord Cardinal —God have his soul!—before he was amongst them? Who better beloved after he had been there a while? We (in the North) hate ofttimes whom we have good cause to love. It is a wonder to see how they were turned, how of utter enemies they became his dear friends. He gave Bishops a right good example how they might win men's hearts."—*A Remedy for Sedition,* issued by the King's Printer, 1536.

[4] Although that our predecessors went upon cloth right sumptuously, we do intend, God willing, to go afoot from thence (*i.e.* from St. James's Chapel outside the gates to the Minster) without any such glory, in the vamps of our hosen. For I do take God to be my very judge that I presume not to go thither for any triumph or vainglory but only to fulfil the observance and rules of the Church to the which, as ye say, I am bound—for I do assure you I do intend to come to York upon Sunday at night and lodge there in the Dean's house and upon Monday to be stalled and there to make a dinner for you of the Close and for other worshipful gentlemen that shall chance to come to me at that time and the next day to dine with the Mayor and so return home again to Cawood that night."—Wolsey in Cavendish's *Life.*

The enthronement was never to take place. On Friday, November 4, the Earl of Northumberland came to Cawood, and being admitted to the bedchamber, laid his hand upon Wolsey's arm and in a faint and soft voice said: "My lord, I arrest you of high treason." The Cardinal asked to see the authority, and when Sir Walter Walshe, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, corroborated the Earl's statement of authority, Wolsey surrendered himself without seeing the commission.

A year before Wolsey's fall he had entreated the French Ambassador to ask the French King to write a letter in his favour to Henry VIII. The Italian physician was entrusted with this mission. The French King had basely betrayed him, and insinuated that Wolsey held a secret correspondence with Rome unfavourable to the King's divorce. The physician betrayed him to the Court.[1] One wonders if Wolsey remembered the part he had taken himself in the betrayal of the Duke of Buckingham through one of his own servants.

The story now hastens to its end. The journey from Cawood Castle to Leicester Abbey was prolonged owing to Wolsey's rapidly failing health. Kingston, the Constable of the Tower, met them at Sheffield, and Wolsey divined the meaning of his presence. In the last stage to Leicester Abbey "he waxed so sick that he was divers times likely to have fallen from his mule." The Abbot and all the Convent met him at the gate, to whom Wolsey said: "Father Abbot, I am come hither to leave my bones among you." He was able to converse with Kingston.[2]

[1] De Vaux (the French Ambassador) would not say a word about it to the Papal Nuncio, but he told the Venetian Ambassador that, according to the confession of the Cardinal's physician, the Cardinal had solicited the Pope to excommunicate the King if he did not banish the lady from Court and treat the Queen with due respect.—Brewer's *Henry VIII,* vol. ii., p. 436. This is another charge.

[2] "Well, well, Master Kingston," said Wolsey, "I see the matter against me how it is framed, but if I had served God as diligently as I have served the King He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. Howbeit, this is the just reward that I must receive for my worldly diligence and pains that I have had to do him service. Commend me to His Majesty, beseeching

At eight o'clock on the morning of November 30, 1530, he died. "The body," says Dr. Brewer, "was placed in a rude coffin of wood with mitre, cross and ring and other archiepiscopal ornaments. He lay in state until five in the afternoon, when he was carried down into the church with great solemnity by the Abbot and Convent with many torches. Here the corpse rested all night in the Lady Chapel, watched by four men holding lights in their hands whilst the Convent chanted the old and solemn office of the dead. About four in the morning they sang a mass. By six they had laid him in his grave on that cold and dreary November morning, unwept and unlamented by all except by the very few who—for the glory of human nature amidst so much of baseness, greed, ingratitude and cruelty—remained loving and faithful to the last.

A few years later Leicester Abbey was destroyed, and with its destruction all traces of the grave of Henry's great minister disappeared.

I have spoken of Wolsey on his best side without concealing his great faults. Most writers cannot mention his name without a certain abuse and loathing, but after allowing for his vanity and love of pomp, for his insatiable greed and delight in good living, we must do justice to him as a great statesman and a great Englishman with lofty conceptions. He had been the precocious boy at Ipswich, the youthful Fellow and Bursar at Oxford, the spoilt ecclesiastic from the time of his ordination, for whom dispensations to neglect the duties of his parishes were given. He was sent to France by Henry VII on a delicate mission when quite inexperi-

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him to call to his remembrance all that has passed between him and me to the present day, and most chiefly in his great matter; then shall his conscience declare whether I have offended him or no. He is a prince of royal courage and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will miss or want part of his appetite he will hazard the loss of one-half of his kingdom. I assure you I have often kneeled before him in the privy chamber the space of an hour or two, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but I could never dissuade him."—Brewer's *Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., p. 444.

enced, and, of course, he transacted the business with promptitude and success. Where in such a record of his early years was there room for the discipline of obedience which forms the character out of which all the greatest rulers learn to rule by learning to obey? Akin to the last words of Wolsey, "Had I but served my God with half the zeal I served my King, He would not in mine age have left me naked to mine enemies," are the last words of David the son of Jesse, the man who was raised up on high and the sweet psalmist of Israel: "The spirit of the Lord spake by me, and His word was in my tongue, the Rock of Israel spake to me: He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God." [1]

Wolsey was the creature of Henry VIII, in whom he found a hard and ungrateful taskmaster. The years of confidence and the thousand public services he had rendered to the King were all forgotten when Anne Boleyn and her friends declared that Wolsey was playing him false and was the cause of all the delays about the divorce. As legate Wolsey was the servant of Popes, who, while preserving towards him the language of respect and sometimes of flattery, secretly feared him and thwarted his purposes. In educational matters especially his views were noble, and if he had lived he would at all events have striven to the utmost of his power to save the buildings of the greater monasteries and to secure large educational endowments out of the wreck of the doomed system, which no effort of his could have saved.

When he died it was still the eve of the Reformation, and the epoch-making events were yet to come; but black clouds had gathered on the horizon and were waiting to break in storm and tempest. The Court of Rome attributed much that was done to Wolsey's failure as legate to maintain in previous years the papal prerogatives, and amongst Englishmen the prominent thought in all minds was one of rejoicing over the fall

[1] Kings xxiii. 1–6.

of the proud and haughty prelate. So Wolsey was treated until recent years, and now in the dry light of history and in the records of courts and ambassadors we can see the man in his greatness as well as his littleness.

We close with the words of Shakespeare, which show great courage when we remind ourselves that he wrote in the reign of Elizabeth,[1] about one whose ruin was the desire and accomplished wish of the Queen's mother, Anne Boleyn. The poet's words are the truest and kindest ever written about Wolsey:—

> This cardinal,
> Though from an humble stock, undoubtedly
> Was fashion'd to much honour from his cradle.
> He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;
> Exceeding wise, fair-spoken, and persuading:
> Lofty, and sour, to them that loved him not;
> But, to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.
> And though he were unsatisfied in getting,
> (Which was a sin,) yet in bestowing, madam,
> He was most princely: Ever witness for him
> Those twins of learning that he raised in you,
> Ipswich, and Oxford! One of which fell with him,
> Unwilling to outlive the good that did it;
> The other, though unfinished, yet so famous,
> So excellent in art, and yet so rising,
> That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.
> His overthrow heap'd happiness upon him,
> For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
> And found the blessedness of being little:
> And, to add greater honours to his age,
> Than man could give him, he died fearing God.
>
> *Henry VIII*, Act IV, sc. 2.

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[1] The Queen died on March 24, 1603, and *Henry VIII* appeared soon after 1600. I find no record of the exact date, but in any case the glamour of the great Queen, living or dead, was over the country.

THOMAS CROMWELL[1]

1490—1540[2]

THE death of Wolsey removed a powerful constraining force from Henry VIII's life. For twenty years the Cardinal had been his trusted friend. He heaped honours and emoluments upon Wolsey in England, demanded his appointment as Cardinal and importunately urged his election to the Papacy. When Henry came to the throne at the age of eighteen, Wolsey, who was twenty years older, gained as immediate ascendency over the youthful king and maintained it, with many

[1] Cromwell is a place-name from the parish of Cromwell in Nottinghamshire. It was generally pronounced Crumwell, and appears in older records as Crumwell, Crommevile, Crumbville and Croumbville. These terminations exhibit "well" as a suffix equivalent to "ville" or town. "Well" is also used in English place-names as a prefix, meaning the place where water flows, *e. g.* Welland, which is a tidal stream. Crom's well, then, is the town or dwelling-place of some one whose name became Crum, Crumb or Croumb. The family of Oliver Cromwell were of Welsh descent, and bore the name of Williams. Though of ancient descent, they abandoned that surname at the instigation of Henry VIII, and Sir Richard Williams, the Protector's lineal ancestor, being sister's son to Thomas Cromwell, the noted Vicar-General, adopted the uncle's family name (*Pat. Brit.*, by M. A. Lower, 1860). Oliver was born more than a hundred years later, in 1599.

[2] It is interesting to compare the ages of certain leading persons in the sixteenth century with others in the nineteenth :—

In the sixteenth century: Henry VII, 52; Henry VIII, 56; Wolsey, 59 (at the most); Pole, 58; Warham, 82 (who is an exception); Fox of Winchester, 62; Colet, 53.

In the nineteenth: Queen Victoria, 81; Gladstone, 89; Russell, 86; Archbishop Temple, 81; Palmerston, 81; Beaconsfield, 77; Newman, 89; Melbourne, 69.

marks of personal regard and almost affection, until the storm burst in 1529 and he was cruelly driven from the Court. In the last sad year of Wolsey's life Henry's threats to call him back again, coupled with the reports of the Cardinal's popularity in his diocese, led to the successful plot for his arrest for high treason. No man succeeded to the position of influence, and henceforth Henry grew more unreasonable. He bended the aged Warham to his will, executed More and Fisher under the Act of Supremacy, and used the pliable Gardiner, whom he nominated to the Bishopric of Winchester. Pole [1] was invited to take the vacant see of York, but the King's illustrious kinsman knew too well the price he would pay for the position and refused it.

In Thomas Cromwell, one of Wolsey's household, Henry found the man he wanted as chief administrator, and for the next ten years the Church of England was humiliated through the agency of this most despised and justly abhorred servant of the Crown. Whatever view English Churchmen may take of the policy of suppressing the monasteries, or of the necessity of repudiating Papal supremacy, they are at one in the detestation of this oppressor's character and methods.

Let me sketch his career.[2] He was born in London in 1490 of most humble parentage. Brought up to the profession of the law, he very early became an adventurer, and after being tossed about the world, in which he learnt arts of craftiness and habits of money-making, he entered Wolsey's service, where for six years he was employed in the legal business connected with the two Colleges. He became wool-stapler, lawyer and money-lender combined, and many of the young nobility in Henry's Court were soon deeply in debt to him. His reputation for "an itching palm" was known before Wolsey's death, but by this time his gifts and powers

[1] Pole was thirty at the death of Wolsey, and therefore had just reached the canonical age for the episcopate. As a boy of seventeen the King nominated him as Prebendary of Salisbury, and soon afterwards Dean of Wimborne Minster.

[2] Brewer, *Henry VIII*, vol. ii., p. 392.

THOMAS CROMWELL. [*Page* 61.

were known to the King, who employed him in several pieces of business. He became Member of Parliament, Master of the Rolls, Baron, Knight of S. George, Earl of Essex, Vicar-General, with authority superior to that of the archbishops and bishops, Lord Privy Seal, Chancellor of Cambridge University, Dean of Wells, and, though a layman, the holder of other ecclesiastical benefices,[1] and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Thus did Henry VIII delight to accumulate offices in the hands of one man.[2] Without mentioning now the evidence of his oppressions and dishonesty, let us take the story of his fall from power. This came with all the sudden retribution in which Henry VIII delighted. His attainder contains, amongst other charges, "(He) hath acquired and obtained into his possession by oppression, bribery, extorted power and false promises" immense sums of money and treasures. He was sent to the Tower, June 10, 1540. The following day the King sent a herald through the streets of London to proclaim that Cromwell had been stripped of every title or dignity he had, and was to be known as "Thomas Cromwell, Cloth Carder." London broke forth into transports of joy, and on July 28 "The Cloth Carder" met his fate on Tower Hill.[3]

The Suppression of the Monasteries.

Thomas Cromwell's was the guiding hand in carrying out the Acts of Parliament for the Suppression of the

[1] Record Office, Chapter House Books, 30 Hen. VIII. "Item, Mr. Gostwyke for the firstfruits of my Lord's divers benefices." "Item, the tenths for Deanery of Wells."

[2] Campbell's *Lives of the English Chancellors.* "(Cromwell's career) more resembled that of a slave at once constituted grand vizier in an Eastern despotism than of a minister of state promoted in a constitutional government where law, usage and public opinion check the capricious humours of the sovereign."

[3] As some set-off against these severe, yet justly deserved, words, we record two things of value which the English Church owes to Cromwell as its Vicar-General:—

a. The institution of Parish Registers in 1538.

b. The Great Bible of 1539.

Monasteries and the leader in the visitations upon which this suppression was founded.[1] Roman Catholic writers to this day speak of the English religious houses as abodes of piety and learning which were rudely visited, grossly maligned and ruthlessly destroyed.[2] Protestant writers have described them as homes in which unspeakable deeds of sin were secretly committed, and whose destruction was demanded in the interests of morals. Between these two views we must adopt Horace's advice, "in medio tutissimus ibis."[3] In the sixteenth century the monastic life in England was more than a thousand years old. The establishment of each new order was a sincere attempt to recover the lost ideals of the older ones. In the zenith of their power the monasteries attracted the gifts of the most faithful and pious in the land. To leave a legacy to a monastery was the surest passport to Paradise. The glamour of the "religious" captivated the imaginations of men and women who regarded the "secular" parish priest and the parish church as commonplace. The Crown and bishops assisted by appropriating the greater tithes of the parish to the religious houses, thus making them rectors, whilst the vicar or deputy of the monastery subsisted on the miserable pittance left in the smaller tithes.[4]

[1] For the instruction for visitation see Burnet, *History of the Reformation, Collection of Records*, book iii., 1, 2 and 6.

[2] Dr. Gasquet takes a juster view in *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, chap. i. "It would be affectation to suggest that the vast regular body in England was altogether free from grosser faults and immoralities, but it is unjust to regard them as existing to any but a very limited extent. . . . Human nature in all ages of the world is the same. The religious habit, though a safeguard, gives no absolute immunity from the taint of fallen nature."

[3] See *History of the English Church*, vol. iii., by Canon Capes, chaps. xiv. ("The Monastic Life") and xv. ("Friars and Pilgrims"). Also the *Coming of the Friars*, by Canon Jessopp, D.D.

[4] Take the great Saxon parish of Dewsbury in West Yorkshire. In 1348 the rectory of Dewsbury, with all the manorial rights, passed by Royal Grant to the newly-founded College of S. Stephen, Westminster. The rector was provided for by being made a canon of the College, and all the greater tithes paid in

And now premising that the conflict of the English Church with Rome was coming to a decision, we proceed to examine the several steps whereby the Reformation was begun. England has protested for centuries against the encroachments of popes, against their shameful greed, their trafficking in benefices and holy things, and against their subsidies on the clergy for their own continental wars. The Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire have been evaded by every artifice and rendered void by the secret compliance of English bishops, who were bound by the oaths of allegiance to the Popes. The day of reckoning had come, and it remained to be seen if England was sufficiently powerful and resolute to assert and maintain its own independence as a nation. It is impossible to separate the questions of Church and State. The Papal authority had long been prejudicial to both religion and government by depriving the King and Parliament of their rights and by extracting great treasure from the country. Had Rome withdrawn her claims to intermeddle with all State affairs, it is quite possible that the spiritual authority of the Bishop of Rome would not have been denied. But the two went together, and freedom for Church and State was possible only upon the condition that both claims were refused. This was the decision of King and Convocation and Parliament, and their joint measures extinguished for ever in England the authority of the Bishop of Rome.

Henry VIII argued with justice that he could not rule in his own realm so long as the popes claimed, under oath, the allegiance of the bishops and clergy.

Dewsbury went henceforth to Westminster. At the dissolution of the monasteries these, worth £1000 a year, went to the Crown, and since that time they have been held by grant, descent or purchase by various persons. The Archbishop of York joined in his share of the grant, which was made with the unanimous and express consent of his beloved sons of the Chapter of York, and was done to the praise of God, the growth of His worship, and the increase of the number of labourers in the Lord's field. All then were agreed that they were doing God service by robbing a parish in Yorkshire and endowing a collegiate church in Westminster.

Before we proceed to the details whereby the great emancipation was effected, it will be well to say something of the character of this notable ruler of men, who, with all his faults and vices, was a great Englishman and the author of a truly national spirit, which was carried to complete success by his illustrious daughter, Queen Elizabeth.

The Character of Henry VIII.

Henry VIII is one of the most notable figures in English History, both in his personal character and in the extent of the power he wielded in both Church and State. All his great achievements were carried out with the consent of Parliament, and the more important Church legislation with the concurrence of Convocation, and for this reason readers of history stand aghast at his success. We must remember, however, that limitations upon the power of the Crown had not been defined in the days of the Tudors, and resistance to the royal will was met with threats of treason and the prospect of Tower Hill. Under the Stuart Kings the prerogatives of the Crown were defined and finally limited after many years of bitter strife, which included the Civil War and the temporary destruction of the throne.

Henry's matrimonial troubles loom large in his own life and in history, and he was contemptuously called "the greatest widower in Europe." The troubles had their origin in Henry VII's penurious nature, which caused him to betroth a boy of twelve to the widow of Prince Arthur sooner than lose a handsome dowry. Prince Henry, when fourteen, made a formal protest that his marriage with Catherine of Arragon had been arranged without his consent, but upon his coming to the throne he entered into the marriage of his own free choice. A Papal dispensation was necessary and this was obtained, as many similar ones had been, to please kings and emperors. Archbishop Warham and some of the older councillors of the throne protested and questioned the propriety of marriage with a deceased

brother's wife, but all in vain, because the Pope was acting under pressure from England and Spain, which he was not politically powerful enough to resist. The dispensation was carefully worded to provide for every contingency, and, in addition to the one sent to England, a second, differently worded, was secretly given to Ferdinand of Spain to quiet his scruples.

Whatever misgivings haunted Henry VIII in the early years of his married life, and there is evidence that these did exist, nothing was done and little said on the subject until it became evident that Queen Catherine would not bear him a male heir to the throne, and still more until the unworthy and unlawful passion for Anne Boleyn had become the controlling power in all his actions.

The King expected the Pope to meet his wishes in declaring his first marriage null and void, nor was the expectation ill-founded, as the Popes of those days, so far from being the great moral rulers of Christendom, had shown themselves frequently the humble servants of kings, playing off one against another and threading their way as best they could through the intricacy of political and national intrigues. Queen Catherine was the great obstacle to success. She resolutely refused to do anything which would cast a doubt upon the validity of her marriage, and persisted in her statement that, though married to Prince Arthur, she became the wife of Henry VIII without any physical or canonical objection to their union. The Pope, through the Cardinals Campeggio and Wolsey, urged her to end the whole matter by retiring into a nunnery, but in her conscious innocence she presented an unsurmountable barrier to every suggestion of action which would incriminate her. At last Cranmer was induced to declare the marriage void. Five days later he pronounced the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn valid. In three years he was called upon to pronounce the divorce of Queen Anne, and after her death Henry declared both the princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to be illegitimate. The next marriage with Lady Jane Seymour brought

Henry his long-desired male heir, with the death of the mother about the time of the birth.

If Henry VIII had not himself violated every human and divine law in his married life, his experiences might be viewed as a mingled tragedy and comedy. Anne of Cleves was quite willing to be divorced, and, being liberally endowed with estates, lived on excellent terms with the King and his successors until her death in 1558. Catherine Howard was false to her marriage vow and deserved her fate, and Catherine Parr rightly succeeded in retaining her husband's confidence and affection for the four years she was his wife. Thus ends the story of Henry VIII's matrimonial troubles. If he was unfortunate, it must never be forgotten that he cruelly treated his first and best wife. The rest is largely the consequence of his own self-will and uncontrollable passions.

With regard to the great changes in the Church brought about during his reign, Henry was the originator of most of them. In the eyes of Roman Catholic writers he is a monster of lust and blood, while Queen Mary is held free of blame for the "Smithfield Fires" because they were carried out either by her ministers or were forced upon her by the inflexible obstinacy of men accessible to no force of argument or reason. Thus is history written, and thus do we judge events by our preconceived convictions. No English Churchman will call Henry VIII a hero or a saint, but he was a great king, who led the national sentiment and finally destroyed the Roman power which had been used for centuries to oppress the English Church.

Dr. Plummer (*English Church History*, 1509–1575) gives an excellent summary of Henry VIII's character and work. "He could be fickle and heartless and revengeful. But he had a sense of duty and a determined purpose as a king, and he was a man of light and leading. His work was a true and lasting expression of the needs and aspirations of his age. Like his character, it was mixed with base elements. But however much self-will and self-interest and sensuality may have

helped to urge him on, in the rupture with Rome, in the abolition of an antiquated and perfectly corrupted monasticism, and in the endeavour to establish a purified and simplified Catholicism as the religion, he was fighting on the side of truth and light and progress."

And now, leaving the character of the chief actor, we look at the resolute series of events which effected the breach with Rome. On May 15, 1532, the clergy in Convocation submitted to the claim of Royal Supremacy. This was under the presidency of Warham and not of Cranmer, and was passed in these terms, "of the English Church and clergy of which we recognize his Majesty as the singular protector, the only supreme governor, and, so far as the law of Christ permits, even the supreme head." [1] In the same year appeals to Rome in all cases were prohibited. The Act of Parliament declares that "this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head, a king, having dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same." The spirituality and temporality are both bound to bear next to God a natural and humble obedience to the King. In cases temporal the people are to be judged by temporal judges, and in cases spiritual by judges of the spirituality who are "sufficient and meet for that end." This legislation was based upon ancient claims, and the appeals to Rome were forbidden in accordance with every claim made in the past that all causes, testamentary, matrimonial, of divorces, of tithes, oblations and obventions, ought to be finally determined within the King's jurisdiction.

In 1533 Parliament transferred the payment of the firstfruits of benefices from Rome to the Crown, and in the same year Peter's-pence was abolished, and the power of issuing dispensations was taken from the Pope and vested in the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop, however, was not to grant dispensations in any case not accustomed without licence from the King or

[1] For the meaning of "Head of the Church" see Appendix C, p. 207.

Privy Council, and after being issued they were to be confirmed under the Great Seal, enrolled in Chancery, and were to be as good in law as if they had been obtained from the see of Rome.

In 1534 the Act of Supremacy was passed,[1] and two years later a further Act was passed for extinguishing the authority of the Bishop of Rome of whatever kind. The Act of Supremacy was in force for twenty years, and when renewed under Elizabeth it did not contain the phrase "Supreme Head of the Church of England." It was under this Act that the monasteries were suppressed. Henry VIII appointed Thomas Cromwell as his Vicar-General,[2] and the work of destruction began. I do not propose to tell again the oft-told tale. We cannot trust either the preambles of Acts of Parliament

[1] In view of the importance of this Act, I give its words—

"Albeit the King's majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognized by the clergy of this realm in their convocations, yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirp all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same: be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament, that the King our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana ecclesia; and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining; and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity and tranquillity of this realm; any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

[2] For the royal injunctions of Henry VIII see *Visitations, Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, vol. ii., pp. 1 and 311, by Dr. Frere.

or the Reports of Commissioners.[1] The lesser monasteries were suppressed in 1536 "for as much as manifest sin, vicious, carnal and abominable living is daily used and committed among the little and small abbeys, priories and other religious houses of monks, canons and nuns." The object of the Act is stated to be to suppress vice and to fill the greater monasteries, "wherein (thanks be to God) religion is right well kept and observed." Three years later the greater monasteries were legally dissolved because "divers and sundry abbots, priors, abbesses, prioresses, etc., of their own free and voluntary minds, good wills and assents, without constraint, coaction or compulsion of any manner of person or persons," had surrendered their respective religious houses and possessions into the King's hands.[2]

Such is history written in Acts of Parliament! Most did surrender their houses after interviews with Thomas Cromwell and his fellow-commissioners, and they were rewarded with pensions or benefices, but it is libel upon

[1] For the instructions for the general visitation of the monasteries see Burnet, *Collection of Records*, book iii., no. 1.

[2] A confession generally accompanied the surrender, of which the following is a specimen—

"For as much as we Richard Green, Abbot of our Monastery of our Blessed Lady S. Mary of Betlesden and the Convent of the said Monastery do profoundly consider that the whole manner and trade of living which we and our pretensed religion have practised and used many days does most principally consist in certain dumb ceremonies and other certain constitutions of the Bishop of Rome and other Forinsecal Potentates as the Abbot of Cistens and therein only noseled and not taught in the true knowledge of God's laws, procuring always exemptions of the Bishop of Rome from our Ordinaries and Diocesans; submitting ourselves principally to Forinsecal Potentates and Powers which never came here to reform such disorders of living and abuses as now have been found to have reigned amongst us. And therefore now assuredly knowing that the most perfect way of living is most principally and sufficiently declared unto us by our Master Christ, His Evangelists and Apostles, and that it is most expedient for us to be governed and ordered by our Supream Head under God, the King's most noble grace, with our mutual assent and consent Submit ourselves and every one of us to the most benign mercy of the King's Majesty and by these presents do surrender," etc. (Burnet's *Collection of Records*, book iii., no. 3, section 4.)

a great system to represent its destruction as due to free and voluntary acts without compulsion of any manner of person or persons.[1]

The monasteries of England in any case ceased to exist, their art treasures were stolen or dissipated, their splendid churches were stripped of their lead roofs, every article of value was removed and the walls were left to the decay of time. The great endowments of land were forfeited to the Crown, and institutions venerable with a history of centuries disappeared from the religious life of England. At the distance of three and a half centuries of time we may dispassionately try to answer the question, Was there a sufficient reason for all this? There was no good reason for the wanton destruction of historical treasures and the pulling down of houses and churches nobly planned. Had Wolsey lived and remained in power the monasteries would have met a different fate. Possibly no one could have saved them for the same purposes of the religious life, but what splendid use might have been made of them for the causes of charity and education.

This leads me to speak of their position in the educational system of England. To rightly estimate this we must first understand the position of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and realise the important part they played in mediaeval English life. They were largely independent of the monastic system. In many cases the Colleges were founded of the spoils of suppressed priories, and their whole influence was concen-

[1] In 1539 the so-called voluntary surrenders were proceeding apace when the three great Abbots, those of Glastonbury, Reading and Colchester, refused to surrender, and were indited "ob negatam Henrici pontificam potestatem." The proceedings were a mockery of justice, and Cromwell, in notes written with his own hand, records in his instructions, "item, the Abbot of Glaston to be tried at Glaston and also executed there." They had doubtless offended against the laws of their country in refusing the oath, but the circumstances of their trial are sad and humiliating reading, and they were just as much martyrs to their faith as were Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer to theirs some sixteen years later.

trated upon an education more liberal than that given in the monasteries. They were also less under the influence of Rome than the monasteries, which were the outposts and strongholds of the Papal power in passive resistance to the bishops and to every one save the heads of their own orders.

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The two great English Universities have a history reaching back into a remote past, and a great effort of the imagination is required to understand their origin. They did not spring into existence at any given time, nor were they founded by any one charter of incorporation. A "university" is merely a society or guild of men bound together in some common object. The townsmen generally of Oxford are described in formal documents of the Middle Ages as a university. The term was finally applied to those who were banded together for study. A degree was the certificate of a diploma which declared that the possessor was capable of exercising the office of a teacher. The University of Paris provided the principles upon which both Oxford and Cambridge were finally modelled. Long after the Universities were fully founded, with every officer, from the Chancellor downwards, there were no residential colleges. The student's life in the early Middle Ages was a hard and unenviable one. A boy in age, he was left, with little discipline, to spend his time in mean lodgings, and, apart from attendance at lectures, he was largely master of himself. The greatest educational reform came with the establishment of colleges in which the student lived subject to rule. Then the various expedients of hired rooms, halls, hostels and inns began to disappear, until the revival in the nineteenth century of the admission to university privileges of "unattached students." The students were generally poor boys whose education fees at the Universities were provided by kings, bishops and nobles, and this was regarded as a duty which men in high office owed to those born on their estates. Merton

(1247) and Balliol were the earliest residential colleges at Oxford,[1] and Peterhouse the first at Cambridge (1284). The Statutes of Merton exhibit an incorporated body of secular students who are not bound by the perpetual vows of poverty, chastity or obedience. They contain the restriction that *nemo religiosus,* i.e. no person belonging to any of the monastic orders shall be admitted on the foundation. To speak of the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge as monastic institutions is to display a profound ignorance of the history of education in England. With few exceptions, the colleges were founded to supplant the monasteries. Their design was to train a better educated priesthood for the charge of parishes, whilst all the education given in the monasteries was directed to the object of fitting a man mentally and spiritually to accept the life of a monk.

The Statutes of Peterhouse largely follow those of Merton, and the foundation was to be non-monastic. If any student entered a monastery he was allowed a year of grace, after which his scholarship was vacated, because the revenues of the College were designed for those who were actual students and desirous of making progress. Other colleges followed in rapid succession during the next two and a half centuries to the time of the Reformation. Before about 1300, men left their wealth to found monasteries, and afterwards their gifts were directed to the universities. The whole movement represented a rebellion against the power of the monasteries, but no hostility to the Church. Meantime the monastic schools declined in influence, and the monasteries grew only in pride and arrogance. The courses of study were wider and more liberal than in the monasteries, and whilst in some colleges the Statutes permit the study of canon law, in others it is expressly prohibited. The study of civil law, medicine, logic, arts and theology were all encouraged, and the colleges were in many cases linked with grammar schools in the country, and their privileges

[1] The claim of University College to a much older date of foundation has been disproved. See *History of the University of Oxford*, by Maxwell Lyte, pp. 243–248.

were confined to specified counties or districts or to the founder's kin.

English Grammar Schools.

The whole history of English grammar schools has now to be re-written in the light of the information recently published respecting them. The generally received idea has been that the monasteries were almost the only houses of education, and that by their dissolution an irretrievable wrong was done to the youth of England.

Mr. Leach [1] has rudely destroyed the credibility of this oft-repeated story and shown that all the facts are opposed to it. With regard to schools connected with monasteries, he says, "As ordinaries in their 'peculiars,' as rich landlords and as trustees for other people, it is certain they may have controlled or even founded and maintained some Grammar Schools. The common belief and oft-repeated assertion that all the education in the Middle Ages was done by monks is quite wrong. Whether the monks ever affected even to keep a Grammar School for any but their own novices, among whom outsiders were not admitted, is doubtful. Is there a single instance on record in the days of records of a monk teaching an ordinary Grammar School? There are divers cases recorded where a secular schoolmaster was employed to teach the novices. Certain it is that at the period with which we are concerned monks had little to do with general education and less with learning."

The country was studded with free grammar schools. Who, then, did found them and carry on their teaching? First there were the cathedral schools, which trace their descent in the cathedrals of the old foundation from times anterior to the Norman Conquest. Next comes a large class of schools connected with the collegiate

[1] *English Schools at the Reformation*, 1546–1548, by Arthur F. Leach, M.A., F.S.A.

churches such as Beverley, Ripon, Shrewsbury, etc. College schools were founded by the orders of friars. "These men," says Mr. Leach,[1] "took the universities by storm, they gave an enormous impetus to learning, they stayed the tide of monkery, and at the same time woke up the secular clergy, who by this time were enforced celibates like the monks, to the need of combination in corporations if they were to hold their own in the duties and emoluments of Church and State. Hence a new era of collegiate churches and a marvellous new crop of colleges arose." There were also the song schools connected with cathedrals and collegiate churches, which were not merely singing schools, and which perished almost wholly under Edward VI. Here boys were taught music and organ-playing, so that before the reign of Edward VI England was the land of song and the English were described by Erasmus as the musical people.

The education of the people of England was, therefore, not in the hands of the monasteries, and so far from the Reformers founding education, they did no more than restore a miserable remnant of the property they took from the chantries and churches.[2]

Dr. Jessopp [3] has given a fascinating picture of parish life in the Middle Ages before what he calls the Great Pillage, which was not the dissolution of the monasteries, but the robbery of the parish churches under Edward VI, when they were despoiled of their local endowments and of their wealth of furniture and valuables. "It is nonsense," he says, "to say that it was owing to the suppression of the monasteries that new devices were resorted to to save the poor from starving. Pauperism came in, not by the suppression of the monasteries, but by the disendowment of the parishes."

There were also schools connected with hospitals, guilds and chantries. Independent schools came to be

[1] *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 20.
[2] See Appendix D. Sedbergh and Giggleswick.
[3] Dr. Jessopp, *Before the Great Pillage*.

founded, some in direct connection with their own universities, and others with more limited local aspirations. In some cases men in Holy Orders were not necessarily chosen as head masters, or were expressly excluded by the Statutes. Three successive head masters of York Cathedral Grammar School in the fifteenth century were laymen, and the head master of Winchester in 1535 was also one. Dean Colet, in founding S. Paul's School, London, provided that the head master was to be a layman, a wedded man or a single man, or a priest that hath no benefice with cure. At Manchester the head master was to be "a single man, priest or not priest, so that he be no religious man," *i. e.* not a monk. Archbishop Holgate of York founded three schools in Yorkshire, and provided for one of them that the head master might be married and a layman. Here we have evidence of a distinct desire to exclude the monasteries from a share in education. When the monasteries, therefore, fell, much less harm was done to education than has been supposed, though the ministry of the Church suffered for many years because students had been supported at the Universities by the monasteries out of their funds and promoted to benefices in their own gift, and, as Bishop Latimer laments, there were few in his days who would help poor scholars. "In those days (before the Dissolution) what did they when they helped the scholars? Marry! they maintained and gave them ways that were very Papist and professed the Pope's doctrine; and now that the knowledge of God's Word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labour to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them."

In one particular the loss of the nunnery and convent schools meant an untold harm. Such education as the girls of England had was received almost wholly in the convent schools, and until the nineteenth century no systematic scheme of higher education for women was established. To pursue the subject a moment or two longer, Mr. Leach shows that the reputation of Edward VI as the founder of schools and patron saint of industrious schoolboys can no longer be sustained. He—or rather the

Protector—and others were the despoilers of schools, and did no more than re-establish some of the older grammar schools with a small portion of the great wealth which came to them from the suppression of the chantries.

Let us pursue a little further the story of English Church schools in pre-Reformation days. The Chancellor of the Cathedral—a different person from the Chancellor of the Diocese, a high legal functionary, who was originally the custodian of the bishop's seal—was the head of the faculty of divinity whose duty it was to lecture publicly in divinity.[1] Next there was the cathedral grammar school, and when in the eight cathedrals of the new foundation the conventual chapters were replaced by new Statutes appointing a dean and chapter, this necessary adjunct was provided. These grammar schools, attached to the nine cathedrals of the old foundation, trace their descent from the very beginning of the churches themselves. The music of the cathedral was taught in the choir or song schools, so that every cathedral provided its own complete educational system.

The great collegiate churches whose names are mentioned in the Domesday Book were amongst the most important ecclesiastical institutions of the country, and were largely engaged in educational work, and the maintenance of a grammar school was their primary duty. I name some only of the best known, the Colleges of Beverley, Chester, Crediton, Ripon, Shrewsbury, Southwell, Stafford, Tamworth, Warwick and Wimborne. In these great schools a large proportion of the youth of England was educated.

The hospitals in different parts of England were established for the benefit of the poor rather than for the sick, and so a school for the use of the poor was a part of their equipment. Every one is familiar with the City Guilds and Companies. They were the equivalent of the modern trade unions and were established to protect a given industry. In addition, however, they were both

[1] See the Statutes of S. Paul's, London, and Report of Cathedral Commission, 1880.

charitable and educational in their aims, and then, as now, great schools belonged to the City Guilds. The Merchants' Guilds at York had as many as twenty-eight grammar schools.

But the largest class of humbler schools was that connected with the chantries. A chantry was an endowment for a priest to sing for the repose of the soul of some dead person, but we are not to think of the poor despised chantry priests as the poverty-stricken and greedy persons history has called them. There were chantries everywhere connected with cathedrals and parish churches, and the chantry priests, besides saying chantry masses and assisting in the other services, were engaged in charitable work for the poor and in providing free elementary education in most of the chief parishes. Latimer's Injunctions for Worcester Diocese (1537) say, "That ye and every one of you that be chantry priests do instruct and teach the children of your parish such as will come to you, at the least to read English."[1] This was no new injunction, but a reminder of the duty belonging to the office of chantry priest.

In addition to all the above provision, England had also, though of more recent foundation, independent schools connected with neither cathedral nor monastery, and founded for the sole purpose of promoting education.

It is seen, then, how unjust is the statement which attributes all education in the Middle Ages to the monasteries. The monasteries were always more or less of an exotic in English Church life, the age-long opponents of the parish priest and the plunderers of his endowments. In government they were monarchical, and in marked contrast to the full and free corporate Church life of the parishes.[2] They were self-centred and imperious, and the life of the parishes in both worship and education proceeded on its own way without any help from the monasteries, and generally with definite hindrance and opposition from them.

[1] For further evidence see *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, by Dr. Frere, vol. ii., pp. 17, 56, 63, 85, 129.

[2] See *Parish Priests and their People* (S.P.C.K.).

In closing this lecture I pass no judgment in detail upon the suppression of the monasteries except this, that it followed almost inevitably from the breach with Rome, and it fell upon institutions which had largely outlived their social and religious value. The accumulation of wealth which thus passed into lay hands had much to do with the stability of the Reformation progress, for not even Queen Mary and her Roman Catholic Parliament dared to touch these possessions or claim them again for the Church. The Act for repealing all articles and provisions made against the see of Rome was also for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity. Convocation petitioned the Crown, stating that the clergy resigned all rights to those possessions of which the clergy had been deprived, and their readiness to acquiesce in every arrangement made by Cardinal Pole. The Cardinal in reply decreed that "the possessors of Church property should not, either now or hereafter, be molested under pretence of any canons or councils, decreeing of popes or censures of the Church, for which purpose in virtue of the authority vested in him he took from all spiritual courts and judges the cognisance of these matters, and pronounced beforehand all such processes and judgments invalid and of no effect."

THOMAS CRANMER[1]

1489–1556[2]

CRANMER was born at Aslacton in Nottinghamshire in 1489 of an honourable family which possessed some

[1] Cranmer is a place-name and was originally spelt Cranemere, thus Hugh de Cranemere (1273), William Cranemere, Rector of Bawsey (1414). Next it is written Cranmere, and finally Cranmer. It was the name of a low, swampy country at Long Melford, Suffolk, and there was a manor called Cranmer at Sutterton in Lincolnshire ("an ancient mansion house of antiquity called Cranmer Hall"). The arms of the family contained three cranes, which were not so much a play on the name as evidence of its origin, which signifies a mere or lake abounding in cranes. Henry VIII changed the cranes to pelicans, which were fabled to feed their young with their own blood, saying to Cranmer, "You are like to be tested if you stand to your tackling." The family, like many others, had traditions of descent from the times of William the Conqueror, and whilst Cranmer entertained a visitor of the same name at Lambeth in token of a common origin, he recognised the comparatively obscure and humble history of his family, saying, "I take it that none of us all here, being gentlemen born, but had our beginnings that way from a low and base parentage." There was, or is, a stained glass window in Sutterton church in Lincolnshire to the memory of Hugh Cranmer in the fourteenth century. In the only extant letter written before his consecration and signed by his own hand, Cranmer writes "Thomas Cranmar." When he became Archbishop his signature was "Thomas Cantuar."

