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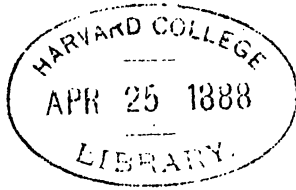
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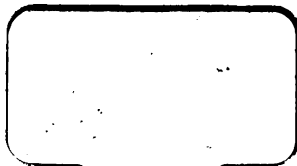


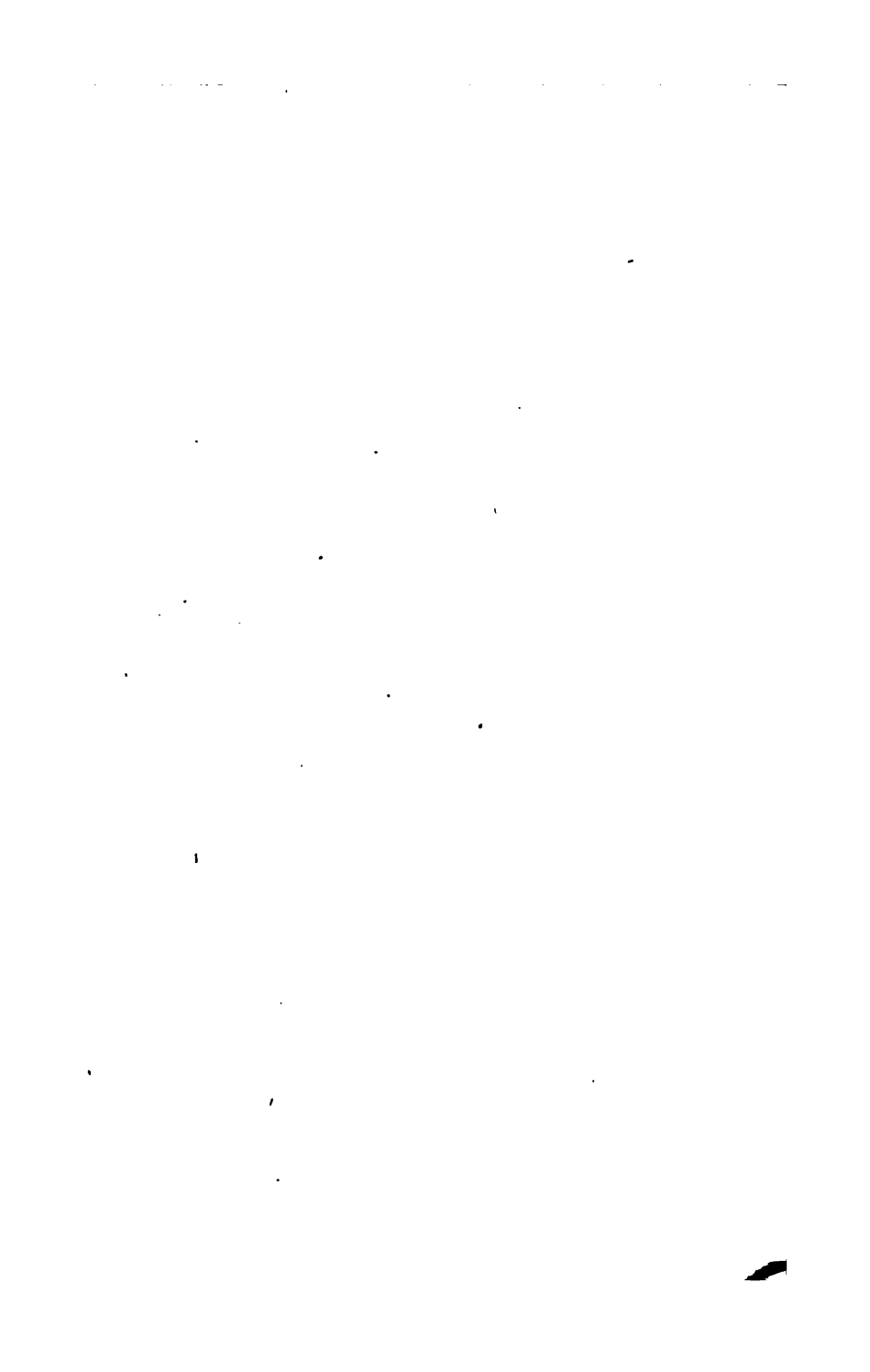
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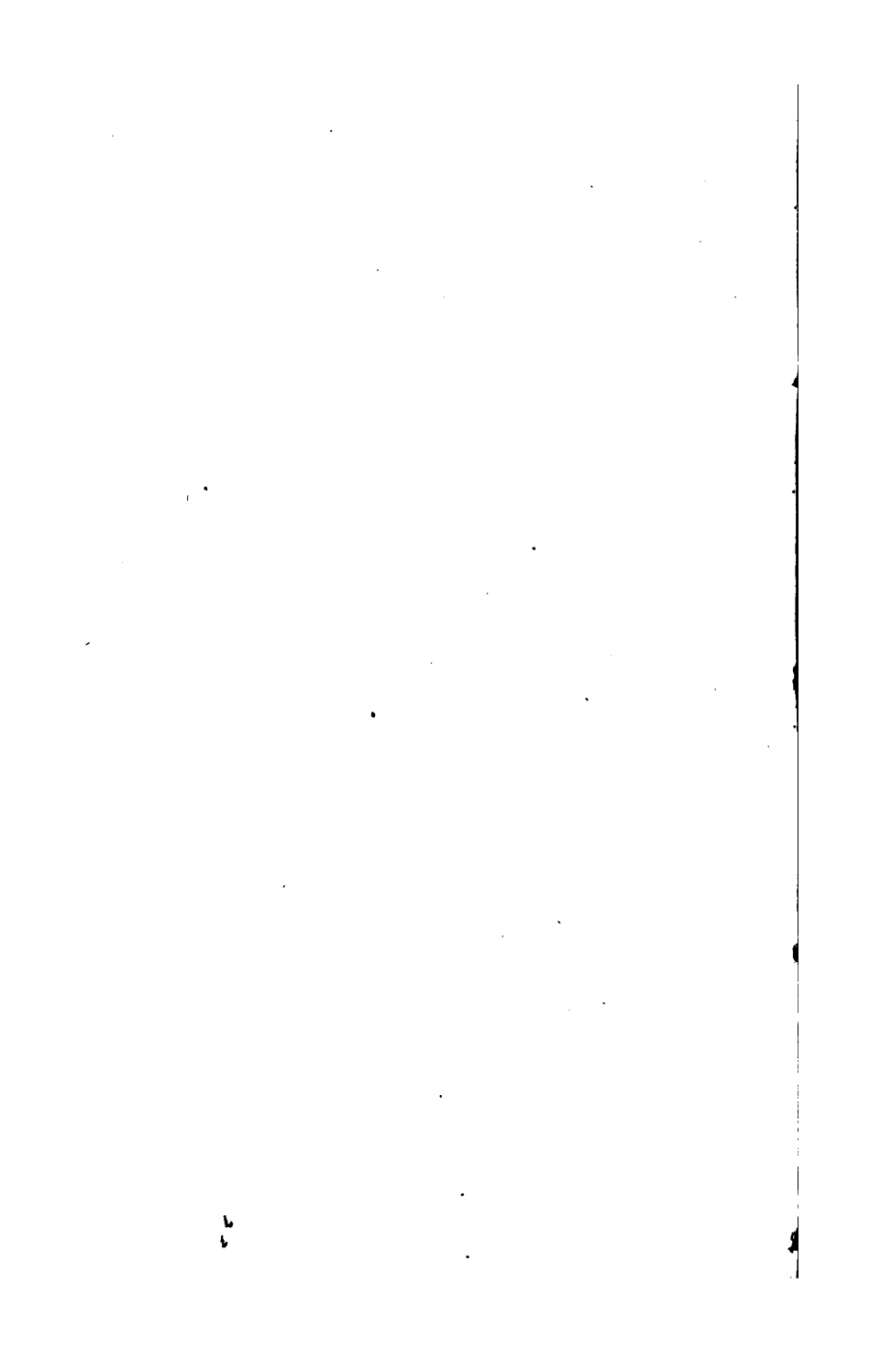
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ESSAYS

TO

PROVE THE VALIDITY

OF

ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS;

IN ANSWER TO THE RIGHT REVEREND PETER RICHARD KENRICE.