[2] Born 1489. Entered at Jesus College, Cambridge, 1503. Fellow 1510. First marriage, 1511 (about). Elected Fellow a second time, 1512. Refused Wolsey's offer of a Canonry at Cardinal College, Oxford, 1524 (about). (Doubts have been cast upon this offer. The first Canon, who became Sub-Dean in 1527, was Thomas Canner. Foxe, author of the *Book of Martyrs*, and others make the statement, but they may have confused the two names. It is stated that Dr. Capon, Master of Jesus College, recommended him.) Pope's Penitentiary in England, 1529. Archdeacon of Taunton, 1531 (there is no entry in the register of

landed property there. His father, who was very desirous to have him learned, died when his son was twelve years old, and seems to have left him a portion of the estate, for in 1529 a State Paper speaks of "Mr. Dr. Cranmer" as one who had corn to dispose of in the parish of Aslacton in a time of famine. He was taught by a rude parish clerk, who proved a "marvellous severe and cruel schoolmaster." Afterwards he attended a neighbouring school, probably Southwell Collegiate School, until he entered, at the age of fourteen, at the then newly founded Jesus College, Cambridge. He gives a lamentable account of his college tutor, who was so ignorant that he used to skip any hard chapter. For eight years he worked at logic and philosophy in the dark riddles of Duns Scotus, and then began to read good Latin authors. Afterwards he devoted many years to the study of the Holy Scriptures. He was a slow reader, but a diligent marker of what he read. With pen in hand he would write out passages for references, noting both the author and place, and these were ready for reference afterwards. Greek was then only beginning to be studied at Cambridge, and Cranmer's chief studies were in Latin. In these years of study he must have laid the foundation of that knowledge of English for which he became famous, though there is not much trace in his official letters as Archbishop of that charm of style which marks his liturgical writings. He pursued his studies with unremitting assiduity for many years, and Erasmus speaks of him at the time of his appointment as Archbishop as "a professed theologian and a most upright man of spotless life."

Bath and Wells, but during his short tenure of the office Cranmer might easily draw the emoluments without being licensed by the Bishop). Married a second time, Margaret, niece of Osiander, Pastor of Nuremberg, 1532. Archbishop of Canterbury, 1533. Burnt at Oxford, 1556. There is no evidence that Cranmer was ever chaplain to Anne Boleyn or her father, though he lived in the house (at Durham Place) of the latter by order of Henry VIII to study the King's marriage question. He was a Royal Chaplain before he became Archbishop. After he became Archbishop his usual designation of himself in writing to the King was "Your Grace's most bounden Chaplain and Beadsman."

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER. [*Page* 81.

In his twenty-third year he forfeited his fellowship by marriage. His wife was a gentleman's daughter related to the wife of the keeper of the Dolphin Inn at Cambridge. The inns of that day supplied the place of the modern club, and there was nothing incongruous in the Fellow of a college finding his wife there. His enemies in later years made this the subject of jest and malice, and called him "an innkeeper" or "an ostler" [1] who had been raised to great dignity and power. As Mrs. Cranmer died within twelve months, her husband was re-elected Fellow and shortly afterwards ordained. During his short married life he supported himself as common-reader at Buckingham (Magdalene) College. The years passed uneventfully for the young student, and yet he grew in knowledge and university reputation. In 1526 he became D.D., and subsequently was appointed examiner for the same degree and lecturer in divinity at his own college. It is said that as early as 1525 he

[1] An ignorant northern priest said of Cranmer: "What make you of him? He was but an hoseler and hath no more learning than the goslings that go yonder on the green." Some one reported this to Thomas Cromwell, who sent the priest to the Fleet prison and left him there for some time. The Archbishop, hearing of it, sent for the man, who denied having ever spoken the words. The accuser, who was present, called him a dastardly dolt and varlet, whereupon the priest fell on his knees and besought the Archbishop to forgive him, as he was drunk when he spoke the words. "Ah," said Cranmer, "this is somewhat, and yet it is no good excuse, for drunkenness evermore uttereth that which hath hid in the heart of man when he is sober." The Archbishop then asked him about his own learning, and found he could not say who was David's father or Solomon's father. The priest pleaded that his only study had been to service and mass, which he could do as well as any priest in the North. He was then dismissed with words of reproof and advice, released from prison and sent to his parish: "God amend you, forgive you and send you better minds." This story is a very characteristic one of the Archbishop, who always found it hard to bear any resentment. For this he has been called weak, and perhaps he was, but he had before him the words, "Pray for those that despitefully use you and persecute you." In some greater matters his gentleness became weakness and led him into acts of moral cowardice. It became a common saying, "Do unto my Lord of Canterbury displeasure or a shrewd turn, and then you may be sure to have him your friend whiles he liveth."

began to pray in private for the abolition of the papal power in England.

One of Cranmer's bitterest enemies,[1] describing his character, says: "He had in his favour a dignified presence adorned with a semblance of goodness, considerable reputation for learning and manners so courteous, kindly, and pleasant that he seemed like an old friend to those whom he encountered for the first time. He gave signs of modesty, seriousness, and application."

Cranmer sought no office and aspired to no dignity. His quiet routine of study and teaching satisfied all his ambitions, and he probably desired nothing more than to remain all his days in the tranquil round of academic life, when one of those events which we sometimes call accidents occurred, which brought him unwillingly into public life, and led him through all the eventful years of his stirring episcopate to the stake at Oxford.

We are now to trace in outline what he did and how he served the Church from 1530 to 1556.

Cranmer's Entry upon Public Life.

In July 1529 Campeggio, to avoid a decision, suspended the marriage question over the vacation. In August Henry VIII arranged for summoning the Parliament which has become known as the Reformation Parliament, and which sat without prorogation for seven years. He then went on a hunting expedition to Waltham. Two heads of Cambridge Houses, Fox, Provost of King's, and Gardiner, Master of Trinity Hall, were with Henry VIII as members of his household. They were quartered for convenience in Cressy's house. In the same month the plague broke out at Cambridge, and Cranmer, who was tutor to Cressy's sons, took them home for refuge from danger. The three Cambridge scholars naturally spoke of the great national question, and Cranmer expressed the opinion that the Universities were the proper authorities to decide the matter. He said he was no lawyer, but a theologian, and thought

[1] *Bishop Cranmer's Recantacyons*, Ed. Gardiner, p. 3.

the question should be taken out of the hands of lawyers and submitted to the divines.[1] The suggestion contained the germ from which all subsequent action grew. To contemplate any other authority than that of Rome in a matter of marriage was to raise a standard of revolt. When the conversation was repeated to the King he "commanded them to send for Dr. Cranmer, and so by and by, being sent for, he came to the King's presence at Greenwich."[2] The result of the interview was that Cranmer was ordered by Henry VIII to write his mind on the divorcement, and was sent to the house of the Earl of Wiltshire, Anne Boleyn's father, for the purpose. Cranmer's work was circulated in manuscript. Dr. Croke was sent to search the libraries in Italy, and to secure the adhesion of the learned men in the universities there. The King secured in 1530, under circumstances highly unworthy, a vote in his favour from the University of Cambridge.[3] Gardiner and Fox engineered this vote, and Cranmer took no personal part in it, because at the end of 1529 he had been sent to Italy to negotiate terms with Clement VII. The Pope received him with graciousness and compliments, and appointed him "Penitentiary," an office of much money value. He returned, however, to England in September 1530, without having accomplished anything of value.

From this time Henry VIII took matters into his own hands. Cranmer was in England until January 1532, but he seems to have taken no public part in Convocation or Parliamentary proceedings. At this time he was

[1] "We must recollect that the Universities were then regarded not only as establishments for education, but as supreme tribunals for the decisions of scientific questions." (Ranke's *History of the Reformation.*)

[2] A report, resting on no contemporary authority, states that Cranmer added "neither Pope nor any other Potentate, neither in cases civil or ecclesiastical, had anything to do with the King or any of his actions within his own realm and dominion," and that the King's words in hearing the advice were, "Mother of God, that man has the right sow by the ear." Both statements are extremely probable, and if not spoken at the time, may have been uttered later.

[3] See *History of Cambridge*, by J. Bass Mullinger, vol. i., p. 618.

sent abroad as ambassador of the Emperor Charles V, and remained in Germany for about a year, until he was recalled to occupy the vacant see of Canterbury. Before his return and under the primacy of Archbishop Warham various steps were taken towards separation from Rome. Warham was more than eighty years of age, and too enfeebled in health to resist the King's wish. Reginald Pole, after refusing the bribe of York or Winchester, was in disgrace.[1] Gardiner was now made Bishop of Winchester, and, with his eyes on Canterbury, was complacent and yielding whilst making a show of resistance.

In 1531 the King compelled the reluctant Convocation to pass a declaration and subscribe in this form: "We acknowledge his Majesty to be the singular Protector only and Supreme Head, and so far as the laws of Christ allow, even Supreme Head of the English Church and Clergy."[2] This was only part of what the King demanded. The Court of King's Bench had convicted the whole body of the clergy, under the Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire (1393) as guilty for having

[1] "I requested my brother to sound the King's mind," writes Pole, "as he did . . . having found an opportunity for conversing with the King in a privy garden where he chanced to walk with him, he related the whole circumstance. On hearing him, and after remaining a long while thoughtful and silent, Henry exclaimed that he had read my writing and that I had spoken the truth, nor could its perusal make him feel any anger against me, as, although the writing was very contrary to his wish, he nevertheless recognized in it my love for him and the sincerity with which I had written it; but that, in conclusion, my opinion did not please him, and that he much wished me to change it, in which case he would then prove how dear I was to him."—Cardinal Pole to Protector Somerset, September 1549.

[2] Warham presided over Canterbury Convocation, and when the moment of the fateful vote came, said, "Whoever is silent seems to consent." One voice replied, "Then we are all silent," and so the clause passed the Upper House and was agreed to by the Lower. In York Convocation, Tunstall of Durham, a great and learned Bishop, and Kite of Carlisle, were alone in the Upper House, as Lee was not yet installed at York. Tunstall protested in a letter to Henry, which called forth a reply from the King. The phrase, said Tunstall, was capable of being distorted by the weak or the malignant.

accepted Wolsey as papal legate. Henry was in this matter the chief offender himself, but he acquitted the clergy upon their paying a sum equivalent to about £2,000,000 of our present money. Nor was he appeased by this act of humiliation. His reply to a request of Convocation to protect it in the discharge of its spiritual offices was a demand that it should surrender its power of making canons without the royal licence. In May 1532 Convocation signed the document which is known in history as the "Submission of the Clergy." [1] The same month Henry sent for the Speaker and twelve Members

[1] *The Submission of the Clergy*, A.D. 1532.

"We, your most humble subjects, daily orators and bedesmen of your clergy of England, having our special trust and confidence in your most excellent wisdom, your princely goodness and fervent zeal to the promotion of God's honour and Christian religion, and also in your learning, far exceeding, in our judgment, the learning of all other kings and princes that we have read of, and doubting nothing but that the same shall still continue and daily increase in your majesty—

"First, do offer and promise, in verbo sacerdotii, here unto your highness, submitting ourselves most humbly to the same, that we will never henceforth enact, put in ure, promulge, or execute, any new canons or constitutions provincial, or any other new ordinance, provincial or synodal, in our Convocation or synod in time coming, which Convocation is, always has been, and must be, assembled only by your highness' commandment of writ, unless your highness by your royal assent shall license us to assemble our Convocation, and to make, promulge, and execute such constitutions and ordinances as shall be made in the same; and thereto give your royal assent and authority.

"Secondly, that whereas divers of the constitutions, ordinances, and canons, provincial or synodal, which have been heretofore enacted, be thought to be not only much prejudicial to your prerogative royal, but also overmuch onerous to your highness' subjects, your clergy aforesaid is contented, if it may stand so with your highness' pleasure, that it be committed to the examination and judgment of your grace, and of thirty-two persons, whereof sixteen to be of the upper and nether house of the temporalty, and other sixteen of the clergy, all to be chosen and appointed of your noble grace. So that, finally, whichsoever of the said constitutions, ordinances, or canons, provincial or synodal, shall be thought and determined by your grace and by the most part of the said thirty-two persons not to stand with God's laws and the laws of your realm, the same to be abrogated and taken away by your grace and the clergy; and such of them as shall be

of the House of Commons, and complained that the clergy were only half his subjects, thus: "Well-beloved subjects, we thought that the clergy of our realm had been our subjects wholly, but now we have well perceived that they be but half our subjects, yea, and scarce our subjects. For all the prelates at their consecration make an oath to the Pope clean contrary to the oath they make to us, so that they seem his subjects and not ours."

In 1532, the same year, the payment of annates, or firstfruits—*i. e.* one year's profit of spiritual livings—to the Pope was conditionally restrained. By the act of Parliament power was given to the King to delay the confirmation of the act, and this power he used with good effect over the Pope *in terrorem*.[1] The King confirmed the act on July 9, 1532, and the firstfruits were annually paid to the Crown until they were restored to the Church under Queen Anne's Bounty in 1703. A still more drastic and important measure of independence was passed in February 1533, forbidding all appeals of whatever kind from the English Courts to Rome.[2] The principle of the act was that the English Church had always claimed to determine in the King's Courts temporal or spiritual all causes by spiritual jurisdiction, notwithstanding that appeals had been made delaying

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seen by your grace, and by the most part of the said thirty-two persons, to stand with God's laws and the laws of your realm, to stand in full strength and power, your grace's most royal assent and authority once impetrate and fully given to the same."—*Documents illustrative of English Church History*, by Gee and Hardy.

[1] The act states that "our said sovereign the King and all his natural subjects as well spiritual as temporal be as obedient devout catholic and humble children of God and Holy Church as any people be within any realm christened yet the said exactions of annates or firstfruits be so intolerable and importable to this realm that it is considered and declared . . . that the King's highness before Almighty God is bound as by the duty of a good Christian prince . . . to do all that in him is to obviate repress and redress the said abuses and exactions of annates and firstfruits (23 Henry VIII, c. 20).

[2] Appeals to Rome in all cases whatsoever prohibited (24 Henry VIII, c. 12). See Gibson's *Codex*, vol. i., p. 96.

justice and causing great inconvenience and expense. All appeals henceforth were to be tried within the realm in the Courts of the Bishops and Archbishops, and anything touching the King was to be laid before the House of Convocation for final determination. I desire you to note that all these things happened during the episcopate of Archbishop Warham,[1] and when Cranmer the greater part of the time was abroad on embassies in Italy and Germany. The last act restraining appeals was passed after his death and before Cranmer became Archbishop. It is necessary to remember these things in view of the constant assertion by Roman Catholic writers that everything against Rome was done under Cranmer and at his instigation, and that Warham was the last Archbishop who was faithful to Rome. We now come to the beginning of Cranmer's tenure of Canterbury.

Cranmer as Archbishop under Henry VIII.

It is idle to speak of Cranmer as an obscure or unworthy person at the time he became Archbishop. He was a distinguished Cambridge Doctor, a Royal Chaplain, Archdeacon of Taunton, and Pope's Penitentiary in England. For the last four years he had been employed in high office at home and abroad, and had displayed great powers of statesmanship. The Bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) was bitterly disappointed at being passed over, and his hostility to Cranmer dates from this time. Cranmer's long delay in returning to England for consecration and his reluctance to accept office are well known, but the King left him no choice between obedience and perpetual exile. Henry VIII laid his plans carefully and kept his own counsel. He nominated the Archbishop himself, and secured the consent of the Prior and Canons of Christ Church, Canterbury, but, with a view to what was coming, he would have nothing omitted which gave papal sanction to

[1] Warham issued a proclamation in 1531 against all the acts passed in the Parliament to the prejudice of the Church. (Burnet's *Collection of Records*, books i., ii., iii.)

Cranmer. He asked Clement VII for the usual papal confirmation, and obtained it. Eight Bulls were sent confirming and assenting to everything done. Cranmer surrendered his to the King, because he would not own the Pope as the giver of his ecclesiastical dignity.

Thus Cranmer ascended the throne of Canterbury, nominated by his King, consented to by Christ Church, Canterbury, consecrated by English bishops, and confirmed by the Pope and created *Legatus Natus* for England. The consecration took place at S. Stephen's, Westminster, on March 30, 1553.[1] Clement VII was under no delusion in what he did, and only bowed to what was inevitable. Cranmer, in taking the papal oath, "declared that he intended not by the oath that he was to take, to bind himself to do anything contrary to the laws of God, the King's prerogative or to the Commonwealth and Statutes of the Kingdom." He prefaced this papal oath by a protestation, before a notary and witnesses, that he held it to be more a form than a reality. The oath was accepted on these terms, and the circumstances must have been reported to the Pope.

In the previous year, 1532, Henry VIII wrote to the Pope that he separated his marriage cause from the authority of the See Apostolic.[2] Having clothed the Primate of England with the combined authority of the

[1] The consecrating bishops were the Bishop of Lincoln, Bishop of Exeter and Bishop of S. Asaph. See *Episcopal Succession in England*, by Bishop Stubbs, p. 76.

[2] See Henry VIII's last letter to Clement VII: "We do separate from our cause the authority of the See Apostolic which we do perceive to be destitute of that learning whereby it should be directed and because Your Holiness doth ever profess your ignorance and is wont to speak of other men's mouths, we do confer the sayings of those with the sayings of them that be of the contrary opinion: for to confer the reasons it were too long. But now the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford in our realms, Paris, Orleans, Biturisen, Andegavon in France and Bonony in Italy by one consent; and also divers other of the most famous and learned men being freed from all affection and only moved in respect of verity, partly in Italy and partly in France, do affirm the marriage of the brother with the brother's wife to be contrary to the law of God and nature; and also do pronounce that no dispensation can be lawful or available to any Christian man in that behalf."—Burnet's *Collection of Records*.

English Church and the Papal See, Henry VIII brought the controversy of years to an end.[1]

On May 23, 1533, Cranmer, under a commission in which the Bishops of Winchester (Gardiner), London (Stokesley), Bath (Clerk) and Lincoln (Longland) were associated with him, declared the marriage with Catherine to be null and void. Five days later he pronounced the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn valid.[2] On June 1 (Whit-Sunday) Cranmer crowned "our dearest wife the Lady Anne our Queen" with great magnificence at Westminster. Courtiers echoed the stories of her beauty, but the chaste womanhood of England, thinking of the wronged wife at Dunstable, was filled with suppressed indignation. Queen Anne's triumph was short-lived. Largely by her influence, Fisher and More were sent to the block in 1535. Queen Catherine died in January 1536, and upon receipt of the news both Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn showed unseemly joy. On May 17 Cranmer declared the marriage with Anne invalid and her daughter Elizabeth illegitimate. The records of the trial have been destroyed, but she who for ten or twelve years had held the King under the spell of her fascination was judged unfaithful, and ended her unparalleled career on Tower Hill on May 19, 1536.[3] I shall say no more about Henry VIII's matrimonial affairs. Jane Seymour bore him his only

[1] Mason's *Cranmer*, p. 31.

[2] This marriage had taken place in private on January 25 (as is supposed). Burnet, arguing from the date of Elizabeth's birth, September 7, 1533, says it must have taken place in December, 1532. This is special pleading. It is certain that Cranmer did not perform the marriage ceremony, and he declares that he did not know of the marriage until a fortnight after it had taken place. Dr. Mason (*Life of Thomas Cranmer*, 1898) suggests as early as November 14, 1532, but supports this with no adequate evidence.

[3] Cranmer was shocked at the accusations and pleaded with the King, but to no avail. The Queen wrote from prison a very able and pathetic letter protesting her innocence, but from what we know of her literary gifts she must have had assistance in writing it. (Burnet's *Collection of Records*.) Dr. Matthew Parker, her chaplain, was with her about the time it was sent, and it is supposed to be from his pen.

son, and died in child-bed. Anne of Cleves, finding she was not a *persona grata*, acquiesced in the annulment of her marriage, and ended the serio-comic episode by accepting a pension and a comfortable home in England. In 1541 the Councillors importuned Cranmer to inform the King of Catherine Howard's infidelity. He shed tears and was distraught with grief. Men whose own morals are bad are often scrupulous about those of their wives. The tragedy again ended on Tower Hill. Catherine Parr was married to the King by the Bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), and, being a wise and discerning woman, deservedly retained his confidence until his death.

We turn now to the progress of reform, remembering what has already been done and how the Pope has been warned of what is yet to come. In 1534 Parliament passed (25 Henry VIII, c. 19) the Restraint of Appeals. In the same year (25 Henry VIII, c. 21) Papal Dispensations and the payment of Peter's-pence were forbidden and the first Act of Succession was made law. All these passed in the spring of the year, and in November the Supremacy (Supreme Head) Act was passed, which contains no reference to the Convocation clause "so far as the law of Christ allows." This annulled all papal authority. Meantime in England, in March 1534, the Convocations of Canterbury and York declared that the Roman Pontiff has no greater jurisdiction bestowed on him by God in the Holy Scriptures in the realm of England than any other foreign bishop. The universities followed with a like declaration.

Under the Supreme Head Act Cromwell, before December 1534, received his commission as Vicar-General, and what has been rightly called the "reign of terror" began. Of Cromwell's deeds we have already spoken, and these are his, not Cranmer's. The Pope's Bull of Deposition was drawn up in 1535, but was withheld until 1538 in the vain hope of recovering lost power. The immediate cause of its issue was the spoliation of Thomas à Beckett's shrine at Canterbury.

Whilst the breach with Rome was completed, many courtiers and Churchmen conspired to ruin Cranmer as one of the leading agents. His foes were everywhere.

They were found at Court amongst the bishops and the country gentry, and still more at his own Cathedral Church and in his household. The Chapter of Canterbury had been reconstructed upon its becoming, after the dissolution of the monasteries, a cathedral of the new foundation. Cranmer's influence was ignored in the selection of the new prebendaries, with the result that only one, the future Bishop Ridley, was a reformer. This led to what is known as the "Prebendaries' Plot," which proposed to the King the issue of a commission, with Gardiner at its head, to examine into all abuses and enormities of religion in Kent. The Privy Council recommended this, and Henry VIII promised to consider it. A little later he met Cranmer, and said, "Ha! my chaplain, I have news for you: I know now who is the greatest heretic in Kent." He then told the Archbishop he would issue a commission on which Cranmer and such as he would choose should sit. When Cranmer demurred the King would take no refusal, and so, instead of a commission to convict the Archbishop, they obtained one presided over by Cranmer himself to inquire into their own plot. Another attempt to ruin the Archbishop was made by the Privy Council, which asked for his committal to the Tower in order to inquire into his administration. Strong in his consciousness of innocency, Cranmer was content to go in order that his conduct might be impartially inquired into. The King laughed at his *naïveté,* and told him of his fond simplicity in thus allowing himself to be put into the hands of his enemies. The next day Cranmer was summoned to the Council, and, under the pretence of indignation, they kept him waiting at the door of the Council Chamber. The King scolded them well, saying, "I would you would well understand that I account my Lord of Canterbury as faithful a man as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am in many ways beholden by the faith I owe unto God, and therefore whoso loveth me will regard him hereafter." The cowed conspirators began to make excuses, and so long as the King lived no one dared again to conspire against Cranmer. Henry VIII, always a good judge of character, had by this

time perfected himself in the knowledge of men and their motives. Others had betrayed him in their schemes of self-advancement. Cranmer had served him with unfailing fidelity, never joining the general scramble for wealth, and exhibiting in all things a spirit of truthfulness and simplicity which invited the King's protection, whilst it often excited his amusement at its guilelessness.

It may be contended that guilelessness is out of place in high office, but we are now in search of facts; and if Cranmer had been like Anselm, à Beckett or Langton he would have lost his head under Henry, and the English Reformation might have taken another course perhaps less true to Catholic traditions, for in the succeeding reign Cranmer clung to the past in spite of Genevan influence. As it was, so long as Henry lived, when the breach with Rome was complete, he would have no alliance with the spirit of the Continental Reformation in Geneva or Germany.

During the remaining years of the reign the Great Bible was issued in 1539, the Six Articles of Religion were passed in 1539 and amended in 1544, and the English Litany, from the pen of Cranmer, was published the same year. An act for the Dissolution of Chantries carried the work of Church spoliation a step farther. The end came on January 28, 1547, after the King had disposed of the Crown by will in December 1546. His truest friend was sent for, but Henry had lost the power of speech, and could do no more than clasp the hand of Cranmer, whose voice urged him to give some token that he trusted in Christ's mercy and salvation.

Cranmer as Archbishop under Edward VI.

Edward VI has been described as a marvellous boy, master of Latin, English and French. The journal of his reign written with his own hand is evidence of his precocious intellect,[1] but we are not to attribute anything

[1] See the *Character of Edward VI* written by Cardanus, and his journal in Burnet's *Collection of Records*.

in Church policy to him. Cranmer, by Henry VIII's will, was appointed head of the Council of Regency, though the power passed out of his hands into those of the Protector. His first act was to take out a commission from the King to exercise his episcopal office,[1] and so did Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall and the rest. The Crown was then supreme, and the Church's rights were trampled in the dust. There had been no reformation in doctrine during Henry's reign, but the English Litany had been used for a little more than two years, and the Committee of Convocation had been at work upon a new Service Book for some four years, and finished its work shortly after Edward came to the throne. The Archbishop and twelve others, including men of both the old and new learning, were responsible for its production, though Cranmer's part was the most important. It had, therefore, Church authority before it was passed by the Act of Uniformity (1549), 2 and 3 Edward VI, c. 1, though the question of its receiving General Synodical authority is debatable.[2] This book was in use from June 9, 1549, until November 1, 1552. The Ordinal belongs to 1550, and was completed in the spring and came into force April 1. As in that year only one bishop, Poynet of Rochester, who the next year succeeded Gardiner at Winchester, was consecrated (June 29), he would be the first to receive his consecration under the new Ordinal.[3] Meantime the reforming spirit had grown strong. Before the end of 1551, Day, Gardiner, Bonner, Heath and Tunstall had all been deprived

[1] "Quandoquidem omnis jurisdicendi Autoritas, atque etiam jurisdictio omnimodo, tam illa quae Ecclesiastica dicitur quam Saecularis, a Regia Protestate velut a Supremo Capite," etc. From the Commission, see Burnet's *Collection of Records*.

[2] Bishop Stubbs, a great authority, states, "It is important to observe that the first Prayer-book of Edward VI was accepted by the Convocation," and "also that Convocation voted the lawfulness of communion in two kinds and of the marriage of priests."—*Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission*, i., 142, 143.

[3] The Ordinal was authorised by anticipation on January 31, 1550, but no bishop was consecrated in England from September 1548 to June 1550.

of their bishoprics. There was a difficulty in finding men of sufficient learning to fill the vacant sees. Only three consecrations took place in 1551 (Hooper, Coverdale, Scory), one in 1552 (Taylor of Lincoln), one in 1553 (Harley of Hereford), and then nine in 1554; but in September 1553 Cranmer was sent to the Tower, and the last consecration he took was on May 26, 1553. On the whole, then, only six bishops were consecrated in Edward VI's reign under the new Ordinal. The second Prayer Book was passed on April 6 and came into use on November 1, 1552, Edward VI dying the following July. In those days, when injunctions and Acts of Parliament took some months to reach the whole country, it is doubtful whether it was used at all in very many parishes, especially as the printing of it was stopped for further corrections and it was not out of the printer's hands on October 27. Officially it was not withdrawn until October 1553.[1] The Eucharistic Vestments which had been ordered in the first book were forbidden in the second; but on this subject we shall speak in the lecture upon Matthew Parker. Whatever part others took in the preparation of the Book of Common Prayer, Cranmer's controlling share is undoubted. His was the mind which dominated everything, his the pen from which its choicest language came. Its principles and its objects are set out in the Preface, in the Article concerning the service of the Church, and in "Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained." Every man or woman can turn to-day to the Book, which contains its own apology and justification. The general principle was to make worship a matter of the understanding as well as of the spirit, to explain in exhortations the meaning of each service, and to give to the people their own definite share in public worship. As the services may in many parts be sung or said, it is equally useful for the stately cathedral or the humblest parish church. It

[1] Again the part taken by Convocation is undecided. Cardwell says Convocation was not allowed to pass judgment upon it. Bancroft implies that Convocation approved. Stubbs thinks that the Committee which revised the book may have been a Subcommittee of Convocation.

would be difficult to exaggerate its influence upon the religious thought and mind of English Church people for the last 360 years. It has created a type of worship and produced an attitude of devotional feeling, which can be called "Anglican," in opposition to every other form of public worship.[1] Our own generation is demanding that it shall be revised, and this not without good reasons. The Anglican Church to-day is no longer confined to one country; it has to minister under widely divergent conditions of life and to people in every stage of mental and spiritual development. Modern Church needs have supplemented its services and modern usage has played havoc with some of its rubrical directions, and yet, so sacred has it become to most Church people, and so binding in its power of unity amongst different schools of thought, that the problem of change brings up quite unexpected questions. Whatever changes may come—and many of us hope for some in the interests of discipline, since no one can profess to be wholly obedient

[1] See "An Apology for the Prayer-Book" in *University Sermons*, by Prof. J. J. Blunt, S. John's College, Cambridge, p. 321: ". . . regard it for a moment as a handbook of Public Devotion. What a calamity would it be if by any rude derangement of it in the one character we should pave the way for losing it in the other! How could we replace it! Where could we find thoughts that breathe and words that burn like its own! How reasonable it is, and yet how impassioned! How catholic, and yet how true to the wants of every man's own heart! How charmingly are its several parts disposed and combined! How do they relieve one another and sustain one another! So that share in it as often as we will, we never weary of it! And let accident or necessity suspend our participation in it for a season, with what eagerness do we revert to it when the time comes! How hearty are its accents of self-abasement! How touching its cries for mercy! How earnest its petitions! How high and animating its notes of thanksgiving and praise! How elastic it is! How affecting in its simplicity when it cheers our humble village church! How sublime in its majesty when it puts forth the fulness of its strength in our cathedrals! How suited to all ranks and conditions of men! How grateful to the scholar! How acceptable to the peasant! What multitudes of hearts has it lifted up to God! What multitudes of souls has it led to Paradise! Esto perpetuum!"

Prof. Blunt's writings have fallen into disuse, to the great detriment of devout, reverent and truly catholic churchmanship.

to its directions—its spirit, its tone and its doctrines are the only safeguard of union in our Church in every one of its varied branches.

Passing over some matters of historical interest in the reign of Edward VI, we come to the last days of the boy-King. The ecclesiastical legislation of the reign included as its more important items the act giving the Chantries to the King,[1] the two Acts of Uniformity, acts legalising the marriage of priests and making their children legitimate, and an act against images and old service-books.

When Edward VI was dying the councillors gathered round his bed and persuaded him to grant the Crown by will, as his father had done. The argument was unfair to the dying boy, who thus was induced to disinherit his two sisters. The scheme was started to gratify the ambition of Northumberland, and the gifted girl for whom he sought the throne (Lady Jane Grey) and her unfortunate husband had little responsibility for what was done. All the councillors consented, and then came to the Archbishop to urge him to join them. He hesitated and sought to escape action, seeking a private interview with the King, which was denied him by the councillors, so after much argument he yielded and became a party to the plot. Edward, whether of his own free will or under the influence of the plotters, was obstinate, and claimed the same right to dispose of the Crown by will as his father had exercised. "This seemed very strange unto me," writes Cranmer, "but, being the sentence of the judges and other learned counsel in the laws of the realm (as both he and counsel informed me), methought it became not me, being unlearned in the law, to stand against my prince therein." Cranmer's action on the occasion affords another example of his character. He lacked the moral purpose and strength required in his high office. Had he remained at Cambridge, or occupied only some comparatively obscure position, his learning alone would have contributed great things to the Reformation, and his match-

[1] See in Lecture II for the educational effect of it.

less liturgical knowledge and power would have caused the sun of his reputation to shine brightly through the ages. But Henry VIII, not without a view to his pliable nature, chose him and insisted upon his consecration to the throne of Canterbury.

In this office he accomplished great things, but in the days of decision he proved himself again and again morally weak, and history will forgive acts of tyranny in a man of high office more readily than acts of weakness. And thus, indeed, justly, for acts of tyranny are often transient in their consequences, and can be resisted or corrected, but acts of moral weakness lead to unexpected results; and so men gather around such characters which are otherwise noble and good and rend them. When the day of reckoning came, this was Cranmer's experience. Whilst others were beheaded, he was degraded and burnt, and his treason was overlooked in order to humiliate him as a heretic.

Let no one suppose that I shall justify what was done. When we come to the last days of Cranmer, I will speak of them in a way which shows my abhorrence, but now I am only describing the motives of human actions, especially when they are stirred by religious feelings. Did I say religious? I mean the vile and bad passions in which men have so often indulged themselves in the name of religion.

Cranmer as Archbishop under Queen Mary.

When Queen Mary so easily defeated the plot into which her brother had been foolishly led, and ascended the throne of her father amid the plaudits of the nation, Cranmer's fate was sealed. Many reasons combined to favour Mary. The English sense of fair play revolted against the attempt to deprive her of her inheritance, and the country was still largely Roman Catholic in feeling. The two Protectors had been tyrants, and we readily flee from evils which we know and from which we have suffered. Mary announced that she meant "not to compel or constrain other men's consciences otherwise

than God shall put in their hearts." But these were fair words spoken in the days of gratitude for her throne, and were soon forgotten.

The others who had conspired against her were sent to the block, no one objecting, but Cranmer was reserved for a more humiliating death. He was a heretic, and this was, in Mary's eyes, a worse crime than treason. As a heretic, he was to be degraded, insulted and burnt. Mary might have remembered how the Archbishop had pleaded with her father when he wronged her in the days of her girlhood, but the faithful daughter of Rome saw nothing but her duty to extirpate heresy and to avenge herself upon the arch-heretic of all. Cranmer's theory of Church government required him to seek a new commission from the throne to exercise his office as archbishop, but he sought it not. Four bishops, five deans and scores of doctors and preachers, together with the foreign divines, saw what was coming and fled from the impending storm, but Cranmer, like Ridley and Latimer, stood to his post. "It would ill become me," said Cranmer, "to fly." He braced himself to defend all the changes which had been made under his influence in the reign of Edward VI. Ridley wrote to him, saying, "If thou, O man of God, do purpose to abide in this realm, prepare and arm thyself to die."

Cranmer's reverence for the throne caused him to humble himself before the Queen. He wrote to her to say that he would never be the author of sedition to move subjects from the obedience of their heads and rulers. Some suggested a pension for him upon his retiring into private life. A report was circulated that the Latin Mass had been set up in Canterbury Cathedral under his orders. For once the Archbishop broke out into flaming indignation, and issued a declaration which contained the words: "It was not I that did set up the Mass at Canterbury, but it was a false, flattering, lying and dissimulating monk which caused Mass to be set up there, without mine advice or counsel." Cranmer's last public function was on August 6 at the funeral of Edward VI, and he was sent to the Tower in September 1553. Bishop Bonner triumphantly wrote: "This day

is looked Mr. Canterbury must be placed where is meet for him. He is become very humble and ready to submit himself to all things, but that will not serve."

Nothing was said about his treason, and plans were not yet ready for his trial for heresy. The laws of England must be altered before anything could be done, and in October all the Acts of Parliament were repealed. The following year Cardinal Pole, who was not consecrated archbishop until March 22, 1556, absolved the realm from schism.[1] Now all was ready for the final pre-arranged act in the tragedy of Cranmer. The story from September 1553 to the day of burning, March 21, 1556, including imprisonments, trials, intimidations, recantations, insults, humiliations and triumphs, would take many hours to tell. Each one can read it for himself in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* or in Strype's *Cranmer*. According to the new laws, the Archbishop must be tried for heresy by spiritual authority, and to increase his own triumph the Pope secured the case for himself. Convocation in 1554 deputed eight members of the Lower House to examine Cranmer, together with Ridley and Latimer, but these proceedings had no legal power. They made humble suit to Paul IV to try Cranmer, and, acting upon this, the Pope issued a summons to the imprisoned Archbishop to appear within eighty days at Rome, delegating the trial to the head of the Roman Inquisition. The functionary delegated his powers to Dr. Brooks, the new Bishop of Gloucester, who summoned Cranmer to appear before him at Oxford on September 12, 1555. The official summons was: "Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, appear here and make answer to that shall be laid to thy charge, that is to say, for blasphemy, incontinency and heresy, and make answer here to the Bishop of Gloucester, representing the Pope's person." The Archbishop protested against the authority of his judge: "He had once taken a solemn oath never to consent to admitting of the Pope's authority into this realm of England again, and

[1] What was done by Pole in the name of Rome and the bearing of this upon English Ordinations forms a subject by itself. (See *A Treatise on the Bull Apostolicae Curae*, S.P.C.K., 1896.)

he had done it advisedly and meant, by God's grace, to keep it." The charge of blasphemy related to his view of the Sacrament of Holy Communion, of incontinency to his being a married man, and of heresy to his repudiation of Rome in administration and doctrine. Nothing was wanting in the trial to add to the full measure of insult. Every lie and slander of his enemies was brought forth and pressed against him—his first marriage and the oft-repeated story of his having been an ostler and an unlearned man, with many other like charges. But his chief offence was his repudiation of Rome and his doctrinal opposition to that Church. The proceedings were a travesty of justice administered with subtlety and cruelty. Knowing the character of his victim, the Bishop of Gloucester allowed him to be plied in private with exhortations and promises. Hence the renunciations and the recantations, the miserable intrigues against the honour of a man of highest character and yet of a yielding mind. Cranmer was no hero like the fierce and defiant Ridley or Latimer, and the proceedings were purposely prolonged to increase his humiliation. At one stage they induced him to declare that as the Queen's Majesty, by the consent of Parliament, had received and restored the Pope's authority, he would submit himself and take the Pope for the chief head of the Church of England so far as the laws of the realm would permit. This was to attack Cranmer on his weakest side, because loyalty to the Crown was a passion with him. In a few days he was induced to substitute for it a more unqualified submission, and to submit himself to the Catholic Church of Christ and to the Pope. Later he appealed from the Pope's authority to a general council. In this way six submissions were followed by six recantations, until at last all timidity and hesitation fled. Before the end he had been solemnly and with much insult stripped of each robe and symbol of office, and clad in a poor yeoman beadle's gown bare and worn. Thus attired, he was as a layman handed over to the secular authorities, to be dealt with by them.

On the day before his death he composed his seventh recantation, in which he declared: "I believe every

article of the Catholic faith, every clause, word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, His Apostles and Prophets in the New and Old Testaments, and all articles explicate and set forth in the General Councils."

The final scene at Oxford is too well known to need description; and as the flames leapt up he stretched out his right hand, saying with a loud voice, "This hand hath offended," and held it in the fire until the end came. The Pope escaped responsibility for the burning of Cranmer by causing him to be handed over to the secular power.[1] He and Queen Mary must share the blame between them for this and all other burnings for heresy in her reign.[2] These have branded themselves indelibly upon the hearts and memories of Englishmen. It was the hour of Rome's temporary triumph, but the five years of Queen Mary have left an heritage of suspicion of Rome in the minds of most Englishmen which has ever since grown in the minds of the uneducated into a positive horror, if not hatred. The dread of Rome helped to bring Charles I to the scaffold and drove James II from his throne; and when, in the seventeenth century, the great English theologians were building up an Anglo-Catholic theology which was true to the Bible and antiquity, the very authorities to which Cranmer appealed, they were met by opposition, as teachers are

[1] "The Smithfield fires, which have cast so lurid a light upon the second half of that short period (Mary's reign), were the almost inevitable consequences in that age, and under circumstances which it is well-nigh impossible for us at this distance of time to understand and to make allowance for, of the rebellious turbulence of the men who would accept no tolerance, to whom mild measures were but incentives to greater audacity and outrage. Even so, it appears abundantly clear that this rigour was the work of a lay majority in the Council. . . . As for Pole himself, the only prosecutions for heresy which took place in the diocese of Canterbury were enacted when he lay upon his death-bed."—*Life of Reginald Pole*, by Martin Heile, 1910.

This Roman Catholic writer wishes to lay all the blame upon English laymen, and is anxious to exonerate Queen Mary, and still more Cardinal Pole. Not so can Rome escape the responsibility of the "Smithfield Fires."

[2] On "The Limits of Tolerance," see Appendix E, p. 219.

now in the twentieth century, prompted by fear of even looking Romewards, though nothing be taught which is distinctly Roman Catholic.

I close with Dr. Mason's summary of Cranmer's work:[1] "For two things Cranmer lived. He lived to restore as nearly as might be the Church of the Fathers, and he lived and he died for the rights and the welfare of England. The independence of the English Crown, the freedom of the English Church from an intolerable foreign yoke, an English Bible, the English services—for these he laboured with untiring and unostentatious diligence, and with few mistakes considering the difficulties of his task. He made no claim to infallibility, but he laid open the way to the correction of whatever might be amiss in his own teaching or in the Church which he ruled when, in the magnificent demurrer which he made at his degradation, he appealed, not for himself only, but for all those who should afterwards be on his side, to the next General Council. Under that broad shield which he threw over us we may confidently abide, and lay our cause before those who will candidly weigh the facts of History."

[1] *Thomas Cranmer*, by Dr. A. J. Mason, 1898.

MATTHEW PARKER[1]

1504—1575[2]

MATTHEW PARKER was born at Norwich in 1504, and was instructed in reading, writing, singing and grammar by the parish priest and others. His education was

[1] Parker is a surname derived from occupation and means the custodian or keeper of the park. It is found in every part of England and is almost a rival of the most common names, Smith, Brown, Jones, etc. In older documents it appears thus: Adam le Parker, Peter le Parker (1273), Martin le Parkar and Hamo le Parkire. Before the sixteenth century it was written simply Parker. The founder of the commercial prosperity of the Archbishop's family was Nicolas Parker, principal registrar of the Spiritual Court of Canterbury, 1450, a man of great integrity and honour. When in after years the Archbishop visited Norwich at the time his brother was Mayor, he proudly pointed to the fact of his connection with the great middle class in England with which his brother was connected. In those days the College of Heralds was a reality, and no one could obtain a grant of arms until he had established the gentility of his family. Nicolas Parker was granted the distinction, and the Archbishop inherited the arms and obtained an addition to it. Matthew Parker was through his mother connected with Howard, Earl of Nottingham, a fact which accounts for the Earl's presence at Parker's consecration. His contemporary account is of value in the question of the consecration. The Earl says that he was ordained by the form in King Edward's Common Prayer Book. "I myself," he says, "had the book in my hand all the time and went along with the Ordination, and when it was over I dined with 'em, and there was an instrument drawn up of the form and order of it, which instrument I saw and redd over."

[2] Born at Norwich, 1504. Sent to Cambridge, 1522. Subdeacon, 1526. Deacon and Priest, 1527. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, 1527. Refused Wolsey's offer to join the staff of Cardinal College, Oxford, 1528 (about). Chaplain to Anne Boleyn and Dean of the College of Stoke-by-Clare, 1535. Rector

conducted at home, and no mention is made of his attendance at any school. When he was twelve his father died, and his mother, carrying out the father's wishes, sent him at seventeen to be educated at Cambridge. The family was of commercial importance, and always possessed good means, so that his mother bore the University expenses. The choice of a College (Corpus Christi) was probably determined by the fact that one of his tutors was a member of Corpus Christi. He matriculated in 1521 and entered in 1522 as Bible-clerk, to which was attached the status of a scholarship, on the foundation of the Duchess of Norfolk. He is

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of Ashdon in Essex and Prebendary of Ely, 1542. Rector of Burlingham in Norfolk, 1544. Rector of Landbeach near Cambridge, 1545. Master of Corpus Christi College by Royal Mandate, 1544. Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, 1545, and again in 1549. Married, 1547. Dean of Lincoln, 1552. Deprived of all preferment under Queen Mary because of his being a married man. Consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, December 17, 1559. Died at Lambeth, May 17, 1575, and buried in the private chapel in a tomb which he had prepared for himself. This tomb was destroyed in 1648 and Parker's remains were disinterred. After the Restoration, Sancroft, under the authority of the King and Lords, restored them to their original resting-place, and placed an inscription in the ante-chapel of Lambeth Palace recording both the desecration and restoration of the tomb. The inscription and the epitaph were—

(*a*) "Corpus Matthaei Archiepiscopi hic tandem quiescit."

(*b*) "Matthaei Archiepiscopi Cenotaphium.

Corpus enim (ne nescius lector)
In adyto hujus sacelli olim rite conditum,
A sectariis perduellibus anno MDCXLVIII.
Effracto sacrilege hoc ipso tumulo,
Elogio sepulchrali impie refixo,
Direptis nefarie exuviis plumbeis,
Spoliatum, violatum, eliminatum;
Etiam sub sterquilinio, (proh! Scelus) abstrusum:
Rege demum (plaudente coelo ac terra) redeunte
Ex decreto Baronum Angliae sedulo requisitum,
Et sacello postliminio redditum,
Et ejus quasi medio tandem quiescit.
Et quiescat utinam
Nonnisi tuba ultima solicitandum.
QUI DENUO DESECRAVERIT, SACER ESTO."

ARCHBISHOP PARKER. [*Page* 105.

described as "a painful student," *i. e.* painstaking, and his studies from the first were largely in the Holy Scriptures. He took his degree (B.A.) in 1525, and in 1527 was ordained both deacon (April) and priest (June). He was not twenty-three until August 6. His pastoral work began in his native city, but the following year, after refusing an offer from Cardinal College, Oxford, he was elected to a Fellowship at his college. From this time he devoted himself wholly to theological studies, and graduated B.D. in 1535 and D.D. in 1538.

In 1544 he was appointed Master of his College by Henry VIII's mandate, which describes him "as well for his approved learning, wisdom and honesty as for his singular grace and industry, in bringing up youth in virtue and learning, so apt for the exercise of the said room (Mastership) that it is thought very hard to find the like for all respects and purposes." He exercised a watchful care over the College revenues, and reformed some abuses caused by the carelessness or peculation of past bursars. Because most of the benefactors of the College belonged to Norfolk, he secured the appointment of Norfolk men as Fellows. The library was in a state of neglect, and so great were his benefactions to it that he is justly regarded as its founder. He began now the study which he continued throughout his life, and never lost an opportunity of securing manuscripts, which have made the library of Corpus famous throughout the world. As Vice-Chancellor, Parker had trouble with the Chancellor (Bishop Gardiner), whose haughty spirit could never brook opposition. The dispute was about a play performed by the students of Christ's College, which ridiculed Romish services and the Papacy. Parker had an interview with Henry VIII in 1546 at Hampton Court upon the subject of University property. An account of this in Parker's handwriting remains, and the King, after hearing the petition, said, "He thought he had not in his realm so many persons so honestly maintained in living by so little land and rent." This royal opinion protected the University, and the College

properties were saved from the all-devouring jaws which had closed upon the lands and possessions of the religious houses. In June, 1547, *i. e.* a few months after Henry's death, he married. Such clerical marriages were by law not void but voidable, but in 1549 the marriage of the clergy was made legal.

In Edward's reign Parker became again Vice-Chancellor, and was busy in matters of University reform. By this time two other preferments were added to his Mastership, including the Deanery of Lincoln, but he refused both the Mastership of Trinity College, "I was once nearly named Master of Trinity," and a bishopric, both in the gift of the King, preferring his own college where he had lived happily for so many years. He was in these years a frequent preacher at Norwich and elsewhere. In 1553 this life of studious and congenial activity came to an end.[1] Parker, who had so often refused to take part in public affairs in London, unlike the more prominent men who fled abroad at the beginning of Mary's reign, after being deprived of every preferment he held, was allowed to live in retirement at the house of one of his friends. He fled from Cambridge by night, fracturing his leg by a fall from his horse,[2] and lived the next five years without

[1] A letter of his about this time shows him to have been a keen observer of character. Speaking of three prominent men of his day he says, "The third is a dissembler in friendship, who used to entertain his ill-willers very courteously and his friends very imperiously; thinking thereby to have the rule of both; whereby he lost both. For while his ill-willers spread how he would shake up his acquaintance, they gathered thereby the nature of his friendship towards his old friends, and therefore joyed not much of his glorious entertainment, and his friends indeed joyed less in him, for such his discouragement that they felt at his hands expertus loquor." Very shrewd and true remarks, true now and always.

[2] Dean Hook conjectures that this fall took place the night he fled from Cambridge. He was privy to Northumberland's plot to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, and when Northumberland heard Mary had been proclaimed in London, to escape suspicion he proclaimed her at Cambridge. Parker was one against whom the anger and fury of the Cambridge citizens, who abhorred the plot, was directed. He was always reticent about the events of that night.

the persecution which some have stated to have existed upon his family inheritance, busy with his studies and delighting in the leisure and tranquillity and the freedom from care.[1]

Parker's Private Studies.

Before we proceed to his official life, it may be well to speak of Parker's literary tastes and achievements. He had a great love of antiquity and Church history. As Dean of Lincoln he made extensive collections of the property belonging to the Dean and Chapter and bequeathed his work to his College at Cambridge. He studied Saxon and projected the compilation of a Saxon lexicon. The earliest editions of Gildas, Matthew Paris and many other early chroniclers of English history are due to him. As Archbishop his position gave him opportunities of securing literary treasures which had been dispersed at the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and he used this to the full, both at home and abroad. He wrote the history of his predecessors at Canterbury, from Augustine onwards, and superintended the writing of the story of his own episcopate.

He loved to study college statutes, and during the twelve happy years as Dean of the College of Stoke by Clare he revised the statutes, and with the help of his secretary wrote the history of the College. With the instincts of an historian he collected the original letters of his contempories and documents illustrating Church history, and bequeathed his many manuscript volumes to his well-loved College of Corpus Christi at Cambridge. He took part in conjunction with Whitgift,

[1] Parker's place of retreat was in the house of a friend near Norwich, where he lived with his wife and two children. Writing of those days he says, "I lived so joyful before God in my conscience, and so neither ashamed nor defected that the most sweet leisure for study to which the good Providence of God recalled me, created me much greater and more solid pleasures than that former busy and dangerous kind of living ever pleased me." At the end of the time he had only a few pounds (some £30, worth much more in present value) left of his personal estate.

Sandys and Grindal in compiling new statutes by which the constitution of the University of Cambridge was materially modified. His most distinguished service to theological studies was the publication of the Bishops' Bible, upon which he with others spent five years. As a promoter of education he founded a grammar school in connection with Stoke by Clare, and afterwards one at Rochdale in Lancashire. When Elizabeth summoned him to London "for matter touching himself," he strove hard to be allowed to go back to his College at Cambridge to undertake University work, which was most to his liking. Apart, therefore, from his public life, he was a student and lover of antiquities, and these things formed his solace in the days of anxiety and contest which came in his great office. His domestic life was singularly happy. With a wife of most refined mind and manners and with the capacity of domestic management, all was peace and joy at home. There are one or two pathetic pictures of Parker as an old man, widowed and suffering from the disease which brought him to the grave, drawn by his own hand in his correspondence. Writing to Burghley he says, "I have of late been shamefully deceived by some young men and so have I been by some older men," and again, "I have little help when I thought to have most. I toye out my tyme partly with copieing of books, partly in devising ordinances for scholars to help the ministry, partly in genealogies and so forth."

Had Parker then never become Archbishop he would have been a worthy English parish priest and scholar, with the loftiest conceptions of duty and service, and would have bequeathed many literary gifts to the Church in addition to the example of an honourable, industrious and blameless life. Of his general character, a recent Roman Catholic writer says, "We have the known piety, soberness, moderation and integrity and the general uprightness of Matthew Parker to fall back upon, and these alone should shield him from the imputation of having lent himself, or that he could possibly lend himself in any way, to the perpetration of such a

meaningless and impious act" (*i. e.* the fable of Nag's Head).[1]

Parker made Archbishop.

Parker, who in Edward's reign had shrunk from publicity, was made, by his five years' obscurity and retirement under Queen Mary, still more disinclined for prominence. Writing to Cecil, he says, "The truth is, what with passing those hard years of Mary's reign in obscurity without all conference or such manner of study as now might do me service, and what with my natural vitiosity of overmuch shamefacedness, I am so abashed in myself that I cannot raise my heart and stomach to utter in talk with other which (as I may say) with my pen I can express myself indifferently without great difficulty."

Queen Elizabeth began to reign on November 17, 1558, and from the first Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, was in her confidence. She at once issued a proclamation to forbid preaching. Public prayer, already by law received, was to be used with the Litany, Lord's Prayer and Creed in English until she and the three estates of her realm had considered the subject of public worship. The funeral sermon of Queen Mary was preached by White, Bishop of Winchester, and was so offensive and indiscreet that he was ordered by the Council to confine himself to his house for a week. The Coronation was held on January 15, 1559, the Bishop of Carlisle placing the Crown on her head because Canterbury was vacant and the Archbishop of York refused to comply with the Queen's request that there should be no elevation of the host. The service was substantially the same as that used at the Coronation of George V last year, and the other bishops, with the exception of Bonner of London, were present and took their parts. Meantime a commission including Dr. Parker was appointed for liturgical revision.

[1] See the *Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, by H. N. Birt, p. 250.

Queen Elizabeth's writ summoning Parliament did not use the title "Supreme Head of the English Church," although it had been used by Henry VIII, Edward VI and Queen Mary, with the exception of the writ of summons to her last Parliament in 1558. The Commons, afraid of some invalidating consequence to their acts, appointed a Committee to inquire into the legality of the writs of Mary and Elizabeth, which reported that they were both valid, notwithstanding the omission of the title "Supremum Caput." Parliament met on January 25, 1559, and Convocation the following day. Convocation asked that Papal authority and doctrine might remain in force. A committee of sixteen, eight for the Pope and eight against, was appointed to discuss the whole question. It met in Westminster Abbey on March 31 and broke up on April 3 because two Bishops, White of Winchester and Watson of Lincoln, refused to continue in the Conference. They were both sent to the Tower for disobedience and contumacy. When Parliament rose on May 8, the great change in the English Church had been once more legally and decisively accomplished. The Act of Supremacy passed in April revived Henry VIII's act, excepting that the title Supreme Head was dropped, and "only Supreme Governor of this realm and of all other her highness' dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal," was substituted for it. The title of the act is "An act to restore to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and abolishing all foreign powers repugnant to the same." The same month an Act of Uniformity was passed by which the worship of the English Church was once more taken back from Romish rites and ceremonies.[1] In all this legislation Convocation, since the breaking up of the Conference on April 3, was not consulted.

Thus was England once more freed from Rome. Elizabeth notified her accession to every friendly

[1] On "Eucharistic Vestments," see Appendix G, p. 230.

sovereign, but not to the Pope. He was studiously ignored throughout. The Book of Common Prayer was to be used from June 24, and the oath of the Act of Uniformity had to be taken by ecclesiastical persons, so that the hour of decision was drawing nigh. The English episcopate at this time consisted of twenty-seven members, but ten of the sees were vacant. Bonner of London was the first to be deprived on May 30, and the aged Tunstall of Durham, while no favourer of Papacy, was shocked at the defacing of churches, etc., and finally refused and was deprived in October, six weeks before his death. Two only of the Marian Bishops, Kitchen of Landaff and Stanley of Sodor and Man, conformed. The number of clergy who refused to conform is more difficult to determine. It has been usual to say that less than 200 out of 9400 refused to sacrifice their benefices, and that of these about 100 were dignitaries.[1] First the number, 9400, must be considerably reduced for pluralities and vacancies. The Bishops' Registers of Institution, which record the reason for each vacancy, ought to answer the question with accuracy, but unfortunately many of them were at this period most carelessly kept. After examining what evidence is available for me,[2] I conclude that the number of clergy must be decreased and the number of refusals somewhat increased, and yet the main fact remains substantially the same, viz. that on the whole the English clergy did accept the change, adopt the Prayer Book and go on in their parishes. The experiences of the previous twenty-five years had unsettled many minds and numbers of the clergy had used an English Prayer

[1] Dr. Creighton, Bishop of London, in his *Queen Elizabeth* says: "The clergy were prepared to acquiesce in the change. Out of 9400 clergy in England only 192 refused the oath of supremacy. . . . In England generally the religious settlement was welcomed by the people and corresponded to their wishes. . . . They detested the Pope, they wished for services they could understand and were weary of superstition" (p. 53).

[2] See Gee's *Elizabethan Clergy*, 1558–1564, and the *Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, by H. N. Birt (Roman Catholic), chaps. iv. and v.

Book before, besides most of them were waiting for something to turn up. Elizabeth or Cecil might die, or in some other way a change might come. At all events they acquiesced, whether from expediency or conviction. In forming a judgment we must not lose sight of the large number of clergy who would have welcomed something less definite in Church worship than the Prayer Book, and of the number who though inclined to Rome were shocked and alienated by the atrocities of Mary's reign. The English clergy, after enjoying freedom from Rome for twenty years, had tasted for five years the flavour of her authority, and there was no rebellion but a quiet acquiescence in the change. In all times of change the heroic souls who face deprivation or imprisonment or death in any cause are few in number.

We now come to the choice of Parker for the Primacy. On December 30, 1558, Cecil summoned him to London, saying, "The Queen's Highness minding presently to use your service in certain matters of importance, at which your coming up I shall declare unto you her Majesty's further pleasure and the occasion why you are sent for." The negotiations were carried on in private, and for some time Parker pleaded ill-health and unfitness. On March 1, 1559, he gave Lord Keeper Bacon, Cecil's brother-in-law, his views of the man needed for Canterbury, "God grant it chanceth neither on arrogant man, neither on faint-hearted man nor on covetous man." He still urged his own unfitness, but on May 17 he was told that the Queen-in-Council had resolved he should be Primate, and on May 19 the threatened mandate reached Parker, "after our hearty commendations these be to signify unto you that for certain causes wherein the Queen's majesty intendeth to use your service her pleasure is, that you repair hither with such speed as you conveniently may and at your coming up you shall understand the rest." No answer was returned, and on May 29 a letter demanding a reply was sent. Parker wrote then to the Queen that he regretted his inability "inwardly in knowledge and

outwardly in extern sufficiencies to do her grace any meet service," but he desired her to exercise her own judgment upon the subject. So the die was cast, and Parker humbly and yet most reluctantly accepted the office he fain would have refused. No doubt other names were considered during these months of Parker's reluctance. It is stated the position was offered to Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, and to Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster. The latter offer is incredible. Feckenham remained resolute in his refusal to accept the new oath of Supremacy.

Into the many questions which have arisen about Parker's consecration space forbids me to enter. The controversy, between Roman Catholic writers and ourselves, was continued for generations, after the first charge against its genuineness had been made some fifty years after the event. Now at last there is agreement upon the following facts: (1) Parker was nominated by Queen Elizabeth. (2) He was elected by the Chapter of Canterbury under the Queen's licence "according to the ancient manner and laudable custom of the aforesaid Church anciently used and inviolably observed." (3) His election was confirmed at Bow Church (by proxy), Parker not being present. (4) He was consecrated at Lambeth on December 17, 1559, by four Bishops, Barlow, Hodgkins, Scory and Coverdale, using the English Ordinal. Barlow (1536) and Hodgkins (1537) had been themselves consecrated under the Pre-Reformation Pontifical, and Scory (1551) and Coverdale (1551) under the English Ordinal. Each of the four bishops repeated the words of consecration.[1] (5) He was enthroned at Canterbury (by proxy). (6) The temporalities were restored to him by the Crown on March 1, 1560. The spirit in which Parker began his work is expressed in the words he wrote in his diary on the evening of the day of his consecration. "Alas! alas! O Lord God, for what times hast Thou kept me. Now

[1] See *Apostolic Succession in the Church of England*, by A. W. Hadden, 1869; and *Ordinum Sacrorum in Ecclesia Anglicana Defensio*, by T. J. Bailey, 1870.

I am come into deep waters and the flood hath overwhelmed me. Answer for me and establish me with Thy free Spirit, for I am a man that hath but a short time to live, etc."

Whilst then the question has been narrowed so that never again will any credible Roman writer repeat the old fable of Nag's Head or doubt the above facts, Rome still maintains her own objections. The question of English Orders was raised in 1896 by the Bull of Leo XIII, which dealt chiefly with the "form" and "intention" of Consecration and Ordination. The argument of the Bull is, your Ordinal is not according to the Catholic rite, and therefore valid orders cannot be conferred under it. To which our reply is, there never has been one Catholic rite of consecration universally received in the Church of Christ. There were before the Reformation and still are various "forms" of ordination, and in the Roman Church her present "form" has existed only from the Council of Trent and was composed at various periods.[1] The different ceremonies in Ordination have been varied in the order of their use, and the principles laid down by Leo XIII invalidate very many of their own past Roman consecrations and ordinations. As regards "intention" in the English Ordinal, this is plainly expressed in the Preface. It is "to the intent that these Orders (Bishops, Priests and Deacons) may be continued and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England." A sentence in the answer of the English Archbishops sums up the position thus: "In overthrowing our orders he overthrows all his own and pronounces sentence on his own Church." The whole argument resolves itself at last into the simplest form and can be expressed thus: "Rome says you do not do what we do, nor hold the same doctrines about Church government and Transubstantiation, and as we are right you must be wrong." Our reply is, that the very reason of the English Reformation was the appeal against this same claim of

[1] See *Answer of the Archbishops of England to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII on English Ordinations* (1897).

infallibility, and if we have departed from you in doctrine and services, we have done so to make the English Church more nearly to coincide with the Universal Church in the earliest and purest days. Argument can carry the matter no further. If any change be wrought in the unbending attitude of Rome, this will come not from without but from within, from honest and devout souls claiming the right to use reason and truth against the imperious dictates of authority, though in our own time the right to think for themselves has been sternly denied by Rome to her own children.[1]

Church Administration under Parker.

Queen Elizabeth ruled largely without Parliament, which during the forty-three years of her reign sat on only 770 days, *i. e.* little more than an average of eighteen days a year. Periods of two, three and four years passed without any Parliament being summoned. When the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity had been passed, the Queen resisted all attempts at further interference, and requested in 1572 that no Bills about religion be received by the Commons till they had been approved by the Convocations. Ecclesiastical government was by the Crown and through the Court of High Commission. Elizabeth issued her own injunctions, and allowed Parker and the other bishops to issue theirs for dioceses and cathedrals, but Parliament was not consulted. The Thirty-nine Articles of 1571, "read and confirmed again by the subscription of the hands of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Upper House and by the subscription of the whole clergy of the Nether House in their Convocation in the year of our Lord 1571," were executed within the realm by the assent and consent of the Queen, who sent a message to the Commons that they were not to be dealt with in Parliament. Parliament thereupon, in spite of the Queen's objection, passed an act requiring subscription to the Articles.

[1] See *Through Scylla and Charybdis,* by George Tyrrell, 1907.

In the same session an act to reform certain disorders touching ministers of the Church became law. This was directed against those priests and deacons who had taken orders in Queen Mary's reign, but not under the English Ordinal. They as well as all others were required to assent to the Thirty-nine Articles before being admitted to a benefice. The contention that this act allowed men to be admitted to benefices without recognised ordination is groundless.

The Queen would neither allow Parliament to touch articles of faith nor define them herself. In 1569 she issued a proclamation that she pretended "no right to define articles of faith, to change ancient ceremonies formerly adopted by the Catholic and Apostolic Church, or to minister the word or sacraments of God, but she conceived it her duty to take care that all estates under her rule should live in the faith and obedience of the Christian religion, to see all laws ordained for that end duly observed and to provide that the Church be governed and taught by Archbishops, Bishops and Ministers." Queen Elizabeth therefore drew a very definite distinction between "Supreme Head," which title she rejected, and "Supreme Governor," which is defined as meaning that no foreign prince, prelate, etc., was to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within her realm. The relation of Elizabeth to Rome is interesting, and her attitude greatly puzzled both Paul IV and Pius IV. The former was most insolent. He called her a bastard and claimed her kingdom. The latter tried the gentler means of persuasion. He wrote to her on May 5, 1560, as his "dearest daughter," and asked her to come into the bosom of the Roman Church. He also offered to approve the Book of Common Prayer if she would acknowledge his claims to supremacy and receive it on his authority.[1] For ten more years the

[1] This is denied by Rome, but the Queen herself talked openly of it. There is no documentary evidence to be found. The offer was made through an ambassador, and in matters of diplomacy the most important things are not always written, though such a

Queen succeeded by diplomacy, marriage negotiations and general astuteness in keeping the Pope and the European sovereigns in doubt about her intentions, and then the day of decision came.

In February 1570, the Roman Courts, having sat in judgment upon Elizabeth, pronounced her to be excommunicated and deposed. This decision dispensed her subjects from their oath to her and assigned the Book of the Common Prayer and the Oath of Supremacy to the flames. On February 25 Pius V issued his Bull of deposition, and from that day Romanism began to be identified in England with treason. By this time the Queen, who with all her faults was the darling of her people, laughed at the impotent rage of Pius V. Philip of Spain, who was not consulted, deplored its unwisdom. Urban VIII, many years later, said, "We yet deplore it with tears of blood." "It is easy," says H. N. Birt (p. 500), "to be wise after the event and to censure errors of judgment when their results have already condemned them, but in this case the errors are so glaring, the extenuating and impelling circumstances so conspicuously wanting, that unqualified condemnation alone can be meted out to the leaders and chief agents in this ill-considered enterprise." Such is the opinion of this Roman Catholic writer. The fact to be remembered is that the Church of England did not create the final breach, but was thus at last denounced by Rome itself after the thirty-six years of embittered controversy.

Parker lived only five years after these events, and the Spanish Armada, so carefully designed to conquer England and destroy the throne and Church, was not to come for eighteen more years. We now look at some of Parker's grave difficulties in steering the English Church during the fifteen and a half years of his

letter is said to have existed, whether written by the Pope or ambassador. Lord Justice Coke, speaking of this in 1606, said, "I have often heard from the Queen's own mouth, and I have frequently conferred with noblemen of the State who had seen and read the Pope's letter on this subject as I have related it to you."

episcopate through the hurricanes and storms which then beset her.

When Parker began to administer the Act of Uniformity, it was considered that a common worship was as essential in the Church as uniformity of law is to the State. Six years sufficed to destroy this theory, and the first safety valve for discontent was opened by the first schism in the English Church, when in 1566 a number of people began to meet for private worship in their own houses and even to administer the Sacrament. They disliked the whole constitution of the Church as lately reformed. In government they were opposed to episcopacy and in doctrine were Calvinistic. As some words are loosely used in Church history, it will be well here to define certain terms. "Puritan" was first used to describe the seceders of 1566. "Nonconformist" is the generic name of those who nearly a hundred years later refused to conform in 1662, and "Dissenter" is the name used for those Nonconformists (with the exception of Romanists and Unitarians) who were tolerated by the act of 1689. It is a mistake to suppose that England was whole-hearted in its allegiance to Rome under Queen Mary. The pent-up rebellion broke out at the very beginning of Parker's episcopate, and it resisted anything which seemed to savour of Rome in the authorised formulæ of faith and doctrine under the Prayer Book of 1558. An examination of these attempts to overturn the English Church in both government and doctrine belongs to the Lecture upon Richard Bancroft, but Parker's difficulties were caused by the self-same spirit.

The Act of Uniformity had restored "the ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof," which were prescribed in the first Book of Common Prayer. A proviso added, "until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the queen's majesty with the advice of her commissioners appointed and authorised under the great seal of England for causes ecclesiastical or of the metropolitan of the realm." [1] The same authority

[1] It will be noticed that there is no reference to the Metropolitan of York. The Province at that time contained three

could "ordain and publish such further ceremonies or rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of His Church and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments." Queen Elizabeth then could proceed in one of two ways, through the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission or through the Metropolitan. The act established the Eucharistic Vestments, and left in other hands all the difficulties of maintaining their use. When the Prayer Book appeared (1558) an Ornaments Rubric was inserted[1] without a word of reference to any further order. Nor can we blame the Queen or Parker for this. The vestments "of the second year of the reign of King Edward VI" had been presented and the further order was not yet forthcoming. What was done afterwards and by what authority are questions which have been keenly debated in our own time. We give a summary of the history and nothing more. Eight years passed before Parker's Advertisements appeared in 1566. They were agreed upon and subscribed by the Archbishop and the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, Winchester, Lincoln and others (an indefinite phrase). They contain forty-six clauses dealing with doctrine, preaching, prayer, sacraments, ecclesiastical polity, apparel, etc., and refer to vestments[2] in only three clauses. The

bishoprics and was ignored by Parliament in ecclesiastical legislation.

[1] "And here it is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the Comunion and at all other tymes in hys ministracions shall use suche ornamentes in the Church as wer in use by authoritie of parliamet in the second yere of the reygne of king Edward the VI according to the acte of Parliamet set in the begining of thys booke" (Prayer Book of 1558).

For the verbal difficulties between this and the Act of Parliament see Appendix G, p. 230.

[2] These are—

1. In the ministration of the Holy Communion in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, the principal minister shall use a cope with gospeller and epistoler agreeably, and at all other prayers to be said at that Communion Table to use no copes but surplices.

2. That the Dean and prebendaries wear a surplice with a silk

preface states that the Queen has by her letters directed the Archbishop, with the assistance and conference held with other bishops, viz. such as be in commission for causes ecclesiastical, to take some orders to stay diversities and to bring about one manner of uniformity throughout the whole realm. Apart from the history of the preparation of these Advertisements, probably no question as to their authority would have been raised. The Archbishop drew up his Articles in 1564 and sent them through Cecil for the Queen's signature. This was refused, but on January 25, 1565, the Queen wrote to Parker a peremptory letter reproaching him for inaction, and ordering him to confer with the other bishops of his province and the Universities and to stop the general disorder in the Church, especially in rites and ceremonies. He was to proceed by order, injunction or censure, as the cases should require, according to the laws provided by act of Parliament. Thus commanded, Parker took up again the matter of the Articles, and after draft copies had been sent to and fro between the Queen, Cecil and himself, he forwarded on March 10, 1566, the completed document. A second time the Queen refused her signature, and so Parker issued the document under the title of Advertisements without the specific royal sanction or authority. He was careful in the preface to make reference to the Queen's letters addressed to him. Was this action then the taking of other order prescribed in section 25 of the Act of Uniformity, 1558? The document refrains from saying it was, and the fatal flaw in the completeness of those who contend it was is the refusal of the Queen's signature. It would appear that she compelled Parker to act, but would not give him the final signature for which he pleaded and without which he feared he could not enforce the orders. Neither Queen Elizabeth nor

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hood in the choir, and when they preach in the Cathedral or Collegiate Church to wear their hood.

3. That every minister saying any public prayers or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a comely surplice with sleeves to be provided at the charges of the parish.

Archbishop Parker could have foreseen that the imperiousness which commanded but would not accept full responsibility, and the timidity which sought to do nothing illegal and shrank from using an authority which would be questioned, would more than three hundred years afterwards cause arguments in the courts of law and heated discussions between men separated in conviction by the same fundamental differences of Church doctrine and polity as then existed.

If we ask how far the Eucharistic Vestments were in use during the eight years before 1566, the question does not admit of an easy answer. The Queen through lay and clerical visitors and the Archbishops and bishops had all been busy during that time by articles, injunctions and inquiries in restraining the growing spirit of revolt against the traditions of the past. The Queen's insistence that something must be done to check diversity and establish uniformity, and the Archbishop's orders in the Advertisements, had reference not only to Vestments but to every part of Church worship and sought to obtain a minimum rather than to enforce a standard which would have led to further disorder.

Parker's chief difficulties soon became those arising from the growing spirit of Puritanism, which hated Rome and anything which was even reminiscent of it. The Zurich Letters (see No. 71) give us an idea of what the Puritans were contending for. These are some of the blemishes which they held to be attached to the Church of England. (1) In the public prayers, although there is nothing impure, there is a kind of popish superstition. (2) Exquisite singing and the use of organs was becoming more general. (3) Sponsors answered for infants and the sign of the Cross was used in baptism. (4) The sacred habits, viz. the cope and surplice, were used at the Lord's Supper. (5) Popish habits were worn out of Church and the bishops wore a rochet. In addition matters of licences and doctrine were objected to. The duty of carrying out the orders of the Advertisements fell upon Parker and Grindal, Bishop of London. Parker, Grindal and the other

bishops were neither proud nor arrogant nor greedy of power, but the Queen and Cecil threw upon them all the odium incurred by the suspension and deprivation of those who would not conform. The Puritans then began to contend that episcopacy was contrary to Scripture, and appealed from both the Queen and the bishops to Parliament. In 1572 they presented the famous Admonition to Parliament, which was preceded by a letter "to the godly readers," which speaks of the "lordly Lords, Archbishops, Bishops, Suffragans, Deans, Doctors, Archdeacons, Chancellors and the rest of that proud generation whose kingdom must down," "whose authority is forbidden by Christ." "Pope-like, they take upon them to beat them, and that for their own childish Articles being for the most part against the manifest truths of God." The Admonition was a fierce denunciation of Church worship and ritual, and contains twenty-one paragraphs of objections to the Prayer Book. At this stage Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop and at that time Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, intervened at Parker's request or with his encouragement and published "An Answer to a certain libel entitled an Admonition to the Parliament, 1572." He told the Puritan clergy that they were gently entreated, though some one or two had been displaced most of them had been allowed to keep their livings, all kinds of friendliness had been offered to them, and where they would not conform they had been asked only to be quiet and hold their peace. "If your doings," he argues, "proceed indeed of a good conscience, then leave that living and place which bindeth you to those things that be against your conscience . . . or what honesty is there to swear to statutes and laws, and when you have so done contrary to your oath to break them and yet still to remain under them and to enjoy that place which requireth obedience and subjection to them."

At the same time the battle was being fought out in Cambridge, from which Whitgift's answer had come. Pilkington, Master of S. John's, and Cartwright, Lady

Margaret Professor of Divinity, combined to cause a revolt in Trinity and S. John's, where both fellows and scholars defied the law by appearing in chapel without surplices. Cartwright, a man of great literary power, finally rebelled against the whole Church system and declared that the offices of bishop and deacon were not allowable, that every minister ought to be chosen by the people and every one ought to be chief in his own case. The statutes of the University were put in force against him, and he was deprived of both his Professorship and Fellowship and retired to Geneva, where his new friendships served only to conform him in his convictions. From this place of exile he continued the warfare with a strong personal hostility to Whitgift, who replied showing that the English Church ought to be distinctly English and dominated neither by Rome nor Geneva. Richard Hooker afterwards took up the argument from this point, and refers in the preface to his *Ecclesiastical Polity* to Cartwright's arguments. "This reply of T. C. consisteth of two false principles and rotten pillars; whereof the one is that we must of necessity have the same kind of government that was in the Apostles' time, and is expressed in the Scriptures, and no other; the other is, that we may not in any wise or in any consideration retain in the Church anything that hath been abused under the Pope."

We are now coming to the time when Parker's life was drawing to a close, and therefore we end our story, only adding some account of the last days of the sorely tried and brave-hearted Primate.

Parker's Last Days.

A word first as to the outcome of the controversy with the Puritans. It was a struggle between the maintenance of an historical national Church and the formation of a new one. Nor did the struggle end with Parker's life. He was succeeded by Grindal,[1] whose sympathies

[1] Bishop Creighton thus writes of Grindal, "Sensible, judicious, learned, with much personal charm, he seemed likely to take a

were so strongly Puritan that it was thought he would be able to control and restrain the party. Experience only served to show that he was less successful than Parker. Nor need we feel any surprise at this. Principles will win when expediency leaves only defeat accompanied with bitterness. The battle had to be fought again under Whitgift, to whom and to Parker the English Church largely owed its Catholicity, and without whose principles it would have lost in the closing years of the sixteenth century its continuity with the past, and its claim to be the ancient Church of the realm, reformed but not dissevered from its own past life.

And now we bid farewell to Parker, and look at him once more in his closing days as we have been following him through the years of his life of service and devotion to the Church. Throughout his busy life he remained a student, and especially an editor of ancient chronicles and a diligent collector of manuscripts. This love of past days was his solace in the midst of exacting and often thankless public labours. Queen Elizabeth proved a haughty and imperious mistress, ready to give her support to the Archbishop when this suited her purpose, and equally ready to disclaim his actions when it was politic so to do. Parker retained her personal regard as long as he lived. The Archbishop's generosity was continuous. His bounty to his native city of Norwich was great, and two or three colleges at Cambridge profited by his gifts. As part of his income he received the rectorial tithes of many parishes, and he fully recognised his responsibility to repair the chancels of the parish churches. His life at Lambeth was filled with generous hospitality, though he was often burdened with the maintenance of State and political offenders, who by the custom of the time were committed to his custody. Some of the deprived Marian Bishops were

prominent part in shaping the future of the Church under Elizabeth, but though he was put in positions of importance he made little mark and his tenure was disastrous to the dignity of the archiepiscopal office."

sent to live with Parker and were placed under his charge. His consideration for and kindness to these distinguished and disappointed brethren made their lives as pleasant as the conditions of Church life would permit. To these and other "prisoners" at Lambeth he assigned different chambers, and the whole household was accustomed to dine together in the great hall. Mrs. Parker and the children had their private apartments, and it was not customary for the lady of the house to be present in the great dining-hall. The custom which so long prevailed of assigning sons of the nobility to the care of the Archbishop of Canterbury was still in vogue and the Primate moved amongst all, from the young lords to the servants, with a gracious and personal interest in every life. Each day the great household assembled for Matins and Evensong, and no business was allowed to prevent the Archbishop's attendance upon the King of kings and Lord of lords. Parker ate sparingly and drank scarcely any wine. In company he was reserved and shy, but in private unrestrained and facetious. Such was the life at Lambeth, which was rendered more solitary by the death of Mrs. Parker in 1570 and of the second son in 1574. Towards the close of 1574 Queen Elizabeth visited the Archbishop at Canterbury and was entertained by him in great state. On his return to Lambeth Parker was taken ill, and he set himself to get ready for his departure. He prepared a tomb of black marble for his body, and on April 5, 1575, dictated his will, which contains these words, "I profess that I do certainly believe whatsoever the Holy Catholic Church believeth and receiveth in any articles whatsoever pertaining to faith, hope and charity, and wherein these I have offended my Lord God in any ways, either by imprudence, or will, or weakness, I repent from my heart of my fault and error, and I ask forgiveness with a contrite heart; which remission and indulgence I do most firmly hold I shall obtain by the precious death and merits of my most indulgent Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

On May 17 the tired soul found rest, and Matthew

Parker breathed his last breath. To say he had enemies is only to repeat what is true of every man called upon to rule in high office, whether in Church or State, and especially in troublous times. He had also many devoted and attached friends, who lightened his burdens and cheered his official and private life. "By nature and by education, by the ripeness of his judgment and the incorruptness of his private life, he had been pre-eminently fitted for the task of ruling the Church of England through a stormy period of her history, and though seldom able to reduce the conflicting elements of thought and feeling into active harmony, the vessel he was called to pilot had been saved, almost entirely by his skill, from breaking on the rock of medieval superstition or else drifting away into the whirlpool of licentiousness and unbelief" (Hardwick's *History of the Articles of Religion*).

RICHARD BANCROFT[1]

1544–1610[2]

MATTHEW PARKER died in 1575, forty years after the Reformation movement began. The hope of Papal supremacy in England perished with the accession of Elizabeth, and new questions rapidly arose within the English Church. The Puritan objective was destruction of episcopal government and abolition of liturgical worship according to the Prayer Book. The penal laws

[1] With Bancroft as a surname compare Meadowcroft, Rycroft, etc. It signified originally "of the bean-croft," *i. e.* the man who lived at the beancroft. Other authorities trace it to Bankcroft, *i. e.* the croft on the slope, but the former is more probable. It is still common in Cheshire and Lancashire, and in the sixteenth century was spelt Bancrofte, a form always used by Bancroft himself. The later spelling Banckcroft may have given rise to its association with "Bank," but later spellings are always untrustworthy as to the origin of a name. Both Bank and Croft are common as surnames, and a croft is a field enclosed for pasture. The earliest form was Atte (at the) Beancroft and de or del Beancroft.

The parish register at Prescot in Lancashire contains this entry, "1544 September Ric : Bancroft sone unto John Bancroft bapt : the XII dai." Little can be discovered about the father, John Bancroft, whose position in Lancashire was not one of any public note.

[2] Born at Farnworth in the parish of Prescot, Lancashire, 1544. Educated at Farnworth Grammar School. Entered at Christ's College, Cambridge, 1564, B.A. 1567. Prebendary of S. Patrick's, Dublin, whilst a deacon. Ordained priest at Ely, 1574. Chaplain to the Bishop of Ely (Cox), 1574. Rector of Teversham near Cambridge, 1575. Chaplain to Lord Chancellor Hatton, 1579. Chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, 1584. Rector of S. Andrew's, Holborn, 1584. D.D., 1585. Treasurer of S. Paul's Cathedral, London, 1586. Canon of Westminster, 1587. Bishop of London, 1597. Archbishop of Canterbury, 1604. Chancellor of Oxford, 1608. Died, 1610.

prevented open rebellion, but secret organisations worked incessantly at Cambridge and throughout the country to effect the revolution. Parker dealt with the movement firmly but often reluctantly. The Queen rebuked him for want of success, and laid much of the odium of action upon him. At his death Grindal of London was sent to Canterbury in the hope that his puritanical sympathies would conciliate opposition. The eight years of his primacy were ineffective, and only contributed graver difficulties after he was gone. Stern and honest in character, he failed in administration. The Queen ordered him to suppress the secret "prophesyings," and he replied by a long letter of protest defending their value and asking the Crown to refer all religious matters to the bishops and divines. Elizabeth was least of all weak in government, and she could not brook weakness in the Primate. Grindal was therefore sequestrated for six months and suspended from his ecclesiastical functions. The Queen suggested his resignation, and this would have been sent in if death had not relieved the embarrassing position. Almost blind and sick at heart he lay down to die, and the sceptre of power passed from hands too feeble and paralysed to deal with the great problems of Church government. On days of storm and tempest the captain of the ship must not leave the bridge to consult with his officers what course to steer.

Whitgift succeeded to the vacant throne of Canterbury. His loyalty to the Church had been proved on many occasions by his actions and writings, and the task before him demanded courage and decision. Robert Browne set up the first secession on the principle of substituting for the old Church a new organisation consisting of saints, "the worthiest were they never so few." The massacre on S. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, had its reflex influence in England and the spirit of the nation rose in bitterest opposition to the "recusants." The Puritan plots within the Church made defence a necessity, and Whitgift became a stern disciplinarian against his natural bent. A life and death struggle was forced

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upon the Church, and the Primate bore the brunt of the battle with unflinching firmness. For many years his right-hand man was Richard Bancroft, who brought to his task gifts matured by long experience and information such as he alone could obtain or know how to use. Our story therefore now proceeds along the life of Bancroft. An American writer, Dr. Usher, has produced the most complete extant account of what he calls the "Reconstruction of the English Church," and this lecture will be largely indebted to his most thorough investigation of this period of English Church history.

Bancroft's Early Life.

Bancroft was born in September, 1544, at Farnworth in the parish of Prescot in Lancashire. His family was of no note, but the boy possessed the elements of success in an intellect keen and industrious and a resolve to make his way in life. The battle between the new and old faiths was fought in Lancashire with an intensity which reached every home, and Bancroft's boyhood was spent amid Radical politics and Protestant faith. All this gave him a knowledge of Puritanism, which he turned to good account in later years. His enemies called him a traitor, but this term belongs to the man who from motives of self-interest betrays a cause to which he is pledged, and not to the natural development of mind and convictions which comes from new surroundings and increased knowledge. The charge is constantly brought in political and Church life and is generally of no force. In the nineteenth century Gladstone began his political life "as the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories," and Chamberlain was the dreaded Radical who was expected to ruin the constitution and the Empire. Bancroft had no education but that of the local grammar school until he entered at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1564. Most of the men in college were studying for the ministry, and the University strife, if more refined and intellectual, was about the very things, chiefly the externals of worship, which were

disputed in the rough Lancashire village. Some of the chief national disputants were in Cambridge at this time, Whitgift as Master of Trinity, Cartwright as Fellow of S. John's, and Travers, Hooker's opponent, as Fellow of Trinity. Bancroft is not alone as a young man whose University career has changed the current of his thoughts, and probably his admiration for Whitgift, which soon changed into a friendship destined to be life-long, largely influenced his mind. By the time he took his degree in 1567 the Calvinism of his boyhood had lost its charm. At the age of twenty-three his uncle, Archbishop Curwen of Dublin, made him a Prebendary in S. Patrick's, Dublin, and a royal licence secured for him six months' leave of absence each year. At Cambridge he migrated to Jesus College and became engaged in tuition, at the same time laying the foundations of his knowledge of theology by a careful study of the great Fathers of the Church.

He was ordained a priest at Ely in 1574, and soon afterwards became Chaplain to Bishop Cox of Ely, Prebendary of the Cathedral, Rector of Teversham near Cambridge and one of the twelve University preachers. He was frequently in London in attendance upon Bishop Cox, who initiated him into the details of episcopal administration, requiring him to examine candidates for Orders, to assist in the Consistory Court and at Visitations, to interview "recusants" and to transact a hundred other duties. The path to Church preferment then often lay through a bishop's household, where a larger acquaintance with public affairs was possible than in a parish or at the university. From the beginning of his ministry he showed those powers of industry, ability and study which later made him so valuable a servant of the Church and State.

In 1579 the Bishop of Ely died, and his young chaplain at the age of thirty-three passed into the household of Christopher Hatton, afterwards Lord Chancellor, by what influence I know not, but probably because of his powers and usefulness. This step sealed his Church views, as Hatton was hostile to the Puritans,

and opened out for him a career in statesmanship. His opportunities of public service now came freely. Whitgift made him administrator in a visitation of the vacant see of Ely. The University nominated him special preacher to combat the sect of Independents in Norfolk. His uncle chose him as his representative to plead with Cecil, Lord Burghley, for the maintenance of the revenues of S. Patrick's Cathedral when Trinity College, Dublin, was founded. Every task he undertook was performed with ability and tact, and Church preferments came to him. Whitgift wanted him to be made Dean of Worcester, but at that time Hatton was in disgrace with Elizabeth, and so his chaplain was passed over. In 1584 he became chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, and three years later was made a member of the High Commission. He had to wait yet ten more years before Whitgift could secure for him high preferment, and he entered upon the great Bishopric of London in 1597. "Good Mr. Secretarie (Cecil)," wrote the Archbishop, "you have bownd me unto you in this action for ever. Nether by God's grace, shall you at anie time haue cause to repent you of your most faithful and kinde dealings with me. And as for Dr. Bancroft, I dare assuer you that you shal finde him an honest, suer, and faythfull man." [1]

[1] "No Elizabethan bishop had ever wrought in so many fields of ecclesiastical activity as Bancroft. Parker had been an admirable and learned theologian; Whitgift shone in controversy; Grindal and Aylmer had been gifted with administrative capacity of no mean order. Yet not one of them had possessed that particular union of theological learning and controversial skill with practical experience, that would enable him to see in the complexity of the situation itself those elements of latent strength from which the remedy must proceed. Each of them lacked a personal knowledge of the problems they were to meet. Parker and Whitgift were brought from the seclusion of academic life to assume the control of a great organisation. Grindal gained his administrative experience in the North of England: Whitgift obtained what little he had in trying to reduce the borders of Wales to order and uniformity; but the conditions and problems of the Catholic North or of the unruly West were entirely different from the actual administrative problems of a Church which concerned mainly England south of the Trent and east of Gloucester.

Whitgift's sense of Bancroft's services to the Church is described in a memorandum which he prepared giving his reasons why Bancroft should be made Bishop of London. This I give in an Appendix.[1] The Primate had abundant reasons for valuing his chaplain's assistance. Charged as he was with administering the Church's laws, he found a zealous and efficient helper in Bancroft. A series of Mar-Prelate tracts were issued from the press and no one knew who wrote them or printed them. Their ribald humour gave them wide circulation. The Bishops and Church dignitaries were attacked personally as "petty Anti-Christs, proud prelates, intolerable withstanders of reformation, enemies of the gospell and most covetous wretched priests." Martin, in whose name they were written, would publish every one of their mistakes and put a "young Martin in euerie parish . . . euerie one of them able to mar a prelate." Various writers tried the effect of replies written in a like strain, but the fun-making degenerated into mere bespattering of each other with mud. At last Bancroft entered the lists, and in a notable sermon at Paul's Cross on February 9, 1588, exposed the motive and aims of the whole agitation. Starting from the text, "Believe not every spirit but try the spirits whether they be of God," he discussed the whole question of Church government, illustrating his subject with the

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Indeed, at the time of their appointment, each of the three attempted to refuse the Archbishopric on the plea that his previous life had not fitted him for so great a responsibility. It was a fact of vastly more consequence that none of them had ever lived in close enough touch with the people, or with the great bulk of the country gentry, to understand their aspirations, their hopes and their fears. Those prelates had been attempting to solve problems of which they had little personal knowledge for a people whom they knew only by hearsay. Bancroft, on the other hand, had acquired by an intimacy of thirty long years an unrivalled comprehension of the people's actual religious beliefs. No small part of the progress made toward reconstruction in the years 1583–1603, no inconsiderable reason for its success, was to be found in the work of Richard Bancroft, as High Commissioner and Bishop of London."—Usher, vol. i., p. 37.

[1] See Appendix H, p. 234.

methods of early heretics, and showing how law and order were being assailed in the name of a new divine scheme of Church polity. "Her Majesty is depraved. Her authority is impugned and great dangers are threatened. Civil government is called in question. Princes' prerogatives are curiously scanned. The interest of the people in kingdoms is greatly advanced, and all government generally is pinched at and condemned. The Church is condemned, the ancient Fathers are despised, your preachers are defamed, and yet these men are tolerated." "The Doctrine of the Church of England is pure and holy; the Government thereof, both in respect of her Majesty and of our Bishops, is lawful and godly; the Book of Common Prayer containeth nothing in it contrary to the word of God." The printing press was at last discovered in a private house in Northamptonshire. The workers escaped with their type to Coventry, and were caught finally in Manchester. Cartwright and other prominent men were arrested, and Bancroft took a leading part in their trial by supplying information in his possession. In 1593 the legal advisers of the Crown reported that no illegal practices could be proved, but the power of the movement was destroyed. One of the writers of the tracts, Udall, was condemned to death but pardoned. Bancroft then unearthed a conspiracy to kill the Queen as a prelude to introducing the "Discipline." Three men suffered death for this treason. Two, Greenwood and Barrow, were executed for printing seditious books, and later Penry for a like offence. We are shocked now at such things. The freedom of the press permits almost any outrage upon authority, whilst by its publicity it dooms violent agitations to a natural death. At the same time law and social order still rest upon force, though the smooth working of the police system and the courts of law obscure this fact from the public eye. Every violent social eruption shows us how little we are removed from the final appeal to force and imprisonment for the continuous maintenance of common order. In the days of Elizabeth death was regarded as the readiest and most

expeditious way of expiating public crime, and neither Bancroft nor the High Commission did anything which was not demanded by the Crown, the Parliament and the public opinion of the country.

Through all these years Bancroft was perfecting himself in the arts of diplomacy and Church defence. To some of his enemies he seemed to combine the habits of a ferret, the mind of a Jesuit and the instincts of a wily politician. But this was because by assiduous industry and carefully prepared action he laid bare their secret plans and checkmated their most astute moves. He had information from the very centre of the hostile camps, and little escaped him or failed to come to the knowledge of his accredited agents.[1] The cause for which he contended was the very existence of the Church's continuous life. Defeat would have changed the character of the English Reformation and destroyed the history of the Church.

Dr. Bancroft as chaplain had been the watch-dog protecting the Church's rights, but as Bishop of London he was wanted for State affairs. In fact Lord Burghley and his son had stipulated for this, and had bound him to their polity before he was nominated to the Queen. They well knew his administrative and diplomatic

[1] Dean Hook in his *Life of Bancroft* defends him against the unworthy insinuations of Puritan historians. "It seems strange that the Puritan historian (Neal) should object to the simplicity of his life. . . . Bancroft was indeed stern to the Puritans, but against whom was this strictness exhibited? Those who were the objects of severity were persons who having sworn to obey the law of the Church, objected to adhere to their oath. We do not under these circumstances wonder at his being maligned, but we may question the justice of the charge brought against him of being too strict and severe. . . . (The preachers at his death) could not indeed have found a better illustration of conscientious work in the service of God and for the well-being of His Church on earth than the energetic work of England's Primate, Richard Bancroft."

Dr. Hook was in the nineteenth century a kindred spirit in fearless Church defence, though his greatness of heart overflowed in loving kindness to friend and foe alike. He described himself as the Church's watch-dog, which barked at naughty Church children who went to play in conventicle alley.

powers, and henceforth he was entrusted with difficult and delicate political negotiations which had often been entrusted to the Bishop of London. His Church problems were sufficiently perplexing to occupy all his time, and he set himself to the task of reforming the shameful irreverence which had gathered around and within the walls of S. Paul's Cathedral. The Privy Council put into his hands the task of censoring the press and controlling the Romanish priests in London. Of this latter duty we shall speak presently. University discipline gave him more trouble, and the preachers at Paul's Cross had to be watched so that nothing was said in opposition to the Government policy. He soon found how uneasy lay the head which wore the episcopal mitre. He writes to Lord Burghley, "I am grieved that takynge so great paynes for the discharge of my dutye (as I dare assume to profess) I am so often depraved unto her Majestie." He asks Cecil "not to believe anything against me or to be offended with me untill I may be heard what I am able to say in myne own defence."

In 1600 Bancroft was sent, after vainly protesting against undertaking the task, as head of an embassy to Denmark. The ostensible object was to settle some disputes between the two countries about privateering and fishing in each other's sea reserves. The secret object was the question of James VI's succession to the throne of England. He had married the daughter of the Danish King. France wished to control the son of Mary Stuart, and the Danish King's influence with his son-in-law was wanted as a counterpoise to the dreaded Romish plan. No one was better fitted than Bancroft for such a mission. He knew the innermost secrets of the Roman priests, and he was also known to James VI of Scotland. He fulfilled his embassy with accustomed success, and nothing more was heard of James's alliances with the Continent. Nothing of importance was concluded about the fishing rights, and the bishop brought Cecil a present of "a vatt of Rhenish wynne conteyninge six score gallons." Thus pleasantly ended the embassy on privateering and fishing rights! Three

years later Elizabeth died, and James VI came to a throne of which he was the only possible occupant.

In their effusive welcome of James the people of England thought of the Crown as they had known it during the more than forty years of the last great Tudor sovereign, and as yet they were ignorant of the narrower spirit of the Stuart dynasty and of its obstinate resolve not to bend to the popular will. The politicians welcomed James because his coming gave hope of a cessation of age-long hostilities between Scotland and England. The Puritans, who knew little or nothing of the friction between James and the Scottish Kirk, welcomed him because he came from Presbyterian Scotland. The Roman Catholics hoped for great things from the son of Mary Stuart, and English Churchmen knew his secret and yet firm adhesion to their form of Church government. So all hailed his accession with enthusiasm. James adroitly accepted every one's flattery, made vague and grandiloquent replies to each party and kept to himself his own views and intentions.

The Hampton Court Conference.

The Millenary Petition raised the Church question at once. It purported to come from "more than a thousand of your Majesty's subjects and ministers," though it is now proved never to have been signed at all. It begged "their dread sovereign" to release them of the burdens under which they groaned—for example, the cross in baptism, bowing at the name of Jesus, the ring in marriage, too much music in public worship, the wearing of the square cap and surplice and the reading of the Apocrypha. It asked for able and learned men who would hold no pluralities and reside in their parishes and preach every Sunday. Excommunications and ex-officio oaths, the length and costliness of suits in the ecclesiastical courts were protested against. They asked for no change of Church government, but that "discipline and excommunication may be administered according to Christ's own institutions," and that no man

shall be "excommunicated without the consent of the pastor." [1]

To remedy these and other complaints the petition requested a conference of learned men. The movement was astute and clever, because it asked for many things which Whitgift and Bancroft had been striving after for years, and it forestalled in the eyes of the King any official action. To James himself, who loved religious disputation, it was doubly welcome. Whitgift and Bancroft were busy the next few months in gathering evidence and compiling complete statistics about communicants, recusants, pluralities, non-residence and impropriations. The two universities stepped into the breach and showed what questions were raised by the petition. Who was to decide what was an "able" man? Were men persuaded that the (Puritan) discipline, under the Presbytery, which was the life and being of their discipline, was of Christ's institution? The petition asked that no man should be excommunicated without the consent of his pastor, "thereby intending the utter overthrow of the present Church government, and in steede therof the setting up of a Presbitery in every parish; or rather that which is worse (if worse may be) the innobling of every particular pastour to excommunicate by himself alone." James was no sooner settled on his throne than he entered upon these matters. Bancroft told him the long story of the secret history of Puritan and Roman Catholic plots which he had himself exposed and frustrated. One day in particular, July 22, 1603, is recorded on which James spent many hours at Fulham with Bancroft, after which he called the Privy Council together and told them how he took it to heart "that all things should be duly performed which might tend to the preservation of the trew religion whereby we have euer lived and resolved to dye." The words were non-committal. In October they were followed by a proclamation against "such as seditiously seek reformation in Church matters." The King declared that he had studied the constitution in Church

[1] *The Millenary Petition*, A.D. 1603 (Gee and Hardy, p. 508).

and State and "since we have understood the form and frame we are persuaded that both the constitution and doctrine thereof is aggreeable to God's word and near to the condition of the primitive Church." He then two days later desired the Archbishop to collect information, and meantime ordered that all who used the new forms not prescribed by authority should be repressed. Bancroft showed him enough of the Romish plots to cause the King to stay his hands and to be prudent. Thus were the hopes of many destroyed. The throne was not to be carried by assault, and James had declared himself on the side of established order. Churchmen and Puritans both awaited the result of the coming conference anxiously. When the conference met on January 12, 1603, at Hampton Court, James presided in person. He had many splendid qualifications for the office of president, and the divinity that hedged his kingly office shaped the debates. The report is not pleasant reading, there is too much obsequiousness on the one side and too great timidity on the other. The original list of those to be called together contained eight bishops and eight Puritans, but the Puritan champion Cartwright died the previous month. Hildersham and Egerton, two leading Puritans, were left out because Lord Burghley had discovered some secret actions of theirs. Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was the chief Puritan speaker, and Bancroft, Bishop of London, the leader of the Church party.[1]

[1] An anonymous account of the Conference written at the time gives the names thus—

Puritans Actors in thes Pointes.	Dr. Reynolds. Oxon. the principall mouthe and speaker.
	Dr. Sparke. spake verie sparingly.
	Mr. Chaderton. mute as any Fyshe.
	Knewstubbes feirce against the Crosse.
	Patrick Galloway. silent in all things.
Anti-Puritans.	Drs. Andrewes, Overall, Edes, Thomson, Barloe, Kinges, Montaine, Ravis and Abbotts.
Supervisors of this Conference.	Bishop of London (Bancroft).
	Bishop of Winchester (Billson).

We are surprised at the reasonableness of the Puritan demands. All the plots to overthrow the constitution of the Church with which Bancroft had been familiar for twenty years were kept in the background, and Reynolds appeared as a man of tender conscience who sought the removal of a few objectionable items in public worship. The five Puritans knelt before the King and expressed their grievances under four heads. (1) That the doctrine of the Church might be preserved in purity according to God's word. (2) That good pastors might be planted in all Churches to preach the same. (3) That the Church government might be sincerely ministered according to God's word. (4) That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety. Reynolds amplified these objections. Certain passages of the Prayer Book and in the Thirty-nine Articles they wished to be made less Catholic inasmuch as they connoted some beliefs and ceremonies of the pre-Reformation Church. Bancroft, into whose soul the iron of controversy had entered, interfered and begged the King not to listen to heretics. He urged that their intentions were not so pacific as they appeared, and that they desired not the reformation but the utter overthrow of the orders of the Church. He had good reason for his words because of his complete knowledge of many years of secret plotting, but the King reproved him and told him he disliked the interruption and was there to hear both sides fully discussed. As the debate proceeded more important questions than those of small ritual acts emerged, and Reynolds asked for the establishment of the prophecyings and that the bishops should settle questions in the diocesan synods in conjunction with grave and learned presbyters. The changes in the Thirty-nine Articles were intended to bind Calvinism upon the English Church, and the request to allow the parish priest to decide all questions of discipline himself would have made him absolute and independent of episcopal control in his own parish. It was now the King's turn to show impatience and irritation, and as the Conference drew to a close he broke out into

language redolent of his past days in Scotland. "This was rightly the presbytery of Scotland wherein John and William and Richard and such like must haue theyr censure and John will giue his vote, as William for he is a godly man, and so all the matter is ordered by simple ignorant men. Whereto sayd Mr. Knewstubbes if it please your Majesty he meaneth a presbitery only of ministers, and not of lay men. To whom sayd his Majesty, I kenne him well enoughe. And when I meane to liue under a presbitery, I will goe into Scotland agayn. . . . Till then I will haue the bishops to gouern the Churche." The memory of many humiliations received at the hands of Knox and his friends speaks in these words. The conference draws to its close and the King is now the one member who speaks unadvisably with his lips. As he dismissed the assembly a personal passion long pent up and at last finding utterance spake thus: "How they used the poor lady, my mother, is not unknown, and how they dealt with me in my minority. I thus apply it. No Bishop, no King. If this be all your party has to say I will make them conform themselves or else will harry them out of the land." These ill-advised words bore bitter fruit a few years later, when in 1620 the *Mayflower* sailed from Plymouth with its 101 persons in search of a new home in a new country, and the stream of emigration began to flow towards the West. Bancroft and Lord Burghley were greatly pleased with the conference, and steps were at once taken to carry out some of the decisions.[1] The bishops were formed into a committee to alter some rubrics of the Prayer Book, to add the section in the Catechism upon the two Sacraments, "the addition," says Cosin, "was first penned by Bishop Overall (then Dean of S. Paul's) and allowed by the Bishops," and to make arrangements for a new translation of the Bible.

The Book of Discipline was definitely rejected by

[1] James's Proclamation, 1604, says, "We cannot conceed that the success of that conference was such as happens to many other things which moving great expectation before they be entered into, in their issue produce small effects."

the conference, and the Book of Common Prayer again affirmed by the King by and with the advice of the Privy Council. The Privy Council acted upon the advice of the Bishops, and amongst these Whitgift, but still more Bancroft, led the rest.[1] The King explained that he had issued a commission under the Great Seal to the Archbishop of Canterbury and others according to the form which the laws of the realm prescribed, that is, under the Act of Uniformity, 1559, to cause the whole Book of Common Prayer as newly printed to be authorised, and the Archbishops and bishops were required to do their duty in causing the same to be obeyed. The chief administration of the Church now soon fell into Bancroft's hands. On February 29, 1604, Whitgift died. He was a scholar and a theologian who had unwillingly been summoned from the tranquil courts of his College at Cambridge to deal with complex administrative problems for which he had little training. Bancroft was much more effective in all he had done, and so there could not be any serious question as to who was to go to Canterbury. As Whitgift had sought London for him, so now he desired to have him as his successor at Lambeth. The tired old man, whose care for the welfare of the Church had been constant and whose watchfulness had been untiring, breathed his last breath with the words "pro ecclesia Dei" upon his lips. They expressed his motives, his hopes and his justification.

Bancroft as Archbishop.

Bancroft's primacy extended over only six years, from 1604–1610, and his greatest work for the Church was done before he came to Canterbury. We have spoken of his long-continued efforts to defeat the Puritans, and we must now look at the equally important services he rendered in unmasking many Romish plots. When

[1] See James's Proclamation for the use of the Book of Common Prayer, A.D. 1604. This was issued under letters patent which specified the alterations and ordered the publication and exclusive use of the amended Book. (See Gee and Hardy, p. 512.)

Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth in 1570, many Roman Catholics felt themselves called upon to destroy her government and plot against her life. The loyalty of many English Roman Catholic families was tested and proved more than once in her reign, but the plots were stirred up from without, and the newly formed society of Jesuits found a fruitful field in England for exploiting its methods and principles. This world-wide society had its origin in Spain under Ignatius Loyola, and was formed to reconquer Christendom for the "true faith," that is, for the Roman Church. The innumerable hordes of Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, Minorites and others had all lost their influence and a new militant society came into existence to fight with the secret weapons of deceit and with the poisoned arrows of half-truths.[1] It received its formal ratification at Rome on September 27, 1540, under the name of "Societas Jesu," surely a strange perversion of the name of Him who was Truth itself. It was founded "ad majorem Dei gloriam." The world was to be its sphere of action, and its agents were soon busy in every country under the inexorable laws of its general. Parsons and Campian arrived in England in 1580. The former was born in Somersetshire and brought up in Calvinistic theology at Oxford. Five years later in 1585 an Act of Parliament was passed against Jesuits and Seminaries. "Whereas divers persons called or professed Jesuits seminary priests and other priests what have been and from time to time are made in the parts beyond the seas by or according to the order and rites of the Romish Church have of late years come and been sent and daily do come and are sent into this realm of England . . . not only to withdraw her highness's subjects from their due obedience to her majesty but also to stir up and move sedition rebellion and open hostility . . . to the great endangering of the safety of her most royal person and to the utter ruin desolation and overthrow of the whole realm." The Act then requires that all such

[1] See *The Jesuits*, by Gresinger, English translation, 1903, and *Pascal's Provincial Letters*.

priests shall quit the realm, and that those born in England or ordained by Roman authority shall not come to or remain in the country. If any Jesuit or seminary priest shall before the Archbishop, bishop or some justice of peace take the oath set forth by act in the first year of Elizabeth, he shall be exempt from the penalties of this act. Bancroft was engaged for years in negotiations with and about the position of these priests. The Roman Catholic population in and about London was only five per cent. of the whole people, and yet rose as high as seventy and eighty per cent. in Durham, Northumberland and Cumberland. These were ministered to in secret by from three to five hundred Jesuits and priests. The noblemen and squires, where they were Roman Catholic, sheltered the priests and encouraged the people to come to services in private. Bancroft urged Lord Burghley to keep a sharp outlook over these local gentry. "Your Lordship knoweth," he wrote, "that the people are commonly carried away by gentlemen Recusants landlords and some other ring-leaders of that sort. So as the winning or the punishing of one or two of them is a reclaiming or a kind of bridling of many that do depend upon them." As the administration of the law was in the hands of the country gentry, it is not difficult to understand that the position of the Roman Catholics varied much in different localities. Traditions of disguised priests and secret worship lingered for generations in the North of England. Bancroft's task was rendered easier by the dissensions and jealousies which existed between the secular clergy and the Jesuits, and these quarrels carefully reported to Bancroft's agents enabled him to thwart many a well-laid scheme of aggression. Robert Parsons was for long the stormy petrel of English Roman Catholic life. Bancroft and he were well matched in energy and restless vitality. Each possessed the power of diplomatic finesse and administrative capacity, and from his home in Rome Parsons directed the warfare, ever urging the Roman Catholics in England to bolder aggression and more definite claims. The secular priests in England

asked for a bishop and had to be contented with an arch-priest. Blackwell, who held this office, had been in past years an Oxford Fellow and was a man of learning and of a mild and peaceful disposition. Parsons intrigued against him at Rome, and unseemly accusations touching the administration of funds kept up the bitterness between the two men for long years. Bancroft was wise enough to turn all this to his own account and to profit by the disunion. All these plots culminated in 1605 in the famous Gunpowder Plot, which was designed to destroy the Houses of Parliament and to subvert the throne. Its very audacity led to its defeat.

The attitude of James towards the Roman Catholics was indirectly responsible for this plan of murder. Before he came to the throne of England he held out hopes of toleration which were soon interpreted at Rome as preludes to a coming submission. In 1603 a secular priest, named Watson, organised a plot to seize the person of James, but the Jesuits betrayed him to Lord Burghley, and by doing so gained a momentary triumph for themselves. James tried to effect a reconciliation with the Roman Catholics upon the condition that they transferred their allegiance from the Pope to himself. Fines were remitted, and recusants grew more bold and absented themselves from the parish churches. The Protestants throughout the country took alarm and demanded vigorous action. James grew frightened and issued his Proclamation of 1604, ordering all priests to leave the country. The judges on circuit hanged several recusants, the fines were reimposed and a new reign of terror began for all Roman Catholics. Under these circumstances the Gunpowder Plot was secretly hatched. Its promoters were men of position and wealth. Robert Catesby and Guy Fawkes were men of good families and great personal influence. Garnet, the Provincial of the English Jesuits, was informed that some great violence was in contemplation. Afterwards he shielded himself under the seal of confession, but he took no steps to prevent the outrage. When on his trial he prevaricated, saying that he had a general knowledge of

Catesby's intention which he had received not in confession and that he was highly guilty and had offended God by not revealing it. A second plea was that he had learnt the full details not in confession but by way of confession. The plot was betrayed by Tresham to his brother-in-law, Lord Monteagle, in order to save that nobleman's life.[1] Guy Fawkes, who had been left in the cellars of Parliament in charge of the powder barrels, was arrested on November 4, the night before the explosion was to take place. Under torture he revealed the whole plot. Catesby was shot in a house in Staffordshire, and in the next few days the whole elaborately planned rising fell to the ground. Guy Fawkes and Garnet expiated their crimes on the scaffold and the arch-priest Blackwell addressed a letter to his fellow-religionists declaring his abhorrence of the plot.[2] Thus

[1] The letter to Lord Monteagle ran thus—

"My Lord,

"Out of the Love I bear to some of your Friends, I have a Care of your Preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your Life, to devise some Excuse to shift off your Attendance at this Parliament: For God and Man have concurr'd to punish the Wickedness of this Time. And think not slightly of this Advertisement, but retire your self into your Country, where you may expect the Event in Safety. For though there be no Appearance of any Stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This Counsel is not to be contemn'd, because it may do you Good, and can do you no Harm, for the Danger is past so soon as you have burnt the Letter. And I hope God will give you the Grace to make good Use of it: To whose holy Protection I commend you."

[2] Blackwell's letter—

"To my Reverend Brethren the Assistants and other Priests, and to all the Catholicks whosoever, within the Realm of England.

"Since my late Letters publish'd, (declaring the Unlawfulness of the late desperate Attempt against our gracious Sovereign, the Prince, Nobility, and other Estates of the Realm; as also the inward Heart-grief conceiv'd amongst us, that any Catholicks should be Instruments in so detestable and damnable a Practice, so odious in the Sight of God, and horrible to the Understanding of Men) some uncertain Rumors have lately been spread of Intentions against Persons of special Honour and State (which, how true they be, God best knows) yet my self in tender Discharge of my Duty, (with the First to fear the Worst, and hoping charitably

ended the "fifth of November Gunpowder treason and plot," the annual commemoration of which lasted to our own generation but which has now happily died out. The immediate effect of the plot was to establish a new compact between Bancroft and the secular priests against Rome and all Jesuits, amongst whom Parsons was especially conspicuous. I give in a note both the new oath of allegiance required and the form offered by the Roman priests as a substitute.[1] The permanent effect

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of the best, that they are rather Untruths or Reports, than true Suggestions) have thought it good to signify unto you my Assistants, and all other my Brethren, Priests, and Catholicks whatsoever in this Realm: That no violent Action to Attempt against the Person of our dread Sovereign the King, his Royal Issue, Nobility, Counsellors, or Officers of State, can be other than a most grievous and heinous Offence to God, scandalous to the World, utterly unlawful in it self, and against God's express Commandment. The which I desire you, my Assistants, to communicate to our Brethren the Priests; and we and they, as heretofore we have done, to instruct our Ghostly Children accordingly: Assuring my self, that as his Holiness has already in general to me, prohibited all such unlawful Attempts: So undoubtedly, when Notice of such shall come unto him, he will by his publick Instruments manifest and declare to the World, his utter Dislike and Detestation thereof, with as deep Ecclesiastical Censures, as are in his Power to impose upon such, as shall so wickedly and malitiously contrive such devilish Devices. In the mean Time, by the Authority I have, and so much as in me is, I do humbly intreat, and straitly charge, and injoin all Catholick Persons, that live under obedience of mine Authority, upon the utter Pain that can, or may ensue thereby, that none of them dare, or do presume, to attempt any Practice or Action, tending in any Degree to the Hurt or Prejudice of the Person of our Sovereign Lord the King, the Prince, Nobility, Counsellors, or Officers of State: But towards them in their several Places and Degrees, to behave themselves as becomes dutiful Subjects, and religious Catholicks to their Royal King, his Counsellors, and Officers, serving in Place of Authority under him, the 28th of November, 1605.

"Vester Servus in Christo Blackwellus,
"Archpresbyter."

[1] 1606.

The Oath of Allegiance.

(3 and 4 Jac. I. c. IV. sect. IX.)

I, A.B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify and declare in my conscience before God and the world, that our

of the plot has been irrevocable. To the Jesuits is largely due the undying suspicion of Rome, which has been transmitted from father to son through successive generations. When James II tried to bring the English Church back to Roman allegiance and lost his throne

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sovereign, lord King James is lawful and rightful King of this realm and of all other his Majesty's dominions and countries; and that the Pope neither of himself nor by any authority of the Church or See of Rome or by any other means with any other hath any power or authority to depose the King, or to dispose any of his Majesty's kingdoms or dominions, or to authorise any foreign prince to invade or annoy him or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty, or to give license or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumult or offer any violence or hurt to his Majesty's royal person, state or government or to any of his Majesty's subjects within his Majesty's dominions. Also I do swear from my heart that notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of excommunication or deprivation made or granted or to be made or granted by the Pope or his successors or by any authority derived or pretended to be derived from him or his see against the said King his heirs or successors, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience, I will bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and him or them will defend to the uttermost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown and dignity, by reason or colour of any such sentence or declaration or otherwise, and will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know or hear of to be against him or any of them; and I do further swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever: and I do believe and in my conscience am resolved that neither the Pope nor any person whatsoever hath power to absolve me of this oath or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully ministered unto me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary: and all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation or mental evasion or secret reservation whatsoever: and I do make this recognition and acknowledgement heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian: so help me God.

in the attempt, the memory of the fifth of November, though eighty years old, was still potent and played its part in the revolution of 1688.

The English Bible of 1611.

Our so-called Authorised Version of the Bible came out of the Hampton Court Conference. Dr. Reynolds asked for a new translation of the Bible, "because those which were allowed in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI were corrupt and not answerable to the truth of the original." The language of the educated people in England from the time of the Norman Conquest until the middle of the fourteenth century was largely French, and whilst certain portions of the Bible had been translated there was no complete edition until 1380. Before the days of printing there could be no translation which, as Tyndale said, "not merely merchants but ploughboys could buy and read." In the early years of the

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1606.

Form Offered by the Priests as a Substitute for the Oath of Allegiance.

(Tierney's Dodd's Church History, IV, cxci.)

I, A.B., as concerning my allegiance towards his Majesty, do, in all points, acknowledge as dutifully, and as far forth, as any good subject ought to do to his prince: and I do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, and testify, and declare in my conscience, before God and the world, that our sovereign lord King James is lawful king of this realm, and of all other his dominions and countries: And that I do and will bear true faith and loyalty to his Majesty, and him will defend, to the uttermost of my power, against all unlawful conspiracies and attempts, which shall be made against his person, crown and dignity: And will also do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know and hear of, to be made against him: and I do also think and verily believe that princes, which be excommunicate, ought not to be murdered by their subjects nor any other. And all these things I do plainly express, and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, by the true faith of a Christian.

So help me God.

sixteenth century Tyndale and Coverdale produced translations. By the injunctions of 1559 the Great Bible was ordered to be set up in churches. In 1568 the Bishops' Bible, so called from the number of bishops engaged in the preparation of it, appeared. The revisers were to follow the Great Bible and "not to recede from it but where it varyeth manifestly from the Greek or Hebrew original." Parker in sending a letter of commendation of this translation to Cecil for presentation to the Queen wrote, "This printer hath honestly done his diligence; if your honour would obtain of the Queen's Highness that this edition might be licensed and only commended in public reading in Churches to draw to one uniformity, it were no great cost to the most parishes and a relief to him for his great charges sustained." This translation met with scanty support, and so the matter stood in 1604. James readily acquiesced in the proposal for a new translation, and a large committee was soon at work, which did not complete its task until 1611. Bancroft sent out a circular letter to the other bishops on July 31, 1604, stating that the King had appointed "certain learned men to the number of four and fifty for the translating of the Bible and that in this number divers of them have either no ecclesiastical preferment at all or else so very small, as the same is far unmeet for men of their deserts." The King asks for vacancies in parsonages or prebends to be certified to him, that he may commend to the bishops or patrons "some such of the learned men as we shall think fit to be preferred."[1] Very strict rules were laid down to govern the work of the translators, who were not to be allowed to introduce new theology or new Church schemes under the cover of a new translation.[2] The old ecclesiastical words were to be kept, and no marginal notes explaining passages according to individual interpretations were allowed to be affixed. The title-page of the Bible, which has been admirably

[1] For the names of the translators, see the Preface to *A Reprint of the Edition of 1611* (University Press, Oxford, 1911).

[2] For the rules, see Appendix I, p. 238.

reproduced in the reprint, calls the book, "The Holy Bible conteyning the Old Testament and the New. Newly Translated out of the originall tongues and with the former Translations diligently compared and reuised by his Majesties speciall commandement. Appointed to be read in Churches.[1] Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie. Anno Dom. 1611."[2] This great edition gradually won its way to acceptance by its intrinsic merits, and for nearly three centuries has helped to shape the English tongue, nor is it yet displaced from its position of influence by the Revised Version of 1881.

Canons of 1604.

We turn now to some of Bancroft's administrative acts. Though Whitgift died on February 29, 1604, Bancroft was not confirmed in the see of Canterbury until December 10. As Bishop of London he performed the duties which should have belonged to the

[1] No authority has ever been discovered for the phrase "appointed to be read in Churches," for this and not "Authorised Version" is the official title. In 1881 Lord Chancellor Selborne wrote thus, "if the version was 'appointed to be read in churches' (as is expressly stated on the title-pages of 1611), at the time of its first publication, nothing is more probable, then this may have been done by Order in Council. If so, the authentic record of that order would now be lost, because all the Council books and registers from the year 1600 to 1613 inclusive were destroyed by a fire at Whitehall, on the 12th of January, 1618 (O.S.). Nothing, in my opinion, is less likely than that the King's printer should have taken upon himself (whether with a view to his own profit or otherwise) to issue the book (being what it was, a translation unquestionably made by the King's commandment to correct defects in earlier versions of which the use had been authorised by Royal injunctions, &c. in preceding reigns) with a title-page asserting that it was 'Appointed to be read in Churches' if the fact were not really so."

In any case, as the present Archbishop of Canterbury proved in *Macmillan's Magazine* (October, 1881), the authorisation was "permissive and not compulsory." The Homilies were authorised in the same words "appointed to be read in Churches" (1562).

[2] See the deeply interesting preface styled "The Translators to the Readers" in the reprint of 1911.

Primate. The constitutions and canons ecclesiastical are described as treated upon by the Bishop of London, President of the Convocation for the Province of Canterbury, and the rest of the bishops and clergy of the said province and agreed upon with the King's Majesty's Licence in their synod begun in London 1603. These were promulgated under the Great Seal of England by his Majesty's authority. These canons are still in force where they have not been altered by subsequent synodical legislation. Made in convocation they are binding on the clergy only. They were framed upon many constitutional precedents, and injunctions and visitation articles were used as the basis of construction. The canons were a serious attempt to enforce order and discipline into a Church which had been distracted by nearly fifty years of inward rebellion. It is worthy of notice that they distinguished between the vestments for Holy Communion to be used in cathedral and collegiate churches and in parish churches. In the former the cope is to be worn whether by bishop, dean or canon when principal minister. In the latter every minister saying the public prayers or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the Church shall wear a decent and comely surplice with sleeves. Clergymen possessing degrees are to wear such hoods as by the orders of the Universities belong to their degrees, which the minister shall wear (being a graduate), under pain of suspension. Non-graduates are to wear some decent tippet of black (whatever that may mean), so it be not silk.

When Bancroft began to enforce these canons he had enough to do in insisting upon the use of the surplice, which was the vestment chiefly objected to by the Puritans. I cannot find any reference to the Rubric upon Vestments, which then as now stands in the forefront of the Book of Common Prayer. Dr. Usher speaks of Bancroft's administration of these canons as "justice tempered with mercy."[1] Certain of the clergy

[1] See *Reconstruction of the English Church,* vol. ii., chaps. vii. and viii.

refused to conform and were deprived. What their number was is an old subject of dispute. The figures have to be carefully analysed, but they include not only those deprived but those "silenced, suspended and admonished." In reply to a statement in the House of Commons that three hundred had been deprived, Bancroft replied that the number was only sixty.[1] The truth is difficult to arrive at when, then as subsequently, one side wished to minimise and the other to exaggerate, and both argued from different premises according as they reckoned actual deprivation or included also suspension or admonition. Whether our sympathies are with Bancroft or not, it was clear that the chartered lawlessness against which he had to contend must be ended if the Church were to continue to maintain its authority or perform its work in its constituted way.

The Consecration in 1610 of three Bishops for the Church of Scotland.

These consecrations, which must be carefully distinguished from what was done in 1637 by Laud, have assumed a new significance in consequence of the resolution of the Lambeth Conference of 1908, which says, "It might be possible to make an approach to re-union on the basis of consecrations to the episcopate on lines suggested by such precedents as those of 1610."[2] It

[1] Nonconformist writers sometimes speak of 746. Dr. Gardiner (*History of England*, i. 197) says, "It has been calculated that about 300 of the clergy were ejected," and in a note he adds, "The number has been estimated as low as 49." He concludes in favour of the larger number. Dr. Usher questions this larger number. (See vol. ii., p. 4.)

[2] Resolution No. 75 (*Lambeth Report*, p. 65). The conference receives with thankfulness and hope the Report of its Committee on Re-union and Inter-communion, and is of the opinion that, in the welcome event of any project of re-union between any Church of the Anglican Communion and any Presbyterian or other non-episcopal Church, which, while preserving the faith in its integrity and purity, has also exhibited care as to the form and intention of ordination to the ministry, reaching the stage of responsible official negotiation, it might be possible to make an

will be well then to consider what these precedents were.[1] With the exception of about twelve years the titles and civil rights of bishops remained in Scotland during the latter part of the sixteenth century. James's policy was to restore their spiritual rights as soon as possible. This policy triumphed in the Synod of Perth in 1597, and in the following year in the General Assembly at Dundee. In 1603 James nominated Spottiswood to Glasgow, in 1604 Gladstanes to S. Andrews,[2] in 1605 Hamilton to Galloway and in 1607 Lamb to Brechin. In June, 1610, the General Assembly at Glasgow gave these bishops authority to convene synods, to excommunicate, to ordain, to suspend and deprive from benefices and to exact oaths of obedience. Nothing hitherto had been done to consecrate them as bishops, and they performed the above episcopal functions without consecration. No bishops of the old succession remained in Scotland, and therefore the King arranged for the consecration of these men, already styled bishops and to whom had been granted civil powers, to take place in England. The letters patent were dated October 15, 1610, and these claimed that the rights of nomination, presentation and dispensation belonged solely to the Crown of Scotland. The two Primates of England were to take no part, so as to avoid difficult complications and to satisfy Scottish objections. The

approach to re-union on the basis of consecrations to the episcopate on lines suggested by such precedents as those of 1610. Further, in the opinion of the conference, it might be possible to authorise arrangements (for the period of transition towards full union on the basis of episcopal ordination) which would respect the convictions of those who had not received episcopal Orders, without involving any surrender on our part of the principle of Church order laid down in the Preface to the Ordinal attached to the Book of Common Prayer.

[1] See *Ordination Problems* (S.P.C.K.), by John Wordsworth, D.D., late Bishop of Salisbury. I pay my tribute of respect to this great scholar, this ornament of the English episcopate, and my own affectionate friend, all too early removed from the Church militant here on earth, with what confidence can we say to the Church Triumphant.

[2] Consecrated in Edinburgh on Sunday, December 30, 1610.

letters patent, which were addressed to the Bishop of London (Abbot) and other English bishops, declared the sees of Glasgow, Galloway and Brechin to be vacant and ignored the Scottish law by which the men were already in full possession of their bishoprics. The consecration took place in the chapel of the Bishop of London's palace, then to the west of old S. Paul's, on Sunday, October 21, 1610. The consecrating bishops were George (Abbot),[1] Bishop of London, Lancelot (Andrewes), Bishop of Ely, Richard (Neile), Bishop of Rochester, and Henry (Parry), Bishop of Worcester.[2]

[1] Abbot was fully conversant with Scotch Church affairs, and had accompanied James in 1608 on a visit to Scotland, one object of which was to reconcile the people to the idea of an episcopal Church. He had a life-long antagonism to Laud, and Bancroft, whom he succeeded at Canterbury, was little less odious to him. He owed everything to the favour of James, and was in character of ungracious temper and unbending honesty. He was obstinate without zeal and haughty without dignity. In doctrine he was a Calvinist, and, says Lord Clarendon, "He considered Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled Popery and valued those men most who did that the most furiously."

[2] See *The Act of Consecration, Grindal Register,* fol. 414. In the margin : Comissio et literae patentes pro consecratione archiepiscopi Glascuensis, episcopi Gallovidiensis et episcopi Brechinensis, in Scotia.

CUM SERENISSIMUS in Christo princeps et dominus, dominus noster JACOBUS, dei gratia Anglie Scotie ffrancie at Hibernie rex, fidei defensor &c., ex certis iustis legitimis et rationabilibus causis animum suum in ea parte moventibus, magnopere cupiverit ut Archiepiscopatus et Episcopatus quidam in regno suo Scotie restaurentur et in pristinum statum restituantur, (et) literas suas patentes regias magno sigillo Anglie sigillatas, gerentes datum vicesimo (*sic, lege* decimo) quinto die Octobris anno regni sui Anglie ffrancie at Hibernie octavo et Scotie quadragesimo quarto, ad reverendos in Christo patres dominum Georgium episcopum Londonensem, Lancellotum episcopum Eliensem, Richardum episcopum Roffensem, et Henricum episcopum Wigorniensem inscribi et dirigi fecerit et mandaverit, pro consecracione venerabilium virorum et subditorum regni sui Scotie, videlicet magistri Johannis Spottiswood ministri et concionatoris ad sedem Archiepiscopalem Glascuensem, magistri Gawini Hamilton ministri et concionatoris ad sedem episcopalem Gallovidiensem, et magistri Andree Lambe ministri et concionatoris ad sedem episcopalem Brechinensem in regno sue Scotie tunc vacantes, et ad nominacionem et disposicionem suam de iure corone regni sui

The newly consecrated bishops shortly afterwards consecrated others in Scotland, and by this way Episcopacy

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Scotie spectantes et pertinentes, Dicti reverendi patres Georgius episcopus Londonensis, Lancellotus episcopus Eliensis, Richardus episcopus Roffensis, et Henricus episcopus Wigorniensis, vicesimo primo die mensis Octobris anno domini millesimo sexcentesimo decimo, Ad perimplendum mandatum et beneplacitum serenissimi principis et domini nostri domini Jacobi dei gratia Anglie Scotie ffrancie et Hibernie regis, fidei defensoris &c., in oratorium sive Capellam dicti Reverendi patris domini episcopi Londonensis, infra palatium episcopale Londonense situm et situatum, intrarunt et sese congregarunt; Quibus in superiore parte Capelle sive Oratorii predicti collocatis et in diversis cathedris sedentibus, precibusque deo optimo maximo per Capellanos Reverendi patris episcopi Londonensis antedicti pie et devote factis, et Concione deinceps erudita per quendam magistrum Johannem Wicars habita, et publice perlectis litteris predictis regiis patentibus, ad consecrandum venerabiles viros, primo magistros (*sic, lege* magistrum) Johannem Spottiswood in Archiepiscopum Glascuensem, secundo magistrum Gawinum Hamilton in episcopum Gallovidiensem et tertio magistrum Andream Lambe in episcopum Brechinensem, processere, eosdemque in Archiepiscopum et episcopos respective, iuxta formam consecracionis episcoporum in libro consecracionis episcoporum presbiterorum et diaconorum in hoc regno Anglie recept(am) et usitat(am) et publice auctoritate comunit(am), consecrarunt et confirmaverunt. Sed, antequam ad huiusmodi consecracionem dicti Reverendi patres sese accommodarunt, venerabiles viri Johannes Spottiswood Gawinus Hamilton et Andreas Lambe separatim et singuli, suis viribus et in personis suis, iuramenta de agnoscendo regiam supremam potestatem in causis ecclesiasticis et temporalibus et de recusando et refutando omni et omnimode iurisdictioni potestati auctoritati et superioritati foraneis et extraneis, iuxta vim et formam statuti parliamenti huius incliti regni Anglie in ea parte edite et provisi &c., prestabant; hocque iuramento per dictos venerabiles viros prestito, predictus venerabilis vir Gawinus Hamilton iuramentum prestitit ad reverentiam et obedientiam debitam domino Archiepiscopo Glascuensi in regno Scotie et successoribus suis, quod iuramentum de reverentiam et obedientiam prestando et solvendo domino Archiepiscopo Sancti Andree in regno Scotie, cum Archiepiscopus aliquis ibidem deinceps consecratus fuerit, et eius successoribus, venerabilis vir Andreas Lambe in persona sua similiter prestitit. Cumque hec consecracio peragenda sit in Capella sive oratorio Reverendi patris domini episcopi Londonensis sitque infra provinciam Cantuariensem, Reverendissimus in Christo pater Richardus providentia divina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Anglie primas et metropolitanus, cupiens regio predicto beneplacito prout debuit satisfacere, Licenciam suam ad consecracio-

was restored in the Church of Scotland. There is no evidence that the existing presbyters in Scotland were re-ordained, though all the new ones received episcopal ordination. The Royal prerogative was employed to force the consecrations through, and Dr. Wordsworth points out that "this side of the 'precedents of 1610' was not for a moment approved by the Bishops of the Lambeth Conference of 1908." We are not surprised to learn that much discussion arose in London before the consecrations took place. Bishop Andrewes desired that the three Presbyters from Scotland should be ordained to the office of priesthood before proceeding to that of the episcopate. Archbishop Bancroft held that "there was no necessity of receiving the order of priesthood but that episcopal consecration might be given without it." In support of this theory there are many cases from Church history in which the episcopate has been conferred *per saltum* upon the principle that a bishop was *ipso facto* ordained a priest since the greater includes the less. Whatever arguments were used the four bishops did consecrate without any previous English orders being conferred. I know the influence exercised by Bishop John Wordsworth in securing the passage of the Lambeth Conference resolution in 1908, and therefore I give below his summary in favour of the "precedents of 1610."[1] So far from the Lambeth Confer-

nem illam perficiendum et celebrandum sub sigillo quo in hac parte utitur concessit, datam in manerio suo de Lambehithe decimo nono die mensis Octobris anno domini millesimo sexcentesimo decimo et trans(lacionis) sue anno sexto. Quae quidem Licencia presentata fuit predictis Reverendis patribus domino Georgio episcope Londonensi, domino Lancelloto episcopo Eliensi, domino Richardo episcopo Roffensi et domino Henrico episcopo Wigorniensi ante inchoatam consectacionem et per eosdem (inc. fol. 415) ea qua decuit reverentia acceptata. Tenor vero literarum patentium predictarum et licencie Reverendissimi patris predicti sequuntur in hec verba videlicet JACOBUS dei gracia e.q.s.

[1] Reasons for the course now proposed. (1) The resolution of 1908 is practically a dispensation; (2) the Gelasian principle—grave necessity; (3) the Apostolic canon—call of divine grace; (4) it would avoid raising the question of existing status.

I may now, very shortly, summarise the arguments of the preceding essay in favour of the course here suggested.

ence having frowned upon proposals for re-union, its resolution (No. 75) was the most important step taken hitherto on the side of the Church of England. Without deciding any details or judging many questions which have yet to be raised, it indicated a way towards union which may yet lead to the fulfilment of what has become a hope and desire throughout Christendom. The Church in every section is well trained in methods

(1) The Anglican Communion is competent to dispense with any rules of discipline which do not touch the essentials of ordination as to matter, form, intention and minister. It has so dispensed, according to one explanation, as far as it took corporate action in the consecration of October 21, 1610. It has more distinctly affirmed its willingness to dispense with its rules of gradual ascent to the episcopate in the seventy-fifth resolution of the Lambeth Conference of 1908.

(2) The Gelasian principle of the suspension of ecclesiastical rules in times of necessity is also in its favour. The great need of re-union in the face of the attack made upon the fundamental truths of Christianity, and the weakness in the aggressive work at home and in the mission-field which arises from separation, are a sufficient cause for the application of new methods. Church history has examples of something of the same sort in regard to the healing of schisms.

(3) The principle of the Apostolic canon, exemplified in the freedom of ordination not only of laymen when pointed out by a vox Dei, but of persons endowed with spiritual gifts, without any previous probation, is even more pertinent. For the highest Churchmen must recognise in many leading Presbyterian and Nonconformist ministers a remarkable exhibition of the grace of God and a ministry blessed by Him.

(4) The course proposed would avoid casting any imputation on the ordination already received, and no doubt exceedingly valued, by the ministers as consecrated bishops. Their status would be accepted as practical evidence of their fitness, while its theoretical validity would not be discussed. All that it would be further necessary to ascertain would be that they were personally sound in faith and unblamable in character, and had been duly elected to the sees for which they were chosen.

Under the circumstances contemplated, the choice of the persons to be consecrated bishops would certainly be made after most earnest prayer for the Holy Spirit and after the most searching inquiry and with the full concurrence of the people. It would be an act of the Spirit-bearing Church, conscious of its deep responsibilities, and I believe it might look for the full approval of the great Shepherd of the flock, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Easter, 1909.

of disunion, and re-union can never come until all are agreed to submit themselves to the guidance of the Holy Spirit. He alone can show the better way of unity, peace and concord. We shall make progress only so far as we study the principles common to us all and forget the controversies which separated our forefathers and still keep us apart.[1]

Bancroft's Character.

In closing this lecture upon Bancroft I attempt a summary of his character. He was from his days in Cambridge an ecclesiastical statesman rather than a theologian. His life-long training in diplomacy and his extensive acquaintance with intrigue, which he set himself to counteract, made him keen and discerning and sometimes too suspicious. An impetuosity of nature combined with much ill-health caused him at times to be rude, and not till his latest days were there signs of gentleness in his manners. His life was one long and strenuous contending for the rights of the Church against Roman intrigue and Puritan disloyalty. Our Church owes to him its very existence in an age when its principles were challenged and its system of worship threatened with destruction. In dealing with King James he met with all the difficulties which Laud found in an exaggerated form in the King's son, Charles I. We cannot judge these Archbishops by any standard of to-day, and yet, while acknowledging all that the Church owes to Bancroft, we cannot refrain from wishing that he had been less Erastian and more devoted to the spiritual interests of the Church.[2] These were

[1] I was myself responsible for causing the resolutions agreed upon in 1907 by the Church of England in Australia and the Presbyterian Church in Australia to be sent to all the bishops in 1908, and whilst these were not formally before the Lambeth Conference they were in the minds of the Bishops during the discussion.

[2] Since the days of Henry VIII the Crown had been regarded as the depository of both civil and ecclesiastical power, and the King was held to combine these two in his person by virtue of the Consecration Service.

generally lost sight of in the daily administration of the Church's chartered privileges and in obedience to the imperious demands of the Crown. Bancroft's health was sacrificed to his duties. For many years before his death he suffered from ague and stone, and at last died on November 2, 1610, after agonising pain which the medical skill of his day was powerless to alleviate. He was buried at Lambeth, and under his successor, Abbot, the Church soon learnt to honour the memory of its brave and fearless champion.

WILLIAM LAUD[1]

1573–1645[2]

UNTIL recent years Cranmer suffered from indiscriminate praise, Bancroft from neglect, and Laud from unreasoning dislike and suspicion. The last has now

[1] I find much difficulty in obtaining any satisfactory account of the origin of the name Laud. S. Lô in France gave rise to Senlow. Baring-Gould says, "Slow is S. Lô, in Latin Laudus, that gives us the surname of the Archbishop, Laud." Lower (*Patronymica Britannica*) says, "*Sancto Lô*, as the surname is latinised in charters as De Sancto Laudo, it is probably the origin of Laud." There is a surname Lewd, *i. e.* untaught, ignorant, a layman, thus "lered and lewed," *i. e.* clergy and laity (Piers Plowman). The name occurs thus, William le Lewed (1300), afterwards Roger Lude, county Somerset. The word Lewd occurs in two groups of forms, (1) one retaining the "e" of the old English "Laewede," and (2) the other the "a." These latter forms are chiefly northern and Scottish, but not exclusively, and are written Lawed, Laued, *Laud* and Lawid. In the fourteenth century we have "Ye clerkes rounde (of shaven crowns) and ye lawed men fourcornered." In the thirteenth century, "To laud and Inglis man I spell That understandes that I tell." In the fifteenth century, "both to lawd man and to clerk." The word then connoted layman as opposed to cleric, thence unlearned and so low and vulgar, and finally ill-bred and base.

I am inclined to the opinion that Laud's name came from this old word for layman, and has no connection with S. Lô in France. In the poem written in the Vestry Book of All Hallows Barking, in 1663, which records the removal of his body to S. John's College, Oxford, the name is spelt "Lawd." The coffin plate has "Laud."

[2] Born at Reading, 1573. Educated at Reading Free School. Matriculated, October 17, 1589, at S. John's College, Oxford. Fellow, 1593. B.A., 1594. M.A., 1598. B.D., 1604. D.D., 1608. Ordained Deacon January 4, 1600. Priest April 5, 1601. (Ordained both Deacon and Priest by the Bishop of Rochester (Young), because Oxford was vacant from 1592 to 1603). Chaplain to Charles

been called the greatest Archbishop who has sat in the chair of Augustine since the Reformation, and one who, amid the apparent failure of all his aims, re-laid firm and deep the old foundations of the English Church.[1] He was the only son of a wealthy merchant, or clothier, at Reading, and was born there in 1573. When Laud was in later years taunted with the meanness of his origin, he described himself as "a man of ordinary but very honest birth." He was educated at the Free Grammar School of the town, and went at sixteen years of age to S. John's College, Oxford. Reading school possessed certain privileges, *i. e.* Fellowships and Scholarships at S. John's, and this doubtless determined the choice of a College.[2] His tutor was Buckeridge, afterwards President, who taught him to ground his studies "upon the noble foundation of the Fathers' Councils and the ecclesiastical historians." Here then we have the beginnings of that learning which in subsequent years was to be turned to such good account

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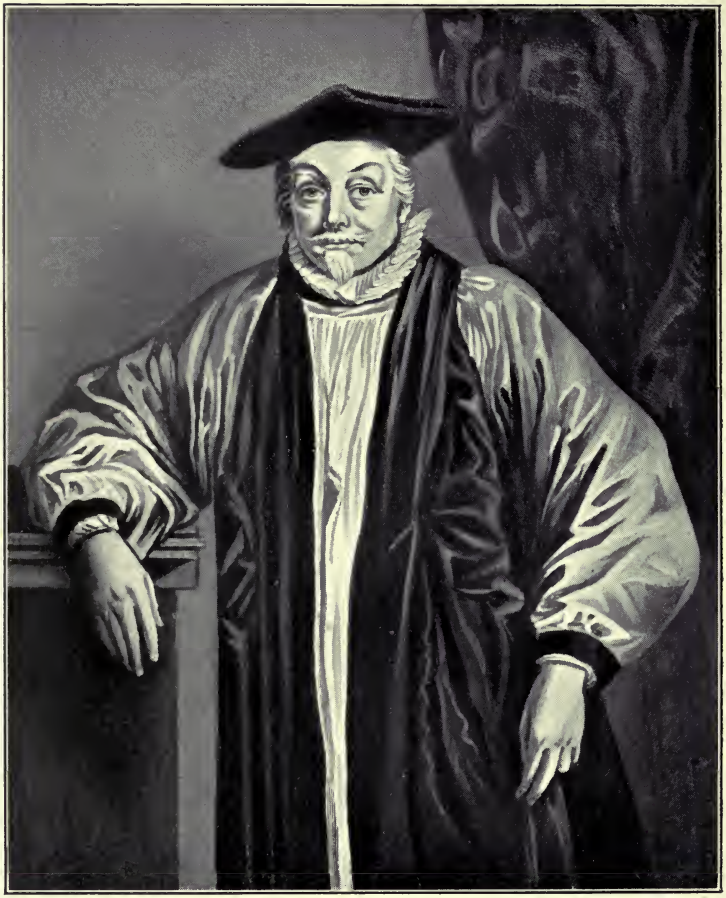
Blount, Earl of Devon, 1603. Vicar of Stanford, Northamptonshire, 1607. Also Vicar of N. Kilworth, 1608. Rector of Cuxton, Kent, 1610. President of S. John's, Oxford, 1611 (elected by the Fellows). Prebendary of Lincoln, 1614, and Archdeacon of Huntingdon, 1615 (by Bishop Neile of Lincoln). Dean of Gloucester, 1616 (by James I). Prebendary of Westminster and Bishop of S. David's, 1621 (by James I). (The King gave Laud permission to hold the office of President *in commendam.* "But," writes Laud in his diary, "by reason of the strictness of that statute which I will not violate nor my oath to it under any colour, I am resolved before my consecration to leave it." He resigned the office a fortnight before his consecration to S. David's.) Bishop of Bath and Wells and Dean of the Chapel Royal, 1626 (by Charles I). Privy Councillor, 1627. Bishop of London, 1628. Chancellor of Oxford, 1629 (by the University). Chancellor of Trinity College, Dublin, 1633 (elected by the Fellows). Archbishop of Canterbury, 1633. Committed to the Tower, March 1, 1641. Beheaded on Tower Hill, January 10, 1645.

[1] *William Laud,* by W. H. Hutton, B.D., 1895, p. 3.

[2] A London merchant, Sir Thomas White, founded the College with great munificence "to the honour of God, the Virgin Mary and S. John the Baptist." This was in 1555. The buildings were partly those of a Cistercian Monastery founded in 1456 by Archbishop Chicheley. Two fellowships were reserved for students from Reading.

against Rome. Oxford was largely Calvinist in doctrine when Laud matriculated, and the new foundation of S. John's played the part of Oriel in the nineteenth century in being the home of Churchmanship. When Laud became a Fellow he soon gathered disciples round him, and by the time he graduated as B.D. (1604, *i.e.* at thirty-one years of age), he was sufficiently important to be proceeded against by the Vice-Chancellor for maintaining the Catholic doctrine and position of the English Church. On proceeding to D.D. his thesis affirmed that "episcopatus" is "jure divino." His chaplaincy with Charles Blount, Earl of Devon, was marked throughout his life by a painful memory. He married his patron to a divorced lady, Lady Rich, who had been her new husband's mistress. Laud kept the day for the rest of his life as one of penitence and humiliation, and never forgave himself for a too ready compliance with an unrighteous demand.

In these early days of study and comparative obscurity, Laud laid the foundations of his knowledge and principles, and when he was called upon in later years to put these into practice, he was only giving expression to his long-cherished thoughts. A time of crisis was coming in the earlier years of the seventeenth century upon the English Church and State, and in the then close relationship between the two a like fate awaited both. Moments of crisis reveal character but do not create it, and Laud must be regarded as the exponent of principles then generally accepted, but not necessarily inherent in the Church's position and rights. It is possible to imagine an archbishop who would have acted with greater wisdom, and while defending the Church's faith would have been a mediator between an obstinate king and an enraged people. History, however, records a different story, and Laud was the willing agent in all things for the royal will. His decision involved the Church in the common ruin, and gave a political bias to Churchmanship which identified it with absolute government. The result has been to call down upon his head the vials of wrath and indignation and



ARCHBISHOP LAUD. [*Page* 163.

to make him the chief scapegoat to carry the sins of the Stuart dynasty. The historians of the nineteenth century revelled in unqualified abuse. Hallam says of him: "Though not literally destitute of religion, it was so subordinate to worldly interest and so blended in his mind with the impure alloy of temporal pride that he became an intolerant persecutor of the Puritan clergy, not from bigotry, which in its usual sense he never displayed, but systematic policy." Macaulay uses of him more contemptuous language: "The mean forehead, the pinched features, the peering eyes of the prelate suit admirably with his disposition. They mark him out as a lower kind of Saint Dominic, differing from the fierce and gloomy enthusiast who founded the Inquisition as we might imagine the familiar imp of a spiteful witch to differ from an archangel of darkness." All this is graphic and spiteful writing, but it is not history, and few men now turn to Macaulay for well-balanced judgments of any historical personage. This excess of abuse has produced a reaction, and the real Laud must be rescued from these caricatures of his mind and actions. Mr. Gladstone, Dr. Mozley [1] and Bishop Creighton,[2] no mean authorities, have expressed their opinions upon Laud and his times, and have done much to set the maligned Archbishop in true historical perspective. "Laud saved the English Church," says Dr. Mozley. "That any one of Catholic predilections can belong to the English Church is owing, as far as we can see, to Laud. He saw the good element that was in her, elicited, fostered and nurtured it, brought the incipient Church school to size and shape, and left it spreading over the Church and setting the standard. Let us be historically just. Let the dead have their due. Let us acknowledge facts and allow their true stamp and authorship to remain upon them. The English Church in her Catholic aspect is a memorial of Laud." Bishop Creighton's witness is similar: "So far as Laud is concerned (the disasters) only emphasised

[1] *Archbishop Laud* (1845), by Dr. Mozley.
[2] Lectures delivered at All Hallows Barking, in 1895.

the truth that he who undertakes to do God's work with the world's weapons will stand or fall according to his worldly prudence and not according to the excellence of his intentions. Laud chose to work through power rather than through influence, his power failed him and he fell before his foes. That they were relentless and pursued their triumph to the utmost, we can only regret for their own sakes. . . . Laud's conception of the Church was sounder, larger, more practical than that of his opponents. Events justified his wisdom. Presbyterianism was tried and failed. Independency was tried and failed, efforts at ecclesiastical combination proved to be impossible. When England had again to consider the matter nothing was vital except the system of Laud, which was practically accepted at the Restoration. It was after all the most possible, because it was the most intelligible. Laud had laid down its main lines. The Church of England was part of the Catholic Church holding the Catholic faith, maintaining the historic Episcopacy, dispensing the sacraments according to primitive ordinance. "I die," said Laud in his will, "I die, as I have lived, in the true orthodox profession of the Catholic faith of Christ, a true member of His Catholic Church within the communion of a living part thereof, the present Church of England." This was the position of the English Church, and nothing subsequently altered it. Compromises might be urged by politicians, but nothing could be accepted which threatened to destroy the order of the English Church as a part of the continuous Church of Christ. This was the original basis of the English Church. It had been passionately attacked from the beginning. It had been inadequately expressed in practice. Laud asserted it clearly and definitely, and showed how it was to be set forth and what it involved.[1] When Laud wrote to Wentworth in

[1] For a more recent opinion upon Laud see *England under the Stuarts*, by G. M. Trevelyan. The writer's traditional point of view is one of the old hostility, and yet justice is done to motives and actions. See the following sentences. "Laud, who feared the anger of the rich as little as he respected the feelings

Ireland, "I am alone in those things that draw not profit after them," he was scarcely exaggerating the truth, and the old Oxford tutor had not the courteous art to conceal from his selfish and venal coadjutors his dislike of their proceedings. Laud and Wentworth were almost the only honest men at the head of affairs, though they were also the two most earnest contrivers of despotism in Church and State.

From Oxford to Canterbury.

From these general remarks upon Laud's career we return to his days at Oxford. The scholar of Reading, like scores of others who have risen to power and influence through the English Universities, had no friend but his own ability. His tutor, John Buckeridge, directed his studies in a channel which ran opposite to the dominant Calvinism at Oxford. Whilst there is no just comparison between the characters of the two men, there is a very close analogy between the studies and circumstances of Laud in the seventeenth century and Pusey in the nineteenth. Each found Oxford given up to theology and worship wholly opposed to the historical and Catholic side of the English Church. Each became the dangerous young man to be suspected by the heads of colleges and professors. Through all this opposition Laud fought his way, and the spirit of controversy which it engendered left its permanent marks upon his character.

At the time of his ordination as Deacon, in 1600, Young, Bishop of Rochester, "found his study raised

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of the poor, used the same tribunals which punished the conventicles to chasten the adultery of influential men, who might otherwise have been his powerful friends," p. 175. "Rural villages, seldom furnished with any other public buildings, transacted parish business in the church. Laud reformed this altogether. Breaking with both medieval and Protestant tradition he originated a new view as to the use of sacred buildings, which was imposed in his own day by order and coercion alone, but which won its way into popular custom after his death as public halls, clubs and secular institutions of every kind rose to serve instead of the church as places of assembly," pp. 175–6.

above the system and opinions of the age, upon the noble foundation of the Fathers' Councils and the ecclesiastical historians, and presaged that if he lived he would be an instrument of restoring the Church from the narrow and private principles of modern times." A few years later Dr. Abbot, brother of the Archbishop and Vice-Chancellor, fiercely attacked Laud by name from the University pulpit, but he behaved himself then and at other times with singular coolness and self-restraint. He pursued his studies and held to his opinions. At his own College of S. John the Baptist he rose high in favour, but not without previous opposition. The next ten years brought him several pieces of ecclesiastical preferment, and in 1610 he resigned his Fellowship to give himself to the twofold duties of chaplain and parish priest. His enemies rejoiced over what they regarded as his banishment from the University and their own triumph. In the following year the President of S. John's, Buckeridge, was made Bishop of Rochester, and Laud was chosen President after a contested election, followed by an appeal to the King, who confirmed the appointment. Upon leaving the College in 1621, Laud is able to say: "I governed that College in peace without so much as the show of a faction all my time, which was near upon eleven years." The defeated candidate was taken into favour by Laud, and subsequently owed to him the office which he had lost by Laud's election.

By this time, through the good offices of Bishop Neile of Lincoln and other friends, Laud had become known to James I. The King knew well his ability, and there was nothing unusual in his appointment in 1616 as Dean of Gloucester. He was then forty-three years of age, with a reputation for profound learning and great administrative capacity. Bishops and Deans were until quite recent times frequently chosen from the heads of colleges at the Universities. He was appointed for the express purpose of reforming and setting in order what was amiss. Miles Smith, the Bishop, was a Calvinist and indifferent to Church order and forms. The new Dean went down and presided at the Chapter in January

1617, when it was agreed that the necessary repairs should be undertaken and the Holy Table be placed at the east end of the choir. "The city," says Heylin, "was at that time much perturbed with the Puritan faction, which was grown multitudinous and strong by reason of the small abode which the Dean and Prebendaries made amongst them, the dull connivance of their Bishop and the remiss government of their Metropolitan, so that it seemed both safe and easy to some of the rabble to make an outcry in all places that popery was coming in."[1] Such was Laud's first experience of Church administration in a prominent position. The Bishop declared he would never enter the Cathedral again. The storm subsided, as the Dean had the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth on his side, and for the next five years he regularly presided at the Chapter meetings, though his public duties elsewhere made him largely non-resident.

In 1616 Laud accompanied James I to Scotland, who with execrable taste told his old friends, the Scotch

[1] *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 70. Laud, like Dr. Johnson, had his Boswell. Dr. Heylin is thus described by Dr. Mozley in his essay upon Archbishop Laud—

"Heylin's biography, however, only gives one side of the Archbishop; it exhibits the shrewd tactician, the active indefatigable man of business, the spirited Church champion. Heylin realizes acutely the religious politics and party aspects of the times; he catches phrases, watchwords, party notes: a cant term, a piece of abuse that he has treasured up, lets you into the whole feeling of the time being, like a newspaper. Laud, the ecclesiastical combatant and schemer, figures in strong colours throughout; but we are not let into the inner and deeper part of his character: the homo interior was not in Heylin's line. We read through his book and have barely a glimpse of a whole inward sphere of thought and feeling in which Laud's mind was moving all the time. We go to another document for this: the Diary reveals a different man from what the active scene presented; and a fresh and rather opposite field of character appears. Heylin's portrait has a new colour thrown upon it by the connection; we look on the stirring features with another eye when we have seen the quiescent ones; the bustle of State and Church politics covers an interior of depth and feeling; the courtier, statesman, and man of the world kneels before the cross; and we gain a different idea of him altogether," p. 109.

divines, that "he had brought some English theologians with him to enlighten their minds." In 1621, at the age of forty-eight, Laud was nominated by the King as Bishop of S. David's. He resigned the headship of his college in accordance with the statutes, and embarked as a statesman-ecclesiastic upon the adventurous voyage which was to end in shipwreck and death. His consecrators were six bishops, not including Canterbury (Abbot), who was under suspension for the accidental shooting of a keeper. For five years—until in 1626 he was translated to Bath and Wells by Charles I—he administered his diocese as a non-resident bishop. The condition of the house was deplorable. Laud added a chapel designed after the fashion of a college chapel, and did what he could for a remote and neglected diocese. As Bishop he was head of the Chapter, and at the first meeting he attended the minute-book records: "Whereas the Reverend Father in God William Laud Bishop of S. David's hath taken offence that the muniments of the said Church are in such shameful confusion and so much neglected he hath with the consent of the precentor and chapter ordered and decreed as follows viz. that all and singular instruments deeds etc. be transcribed and kept in safe custody by the Chapter clerk." This characteristic action bespeaks the reformer, and whether at Gloucester or S. David's there was need enough for setting right things that were amiss. Charles I, between whom and Laud a friendship had begun, was not likely to allow the Bishop to be too far from him, and so after a brief story of two years at Bath and Wells Laud came to the see of London and plunged himself deeply into Court life and political affairs.

We must cast a glance at the Court at the time Laud came there as Bishop of London in 1628. Archbishop Abbot was out of favour and mistrusted. He had long been opposed to Laud, and could not interpret his advent to power as anything less than the repudiation of himself as chief adviser in Church matters. The saintly Bishop Andrewes of Winchester was dead, leaving behind him a memory fragrant with piety and wisdom.

Bishop Williams, the Lord Keeper, was smarting under the defeat of his influence caused by the rise of Laud. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, had made Laud at once his friend and his confessor. Between the two there existed a firmly cemented friendship and alliance. Lord Strafford and Laud were sworn friends. Everything, therefore, combined to put power into Laud's hands. There was no really great man left among the bishops to dispute the supremacy with Laud, and he entered upon his new career of ecclesiastical statesman with field of victory already won. When the throne of Canterbury was vacant by Abbot's death in 1633, no one was surprised that Charles I should greet the Bishop of London two days later in the words: "My Lord's Grace of Canterbury, you are very welcome." Thus did the Reading scholar, the Oxford tutor and head of his house, the zealous Church reformer and the devoted servant of the King come at last to that perilous height of power and dignity in which he aided his King to ruin, at least temporarily, both Church and State.

Laud as a Scholar and Controversialist.

We have seen that when Oxford official theology was confined to the study of Calvin's Institutes, William Laud was busy with the Fathers, the Councils, and ancient Church History. Up to the time of his leaving Oxford he was above everything else the scholar and the student. In 1622 Laud was in his fiftieth year and in the fullness and ripeness of intellectual power. A champion was needed to defend the position of the Church of England as against that of Rome. James I could not have found a worthier man in England than the new Bishop of S. David's. Andrewes, now nearly seventy years of age, was too old. Ussher, equally learned, though a frequent visitor to England, belonged to the Church of Ireland. The need for such a champion arose from the course of events at Court. The King had set his heart upon gaining the Infanta of Spain as a wife for Prince Charles. With this object in view he suspended

the laws against Roman Catholic priests, and allowed the Jesuits to reside in England under a nominal restraint. Soon a number of men and women at Court joined the Church of Rome, and the mother of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, as well as her son, were beginning to waver in their allegiance to the English Church. Amongst the most successful of the Jesuits was a north-country Englishman, named Percy, who is known in controversy as "Fisher the Jesuit." A full-dress debate was held at York House between Laud and Fisher. Buckingham and his mother, together with Lord Keeper Williams, were present, and the proceedings of the Conference were reported to the King. There was no intention at first to publish the proceedings, but in 1624 they were made public in the name of one of Laud's chaplains. Later, in 1639, Laud published a restatement of the Conference and the subsequent discussions, setting all out as his ripened judgment upon the controversy between England and Rome. The immediate effect of the Conference is immaterial, but the permanent advantage is undoubted. As regards the subject matter it might belong to the reign of Henry VIII and to the present time. The arguments are the same as are used at the present time; the questions of the Primacy of S. Peter, of the sense in which the Church is said to be built upon him, whether or no he was a universal pastor, the infallibility of the Church, the adoration of images, who is to judge in controversies of faith and conduct, that Kings are not to be tyrannised over by the Pope. All these and many like subjects were treated on both sides. Laud proved himself a worthy champion of the English Church, and the array of weapons is ready to the hand of any one who enters the same lists. By this work alone Laud has earned the lasting gratitude of the Church of England. The whole discussion centres round the Roman claim to infallibility, which Laud answers by showing that the Roman Church has fallen into many errors, and that there is no particular infallible Church.[1] Laud sums up

[1] On "Infallibility," see Appendix K, p. 240.

his arguments thus in a Letter Dedicatory addressed to Charles I: "The Catholic Church of Christ is neither Rome nor a conventicle. Out of that there is no salvation, I easily confess it. But out of Rome there is, and out of a conventicle too; salvation is not shut up into such a narrow conclave. In this ensuing discourse, therefore, I have endeavoured to lay open the wider gates of the Catholic Church, confined to no age, time or place, nor knowing any bounds but that faith which was once, and but once for all, delivered to the saints."

Laud as Archbishop.

Laud's tenure of Canterbury lasted from 1633 to 1645, but this period must be shortened by nearly four years. He was committed to the Tower in March 1641. The actual trial did not begin until March 1644, and he was beheaded in January 1645. He knew as early as 1629, through the vindictive libels freely circulated against him, how bitter was the hatred with which his actions were followed. But these experiences taught him nothing, nor did he deviate a hair's breadth from the line of policy adopted. Neither the King nor Strafford nor he understood the temper of the age. The threefold combination had decided to punish sullen rebellion, and to make their authority supreme against all opposition. The picture of Laud's private life has its attractive side. Unmarried and raised above all family ties, he lived the life of an ecclesiastic at Lambeth. His mind was steeped in Church tradition. His devotions every day took place at the ancient canonical hours, and were without doubt sincere.[1] He bore all abuse and slander

[1] "Laud's devotional character was of the peculiarly ecclesiastical mould—formal and systematic, simple and penitential. The Bible in his study, with the five wounds of Christ upon the binding, the gift of a religious lady, which was brought up against him at his trial; his feeling for the crucifix; his chapels, oratories, consecration of churches and altars, sacramental chalices; his bowings, prostrations before the altar; his constant references

as his appointed lot. When his enemies called him "a raging wolf and blood-sucking tyrant," or "Beelzebub," he patiently reflected, "They have called my Master by the worst name they have given me, and He has taught me how to bear it." Whilst Heylin has given us a picture of the Archbishop's life as seen by his chaplains and intimate friends, his own diary reveals most clearly his innermost soul. This was his daily confessional. Here he poured forth his complaints, his hopes and his trust in God. Here, too, we learn by what strange limitations his mind was encircled. He attached great importance to omens and signs. He recorded his dreams in all their quaint imagery and grotesque fancies. For these things he has been called a man of mean understanding and repellent bigotry. Every life has its arcana, its sacred things which no human eye is expected to examine, but Laud's private diaries were exposed to public gaze, and the worst interpretations were put upon every sentence. Besides, the charges during his trial cannot be sustained. Philosophers have long made sleep and dreams the subject of scientific inquiry, and why should Laud be judged by history to be either a fool or a bigot because he recorded for his own interest those midnight fancies which most men have described to their friends in private, and which are still amongst the strangest happenings to the human mind?

The daily life at Lambeth was worthy of commendation. An impatient suitor would take away an unfavourable impression of the Archbishop, who had answered him sharply, because, as he said in self-defence, "he had no leisure for compliments." We regret such words on account of their bad manners. Courtesy, at least, would have done no harm, but much good. In justification of this brusqueness, for it was nothing more, we

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to saints' days; his almsgiving, fasting, canonical hours of devotion; his prejudice for clerical celibacy—show that peculiar religious shape of mind. 'Seven times a day do I praise Thee, because of Thy righteous judgments.' The seven hours of the Church were his hours of prayer, and gave constantly recurring short respites and pauses to his life of intense activity."—Mozley: *Archbishop Laud*, p. 145.

must remember the countless details of the daily life. S. Paul was probably equally busy, and yet he commended the rule of suffering fools gladly, seeing ye yourselves are wise. Heylin, who knew the life at Lambeth, thus describes it: "Of apprehension he was quick and sudden, of a very sociable wit and a pleasant humour and one that knew as well how to put off the gravity of his place and person, when he saw occasion, as any man living; accessible enough at all times, but when he was tired out with multiplicity and vexation of business, which some who did not understand him ascribed unto the natural ruggedness of his disposition . . . constant not only to the public prayers in his chapel, but to his private devotions in his closet." The time has come when all the wicked slanders against Laud's private character should be buried in oblivion. Those which did duty in his trial have been repeated ever since. His devotional habits have been caricatured and his prayers ridiculed. Laud's tastes were naturally simple; he cared little for dignity and pomp, though too much for power. He loved music, his garden and the birds. His bitterest enemies might well pause in reverent admiration of the man during his imprisonment of nearly four years. It is something to discover constancy which will adhere to principle and truth even to death, and Laud had this power of witnessing to his convictions. We may regard him as obstinate, but all martyrs have been the same. History can inquire how far Laud was justified in maintaining against well-known enemies his conception of the Church's nature and life, but you cannot dismiss him as a bigot or brand him as an enemy of the cause for which he cheerfully and patiently went to the block. As a patron of learning Laud stands high. He loved books, and his greatest pleasure throughout life were those of the scholar. Costly manuscripts and choice editions were his delight, and when his position enabled him to secure them, he bestowed them with lavish generosity upon public librarians or gave them to private friends. At Oxford he was Chancellor in more than name. He felt he had

come to the office to reform the seat of learning. "The outward and visible form of the University," he writes, "is utterly decayed, so that strangers that come have hardly any work by which they know it is a University." The reformer must count the cost before he begins, and no dread of opposition could deter Laud in his work. To the Vice-Chancellor he writes: "I pray call the Heads of Colleges and Halls together, together with the Proctors, and with my love remembered to them all, let them know I am welcomed unto my Chancellorship with many complaints from very great men"; or again: "Put the tables of statute observance on S. Mary's doors and proceed to the execution of them." Oxford was to Laud a place of "ancient and religious foundations." He will have no riding-school, no going up and down in boots and spurs, "as for Mr. Crofts and his great horses, he may carry them back if he pleases as he brought them." The Principal of Brasenose was to have his cellar better looked to. Instructions were issued upon reverence at the chapel services, upon the times of morning and evening prayer and upon the revival of Holy Communion at the beginning of term. The Chancellor rules every College from his library at Lambeth.[1] A man who understood human nature better, would have visited Oxford and held inquiries. The evidence as to the actual state of affairs would have brought conviction to the minds of others and secured their co-operation in reform. But these were not the ways of Laud or of the Stuarts. Too absorbed in exercising authority, they never paused to conciliate opponents or to secure their help after convincing them of the wisdom of the things proposed. The good that men do, as well as the evil, lives after them, and to-day Laud is held in honour at Oxford, and most of all at his own College, as one of her greatest sons.

Under the Archbishop's fostering care the Church began to be reformed on its financial side. A royal injunction ordered that the Lords the Bishops be commanded to their several sees, there to keep residence,

[1] Dr. Mozley: *Archbishop Laud.*

excepting those which are in necessary attendance at Court. None of the bishops were to reside upon their land nor in their town houses, but in one of the episcopal houses, and not to waste the woods thereof. "He saw the Church was decaying," says Heylin, "both in power and patrimony; her patrimony dilapidated by the avarice of several bishops in making havoc of the woods to enrich themselves . . . her power he found diminished partly by the bishops themselves in leaving their dioceses unregarded and living together about Westminster to be in a more ready way for the next preferment." His brethren bore him no good-will for such drastic measures, and Bishop Williams, the great Lord Keeper, an ecclesiastic only in name, when suspended from office for revealing the King's secret and for mendacity, attributed his misfortunes to the "little meddling hocus-pocus" and the "little urchin." On the other hand Laud was the generous patron and friend to the poorer clergy. George Herbert, Cosin, Donne and the Little Gidding community had to thank him for many favours. The Archbishop's administration was gradually creating a new conception of the clerical office. The preachers and lecturers were being replaced by many with higher views of their duties. Attention to reverence in public worship produced a new type of clergyman, and speaking generally the priest was replacing the prophet. In modern democracies the priest with his twofold ministry of the Word and Sacraments has held his own and gained power. There is the same innate dread of popery or sacerdotalism which wrought Laud's ruin, but the Church wins its greatest triumphs in ministries in which the two sides, the ministry of the Word and that of the Sacraments, are blended into one whole, and the Christian faith is presented in definite and reverent order. This was all that Laud contended for, though every effort to introduce reverence into public worship was met with passionate resistance and insane charges of disloyalty to the Church and sympathy with Rome.

When we turn to Laud's share in State affairs there

is much to regret. None of the Stuart Kings liked Parliaments, and all of them stretched the royal prerogative to breaking-point. In 1629 Charles issued his memorable proclamation, refusing to meet Parliament again until the people had come to a better understanding of him and themselves,[1] and no Parliament met for eleven years. For four years thus before Laud became Archbishop the government of the country was a personal one. Charles I, Strafford and Laud ruled without constitutional criticism. While the gathering clouds of discontent were preparing to break in a deluge of revolution, the trio were too much of the same mind to warn each other. A more discerning man than Laud might have saved both the Throne and the Church, but he had never any doubt in his mind as to the wisdom of what was done, and at his trial he pleaded in vain that his actions had legal sanction and were not his own personal acts. Laud was a disciplinarian from his college days upwards. Order was to him Heaven's first law, more imperative than freedom of conscience. He was never cruel, nor did he suggest the older methods of torture and death. After systematic inquiry men must conform or be deprived. The power of the Crown in ecclesiastical affairs was exercised through the High Commission, which was a mixed body of clergy and laity with the Archbishop as chief ruler. Laud would have uniformity. He governed the Church himself, nor would he allow any diocesan independence. "He is at

[1] The words of the proclamation are—

"Whereas for several ill ends the calling again of a Parliament is divulged, however we have showed by our frequent meeting with our people our love to the use of Parliaments; yet the late abuse having for the present driven us unwillingly out of that course, we shall account it presumption for any to prescribe any time unto us for Parliaments, the calling and continuing of which is always in our own power, and we shall be more inclinable to meet in Parliament again, when our people shall see more clearly into our intents and actions, when such as have bred this interruption shall have received their condign punishment, and those who are misled by them and by such ill reports as are raised in this occasion, shall come to a better understanding of us and themselves."

home," says Dr. Mozley, "in every diocese of the three kingdoms. With the deepest reverence for the office, the man—the concrete bishop—never once seems to have come before his imagination in any other aspect than as a person who was to be told to do things and to be made to do them if necessary." And yet the effect of this administration was to exalt the order of the clergy. Many had become much dishonoured in public esteem. Laud raised their status by giving them power and proclaiming the authority of their priesthood. A new race of clergy arose and a new theology spread over the land. The Archbishop became popular with the inferior clergy because he maintained their rights and protected them from ill-usage.

Whilst all this must in justice be recorded, it availed nothing when the day of reckoning came. The personal government of the Crown brought about an impasse in 1640. A Scotch army held the northern counties and Charles, defeated and disgraced, had no choice but surrender to the Scotch Commissioners at Ripon. He then yielded, and at last called together Parliament to save England from bankruptcy and invasion. We are not concerned with the proceedings of the Long Parliament, except in so far as they affect Laud and the Church. On November 11, 1640, Strafford was impeached, and in March 1641 Laud was committed to the Tower charged with high treason by the Commons. The King's own turn came later, but this is outside our present subject.[1] From March 1641 until January 1645

[1] Whether Charles's execution was a crime or a blunder is still debated.

"When the bleeding head was held up, the shout of the soldiers was drowned in the groan of the vast multitude. If there was any chance that the establishment of a more democratic form of government could gradually win the support of the people at large, that chance was thrown away by the execution of the King. The deed was done against the wish of many even of the Independents and Republicans; it outraged beyond hope of reconciliation the two parties in the State who were strong in numbers and in conservative tradition, the Presbyterians and the Cavaliers; and it alienated the great mass of men who had no party at all. Thus the Republicans, at the outset of their career, made it

Laud lay a prisoner in the Tower, and the story of these days will atone for much wilfulness and unwisdom at Lambeth. He who had shown no pity in the days of power exhibited every sign of a Christian spirit in the hour of his defeat. The story is too long to tell here, but Laud's imprisonment constitutes his greatest claim to be regarded as a martyr for the Church of England. He employed his time in writing the pathetic memoir, the history of his troubles. An affecting incident occurred on the day of Strafford's execution. His old and faithful friend sent word to him that "I would not fail to be at my chamber window at the open casement the next morning when he was to pass by it as he went to execution, that, though he might not speak to me, yet he might see me and take his last leave of me. I sent him word I would, and did so. And the next morning as he passed by he turned towards me and took the solemnest leave that I think was ever by any at distance taken one of another." The Archbishop fainted as he gave his blessing to his friend. From that day Laud expected a like end to his own life, but his courage remained unabated, and he strove only to prove his innocence to posterity and to meet death as became a true servant of Christ.

The articles of impeachment charged him with traitorously publishing canons contrary to the King's prerogative and the people's rights, with assuming a papal and tyrannical power in contempt of the Royal Supremacy, with endeavouring to alter God's true religion by law established in the realm and setting up

impossible for themselves ever to appeal in free election to the people whom they had called to sovereignty. Their own fall, involving the fall of democracy and of religious toleration, became therefore necessary to the re-establishment of parliamentary rule. The worship of birth, of pageantry, of title; the aristocratic claim to administrative power; the excessive influence of the large landowner and of inherited wealth; the mean admiration of mean things, which has ever since the Restoration been at the root of the worst evils of English society—all these gained a fresh life and popularity by the deed that was meant to strike them dead for ever."—*England under the Stuarts,* by G. M. Trevelyan, p. 290.

popish superstitions and idolatry, and with other like charges. Parliament was too busy to deal with him, and in defiance of all principles of law and justice left him in prison for three years before the trial began. After many preliminaries the actual trial began on March 12, 1644. No semblance of judicial impartiality was observed. Laud's counsel was not heard until October 11. The impeachment was finally discarded, and Parliament resolved to proceed by a process of attainder. The Lords hesitated and caused delays. On January 2, 1645, a conference between the two Houses was held, at which the Commons declared that Parliament could rightly judge any charge it pleased to be treasonable. On January 4 the Lords assented. Laud produced a royal pardon, which had been in his possession since April 1643, but the Commons rejected it, and arrangements were made for carrying out the sentence on January 10, 1645. The only concession granted was the substitution of beheading for hanging. The scene on the scaffold has been often told. To the executioner Laud said, "Honest friend, God forgive thee and I do, and do thy office upon me without mercy." Then he knelt down and prayed. "Lord, I am coming as fast as I can. I know I must pass through the shadow of death before I can come to see Thee. But it is but *umbra mortis,* a mere shadow of death, a little darkness upon nature; but Thou by Thy merits and passion hast broken through the jaws of death. So, Lord, receive my soul, and have mercy upon me; and bless this kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood among them: For Jesus Christ His sake, if it be Thy will."

A moment more of silent prayer, and he said, "Lord, receive my soul," and laid his head upon the block. Nothing in his life became him as well as his leaving it.[1]

[1] "Laud's is an instance of a great career founded upon a dream; a great, practical, powerful, political mind, that pursued a visionary object. The high feudal idea of Church greatness which led him through his course was an impracticable, unreal

From Laud's Death to the Restoration.

The execution of Laud has been regarded as an unnecessary and malicious blunder.[1] The Long Parliament had already invaded the rights of the Church and destroyed her national position. In 1641 twelve of the bishops were committed to prison for their protest against the validity of the Acts of the Parliament. In 1642 bishops were excluded from the House of Lords. In

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one, in the great revolution of society which had taken place. When the Church has once lost her hold upon the mass, and fallen from her power, she must be restored from below and not from above. She has to begin from the bottom again, and must be raised by the slow advance and gradual inoculation of the mass. She must rise again by a popular movement, and by influences and efforts upon the open area and level. Laud's movement was not a popular one, and we know not whether it could have been made so. The age was set one way, and he took perhaps the only engine there was for him. But to erect a high medieval prelacy and priestly power upon such a puritanised basis as the Church then presented was, in strict *ordo naturae*, beginning at the wrong end. We are criticising the movement, and not the man. The man is dependent on his age, and must take what weapon comes to hand. It was better doing something than nothing; using an awkward and inaccurate instrument than none at all. Great men upon their historical stage—it is not, we hope, a morbid sentiment to utter—are objects of compassion. The worldly machinery and the state of things they are in force them upon incongruities, and allow them only some one crooked weapon, some one angular posture, some one effective elbow thrust. Their own minds even become appropriated and naturalised by the sphere they work in, and see that one mode of acting only and no other. It remains for some clearer day to determine what minds really are in themselves, and what is the genuine intrinsic man apart from the hodiernal influences and moulding. Such a question would only take us wandering now into the shadowy region of moral metaphysics."—*Archbishop Laud*, by Dr. Mozley, pp. 226–7.

[1] "Laud himself, too old and brave to fly, was carried to the Tower, where he lay unfeared and unregarded, till four years later his enemies did all that could be done to vindicate his policy to mankind, by illustrating in his execution the malignant spirit that always haunted and sometimes possessed the temple of English Puritanism."—*England under the Stuarts*, by G. M. Trevelyan, p. 198.

1643 Episcopacy was abolished, and the "Solemn League and Covenant" was accepted by the House of Commons. On the same day that Laud's attainder was passed the Lords abolished the Book of Common Prayer, and made the Directory the legal service book in England. So that the Archbishop and the Prayer Book were condemned together. After Laud's death Parliament had still to deal with the King, who was as much a martyr for the Church of England as the Archbishop.

A Presbyterian Church was created in 1646. By this time some two thousand of the clergy had been ejected, some in 1643 for refusing to accept the Covenant, and the rest in 1645 when the use of the Prayer Book was made penal. The Presbyterian discipline, as exercised by the county committees in the name of Parliament, was too stern and inquisitive for the English nation. Cromwell came to supreme power in 1653, and he was opposed to both the clergy and the Presbyterian discipline. The Protectorate in 1654 made Independency the religion of England, with toleration for all excepting members of the Church of England and Roman Catholics. The sad story of the sufferings of the clergy need not be retold here. They shared in the general pillage of property and in the lawless ejectment of those who in any way had assisted the King. A time of revolution is always a time of robbery and injustice. The laws which safeguard the rights of individuals are suspended until the question of supreme authority is once more decided. Macaulay, who is most unjust towards Charles, Strafford and Laud, was moved to compassion by the sorrows of the clergy and the destruction of churches and works of art, and to indignation by the stern suppression of amusements with a zeal "little tempered by humanity or common-sense."[1] What

[1] "The Puritans had undoubtedly, in the day of their power, given cruel provocation. They ought to have learned, if from nothing else, yet from their own discontents, from their own struggles, from their own victory, from the fall of that proud hierarchy by which they had been so heavily oppressed, that, in England, and in the seventeenth century, it was not in the power of the civil magistrate to drill the minds of men into conformity

happened in particular parishes is a matter for local investigation in the light of Diocesan and Parish Registers. I give below the result of searching these in the case of my own former Vicarage of Dewsbury in Yorkshire.[1] The result is representative of what

with his own system of theology. They proved, however, as intolerant and as meddling as ever Laud had been. They interdicted under heavy penalties the use of the Book of Common Prayer, not only in churches, but even in private houses. It was a crime in a child to read by the bedside of a sick parent one of those beautiful collects which had soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christians. Severe punishments were denounced against such as should presume to blame the Calvinistic mode of worship. Clergymen of respectable character were not only ejected from their benefices by thousands, but were frequently exposed to the outrages of a fanatical rabble. Churches and sepulchres, fine works of art and curious remains of antiquity, were brutally defaced. The Parliament resolved that all pictures in the royal collection which contained representations of Jesus or of the Virgin Mother should be burned. Sculpture fared as ill as painting. Nymphs and Graces, the work of Ionian chisels, were delivered over to Puritan stonemasons to be made decent. Against the lighter vices the ruling faction waged war with a zeal little tempered by humanity or by common sense."—Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. i., p. 79.

[1] SAMUEL PEARSON was presented by the Crown in 1642, and duly instituted and inducted to the Vicarage, vacant per liberam resignationem Henrici Adam; and I am inclined to believe that he remained in at least partial possession of the Vicarage until his death. His predecessor left Dewsbury for the Vicarage of Rawmarsh. He had some knowledge of the district before he became Vicar, for he officiated at Morley at a marriage in 1635 (Dewsbury Parish Church Register). In 1651 his wife died, and in the Parish Church Register is described as wife of Samuel Pierson, Vicar of Dewsbury. In 1654 he was appointed Registrar of the Parish by the parishioners. This was after the office of Registrar had ceased to belong to the Vicarage, and is evidence of the goodwill of the people to him. The Parliament of 1653 made a great revolution in almost every parish in the matter of registers. It provided that a Register-man should be chosen at a parish meeting, who was to have the custody of the registers. He was to be approved and sworn by a Justice of the Peace, and was charged with the publication of the banns of marriage, which were to be published "either in the Parish Church, after the morning exercise, on three severall Lord's Days, or in the nearest market town on three successive market days." He was appointed for three years, but might be re-elected. Births, and not baptisms,

occurred in many other parishes in England, and shows how drastic measures were tempered by local conditions.

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were to be entered by him; and no marriage was valid except before a Justice of the Peace. The Vicar was succeeded as Registrar, October 25, 1655, by another Samuel Pearson, possibly his son. In the entry of his burial, October 1655, he is described as Mr. Samuel Pearson, Vicar of Dewsbury. An important law-suit took place on September 29, 1653, to establish the right of the Vicar of Dewsbury to annual Easter Pensions from the parishes of Huddersfield, Almondbury, Kirkheaton, and Bradford. The report of this is preserved in the Record Office in London. This document does not settle the question of the origin of the pensions, but the inquiry ended in establishing the Vicar's ancient rights. Many witnesses were examined, and one of them stated that Mr. Pearson was "yet Vicar of Dewsbury." No doubt was raised in the evidence as to the Vicar's right to sue for the payments, and therefore we have additional evidence of his enjoyment of the emoluments of the benefice two years before his death. There is, therefore, no evidence of his complete ejectment. A great number of the clergy were ejected in 1643, and still more in 1645, when the use of the Prayer Book was made penal. In many cases the clergy were not interfered with at all, and complied with the law by using the Directory for the Public Worship of God. Bishop Henry Tilson was living at Soothill Hall at this time, and died on March 31, 1655, a few months before Samuel Pearson. The Bishop took charge of "a place in the mountains called Cumberworth," and went there every Sunday. "I pray," he says, "after the Directory." What the Bishop did at Cumberworth, Samuel Pearson might have done at Dewsbury. From 1646 to 1654 was a period of ecclesiastical anarchy, and Cromwell's Committee of Triers, for the final ejectment of the clergy, was not appointed until March 1654, and these had to act with the County Committees, which caused some delay. It might well happen, then, that Samuel Pearson, who had probably conformed to the Directory, was left in partial possession until his death in October 1655. That he was plundered of rights is clear from the Royalist Composition Papers (1st series, vol. xxx. p. 307), where, styling himself even then (1655) as Minister of the Parish Church of Dewsbury, he addresses a petition to the Commissioners for managing estates under sequestration, praying that an augmentation of what he had been deprived of might be restored to him. An order was made by the Committee for Plundered Ministers for the payment to him of £30 a year on November 4, 1651, confirmed on November 11. As he had not received the money he presented this petition.

John Kaye, B.A.—An authentic account of John Kaye is given by the Minutes of the Presbyterian Classes held at Wirksworth in 1657 (Greenwood's *Early History of Dewsbury*, pp. 165–7).

The combination of anarchy and military despotism soon brought the English people to their right senses, and in 1660 Charles II was recalled from beyond the seas to the throne of his fathers.[1] With him, and as a condition of his return, the Church of England came into her own again. The love of the Book of Common Prayer played no small part in effecting the change.

He was appointed Minister of Dewsbury on April 20, 1658, upon the approbation of the parishioners. For some time before this date he had preached the Word here. He received only Presbyterian Ordination under the Ordinance of Parliament dated August 20, 1546. He was allowed to remain in his position after the Restoration of Charles II., in 1660, and vacated his position at Dewsbury on December 19, 1664. He came to Dewsbury from Rastrick, in 1655, when merely a preacher, and before his ordination by a bishop, as he became Lecturer of Leeds Parish Church in 1665, and Minister of S. John's, Leeds, on August 6, 1667. He died in June, 1683, amid "universal lamentations." It is difficult to understand his position at Dewsbury between 1660 and 1664, though it would appear he was allowed to remain undisturbed. Archbishop Sterne's Register describes him upon his resignation of Dewsbury as Clerk of the Vicarage or Church of the Parish of Dewsbury.

[1] James II ordered, by Royal Warrant, the 29th of May to be observed as a day of thanksgiving for the Restoration of the Throne. The Book of Common Prayer contained a special service for use on that day until it was removed in 1859. The day was also known as Royal Oak Day in memory of Charles II's hiding in an oak tree subsequently to the battle of Worcester in 1651. To this day in many parts of England the school children sing on the 29th of May—

> "The 29th of May,
> Royal Oak Day,
> If you don't give us holiday,
> We'll all run away";

and the penalty for neglecting to wear a sprig of oak is to be stung with nettles by the other children.

The battle of Worcester was fought on September 3, and at that time of the year the foliage would be abundant enough for concealment. The discussion as to whether Charles could have concealed himself in an oak tree in May is unnecessary. Popular tradition has linked the two events of the concealment and the restoration together, and assigned them to the same day.

Nine of the English bishops survived the Rebellion, and at the Restoration either recovered their sees or were appointed to others. Juxon of London went to Canterbury, and Frewen of Lichfield to York. Seven new bishops were consecrated on December 2, 1660, four on January 6, 1661, five on October 28, 1661, and Sodor and Man was filled on March 24 in the same year. The episcopate was thus fully restored. Several of the Presbyterian ministers were invited to accept bishoprics or deaneries, including Calamy, Baxter and Reynolds, but all of them with the exception of Reynolds refused, and he was ordained and consecrated Bishop of Norwich. The triumph of the Church was complete, and the Savoy Conference yielded nothing of importance in preparing the Prayer Book for submission to Convocation and final acceptance by the Church and State. Charles II, in his Declaration of Breda, had promised toleration: "We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." How far the promise was kept belongs to a period of subsequent history. Toleration, as we know it now, has been a plant of slow growth, and it began its growth not so much after the Restoration as after the experiences of James II's reign, which showed once more the danger from Rome and united the Protestant feeling of the country. The Church of England has succeeded in maintaining its own doctrines only because these were not forced upon the whole people.

The claims of the Church were established after the Restoration with a wealth of learning and a soberness of judgment, which are the pride of Englishmen, by men like Robert Sanderson of Lincoln, Isaac Barrow of Cambridge, Stillingfleet of Worcester, Robert South, Bull, who made the English Church respected throughout Europe, and Jeremy Taylor, whose immortal writings are admired and neglected by our age. The devotional literature of our Church was enriched

by the distinguished names of George Herbert, Bishops Ken and Sherlock, and Comber, Nelson and Beveridge, as well as many others.

My task is now ended. With the settlement of 1662 the Reformation came to an end and the Prayer Book has remained substantially the same ever since. The Church has had its periods of neglect of the rubrics and of return to the true principles, but the Prayer Book remains to-day as the chief safeguard of unity throughout our Communion. For more than a hundred years of the Reformation period each successive attempt to force English Christianity into one mould, and to compel all to worship in the same services failed, and the Church of England discovered first the need of toleration, and afterwards the value of Christian work outside her limits. Our own generation is eagerly looking for greater unity, and in Australia especially we are feeling the wicked waste of power in country districts caused by the attempt to maintain many imperfectly supported ministries. The story of the past must enter into the discussions of the present. Let each of us bring his own contribution and boldly state his principles of faith and doctrine and worship. No union will come by the absorption of one section of the Church by another. By the power of God's Holy Spirit unity may come in a united Church, which assimilates the many common principles underlying all sections, and, for the sake of Christ's own prayer, learns and unlearns, seeking unity wherever it is possible and allowing diversity in things not essential to the common faith and work.

The Church of England has yet a great part to play throughout Christendom, and may shape the religious thought of many generations of English-speaking peoples.

AUTHORISED STANDARDS OF FAITH AND DOCTRINE IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

THE authorised standards of Faith and Doctrine are, primarily: (1) The Book of Common Prayer and (2) The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion.

The Constitutions and Canons of 1603 were agreed upon by the two Houses of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, and were published under the Great Seal of England. The two Books of Homilies, as defined in Article XXXV, are declared to contain "a godly and wholesome doctrine," and are judged to be read in churches by the minister. This gives them a qualified assent, though not the same authority as the Articles.

It has been held that the Canons of 1603 do not bind the laity but only the clergy, because Convocation can do nothing against the law of the land, and no part of the law can be abrogated or altered without Act of Parliament. Other formularies of the Church have a lesser authority, but fall short of the title "authorised standards." The authorised copy of the Book of Common Prayer is the one in manuscript attached to the Act of Uniformity 1662. A facsimile copy of this manuscript was published in 1891 by Her Majesty's printers and the Cambridge University Press.[1] As this contains the Ordinal this latter must be regarded as included in the

[1] The Annexed Book, as it is sometimes called, has had a strange history. It was attached to the Act of Uniformity, and was preserved amongst the originals of the Acts of Parliament. In course of time it became detached, and was supposed to have been lost since 1819. It was discovered in 1867, and since then has remained in the custody of the Librarian of the House of Lords.

authorised copy. The Thirty-nine Articles were agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces and the whole clergy in 1562, and in 1571 were confirmed again by the subscription of the hands of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Upper House and by the whole Clergy of the Nether House in their Convocations.[1]

As to the relative importance to the Prayer Book and the Articles in questions of faith and doctrine, the former has been called the Code of Devotion and the latter the Code of Faith. In the official judgments these two have been used to decide what is authorised by the Church of England, and have been accepted as legal tests of doctrine. "The Court will look first to the Articles, then to the Book of Common Prayer. The Articles are the primary matters for consideration, because their special object was to prevent diversities of religious doctrine. The Liturgy was not framed for such an object, but for devotional purposes. Hence the Court, having to try the charge of false doctrine based on the Liturgy, must exercise the greatest vigilance to see that the part of the Liturgy quoted is of a strictly dogmatical character."[2] And again: "In considering the Book of Common Prayer it must be observed that there are parts of it which are strictly dogmatical, declaring what is to be believed or not doubted; parts which are instructional and parts which consist of devotional exercises and services. Those parts which are in their nature dogmatical must be considered as declaratory of doctrine."[3] On the admissibility of the Bible as a test of doctrine: "The Liturgy, *prima facie*, includes part of the Bible, and the question therefore arises whether the Court ought to exclude from its consideration the Epistles, Gospels and Lessons. It is, however, by no means clear that these parts of Scripture were inserted with a view

[1] For the history of these Articles see *The Thirty-nine Articles*, by Dr. Gibson, Bishop of Gloucester, "Introduction," pp. 1–70.

[2] Extracts from the Judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Gorham Case.

[3] The same.

to define doctrine. The Court would further, if tempted from the Articles and other parts of the Formularies, be inevitably compelled to consider theological questions not for the purpose of deciding whether they were conformable to a prescribed standard, but whether the positions maintained were reconcilable with Scripture or not.

"Against such a course the reasons are overwhelmingly strong. The exercise of such a power has been repudiated by the Judicial Committee. The Court will therefore not be tempted to resort to Scripture as the standard by which the doctrine shall be measured." [1]

The Privy Council has defined its own position in these words: "This Court has no jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith or to determine what ought in any particular to be the doctrine of the Church of England. Its duty extends only to the consideration of that which is by law established to be the doctrine of the Church of England upon the true and legal construction of her Articles and Formularies. By the rule thus enumerated it is our duty to abide. Our province is on the one hand to ascertain the true construction of those Articles referred to in each charge, according to the legal rules for the interpretation of statutes and written instruments; and, on the other hand, to ascertain the plain grammatical meaning of the passages which are charged with being contrary to or inconsistent with the doctrine of the Church ascertained in the manner we have described." [2]

The Church of England in the Province of Victoria, Australia.

I now give the position in a state which has granted full power of self-government to the Church.

The Constitution Act (1854) and a subsequent one

[1] *Williams* v. *Bishop of Salisbury:* Judgment of the Dean of Arches.

[2] Judgment upon the case arising out of *Essays and Reviews*, published in 1860.

(1873) give the Bishops, Clergy and Laity power to regulate the affairs of the Church, and these Acts, of course, received the assent of the Crown.

These are some of the provisions—

1. It shall be lawful for the Bishop to convene a Synod of the Licensed Clergy and the Laity.
2. No regulation act or resolution shall be valid except it be made with the concurrence of a majority both of the Clergy and of the Laity the votes of the Clergy and those of the Laity being separately taken and except it receive the assent of the Bishop.
3. No regulation act or resolution made or passed by the Synod shall be valid which shall alter or be at variance with the authorised standards of faith and doctrine of the Church of England or shall alter the oaths declarations and subscriptions now by law or canon required to be taken made and subscribed by person to be consecrated ordained instituted or licensed within the said Church.
4. It shall be lawful for the Synod to make provision for the appointment deposition deprivation or removal of any person bearing office therein of whatsoever order or degree any rights of the Crown to the contrary notwithstanding.

Such is the complete power of self-government possessed by the Church of the Province, which is thus set free in Australia in all spiritual matters, and is subject to the laws of the State only in civil affairs.

Declaration made by the Archbishop and other Bishops of the Province.

I .....
elected Archbishop of Melbourne and duly consecrated do solemnly and sincerely declare my acceptance of the Constitution of the Church of England in the State of

Victoria as it is set forth in the Act 18 Victoria No. 45 commonly known as the Church Constitution Act and the Act to amend the same passed in the Thirty-sixth year of the reign of Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria and numbered 454 and that I will to the best of my ability give effect thereto and to the Acts passed in pursuance thereof until the same or any of them shall respectively be lawfully altered or varied.

Declarations made and Oaths taken by the Clergy

Declaration of Assent.

I .....

(1) about to be admitted to the Holy Order of { Deacon / Priest

(2) about to be licensed to officiate as } Deacon / Priest { in the Parochial District of .....

(3) about to be admitted to the Incumbency of .....

.....

do solemnly make the following declaration: I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and of the ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. I believe the doctrine of the Church of England, as 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.

(*Signature*) .....

Declaration of Conformity.

I .....

do solemnly declare that I will duly conform to all Acts and Regulations of the Synod of the Diocese of Melbourne for the time being in force.

(*Signature*) .....

Oath of Allegiance.

I .....
do swear that I will be faithful and bear true Allegiance to His Majesty King George V, His Heirs and Successors, according to Law. So help me God.

(*Signature*) .....

Oath of Canonical Obedience.

I .....
do swear that I will pay true and Canonical Obedience to the Archbishop of Melbourne and his Successors, in all things lawful and honest. So help me God.

(*Signature*) .....

In virtue of the Constitution Acts and by the adoption of the forms of Declaration and the Oaths the Church of England in this Province has made itself part of the Church at home and it is the duty of all its Courts to frame its decisions in accordance with the law of the Church of England as declared by the Courts in England.

APPENDIX A

THE CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY

THIS oft-debated question plays an important part in Church life, and I will endeavour to give a brief summary of its history.

Most of the apostles were married men, and in the first three centuries of the Christian Church there are countless examples of bishops and presbyters who lived in the state of marriage without any prejudice to their ordination. Ambrose states that "omnes apostoli, exceptis Johanne et Paulo, uxores habuerunt." Cyprian was a married man, but there is no need to increase the testimony, as in the primitive ages of the Church men of both states, married and unmarried, were admitted to be bishops and priests.[1]

Very early a distinction was drawn between marriage before and after ordination, but it is difficult to point to even one instance in which marriage was contracted after ordination. At the Council of Nicæa in 325 an attempt was made to oblige the clergy, who had married before their ordination, to put away their wives. But this was defeated by a famous Egyptian bishop, Paphnutius, himself a celibate, who vigorously declaimed against it. He contended that so heavy a

[1] In Anglo-Saxon times everything was done to encourage celibacy amongst the clergy. Elfric enjoined that an unmarried clergyman was to enjoy the privileges of a thane. The leaders in the Church branded priestly marriage as an execrable breach of conscience, and threatened the married clergy with frightful retribution hereafter. "But," says Soames's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, "vainly were apocryphal views of a future state produced for striking terror into themselves and their wives. In most particulars their credulity was naturally that of their age, but personal considerations sharpen human wits, and many a married Anglo-Saxon priest might see the ludicrous absurdity of tales invented for interfering with his own domestic comfort."

burden was not to be laid on the clergy, that the marriage-bed was honourable and conjugal society was chastity. Subsequent early councils dealt with the same subject. There was no decree in the Greek Church against married bishops, presbyters or deacons, but in 692 the Council of Trullo made a difference between bishops and presbyters, allowing presbyters, deacons and all the inferior orders to cohabit with their wives after ordination.

The growth and influence of the monastic system, with its enforced rules of celibacy upon men and women, influenced the case of the secular clergy for many centuries. In the Anglo-Saxon period of Church history, the marriage of the clergy was quite common, and Gregory VII (Hildebrand) set his face sternly against this liberty. At a Synod of Rome in 1074 he passed a law forbidding the laity to avail themselves of the ministrations of the married priests. Lanfranc of Canterbury mitigated the severity of this rule at the Council of Winchester in 1076: while forbidding marriage to the regular clergy, he ordered that the priests in towns and villages should not be compelled to dismiss their wives, but that in the future no married man was to be ordained. The Council of Westminster in 1102, under Anselm, established an absolute rule of celibacy, which thus for the first time became the universal law of the English Church.[1] For the next four hundred and fifty years this law was maintained with limited success. The marriage of the clergy in England

[1] *Canons of the Council of Westminster*, A.D. 1102: "Celibacy of the Clergy," Sections 5–8—

5. That no archdeacon, priest, deacon or canon may marry or retain a wife, and that any subdeacon who is not a canon, having married after the profession of chastity, be bound by the same rule.

6. That a priest, as long as he has illicit intercourse with a woman, be not lawful nor celebrate mass, and if he do so that his mass be not heard.

7. That none be ordained to the sub-diaconate or beyond without profession of chastity.

8. That sons of priests succeed not to their father's churches.

continued customary both with the parish priests and canons of collegiate churches. In 1107 Pope Pascal II wrote to Anselm to say that understanding that the majority of the English clergy are married, he grants authority to the archbishop to ordain their sons.

A council under Stephen Langton in 1222 decreed that clergy who retained their concubines should be deprived of their benefices, and in 1237 Otho, the papal legate, laid down rules to the same effect. Little, however, came of all this. The parish priests had not, like the monks, taken a vow of celibacy, and whilst ecclesiastical authority used the opprobrious name of concubine, the clergy lived with their wives, and the high-sounding penalties of synods were rarely enforced. When in 1129 Henry I was asked to enforce the canonical law, he merely used the opportunity to exact the payment of fees from the clergy for permission to retain their wives, and applied these to his own use. Down to the time of the Reformation the celibacy of the secular clergy was not rigorously enforced in England, and Parliament never intervened until the reign of Henry VII, when an act was passed giving the bishops greater power to deal with the incontinency of priests and religious men, though the act does not name marriage as an evidence of incontinency.

Without inquiring further into the long history of clerical wives or concubines, or of the fees paid by the clergy for permission to live with them, we come on the eve of the Reformation to a pitiable story of evasion and secret sanction by ecclesiastical authority. In 1452 the clergy in Wales addressed the following request to the Bishop of St. David's, De la Bere: "My lord Bishop,—We priests of your diocese, led by the fear of God and dread of eternal future punishment to sinners, beseech your Fatherhood that by your pontifical authority you will make or compel our concubines to withdraw and be for ever separated from us and from our houses; for we hope and beseech you that they may be so separated from us by your authority that we may never again have occasion to sin with them nor they by

us cohabiting with them." The Bishop replied: "I will not grant that your concubines be separated, or forced to separate, from you or your houses; because then I, your Bishop, shall lose yearly 400 marks [equivalent to over £3000 of present money] which I receive regularly for the concubines of priests; for of every one of several priests I receive yearly a noble or more for his concubine, and that sum thus yearly received to my purse mounts up to 400 marks a year; and therefore I do not wish them separated from you." Then the priests said to their bishop: "O Lord Bishop, we wish them to be separated from us, and the concubines themselves do not wish to be so, but wish to remain in our houses and feed upon our goods, will we nill we; and therefore, because we dare not expel them for fear of their friends who want them to remain with us, we beg that they may be separated by you, my Lord Bishop, from us and our houses." But the Bishop said: "No, I will not compel them to separate from you, for then I, your Bishop, shall lose much money every year."[1]

This bishop of abominable memory is at all events brutally frank. And Gascoigne's testimony is that of a devout son of the English Church of pre-Reformation days, who gives this as one of many examples of intolerable abuses in England in the fifteenth century.

In 1521 Henry VIII issued a proclamation against the married clergy, and the document is important as an illustration of supremacy before the power of the Pope had been called in question: "The king's majesty, understanding that a few in number of this his realm, being priests, as well religious as other, have taken wives and married themselves, etc., his highness, in no wise minding that the generality of the clergy of this his realm should, with the example of such a few number of light persons, proceed to marriage, without a common consent of his highness and his realm, doth therefore strictly charge and command as well all and singular the said priests as have attempted marriages that be openly known, as all such as will presumptu-

[1] Rogers's *Gascoigne*, pp. 35, 36.

ously proceed to the same, that they nor any of them shall minister any sacrament, or other ministry mystical; nor have any office, dignity, cure, privilege, profit, or commodity heretofore accustomed and belonging to the clergy of this realm; but shall be utterly, after such marriages, expelled and deprived from the same. And that such as shall, after this proclamation, contrary to this commandment, of their presumptuous mind take wives and be married, shall run into his grace's indignation, and suffer further punishment and imprisonment at his grace's will and pleasure. Given this 16th day of November, in the thirteenth year of our reign."[1]

It is difficult to believe that Henry VIII did not know that Archbishop Warham was a married man. This statement has been denied, but the evidence for it is contained in a letter of Erasmus to the Archbishop in which he alludes to the Archbishop's "sweet wife and most dear children."[2] There is nothing antecedently improbable in this story, as clerical marriages were then by no means common."[3,4] Cranmer himself, whose first wife died before his ordination, contracted a second marriage in 1532, and was consecrated archbishop the following year. This, of course, was before there had been any relaxation by ecclesiastical authority of the law of the national Church. In the King's Book of 1543, matrimony was left at liberty to all men save priests and others who of their free liberty have by vow advisedly made chosen the state of continency.

In 1547 Convocation agreed to the following: "That

[1] Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii., 696.

[2] *Erasmi Opera*, III., 1695.

[3] Dean Hook, in his *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. vi., p. 321, conjectures that the marriage was known to Wolsey and not to Henry VIII, and that the order of 1521 was issued at the Cardinal's instigation to hint to the Archbishop that he was in his power. He further suggests that herein we have one ground for the despotic influence which Wolsey exercised over the gentle Warham, whose letters to Wolsey contain expressions of gratitude for which it is difficult to account. From what we know of the characters of the two men this supposition is possible, but in the region of surmise any inference can be drawn.

[4] Strype's *Cranmer*, book i., chap. xviii.

all such canons, laws, statutes, decrees, usages and customs, heretofore made, had or used, that forbid any person to contract matrimony or condemn matrimony already contracted by any person, for any vow or promises of priesthood, chastity or widowhood, shall from henceforth cease, be utterly void, and of none effect."[1]

In 32 Hen. VIII, cap. 10, an Act of Parliament was passed "for the moderation of the punishment of incontinency of priests and women offending with them," which was followed in 2 & 3 Edw. VI, cap. 21, by an act "to take away all positive laws made against marriage of priests." By this act every positive law and canon which stood against the marriage was repealed, and four years later, in 1553, the decisions of the Church as to the permission of the clergy to marry were embodied in a series of articles.

Queen Elizabeth, it is well known, never accepted with a whole heart the marriage of the bishops and clergy. She is reputed to have said to the wife of Archbishop Parker: "Madame I may not call you, Mistress I am ashamed to call you, but yet I thank you." In the injunctions of 1559 there are regulations concerning the marriage of the clergy, in which, after stating that there is no prohibition by the Word of God, nor any example of the primitive Church, but that the priests and ministers of the Church may lawfully marry; and yet that the lack of discreet and sober behaviour in many clergy in choosing their wives caused a remedy to be sought, it is ordered "that no manner of priest or deacon shall hereafter take to his wife any manner of woman without the advice and allowance first had upon good examination by the bishop of the same diocese." It was necessary, also, to obtain the permission of two Justices of the Peace of the shire where the woman lived, and also the goodwill of her parents. "And for the manner of marriages of any bishops, the same shall be allowed and approved by the metropolitan of the province, and also by such commissioners as the Queen's Majesty shall thereunto appoint."

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, book ii., chap. iv.

Whatever doubt existed in the reign of Elizabeth about the marriage of bishops and priests was set at rest in 2 Jas. I, cap. 25, secs. 49 and 50, by which Act the Acts of Edward VI were revived, and the children of ecclesiastical persons made legitimate and inheritable in such sort as children of lay persons do enjoy and may inherit; any canon or constitution to the contrary notwithstanding.[1]

The law of the English Church on the question of marriage of the clergy is, of course, expressed in Article XXXII: "Bishops, Priests and Deacons are not commanded by God's Law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage: therefore it is lawful also for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness." This article makes no direct reference to S. Paul's injunction that he who is admitted to the oversight of souls must be "the husband of one wife." The words imply neither marriage as a qualification for the office of *ἐπίσκοπος*,[2] nor are they to be interpreted as meaning the husband of one wife at a time. Their only meaning is that the *ἐπίσκοπος*, if married, must have been married only once. This and the corresponding qualification for the admission to the ecclesiastical orders of widows, viz. marriage to a single husband, were phrases quite well understood at the time, and the words appear on tombstones to denote the self-control exhibited by widower or widow. The later condemnation of a second marriage as an act of adultery goes beyond S. Paul's teaching. The witness of the Apostolical Constitution is clear as to marriage being no bar to ordination, and as to second marriage being forbidden as well as marriage at all after ordination. "A Bishop, a Presbyter and a Deacon when they are constituted must be

[1] Whilst the marriage of the clergy had received canonical and legal sanction by Article XXXII and royal sanction by the Injunctions, there was some doubt left: "The marriage of the clergy is not allowed and sanctioned by the public laws of the kingdom, but their children are by some persons regarded as illegitimate." —Humphrey and Sampson to Bullinger, July 1566, *Zurich Letters*, Series I, p. 164.

[2] 1 Tim. iii. 2.

once married, whether their wives be alive or whether they be dead, and it is not lawful for them if they are unmarried when they are ordained to be married afterwards, or if they be then married to marry a second time, but to be content with that wife which they had when they came to ordination." [1]

Whilst S. Paul required "only once married" as an evidence of self-control, and the "digami" were excluded from all orders of the ministry in the ancient Church, the prohibition of a clergyman's right to marry a second time is a matter of ecclesiastical discipline, and belongs to those traditions of the Church which "may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word." (Article XXXIV.)

Touching the general question of marriage, and in opposition to the slur cast upon it for centuries as a concession to human weakness, our Church has declared her mind in these words: Holy Matrimony "is an honourable estate instituted of God in the time of man's innocency signifying unto us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and His Church; which holy estate Christ adorned and beautified with His presence, and first miracle that He wrought, in Cana of Galilee; and is commended of S. Paul to be honourable among all men." (Marriage Service in the Book of Common Prayer.)

[1] *Apostolical Constitutions,* book vi., p. 17.

APPENDIX B

THE DOOM OF SACRILEGE

THE question of Church endowments, says Dr. E. A. Freeman, "must not be confused by talk about 'national property' on the one hand, or about 'sacrilege' on the other."[1]

With the former of these two subjects we are not at present concerned. But so much has been written and said about the guilt of sacrilege that the question demands an impartial investigation. It must suffice to refer to Spelman's *History and Fate of Sacrilege,* first published in 1698, and to Joyce's *Doom of Sacrilege,* which appeared in 1886. The latter of these two books is based largely upon the former, which is a long, elaborate and learned investigation of the whole subject. Spelman became possessed of certain abbey lands which involved him in continual and expensive lawsuits, at the end of which he deemed himself "happy in this, that he was out of the briars, but especially that hereby he first discerned the infelicity of meddling with consecrated places." With a conscience thus alarmed he set himself to inquire into the whole subject of sacrilege and to prove the following proposition—

"Property, consecrated to God in the service of His Church, has generally, when alienated to secular purposes, brought misfortune on its possessors; whether by strange accidents, by violent deaths, by loss of wealth, or, and that chiefly, by failure of heirs male; and such property hardly ever continues long in one family."

In proof of this statement Spelman investigated with

[1] *Disestablishment and Disendowment,* by E. A. Freeman, a most valuable little book, in which the whole question of the legal tenure of Church property is lucidly explained.

great learning and research Old Testament history, English biography, and family histories. He accumulates page after page of disasters which befell the families of those to whom the monastic lands were granted, and his conclusions reach beyond the line of family succession and include persons who legitimately purchased these lands in after years. The sincerity of this conscience-stricken writer is beyond question. He writes as one convinced that the doom of death and family extinction was upon any one who touched the monastic lands. The effect of the book at the time of its publication is stated to have been considerable, and not a few persons, conscience-stricken by its terrible indictment and awful warning, are said to have surrendered the impropriations and lands which they had inherited from their forefathers. The ghosts which were said to haunt the old abbey houses terrified many, and Spelman succeeded in carrying his own convictions into the hearts of a number of prominent English families. There is an appalling list of the judgments which Spelman contends happened to the children and posterity of Henry VIII as a consequence of the great sacrilege and spoil of Church lands done by this King.[1]

[1] The following extract is slightly curtailed: Queen Elizabeth is described "as deeply guilty of sacrilege by forced exchanges of bishops' lands, the murderess of a crowned head, and the destroyer of the best families of her nobility," her life being one of constant calamities and danger.

Charles II, a stipendiary of the French Crown, with a court the hot-bed of vice, was cut off in the midst of his sins and died childless.

James II lost his crown, and his children never regained their possessions, ten of his children dying in early youth.

William engaged in constant wars, hated by his subjects, died a violent death, and left no children.

Anne had nineteen children who all died young.

George I was the persecutor and gaoler of his innocent wife, and involved in constant fear and rebellion, and was deservedly hated.

George II was all but dethroned in 1745, and died suddenly by an unusual and awful disease.

George III was involved for fifty-five years in a sanguinary war, and when peace was restored the mind of this good king was in no condition to enjoy it.

The fate of the lords spiritual and temporal who were present in Parliament in 1539 when the Bill for dissolving monasteries was passed is set out in alarming colours.

Stephen Gardiner's experiences in his bishopric of Winchester, including deprivation and imprisonment, are all set down. The burning of Latimer at Oxford in 1555 is recorded as a consequence. Spelman is compelled to qualify his general indictment by saying, "Concerning the bishops it doth not appear how they gave their voices; but it may well be supposed that divers of them were against a total suppression; and seeing in other Acts it is recorded, after that when a Bill was granted with an unanimous consent of all parties, none dissenting, that then it was passed *nemine dissentiente;* yet it is not so recorded upon this, but although many might dissent, and that publicly, yet there was a major part of temporal lords present, and so carried by voices." I give two other selections from a more recent edition.

"*Hurley, Berks.*—From the Howards this estate passed to the Kempenfelts. Admiral Kempenfelt's melancholy death, in the 'Royal George,' is well known."

"*Abbotsford.*—Belonged to the Abbey of Melrose. It is a deeply affecting thing to observe how, after he had purchased this property, Sir Walter Scott's affairs never prospered: the end is known to all. And with this knowledge it is painful to read his light allusions to the appropriation of a Cross, as 'a nice little piece of sacrilege from Melrose.'"[1]

The fact that this book has been enlarged and brought up to date in recent years shows that certain persons are still convinced of the soundness of Spelman's arguments, and yet it is difficult to rise from a perusal of the book without a feeling that the moral sense has been outraged, that *post hoc* is continually made to do

[1] *The History of Fate and Sacrilege*, by Sir Henry Spelman, edited in part from two MSS., revised and corrected, with a continuation, large additions and an introductory essay, 1888.

service for the *propter hoc*. We feel ourselves unsafe in the hands of this great discoverer of judgments, who, with the other writers who have followed in his wake, seems to have quite forgotten the words of our Lord about the Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices, or about those eighteen upon whom the Tower of Siloam fell and slew them.

To some men the task of interpreting God's judgments is a very congenial one, and they revel in the accumulated evidence which is supposed to prove these judgments beyond doubt. I ask, however, for a more dispassionate consideration of the subject of Church and monastic lands.

Monasteries had a long history before the reign of Henry VIII. When the Christian Church had convinced itself that the monastic life was the highest type of religion people readily gave lands and tithes and privileges to these institutions, thinking that thereby they were doing God service. Kings and nobles founded monasteries and nunneries, and provided for their continuance for ever by bestowing upon them a goodly heritage of lands. In course of time it came to be thought by the bishops in England that they could best serve religion by consenting to the greater parochial tithes being assigned to some monastic or collegiate church, and leaving the vicar of the parish to subsist upon the smaller tithes as the deputy and representative of the distant monastery. In consequence of this policy persistently carried out for centuries the parishes were impoverished and the monasteries grew great and wealthy. There is in English Church history a long and pitiful story of the arrogance of the regular clergy in the monasteries in their dealings with the secular parish priests.

A halo of religious romance long gathered round the heads of the abbots and monks, in contrast with which the life of the parish priest was prosaic and humble. In their very best days the monasteries grasped at all the possessions and power which they could obtain, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century they are said

to have possessed nearly one-fifth of the land of England.

Into the causes which led to the suppression of the monasteries we do not now inquire. For good reasons or bad ones, and these are strangely intermingled in the story of the suppression, the monasteries were suppressed and all their vast possessions taken from them.

The great upheaval in the sixteenth century was by no means the first time that monastic property was dealt with in England. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there were many alien priories which were merely dependencies of foreign abbeys. They were ruled by the mother-houses abroad, which exacted from them large sums of money annually. Incompetence and discontent reigned in these priories. The bishops attempted reform to little purpose, and at last the priories were all handed over to the Crown in 1414 to be dealt with at the Royal pleasure.[1]

The endowments of Eton College and All Souls, Oxford came largely from the lands and properties of these priories.

Bishop Waynflete of Winchester in 1485, with the sanction of the Pope, suppressed Selborne Priory and appropriated the estates to Magdalen College, Oxford. About the same time Peterhouse and Jesus College at Cambridge received other monastic lands as endowments.

There was a precedent then for what was done in the reign of Henry VIII. Monastic lands were not so sacrosanct that they might not be used for other public purposes. When the great suppression of the sixteenth century came it was carried out ruthlessly, pitilessly, brutally. The Parliament gave everything into the hands of the King. A few bishoprics were founded out of the estates and some colleges assisted, but the main bulk of the vast property surrendered went into the hands of laymen. Neither Spelman nor his followers object

[1] This, of course, was a consequence of the feudal system of land tenure whereby all estates were deemed as held from the Crown in return for national services.

to the founding of bishoprics, colleges and schools out of the monastic property, and their arguments are directed against the secularisation of lands devoted to the service of the Church. Before a just judgment can be spoken an inquiry must be held to ascertain how far those laymen and their descendants, who became possessors of monastic property, have exercised their stewardship in Church and State. And many of them, at all events, have nothing to fear from an investigation into their family history during the last three or four centuries.

I have felt it my duty to enter this protest against the conclusions of Spelman and others, and to point out that there is another side to their unlimited denunciations and to their unqualified assertions as to the fate and doom of so-called sacrilege.

APPENDIX C

HEAD OF THE CHURCH

THE death of King Edward VII and the accession of George V have given rise to the question of the position of the Kings of England in relation to the Church, and many have assumed that the title "Head of the Church" is appended to the Crown. I cannot explain the relation of the two without asking your attention to the principles which underlie the whole position. In Anglo-Saxon days the English Church was almost wholly independent of Rome. The first great appeal from it to the ruling Pope was carried by Wilfred of York, in A.D. 704, when Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, divided the Diocese of York and Wilfred appealed against this. He returned home with the Papal bulls ordering Theodore's action to be disannulled, only to find that the Archbishop of Canterbury ignored them, and the King of Northumbria had them burnt and Wilfred himself committed to prison for nine months. So ended the first great appeal from the English Church to the Papal authority. With the Norman Conquest there came into England the first real continental influence. William the Conqueror had asked for the Papal blessing upon his invasion of England, but when he had won the country on the battlefield of Hastings he refused to acknowledge any authority over his crown. His answer to Gregory VII (Hildebrand) was "Hubert, your legate, Holy Father, coming to me in your behalf, bade me to do fealty to you and your successors, and to think better in the matter of the money which my predecessors were wont to send to the Roman Church. The one point I agreed to; the other I did not agree to. I refused to do

fealty, nor will I, because neither have I promised it, nor do I find that my predecessors did it to your predecessors." He would pay the Peter's-pence, but would not acknowledge that he owed fealty or homage to any one for his crown.

During the next forty years the strong Norman Kings tyrannised over the English Church until they seemed to claim both spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. The long controversy was at last ended in 1107 by the acceptance of the conditions wrung from Henry I by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. These were, that no man in England should be invested with a bishopric by pastoral staff or ring at the hand of the King or any other layman, and Anselm promised that no one elected to a bishopric should be debarred from consecration by having done homage to the King. We must now ask what is meant by doing homage to the Throne. In these distant days the feudal laws prevailed in full force. Every nobleman and landowner held his property by royal grant, and in return was obliged to contribute into the King's hands for the national expenditure. There were no annual Parliamentary supplies, and there was no national Chancellor of the Exchequer. The bishops alone had no legal heirs to the episcopal estates, and therefore upon their death these temporalities lapsed to the Crown, and were granted again by the King to the new bishop, who, upon receiving them, was required to do homage, in which he acknowledged that he held his estates from the King himself. The regulation of the relation between the rights of the Crown of England and the claims of the Bishop of Rome was the subject of dispute for five hundred years, and records of this dispute are found in many Acts of Parliament designed to assert the national independence, and to curtail the constantly asserted jurisdiction of the Papacy. The crisis in the struggle did not come until the reign of Henry VIII, when in 1534 an Act was passed for abolishing all Papal authority, and restoring it to the Crown. This Act exempted nothing; its first sentence is, "Be it enacted by authority of this present Par-

liament, that the King our Sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors, Kings of this Realm, shall be taken, accepted and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia; and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as well as the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities, to the said dignity of supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining." I may not stop to inquire why the Church and State of England, which had acknowledged the Papal supremacy in spiritual things for five hundred years, passed this Act through Parliament.

The bishops and clergy in their convocations inserted the clause, "as far as the laws of Christ allow," but from the year 1534, and for twenty years afterwards, to 1554, the title of Head of the Church was annexed to the Crown. Henry VIII, the boy King, Edward VI, and Queen Mary, until her marriage with Philip of Spain, all used it. In 1554 the Papal authority was restored to the see of Rome, and all articles and provisions made against the Pope since the twentieth year of Henry VIII were repealed. Four years later Queen Mary died, and in 1559, the first year of Elizabeth, an Act was passed to restore to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the State ecclesiastical, and to abolish all foreign powers repugnant to the same. By this Act everything which had been done in the reign of Queen Mary was undone, and the Church stood once more in the position it had occupied in the reign of Henry VIII. Parliament would have been willing to restore the title "Head of the Church," but Queen Elizabeth refused to have it, and the title has never since been re-enacted. "The Queen is unwilling to be addressed either by word of mouth or in writing as the Head of the Church of England. For she seriously maintains that this honour is due to Christ alone and cannot belong to any human being soever" (Jewel to Bullinger, *Zurich Letters*). In 1569 the Queen issued a proclamation that she pretended "no

right to define articles of faith, to change ancient ceremonies formerly adopted by the Catholic and Apostolic Church, or to minister the word or the sacraments of God; but that she conceived it her duty to take care that all estates under her rule should live in the faith and obedience of the Christian religion; to see all laws ordained for that end duly observed; and to provide that the Church be governed and taught by archbishops, bishops and ministers."

The title given was "Supreme Governor of the Realm," which is thus defined: "That the Queen's Highness is the only Supreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other her Highness's Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Things or Causes as Temporal; and that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preeminence, or authority Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within this Realm. . . ." The effect of this is to declare that the realm of England is subject in nothing, either ecclesiastical or civil, to any foreign authority. The Church was to be governed by its archbishops, bishops and the clergy, in the convocation, and the spiritual jurisdiction was not to be exercised by the Crown, but by the Church itself, according to its own laws, but in the interpretation of these laws there was to be no appeal from the courts of the realm.

And now, respecting the oath of homage to the Crown which has been required from the bishops of the English Church since the days of William the Conqueror. As an example of a pre-Reformation oath of homage, I take that of Adrian, Bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1504. He does homage for the temporalities of the bishopric, which he recognises as held from Henry VII "as from my Supreme Lord," and he further rejects every word, clause or sentence in Papal bulls which are, or in any way in future may be, prejudicial or hurtful to the King, his Supreme Lord. In addition to this oath, the pre-Reformation bishops took one to the Pope, in which they promised to maintain and defend the Papacy against

all men with all its authorities, and not to alienate or sell any episcopal possession without the Pope's counsel. And so the bishops found themselves attempting to serve two masters. Cranmer took the oath for his temporalities and the oath to the Pope, but at his consecration entered a protest, in form disclaiming any clause in the Papal oath which might interfere with his duty to God and the King or restrain him from endeavouring a reformation in the Church.

In 1276 Edward I granted to the Bishop of St. Asaph the rights, liberties, possessions and customs belonging to his bishopric, to be by him peacefully and quietly used and enjoyed. What these were may be gathered from an agreement about the same bishopric in 1266, when patronage, discipline, tithes and mortuaries, and money from which are called spiritualities, are reckoned amongst the temporalities of the bishopric. At the Coronation service of the King the Archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops do homage in these words:—

"I, ——, Archbishop of Canterbury, and we, ——, Bishops of ——, will be faithful and true, and Faith and Truth will bear unto you our Sovereign Lord and your Heirs, Kings or Queens of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. And I will do and truly acknowledge the service of the lands which I claim to hold of you as in right of the Church."

The actual oath now taken by English Bishops upon their appointment is as follows:—

"I, ——, having been elected Bishop of ——, and such election having been duly confirmed, do hereby declare that your Majesty is the only Supreme Governor of this your Realm in Spiritual and Ecclesiastical things as well as in Temporal; and that no Foreign Prelate or Potentate has any jurisdiction within this Realm; and I acknowledge that I hold the said Bishopric, as well the Spiritualities as the Temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty; and for the same Temporalities I do my homage presently to your Majesty. So help me God. God save the King."

We must now inquire what this oath means. It speaks of doing homage for temporalities, but it acknowledges that the bishopric is held from His Majesty, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof. Those who have concluded from these last words that the spiritual character and office of a bishop are derived from the Crown, and not given in virtue of consecration, have done so in ignorance of the technical language used. The endowments of a bishopric are the only things for which an English bishop does homage, but these endowments fall under two heads: first, the lands, houses and other possessions; and secondly, the spiritualities, the fees for licences, for letters dimissory, for cases in the ecclesiastical court, for institutions, and, in fact, fees for everything for which an ecclesiastical lawyer could invent fees. When a bishop had taken full possession of his bishopric he was legally entitled to charge all these fees, and the phrase "spiritualities," in the oath of homage, has no connection with the spiritual character of the episcopal office conferred by consecration, but refers only to a portion of the endowments of the office. I will take some illustrations of this statement, choosing them all from pre-Reformation times. Illustrations of the Crown claiming the temporalities "Sede Vacante" (the see being vacant) are too well known to be adduced. The Kings asserted this claim continuously against earls, chapters and every one else. The King sometimes granted these temporalities during the vacancy to a layman, but usually they were retained for the Royal exchequer.

In 1291, 18 Edward I, a return of the possessions and revenues of all the English bishoprics, etc., was obtained, which is commonly called the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV. I quote from the manuscript copy of this Taxation in the Cambridge University library. It is headed "The annual value of all and singular the possessions and revenues as well the spiritualities as the temporalities of all and singular the archbishops and bishops, abbots and priors." The phrase in the above oath, which speaks of spiritualities and temporalities, is the same as

that of this Taxation, which defines the spiritualities, *i. e.* the portion of the income derived from some of the benefices in the diocese and from fees, as part of the episcopal possessions. Further, there is a letter by Cardinal Wolsey, written in 1529, and printed in Cavendish's life of Wolsey, in which he asks whether he should forfeit his spiritualities of Winchester or no, when he had arranged to be installed in York, giving as the reason: "I cannot tell how to live and keep the number of poor folks which I now have." To give an idea of the value of this source of income: in the survey of the endowments of the bishopric of Worcester, given in 1535, before the alienation of Church lands, the temporalities were reckoned at £980 and the spiritualities at £127. In the Parliamentary Writs (see those edited by Sir F. Palgrave), where ecclesiastical taxation is referred to, temporalities and spiritualities are taxed and cast up in different columns.

In pre-Reformation times the firstfruits and tenths of English bishoprics and benefices were taken for the Bishop of Rome. These were annexed to the Crown by 26 Henry VIII, and the Act defines the episcopal endowments thus: the tenth part "of all the revenues, rents, farms, offerings, emoluments, and of all other profits as well called spiritual as temporal" now or hereafter belonging to the Bishopric, etc. Subsequent legislation 1 Elizabeth 19 gave back some of these spiritualities in exchange for lands.

Whatever the oath of homage means now, it meant also in pre-Reformation times; and at all times spiritualities have expressed a portion of the legal estate. As an illustration of the full episcopal spiritual authority being derived from consecration, take the episcopate in England at the present time. There are in England 38 territorial bishops and 37 bishops-suffragan, or assistant. All have been consecrated to office by the same authority and under the same ordinal. No bishop-suffragan is ever called upon to take the oath of homage, for the simple reason that he holds no episcopal estate, and yet he confirms, ordains, and takes part in the consecration

of bishops. When any such bishop is nominated to a territorial bishopric he takes the oath of homage on entering upon his temporal possessions, but nothing of any kind is added to his spiritual office and power as a bishop, all of which he already possesses in virtue of his consecration. There is one other phrase to be examined. During the vacancy in a bishopric some one ecclesiastical officer is appointed to be guardian of the spiritualities. This appointment is made generally by the archbishop of the province, though by the canon law the dean and chapter of the cathedral church are made guardians of the spiritualities during the vacancy. These guardians have jurisdiction in the bishops' courts and power to grant licences to marry. They may take the fees during their time of office, but they cannot consecrate, ordain or present to vacant benefices. A bishop's patronage during a vacancy, being regarded as the conferring of an endowed position, lapses to the Crown. When a bishop in England acknowledges that he holds this bishopric "tam spiritualium quam temporalium" from the King, he is saying that every part of his estate is so held, and further, that he holds his courts and receives his fees under the Crown, because these courts deal with matters touching the liberty of the subjects, but he does not mean that his spiritual functions as a bishop come from Royal authority.

For clearness, I set down the different sources from which a bishop's income was received. (1) Temporalities, *i. e.* rents from the lands and tenements; (2) spiritualities, *i. e.* fixed payments from some of the benefices in the diocese; (3) other spiritualities, *i. e.* various fees. I hope these facts will make it clear that the spiritual part of a bishop's office is derived solely from his consecration, and that no portion of this is exercised in virtue of authority from the Crown. In this respect the territorial bishops in England are in as free a position as the other Anglican bishops in any part of the world.

In the history of England at two different periods there the Crown has claimed and exercised a "Headship of the Church." (1) From 1066–1107, when the bishops

were required, under the Norman Kings, not only to do homage for temporal possessions, but to receive at the hands of the Sovereign investiture with pastoral staff and ring. And (2) from 1534–1554, when the Crown bore the title of Head of the Church. Whatever unholy tampering there was in the later period with spiritual functions, it was no worse than what had happened in England in Norman times, and what, in fact, had been practised for a very long period before 1107 in all parts of Europe.

Those of us who feel there must be one supreme authority in every country controlling all citizens are not concerned when we read that the Bishops of Rome have in practice been compelled to acknowledge this. In the seventh century one Pope had to wait for two years, and another one year, for the Emperor's confirmation. In the tenth century the Emperor set aside the nominee of the electors, and made Leo VIII Pope. All the Popes were bound to take the oath of fealty or homage to the Emperor, and a remnant of this is still retained in the veto upon the election to the Papacy exercised by the great Powers of Europe which are in communion with Rome.

As a last illustration, I take a resolution from the Privy Council Chamber in London, on May 10, 1910: "It is this day ordered by their Lordships that His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury do prepare special forms of service in commemoration of His late Majesty King Edward of Blessed and Glorious Memory, to be used in all Churches and Chapels in England and Wales." The other parts of the Empire are not included. The Crown requests that the service be prepared and used, but the Archbishop, in virtue of his office, draws it up, and is responsible for what it contains. When the occasion is not a Royal funeral or other State function, the Archbishops and Bishops of England prepare special services without any request, because the "Jus Liturgicum" resides in their office.

APPENDIX D

SEDBERGH AND GIGGLESWICK

As an illustration of what was done to the Chantry schools I give the particulars of Sedbergh and Giggleswick, at the former of which I myself was educated. Both are popularly supposed to be schools founded by Edward VI.

A chantry called Lupton Chantry was founded at Sedbergh in 1528 by Dr. Lupton of S. John's, Cambridge. Robert Hebblethwaite was the school-master, and his duties were to pray for the soul of Dr. Lupton and to keep a free school. The endowment consisted of freehold land of the yearly value of £11. At Giggleswick the chantry, an older one, which of course had its altar in the parish church, was served by the incumbent, a man well learned, who taught a grammar school there and had no other living than the proceeds of the chantry. The value was increased by £24 given by will and testament towards the maintenance of the school-master. The total remaining to the King's Majesty at the dissolution of the chantries were the annual sums of £10 17*s.* and £12 13*s.* 4*d.* (These must be greatly increased for their present value.) When the chantries were dissolved by the Acts of Henry VIII and Edward VI there was great dissatisfaction everywhere at the way the Acts were carried out. Bishop Latimer preached frequently on the subject so far as it affected the Chantry schools, and Dr. Lever, Master of S. John's, Cambridge, in preaching before Edward VI in 1550, said, "Many Grammar Schools be taken, sold and made away, to the great slander of you and your laws, to the grievous offence of the people, to the most miserable drowning of youth

in ignorance and sore decay of the Universities. There was in the North Country, amongst the people rude in knowledge, a Grammar School (Sedbergh) founded, having in the University of Cambridge, of the same foundation, eight scholarships, ever replenished with scholars of that school, which is now decayed and lost."

The result of this and similar appeals was that Sedbergh was refounded on February 20, 1551. The new endowment was £20 13*s*. 4*d*. a year, and was made up of fragments of chantries from York, Halifax, Rotherham, etc. Twelve persons of the town and parish of Sedbergh were to be governors, and Robert Hebblethwaite, late school-master of Sedbergh, was to be named school-master. "After his decease the master, fellows and scholars of S. John's College in Cambridge were to have the nomination of the school-master, in consideration of two fellowships and eight scholarships established in the same college for scholars of Sedbergh aforesaid, according to an ordinance thereof made there at the charge of Dr. Lupton, deceased, which founded the late School of Sedbergh."

This school was handsomely treated in comparison with many other Chantry schools and other larger foundations. Compare this generous treatment with that meted out to a great school in Cornwall. The College of S. Thomas of Glasney was founded, or augmented, by Walter, Bishop of Exeter, in 1271, at Penryn. It had a staff consisting of provost, 12 canons, 7 vicars-choral, a chapel clerk, a bell-ringer, 4 choristers and 3 chantry priests. The bell-ringer had 40*s*. a year as well for teaching poor men's children their A B C as for ringing the bells. The endowments of the college amounted to about £4,500 a year of present money. The whole was swept away, including the poor children's A B C teacher, and the stipend of a grammar-school master of about £140 a year present money was left.

"As for poor Edward VI," says Mr. Leach, "meaning thereby the ruling counsellors of his day, he cannot any longer be called the founder of our national system of secondary education. But he or they can at least claim

the distinction of having had a unique opportunity of reorganizing the whole educational system of a nation from top to bottom, without cost to the nation, and of having thrown it away" (p. 122). Mr. Leach gives a list of 204 schools [1] mentioned in Chantry Certificates and Re-foundation warrants. These extend in dates of foundation from 1066 (before) to 1548, and show that the whole of England was studded with Chantry schools, where the children of the parishes had for centuries received their education. Those who acted in the name of Edward VI re-founded many, it is true, but despoiled and robbed large numbers and took the money for other purposes.

[1] *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 321.

APPENDIX E

THE LIMITS OF TOLERANCE

I CAN do no more than assert certain principles and draw a few conclusions.

It has been asserted that the spirit of Christianity is essentially a persecuting spirit, and we must sorrowfully confess that the history of the Church in every part of it lends support to the statement.

My first duty is to show that the principles of Christian faith condemn persecution, as well as the temper from which it springs, and the arguments by which it has been supported.

I turn to two scenes in the life of our Blessed Lord. He has been churlishly refused hospitality in a Samaritan village, and His disciples regard this as an outrage and an insult. His disciples, James and John, ask, "Lord, wilt Thou that we bid fire come down from heaven and consume them?" but He turned and rebuked them, saying, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of;" and they went to another village. The second scene is this: St. John said to Him, "Master, we saw one casting out devils in Thy Name, and he followeth not us; and we forbad him, because he followeth not us," but Jesus said: "Forbid him not: for there is no man which shall do a miracle in My Name that can lightly speak evil of Me."

In these two scenes you have the whole mind of Christ in the matter of tolerance. He will neither use His power to punish churlish opposition nor forbid any one to do good in His Name. When the Church of Christ first started upon its career, the Jewish authorities sought to stamp it out as an offence and heresy. They imprisoned the apostles and received the reply, "We ought

to obey God rather than men." This defiance caused the authorities to take counsel to slay the apostles, whereupon the noble Jewish rabbi, Gamaliel, secured a victory for tolerance by the use of these words, "Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to naught: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."

In the first generation of the Christian era until the time of Nero our faith derived much advantage from the imperial sense of Roman justice and toleration, and Gallio, the deputy of Achaia, is a true representative of the imperial attitude. He drove the accusers of the Christian teachers from the judgment-seat, saying, "If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you; but if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it; for I will be no judge of such matters." As Christianity grew in influence, it was persecuted because it refused to be licensed as a permitted religion side by side with heathen cults and systems of worship. For three hundred years, until the peace of the Church at the beginning of the fourth century, the noble army of martyrs suffered death for disobedience to the imperial law. The Peace of Constantine came when the rulers of the world recognised that they were powerless to destroy the Church, but the victory was won by the moral forces of patience, faith, suffering and martyrdom. Henceforth the Church entered upon a new era in her existence as the ally of the State, and secular and spiritual influences began to be intermingled in that strange confusion which, for more than twelve hundred years, did much dishonour and violence to the fundamental principles of Christianity. The whole story is a strange, chequered, and at times shameful record.

The problem of Church and State is constantly emerging. Only gradually was the great object of the Roman Church made manifest. This was to make the Bishop of Rome supreme over all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil, and to claim that kings held their thrones as his fiefs, and that he could absolve whole nations from their

allegiance to the Crown. This was the period when heresy and treason became interchangeable terms, when liberty of conscience was sternly suppressed, and when Cotton Mather's famous utterance, spoken in America at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was almost universally believed and acted upon. "Toleration," said he, "is of the devil." Throughout the whole of this period there were great and noble Christian souls speaking in earnest protest, and demonstrating the superior greatness of the works wrought by influence over those wrought by power. The fascinating story of the foundation of the Northumbrian Church, the charm of such lives as those of Gregory the Great, Thomas à Becket, Francis of Assisi and Hugh of Lincoln, are known to most of us. St. Bernard, knowing how the Church had become corrupted by the possession of power, addressed himself thus to the Pope of his day: "Rule that you may serve; act up to this, and do not you, a man, affect to dominate over men, lest all injustice dominate over you. I dread no poison, no sword, so much as I dread the lust of power. In your power you are the successor, not of Peter, but of Constantine." Tens of thousands of other saintly souls lived in the spirit of our Lord's words, "I am among you as He that serveth," but most of the leading ecclesiastics filled the offices of ambassadors at Court, or administrators in State affairs; and not till the sixteenth century, when the cup of indignation was full to overflowing, did the conscience of Christendom rise against the rulers of the Church and assert itself successfully against the intolerance which had constrained the convictions of individuals. So far as England is concerned, it is useless to attribute the beginnings of the Reformation solely to the lust and passion of Henry VIII. Such public opinion as the country possessed was largely on his side, and it supported him while it stood aghast at his personal life and tyranny. One apology offered for the Church through all the period of persecutions cannot be maintained. It is said that the Church beheaded nobody, burnt nobody, persecuted nobody, but that all this was done by the secular powers. It is true that the judges

of Latimer, Ridley and Cranmer officially did no more than condemn these men as heretics and degrade them from all ecclesiastical orders. They then committed them to the secular power to receive due punishment, according to the temporal laws. Not by this contention can the Church wash her hands clean of all guilt. She was herself at that time largely responsible for the temporal laws, and it is a mere playing with words to say that these men, and hundreds of others judged guilty of heresy, were put to death for treason.

Only slowly did either Church or State learn the lesson of tolerance. If the Council of Constance burnt John Huss of Bohemia, even so great a scholar and lovable a man as Sir Thomas More, as Chancellor of England, could speak of Tyndale and his associates as compelling princes, by occasion of their incurable and contagious pestilence, to punish them according to justice by sore painful death, both for example and for infection of others. Luther, in his earlier days, contended that he would have no compulsion. "Thoughts," he said, "are toll free. Heresy can never be kept off by force. It is a spiritual thing which no iron can hew down, no fire burn, no water drown." Later in his life, when power had come into his own hands, and the German peasants threatened his influence by a popular rising, he clamoured for their blood. "Let there be no pity," he cried; "it is the time of wrath, not of mercy. He who dies fighting for authority is a martyr before God. So wondrous are the times that princes can merit heaven better by bloodshed than by prayers. Therefore, dear lords, let him who can stab, smite and destroy." When Cromwell triumphed in England, Independents and Presbyterians contended for power after they had succeeded in making it a crime to use the Book of Common Prayer even in private worship. After the Restoration the Parliaments of Charles II attempted to maintain the Church by help of the Test Act and Five Mile Act, which made Nonconformity a crime against the laws of the land.

Enough, however, of these distant days, in which no one understood the true spirit of tolerance, and every one had forgotten those simple and sublime precepts of

our Lord Jesus from which we started. Are we better than our fathers? In this particular matter of tolerance, we can say without vanity that we are. The State in England only reluctantly repealed its laws against Dissenters and Roman Catholics as it gradually learnt the lesson that its own position was safe without the support of such legislation. The modern world realises that heresy and treason are not interchangeable terms, and that men of widely divergent religious views can live under one flag and become good citizens without acknowledging a common faith. This is the conclusion at which the secular powers have largely arrived, and the British Empire, with its subjects professing many varied beliefs, has been in the van of progress. There are many yet who deny that this is progress. Russia, at the present moment, is timidly and reluctantly admitting other faiths besides that of the Greek Orthodox Church. China and Japan have, within our own times, accepted tolerance as part of the Western civilisation they are assimilating, and so have opened the door to modern Christianity. Very little indiscretion on the part of Christian teachers would cause this door to be shut, as it was shut when the Jesuit missionaries were expelled because they presented little more than the aspect of trading communities and political interference.

Granted, then, that tolerance of various religious beliefs has established itself, and especially amongst ourselves in Australia, we ask what limits are to be imposed, and what punishments enacted, in our own generation? The attitude of the State in Australia towards religion may be largely expressed in the words of Gibbon, when describing the early days of Christianity: "The various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people as equally true, by the philosopher as equally false, and by the magistrate as equally useful." No State official will now act in the spirit of Pliny's letter to Trajan: "Those who persisted in declaring themselves Christians I ordered to be led away to execution, for I did not doubt, whatever it was that they confessed, that contumacy and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished."

We are at liberty in the Church of England to establish our own courts for ecclesiastical offences, but the punishment for heresy is neither the rack, nor the faggot, nor the block, but only deprivation from office after judgment has been pronounced to the effect that the conditions in which it is held have been infringed.

It is open to us not to tolerate men who have made shipwreck concerning the faith, or who have fallen into some form of evil living entirely at variance with their Christian profession. The Church is justified in preserving its purity of faith by excluding offenders, but it is not authorised by the New Testament to compel by punishment the acceptance of its formularies. Its weapons against errors in doctrine or conduct which arise from pride, vanity, frailty, intellectual narrowness, or even self-willed prejudice, are in the first instance rebuke, exhortation and persuasion. The ultimate resort to excommunication and expulsion, whilst justified by the analogy of every well-regulated human society, are weapons to be resorted to with care, caution and reserve. Heresy-hunting has long proved an unprofitable game, because the heretic has so often carried with him the illuminating torch of new and wider knowledge. There is one short and unworthy method of dealing with opponents which I strongly deprecate. I mean that far too common habit of calling every man who differs from us, whether within our Church or without it, a sectarian bigot, and begging the whole question at issue by assuming that truth is wholly the possession of one side, and bigotry and intolerance the weapons of the other.

APPENDIX F

THE ENGLISH ORDINAL

THE English Ordinal was not printed as part of the first Prayer Book (1549) because it was not put forth until 1550. In November, 1549 (3 & 4 Edw. VI, cap. 12), a commission consisting of Cranmer and eleven other divines was appointed to prepare one uniform fashion and manner for making and consecrating of bishops, priests, deacons and other ministers of the Church. Cranmer took the chief part, and the Ordinal made no provision for men in minor orders, such as sub-deacons, readers, etc. In the second Prayer Book the Ordinal was incorporated as part of the book (5 & 6 Edw. VI, cap. 1).

The description of this book is "The Boke of Common Prayer and administracion of the sacramentes and other rites and ceremonies in the Church of England. London, 1552." In the list of contents we have "XXI. The fourme and maner of makyng and consecrating of Bishoppes, Priestes and Deacons." Ordination then is here regarded as one of the rites and ceremonies. This book was rejected in 1553 and re-enacted in 1559 (1 Eliz. cap. 2). The act describes the book thus: "The Book of Common Prayer and administration of Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church of England." Some months later, when arrangements were being made for Parker's consecration, the question arose whether the above phrase included the Ordinal. In a memorandum used at the time, various questions are raised about the whole position, and No. 5 is "The Order of King Edward's Book is to be observed, for that there is none other special made in this last session of

Parliament." To this Cecil appended a note: "This book is not established by Parliament Querendum," *i. e.* the matter is one to be inquired into. As a result of this inquiry the commission for the confirmation and consecration of Parker contained a clause dispensing with any disabilities in the acts done by them under it.[1] Parker was consecrated under the English Ordinal, which in the Canterbury Register is referred to as "published by authority of Parliament." The question was finally settled in 1566 by a declaratory act confirming all the Queen had done, and declaring consecration by the English Ordinal to have been and to be in future good and valid. Objection to these proceedings is taken by Roman Catholic writers on the ground that Elizabeth acted under authority vested in her by a recent act of Parliament. Remembering that Queen Elizabeth refused the title of Supreme Head and declared that the Church of England was to be ruled by the Archbishops, bishops and Convocations, let us see how Queen Mary acted under similar conditions. She inherited the title of Supreme Head and would fain have repudiated it, but dared not. Writing to Cardinal Pole in October, 1553, she says, "so strangely are the minds of the people prepossessed against the Roman Pontiff that they find less difficulty in admitting all the other tenets of the Catholic religion than the single article which regards the Subordination due to him. . . . My fears are that they will obstinately insist on my continuing to assume the headship of the Church, but I am not at a loss in what manner to reply. . . . The title in debate does not agree with kings as the Royal State in spiritual concerns is subordinate to the sacerdotal and the jurisdiction of the body politic being of a different order from that of the priesthood their power dignity and functions are

[1] "We nevertheless supply by our supreme royal authority acting upon our own mere notion and certain knowledge if anything in these matters according to our aforesaid mandate should be done by you or there should be wanting or shall be wanting either in you or any of you as to your condition state or faculties of those things which are required by the Statutes of this our realm or by the ecclesiastic laws made on their behalf."

distinct; then there is a peculiar difficulty arising from my very sex to which nothing could be less suited than such a title and the extent of power annexed to it" (*Poli. Epp.*, IV, 119).

Much, however, as Mary disliked the power, she proceeded at once to exercise it, and the early ecclesiastical acts of administration done by her had authority in virtue of this power. She used the title of Supreme Head in official documents. A royal proclamation in August, 1553, silenced all preaching. She issued in March, 1554, her Articles as Queen of England to the bishops accompanied by a peremptory letter sent "by the Queen's Majesty's commandment." In December, 1553, a proclamation was made that no married priest should minister or say Mass. The legislation of Edward allowing the marriage of the clergy was at once repealed, but nothing was done to repeal the motion in favour of clerical marriage passed by the Lower House of Convocation in 1547. The Queen also issued a commission in March, 1554, to deprive three Bishops (Lincoln, Gloucester and Worcester, Hereford) on the ground that "both by preaching, teaching and setting forth of erroneous doctrine and also by inordinate life and conversation contrary both to the laws of Almighty God and use of the universal Christian Church (they had) declared themselves very unworthy of that vocation and dignity in the Church."

There is nothing to choose between the two Queens, and whatever rights of the Church may have been invaded about this time, the Crown was equally responsible for the two sets of changes. On the question of the methods and causes for deprivation of the bishops of Edward VI's reign, I set down some acts.

There were seven such bishops.

(1) Ferrar of S. David's. This bishop was consecrated by the pre-Reformation Pontifical of the English Church on September 9, 1548. He was deprived because he would not abandon the oath he had taken. His case is different from those of the other six who were consecrated under the English Ordinal.

Six Bishops of Edward VI's reign[1] *Consecrated under the English Ordinal.*

	Deprived.	*Reasons.*
Poynet (Winchester)	In 1553, at the very beginning of the reign.	Marriage and an intruder into Gardiner's Bishopric.
Coverdale (Exeter)	September 28, 1553.	An intruder into Voysey's Bishopric.
Scory (Chichester)	February 26, 1554.	Marriage and an intruder into Day's Bishopric.
Hooper (Gloucester and Worcester)	March 20, 1554.	Defect of title and marriage.
Taylor (Lincoln)	March 20, 1554.	Defect of title and heresy.
Harley (Hereford)	March 20, 1554.	Marriage and heresy.

With regard to the above reasons "the defect of title" has reference to their appointment by Letters Patent only, under Edward VI. Three were judged to have displaced the rightful bishops. Queen Mary's commission to deprive the other three says nothing of invalid orders, but speaks only of doctrine and inordinate life, which, of course, means marriage. It is curious to notice that the Canterbury Register speaking of Hooper and Harley says nothing of nullity of consecration, but does mention this in the case of Taylor, whilst it does not speak of him as being a married man. What is the explanation? I can only suggest one. Hooper and Harley being married, this was one reason used. Taylor being unmarried must be deprived for other reasons. Three are given, nullity of consecration, appointment by Letters Patent and heresy upon the Holy Eucharist. The commission for depriving, we have seen, says nothing of invalid orders, and the entry in the Canterbury Register, though official, shows us the opinion of the person who wrote it but nothing more.

With regard to what was done in the case of the English clergy, "many Edwardian priests are found to have been deprived for various reasons and particularly

[1] See *The Marian Reaction*, by W. H. Frere, for the extracts from the *Sede Vacante* (1553–5) of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.

on account of their entering into wedlock, none are so found, as far as we know, on account of defect of Order. Some were voluntarily re-ordained. Some received anointing as a supplement to their previous ordination, a ceremony to which some of our bishops at that time attached great importance. Some, and perhaps the majority, remained in their benefices without re-ordination, nay, were promoted in some cases to new cures" (the *English Archbishops' Answer to Leo XIII,* p. 11, 1897).

The work of reconciliation to Rome was almost finished under royal and episcopal authority before Cardinal Pole arrived in England. There were great difficulties about his coming as Papal Legate, and he did not arrive until November, 1554. He explained his mission to the Queen, the Lords and Commons, and said, "I am not come to call anything in question already done. But my commission is of grace and clemency to such as will receive it. For touching all matters that be past, they shall be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness. But the means whereby you shall receive this benefit is to revoke and repeal those laws and statutes what be impediments, blocks and bars to the execution of my commission." What Queen Mary had done then as Supreme Head was to be forgotten and accepted, and England was to be reconciled. Pole, who was only a deacon, was not ordained priest until March 20, 1556, and two days later he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, *i. e.* the day after Cranmer was burnt at Oxford. He died November 1558, so that his tenure of Canterbury lasted only two and a half years.

APPENDIX G

EUCHARISTIC VESTMENTS

THE rubrics which have regulated the vestments of the clergy of the Church of England at different times since 1549 [1] are—

I. Rubrics in first Prayer Book of Edward VI (in use 1549–1552)—

(*a*) Service of Holy Communion.

"The Priest that shal execute the holy ministery, shall put upon hym the vesture appoincted for that ministracion, that is to saye: a white Albe plain, with a vestement or Cope. And where there be many Priestes, or Decons, there so many shalbe ready to helpe the Priest, in the ministracion, as shalbee requisite. And shall haue upon them lykewise the vesture appointed for their ministry, that is to saye, Albes with tunacles."

(*b*) "In the saying or singing of Matens and Euensong, Baptizyng and Burying, the minister, in paryshe churches and chapels annexed to the same, shall use a Surples. And in all Cathedral churches and colledges, tharchdeacons, Deanes, Prouestes, Maisters, Prebendaryes, and fellowes, being Graduates, may use in the quiere, beside theyr Surplesses, such hoodes as pertaineth to their seueral degrees, which they haue taken in any universitie within this realme. But in all other places, euery minister shall be at libertie to use any Surples or no. It is also seemly that Graduates, when they doe preache, shoulde use such hoodes as pertayneth to theyr seuerall degrees."

II. Rubric in second Prayer Book of Edward VI (in use 1552–1553)—

"And here is to be noted, that the minister at the

[1] See "Report of Five Bishops of Canterbury Convocation upon the Ornaments of the Church and its Ministers." C. 2. 1908.

tyme of the Comunion and all other tymes in his ministracion, shall use neither albe, vestment, nor cope: but being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet; and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only."

NOTE.—The Book of Common Prayer was not used from 1553–1559.

III. Rubric in the Prayer Book of Elizabeth and James I (in use 1559–1645)—

"And here is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the comunion, and at all other tymes in hys ministracion, shall vse such ornamentes in the church, as were in vse by aucthoritie of parliament in the second yere of the reygne of king Edward the VI. according to the acte of parliament set in the beginning of thys booke."

Section 25 of this Act of Uniformity, 1558—

"Provided alwayes and be it enacted, that suche ornaments of the Churche, and of the ministers thereof, shalbe reteined and be in vse as was in this Churche of England, be aucthority of Parliament, in the second yere of the raygne of Kyng Edward the VI. vntil other order shalbe therin take by thaucthority of the Quenes Maiestie, with the aduise of her Commissioners appointed and auctorized vnder the great Seale of England, for causes ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this Realme. And also that if there shal happen any contempte or irreuerence to be vsed in the ceremonies or rites of the Church, by the misusinge of the orders apointed in this boke: The Quenes Maiestie may by the like aduise of the sayd commissioners, or Metropolitan, ordeine and publish such further ceremonies or rites as may be most for the aduancemet of Gods glory, the edifiyng of his Church, and the due reuerence of Christes holy mysteries and Sacramentes."

IV. Rubric in the present Prayer Book (in use from 1661 to the present time)—

"And here is to be noted That such Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in vse, as were

in this church of England by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the raigne of King Edward VI." (Copied from the facsimile of the Manuscript Book of Common Prayer annexed to the Act of Uniformity, 1662.)

On these rubrics I make only a few remarks. After 1559 and when Parker's Advertisements were issued in 1566, the most that could be insisted upon, owing to the Puritan rebellion, was the use of the surplice, and even that caused deprivations. The Eucharistic Vestments were not then in general use nor was much heard of them until they began to be revived in 1840. The question was discussed at the Savoy Conference, 1661, when the Presbyterians asked that the rubric of 1559 and 1604, which seemed to bring back the cope, alb, etc., should be wholly left out. To which the bishops replied, "We think fit that the rubric continue as it is." The rubric of 1662 conformed in language to that in the Act of Uniformity on 1559, but the limitation of the proviso about further order being taken was deliberately omitted.

There were four judgments of the Privy Council in the nineteenth century on the question of Vestments—

(1) *Liddell* v. *Westerton*. "The rubric of the Prayer Book of January 1, 1604, adopts the language of the rubric of Elizabeth. The rubric to the present Prayer Book adopts the language of the Statute of Elizabeth, but they all obviously mean the same thing 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." (Extracted from the judgment which thus sanctions the Vestments.)

(2) *Martin* v. *Mackonochie*. "The construction of this rubric (*i. e.* the Ornaments rubric of the present Prayer Book) was very fully considered by this Committee in the case of Westerton v. Liddell already referred to . . . in these conclusions and in this construction of the rubric their Lordships entirely concur and they go far in their Lordships' opinion to decide this part of the case." (These words of the judgment may or may not

be taken to include "ornaments of the minister," *i. e.* Eucharistic Vestments, or may be held to refer only to "Ornaments of the Church.")

(3) *Hebbert* v. *Purchas*. "The cope is to be worn in ministering the holy communion on high feast days in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches and the surplice in all other ministrations." (Extract from the judgment which declares Eucharistic Vestments illegal.)

(4) *Clifton* v. *Ridsdale*. Parker's Advertisements were declared to have had the force of law and to have altered the vestments, mentioned in the Act of Uniformity, 1559, section 25, and to have made the surplice, and in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches the cope and surplice, the only legal Eucharistic Vestments. (This last judgment declares Eucharistic Vestments, excepting the cope and surplice, to be illegal.)

APPENDIX H

1597. REASONS ALLEDGED BY THE ARCHB: OF CANTERBURY FOR DR. BANCROFT'S BEING PROMOTED TO THE BPRIC OF LONDON

His Conversation hath been without blame in the world, having never been complained of, detecteth (*sic*) or for ought he knoweth suspected of any extraordinary enormity.

He hath taken all the degrees of the schools as other men have done and with equall credit.

He hath been a preacher against Papery about 24 years and is certainly no papist. Indeed he is not of the Prebyterial faction.

Since he hath professed Divinity, he hath ever opposed himself, against all sects and innovations.

By the appointment of Archbp Grindall, he did once visit the Dioc: of Petr: About 12 years since, he was likewise a visitor of the Diocese of Ely.

He was sent for from Cambridge to preach at Bury, when the pretended Reformation was begun there, without staying for ye magistrate as the term was then, and when the Sheriff, as he said, could hardly get any preacher in that country, that either would or durst oppose themselves against it.

At his being at Bury, he detected to the Judges the writing of a Poesie, about her Matie armes, taken out of the Apocalypse but applyed to her Highness most falsely and seditiously. It had been sett up a quarter of a year in a most public place without concealment. I note these two last points, partly for the effects that

followed of them, and because he was greatly maligned, by no mean persons for his duty in both.

He remained with the late Lord Chancellor 12 : years at the least for the most part in her Matie court, and was in good Reputation with him and often employed in sundry matters of great Importance for her Highnes service. Since his sd Ld's death, he hath remained with the like credit five years almost with the L : Archbp of Canterbury, He hath been one of her Matie Commission general, for causes ecclesiasticall throughout England, almost 12 : years, in wch time there have been few causes of any Importance dealt in, either at Lambeth or London wherein he hath not been an Assistant.

He was by his diligent search the first Detector of Martin Mar-Prelates Press and Books, where and by whom they were printed.

He was an especial man that gave the Instructions, to her Matie learned Council, when Martin's agents were brought into the Star Chamber.

By his advice that course was taken wch did principallye stop Martin and his Fellows' mouths, viz. to have them answered after their own vein in writing.

By his diligence to find out certain letters and writing Mr. Cartwright and his complices, their setting up their Discipline secretly in most shires of the Realm, their Classes, their Decrees, and Book of Discipline were first detected.

The chief Instructions were had from him whereby her Matie learned Counsell framed their Bill and Articles against Mr. Cartwright and the rest in the Star Chamber.

By his letter written at the commandment of the Lord Chancellor to himself, her Majesty was thoroughly informed of the state of the Church, how it then stood, and how far these factious persons had impeached her Highnes authority and the Government established.

By his only diligence, Panry's seditious writings were intercepted as they came out of Scotland, and delivered to the now L. Keeper.

His earnest desire to have the slanderous libells

against her Majestie answered and some pains of his taken therein wold not be omitted, because they show his true Affection and dutifull heart unto her Highness.

His Sermon at Pauls Cross the first Sunday in the Parliament 1587 being afterwards printed by direction from the L. Chancellor and L. Treasurer, was to special purpose, and did very much abate the edge of the Factious.

The last Parliament, he did sett out two Books in defence of the State of the Church, and against the pretended Holy Disc. wch were liked and greatly commended by the learnedest men in the Realm.

He hath been an especiall man of his calling that the L. Archb of Canterbury hath used for the space of 9: or ten years, in all the stirs wch have been made by the factious, against the good of the Church, wch hath procured him great dislike amongst those who are that way inclined.

Though he hath been carefull and zealous to suppress some sort of sectaries, yet hath he therein shewed no tyrannous Disposition, but with mildness and kind dealing, when it was expedient, hath reclaimed diverse.

Whilst he hath been occupied for 15 or 16: yeares as hath been expressed, 17 or 18 of his Juniors (few or none of them being of his experience) have been preferred, eleven to Deaneries, and the rest to Bishopricks of wch numbr, some have been formerly inclined to Faction, and the most as neuters have expected the issue, that so they might as things should fall out run with the time. They that list may enter into ye consideration hereof particularly.

He hath been long in speech for ye Bishoprick of London; his late good L. told him, the summer before he died, that her Majesty was purposed, to have removed Bishop Elmer to Worcester and to have him preferred to London.

Bishop Elmer offered thrice in two years, to have resigned his Bprick with him, upon certain conditions, wch he refused. Bp Elmer signified the day before his death, how sorry he was that he had not written to

her Matie and commended his lost suit unto her Highness, viz: to have made him his Successor.

Since the death of the last Bishop, no man hath been so commonly named for that place as he, nor is more generally thought to be more fit for it.

Baker MSS. in the Library of the University of Cambridge, M.m. 1, 47, f. 333–5. Another copy with an endorsement in what seems to be Bancroft's own handwriting, Petyt MSS. in the Inner Temple, London, 538, 38, f. 155. Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, ii. 386–388.

APPENDIX I

THE RULES TO BE OBSERVED IN THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE

1. The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishops Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the Truth of the original will permit.

2. The Names of the Prophets, and the Holy Writers, with the other Names of the Text, to be retained, as nigh as may be, according as they were vulgarly used.

3. The old Ecclesiastical Words to be kept, viz. the Word Church not to be translated Congregation &c.

4. When a Word hath divers Significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most of the Ancient Fathers, being agreeable to the Propriety of the Place, and the Analogy of the Faith.

5. The Division of the Chapters to be altered, either not at all, or as little as may be, if Necessity so require.

6. No Marginal Notes at all to be affixed, but only for the Explanation of the Hebrew or Greek Words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be express'd in the Text.

7. Such Quotations of Places to be marginally set down as shall serve for the fit Reference of one Scripture to another.

8. Every particular Man of each Company, to take the same Chapter, or Chapters, and having translated or amended them severally by himself, where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their Parts what shall stand.

9. As any one Company hath dispatched any one

Book in this Manner they shall send it to the rest, to be consider'd of seriously and judiciously, for His Majesty is very careful in this Point.

10. If any Company, upon the Review of the Book so sent, doubt or differ upon any Place, to send them Word thereof; note the Place, and withal send the Reasons, to which if they consent not, the Difference to be compounded at the General Meeting, which is to be of the chief Persons of each Company, at the end of the Work.

11. When any Place of special Obscurity is doubted of, Letters to be directed, by Authority, to send to any Learned Man in the Land, for his Judgment of such a Place.

12. Letters to be sent from every Bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this Translation in hand; and to move and charge as many as being skilful in the Tongues; and having taken Pains in that kind, to send his particular Observations to the Company, either at Westminster, Cambridge or Oxford.

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APPENDIX K

INFALLIBILITY

THE presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church is that which makes her a divine society, and the realisation of His presence is our one hope and faith in the ceaseless warfare against the world. Who is to teach and still more to interpret? Where are we to look amid the Babel of tongues and the strivings of men for a voice which speaks of the things of God in a language which impels assent.

The Craving for Infallibility.

The constitution of the human mind is such that it cannot but submit to what it regards as authority. The man who makes disciples and gains followers, whether in political or religious affairs, is he who speaks with the strong force of personal conviction. This was one note in the ministry of Our Blessed Lord which caused the common people to hear Him gladly, "Never man spake like this man." "He spake with authority and not as the scribes." How then fares this natural demand at the hands of the Church of Christ? The Church of Rome has settled it for her members by declaring at the Vatican Council in 1870—

"That the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra,* that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, is, by the Divine assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter, possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed in

defining doctrine regarding faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church, irreformable."

The highest authorities in the Roman Church interpret this as limiting infallibility to doctrines regarding faith and morals and excluding all else, but it sets aside as unnecessary the consent of the Church. The decisions of councils, the teachings of theologians and of the Ancient Fathers, however much they may be reverenced, have no authority in opposition to the voice of him who claims to speak under the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit by reason of his supreme apostolic authority and by the Divine assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter.

The Greek Church holds to an infallibility, but lodges it in ecumenical councils which do not define until they have received the universal witness and the consensus of Christian teaching. The Council demands in the language of Vincent what is *semper ubique et ab omnibus,* and finds in this testimony of universal acceptance the residuum of unalterable and infallible truth.

The position of our own Church has always tended towards this. When our forefathers in England, during the Reformation period, were accused of schism and of breaking the unity of the Church they appealed to a general council. They refused to attend the Council of Trent because of its constitution, by which the Italian bishops were set down at 187 and all the rest made but 83. "Any General Council shall satisfy me," said Laud, "and I presume all good Christians, that is lawfully called, continued and ended according to the same course and under the same conditions which General Councils observed in the primitive Church." At the Council of Nice, which is one of those accepted by our Church, Constantine required and the bishops assented that "things brought into question should be answered and solved by testimony out of Scripture." "We were ready," said the historian of the Council, "with the

approval of the Holy Spirit to prove with a great mass of evidence taken from the Holy Scriptures that these things were so."

Many years have passed since those days and yet the question remains the same. By what authority do we teach? Where do we look for guidance, for instruction and for power to bear witness to the truth when we have found it? This is one of the most important questions before our Church in Australia to-day. Rationalism scoffs at our creeds and declares that they fetter the free play of thought. A kindly but ill-informed public opinion asks if we cannot throw them overboard and lighten a burdened ship. Vain that we should spend our time in discussing postures and dress or give our whole energy to internal and domestic affairs when the fortress itself is assailed by an enemy which challenges us with the old question. "By what authority doest Thou these things and who gave Thee this authority?" Our answer requires us to investigate the three great fountains of authority to be found in the Reason, the Church and the Bible, each of which has its source in the Holy Spirit of God, and all of which mingle in one stream in which the human soul can pass with safety refreshed by its waters or again protected and sustained in its passage over the waves of this troublesome world.

The Reason.

Our Reason is a gift from God. Yea, it is a very part of our nature which links us with the Divine. God has so constituted us that He has never left Himself without witness in our hearts, and Bishop Butler rightly observes that the reason given us by God is the only power we possess of judging as to the truth of anything, even of revelation itself. If God has spoken to man in the past we hold that He still speaks, and therefore we must decide how His voice is to be heard, and what accents of human speech are divine.

The science of geometry was worked out in ancient times by Euclid and Archimedes from a few principles

they found in their minds. Not for long centuries afterwards did Galileo and Newton discover that the heavenly bodies have orbits which were found to be the very curves traced by Euclid on the sand of his study floor. Whence and how this identity? There is only one explanation. Man is made in the image of God; he can think the same divine thoughts; the human and divine minds correspond to each other in a wonderful manner.

In the sphere of the metaphysical the intellect gives infallible decisions. The multiplication table, for instance, is infallible, and Newton's law of gravitation, whilst in its inception and since it is no more than a working hypothesis, has stood the test of so many centuries and explained such widely different phenomena that it has become an infallible truth for human minds.

But man is not only a calculating machine. He is a moral agent. Love God with our mind we must, but to love Him with all the heart and soul and strength is a greater task. When men ask for a natural theology they must make it large enough to include the whole of man's nature, and of this the moral and religious reason, which is sometimes called conscience, is part.

The moral reason will decide infallibly in given circumstances only upon the condition that we allow it to do so. There are consciences which are silenced or murdered, like that of Judas, until remorse and despair call forth the confession, "I have sinned"; consciences which are seared with a hot iron, as well as consciences void of offence before God and man, so that not the experience or moral consciousness of any individual nor the commonly accepted moral judgment of the best Christians is in itself a safe or infallible guide. And yet for each of us, but not for others, the Holy Spirit will decide infallibility. The gift of the Spirit is offered to individuals, "The Father will give the Holy Spirit to those who ask Him," "If any thirst let him come unto Me and drink." The access to the Throne of Grace is open to each one, and no one ever yet asked to be taught and guided by truth, prayed that his conscience might be illumined and his will subdued, prayed for all this

humbly, sincerely and obediently, without finding his prayer abundantly answered. The rule for most men is to act without very much reflection from habit or worldly maxims or their own wilful judgment, but if we exercise our conscience under the condition of Our Lord, "if any man will do the will of God he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God," we can receive infallible guidance in practical matters of our own religion and morals. The Holy Spirit then is present to each single soul, brooding over it with fostering care, teaching, instructing with an authority which knows no falsehood and which guides into all truth. God alone is the Lord of conscience, and He alone can command it. Laws of nature and reason, of civil and ecclesiastical authority are binding upon men in so far as they are laws of God and no farther.

The Church.

But, says one, this is private judgment carried to its extremest limit. Be it so, but this does not prevent us from consulting and following the man who knows more of theology than we do any more than the possession of civil and personal rights prevents us from consulting the lawyer about our property or the physician and surgeon about our body, and besides Christ deals with us not only as individuals but as members of His Church. If nations and commonwealths, cities and societies, guilds and clubs combine for common objects, Christ has gathered His people together into a world-wide and imperishable society. We are members one of another, and to this divine society as to no other has been promised the presence of the Holy Spirit. A great Church truth, which is being emphasised in our generation, is the fact that the Holy Spirit was given not to the Apostles only, nor to their successors in the ministry, but to the whole body of Christians then and now and for all time. The Holy Spirit is the corporate possession of the Church and the property of the individual convert when he has been baptized into Christ and

become a member of the Church. It is the presence of the Holy Spirit in the heart of each member of the local community which creates and sustains a world-wide unity of a Catholic Church. There is one body and one spirit, even as there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all.

The Church is the body of Christ, its glorified Lord is its head, and from the exalted head there flows down into all the members the life of the spirit, from whom the whole body constructed and drawn together by every ligament of the supply according to the working in the measure of each single part causes the growth of the body. We are builded together for a habitation of God in the spirit, and the foundation stones of the Christian life are given in this order: repentance, faith, baptisms, laying on of hands (Heb. vi. 1).

This presence and power of the Holy Spirit Christ promised to the end of time, and if any one doubts the fulfilment of the promise I point him to Church History for an answer. What but the Holy Spirit of God could have kept alive the Church against the passions and sins, the wilfulness and pride, the indolence and unfaithfulness of sinful men. Parishes and dioceses and provinces where the Church has grown enfeebled and ready to perish, spring at once into new and vigorous life when a ministry which is led by the Spirit and exhibits the fruits of the Spirit begins to work upon this barren and unfruitful soil. And this is the spirit which speaks to us in the Church with the voice of infallibility. It is a spirit of sonship which enables us to cry Abba, Father; a spirit of truth which guides into all truth. The Spirit which was given to the Apostles taught them all things and brought all things to their remembrance whatsoever their Lord had said to them. Another function of the Spirit is to guide the councils of the Church. The first council, which was held at Jerusalem, was so conscious of His presence that it announced its decisions in the words, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." With this infallible guide councils need not err, but history shows that they have; and our Twenty-first

Article gives the reason, "forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God."

Our present council will err in so far as it is not led by the Spirit of God. Fortunately for our Church we are bound by no theory of infallibility, except that its ultimate source is to be found in the Holy Spirit of God. Whilst receiving the great councils of the undivided Church, *magna cum reverentia,* we have our safeguard and measuring rod in the words: "Councils are to be held in honour and Christian reverence, but are to be examined by the pious, sure and right rule of the Scriptures."

The Bible.

And so we come to the last great foundation of authority in the Holy Scriptures: "God Who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the prophets hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son." I speak now of the New Testament only. The Apostles were promised that the Holy Spirit should bring all things to their remembrance, and the New Testament writings are in their last resort a record of apostolic teaching including that of S. Paul. The Church with its message came first, the Gospel is older than the New Testament, and not until the Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, was the canon of the New Testament finally settled. If the time seems to us long we must remember the difficulties of the task. The means of intercourse were precarious and the multiplication of manuscripts slow and costly. The written records of Christian teaching were finally settled upon the witness of the whole Church, which decided upon the separation of the New Testament writings from great masses of Christian literature. How complete the separation was between what was accepted and rejected can best be discerned by the spiritual instinct, which is only to say that the Holy Spirit still enables each man to judge. Once the question was settled it remained in the back-

ground of theological discussion until the Reformation period. The Church as the interpreter was everything, and the common people, even if they had free access to the books, were largely too illiterate to judge such questions for themselves. The Reformation put these New Testament writings in the foreground as the supreme authority in faith and morals. "Whatsoever is not read therein nor may be proved thereby is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith or be thought necessary or requisite to salvation." "In England since the Reformation the Bible has been not merely the religious guide, but the religion of the people," says Professor Swete, "its authority has been undisputed; in all matters of which it treats it has been regarded as infallible." It was inevitable that this belief should be challenged sooner or later. As literature the Gospels and Epistles fall into the category of things which had their origin in history, and concerning which men must ask whence and when and how came they into being: as writings which deal with the deepest interests of human life their every word challenged inquiry.

And now that criticism has been at work for two or three generations, what is called the "lower" upon the texts of manuscripts and "higher" upon questions of authority and authorship, what is the result at the present time? The battle-field is strewn with slain reputations and exploded theories. Smaller questions about the literary origin of the New Testament remain undecided to exercise ingenuity, but the main result is obvious, viz. that the Gospels and Epistles were written by those whose names Christian tradition has given us.

New Theology.

Another question under the title of "New Theology" has arisen, but this deals not with the origin of the books but with the doctrines taught in them, and this controversy has gone on from the very first and will never end. On the religious use of the Bible amid every form

of criticism, we may find rest for our minds in Professor Swete's acceptance of reverent criticism: "We cannot hope (to retain the Bible as a religious guide) by a faithless endeavour to arrest the progress of critical inquiry, our aim must rather be to place the claim of the Bible upon a basis from which no legitimate criticisms can cast it down"; or again: "The religious worth of the Bible is proved by the experience of the religious life. Biblical studies carry men to the threshold of the sanctuary, but he who would enter and explore it needs other guides—prayer, faith, the mind of Christ, *Spirituales judicant omnia.*"

Spiritually Discerned.

The Apostle's statement that spiritual things are spiritually discerned is a strictly scientific proposition. Each part of our nature has its own fixed laws. Psychology cannot be fully interpreted by the laws of mathematics. The æsthetic faculty finds beauty in Nature where the bucolic mind perceives nothing but rocks, trees and water, and a moral and spiritual faculty enables the soul to understand what to the carnally minded is outside its sphere of knowledge or perception. The spiritual faculty, too, must be cultivated or it perishes. Here again, though in the region of the spiritual, we stand on scientific ground. Darwin expressed how in his own case his mind became a machine for grinding out laws from facts, and that if he had to live his life again he would have read some poetry and listened to some music at least once a week. "The loss of these tastes is a loss of happiness, and may be injurious to the intellect and more probably to the moral character by enfeebling the emotional part of our nature."

The Results of Criticism.

The great obstacle to the intelligent understanding of the Old Testament is the orthodoxy of the unintelligent clergyman or layman. The conspiracy of silence for the

sake of those who cannot or will not think themselves, must come to an end. As we teach the Old Testament boldly and truly, we can rest our faith upon the great moral ideas which grew and increased in successive ages upon the absolute morality of the prophets and upon the growth and development of the lofty conceptions of God which are unique in all ancient history.

The question to be decided about the New Testament is first the authorship of the several parts. The theory of the last generation that the writings of the New Testament were the product of the second century, compiled after the original facts, had been forgotten or distorted, is no longer held by any sane criticism. A few points are still uncertain, but the great question of authorship is decided. The portions of the New Testament as we have them were written or compiled before the end of the first century. The Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of S. Paul and others are genuine contemporary documents. The subsidiary questions about the Johannine writings, as to the extent of some editing by a school of Ephesus which bears his name, about the authorship of 2 S. Peter and S. Jude are of minor importance. Lightfoot, Westcott and Sanday in England and Zahn in Germany are leaders to whom we owe most in the establishment of these conclusions. If any one asks us then upon what we base our authority, we reply upon that faith which we know historically to have been taught by the Church from the beginning, which is enshrined and formulated in the Creeds which were the ultimate conclusion of centuries of Christian thought, bearing witness to the teaching of the Universal Church and proving its conclusions by the most certain warrant of Scripture. We acknowledge that the ultimate authority for each individual is his own reason and conscience. Nor can any one escape from this position, for if you establish the personal infallibility of an individual you require an act of conscious or unconscious reason to give your assent to him. The man who, for instance, accepts Papal Infallibility does so by the exercise of his judgment, though this be chiefly influenced by an external

authority which he already accepts, and you can oppose his conclusions only by showing that his reasons do not satisfy you. As for us, we surrender ourselves to the guidance of the Holy Spirit under the twofold condition of the Bible interpreted by the Church and the doctrines of the Church corroborated by the written testimony of Scripture.

The craving for infallibility, whilst it can be satisfied by an entire dependence upon the Holy Spirit, must take account of God's ways of teaching truth and of leading us into it, which have been well expressed thus—

"Conviction of truth grows by contributions from many sources, from the testimony of the past, from personal experience, from spiritual instruction, from conscientious following of the light, from the influences exercised on us by our fellow-men who are eminent for goodness. It never ceases to grow so long as we are faithful to what we have attained; and though in this world it can never attain a logical completeness, the humble and patient will always find it sufficient for their need."—*Quarterly Review*, October, 1889.

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