R C BISHOP OF ST LOUIS.

BY A LAYMAN.

Joseph F. Lewis

RE-PRINTED FROM "THE TRUE CATHOLIC,"

WITH ADDITIONS,

AND AN APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

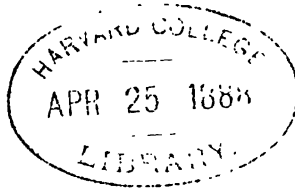
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TO
THE RIGHT REVEREND
WILLIAM ROLLINSON WHITTINGHAM,
BISHOP OF MARYLAND,
These Essays
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P R E F A C E .

THE work which is now offered to the public, in the form of a separate volume, made its first appearance in the pages of "The True Catholic;" and has assumed its present shape in consequence of the recommendations of many persons, who had perused it in that work. The attention of the writer was called to the subject, about the time that he consented to be one of the Editors of the Periodical just named, by a very crude and ignorant attack on the orders of the Church from an ultra-Protestant quarter. Having been induced to reply to that attack, through the columns of a dissenting paper; he was led to think on the subject, and came to the conclusion that he would be usefully employed in bringing, in his editorial capacity, before the Church and the public, the evidence bearing on the question of the validity of the English ordinations. He had then never seen the work of Bishop Kenrick, to which the following pages are an answer; but it having been mentioned to him by a friend, he procured it as a means of putting himself in possession of the last Romanist views on the subject. He found it a convenient starting point, and bond of connexion for his remarks; which soon assumed the character of a formal reply to its positions.

It has answered the designed purpose, perhaps better than any other book which could have been selected,—partly because it was an American publication. But the present writer is aware that an answer to it is not an answer to all that has been written upon the same side.

This arises from the fact, that Bishop Kenrick has found it convenient, in two important particulars, to desert the line of argument maintained by, it is believed, all his predecessors on the Romish side of this controversy. The original policy of the Romanists, was to deny every thing, and require proof of every thing. This, as is well known to those persons who are accustomed to the defence of accused criminals or of doubtful titles, is the safest course for the defendant, and the most embarrassing to the plaintiff or accuser. The Romanists were in truth the plaintiffs and accusers; they charged the Anglican bishops with having usurped the sees which they occupied, and with intruding themselves into offices in God's Church without a legitimate call. But with great adroitness they assumed the position of defendants,—they denied the title of the Anglican bishops, and called on them to prove it.

This proceeding was contrary to all the principles of law and of logic; but it was nevertheless adopted,—and the rule of requiring proof of every thing being adopted and uniformly acted upon, it became impossible for the Anglicans to prove any thing. The veriest novice in argument knows, that unless some principles and facts are admitted, no question whatever can ever be decided, and every discussion will become interminable. The gentlemen to whom we have alluded as accustomed to the defence of doubtful titles, labor under the disadvantage of being obliged to defend them before persons, who understand the subject as well as themselves; and who will compel them to treat certain things as settled, and to accept certain facts as true, until they can disprove them. The assailants of Parker's consecration had the advantage of not acting before such a tribunal,

but before the public at large, who, as a mass, were, are, and always will be, ignorant of the true laws of disputation.

In a court of justice every witness is presumed to speak truth, until it is in some way shewn, either that he is mistaken, corrupt in the particular matter, or so corrupt in general, as to be unworthy of credit. A lawyer would be laughed at, who should content himself with saying, that every witness who testified against his client lied, and requiring further proof that he told the truth ; and should then treat the new witness in precisely the same manner. So also every public document, which comes from the proper custody, is taken by courts of justice to be genuine, until suspicious circumstances are pointed out,—and no advocate would be allowed to assert, that documents after documents were forged, and require proof that they were not. Yet this is precisely what the Romish controversialists have done, until their cause really sunk under their own artifice. The advocates of Anglican Ordinations, strong in the truth and justice of their cause, have gone on gratifying their opponents' never ceasing demand for new evidence, until they have produced a body of documents so large, that the forgery of them all would be an impossibility, and so consistent, that unless they are all taken to be forgeries, the case must be regarded as proved.

Bishop Kenrick was acute enough to see the difficulties of the position into which his friends were thus forced. The absurdity of maintaining that the whole of the public records of the English nation are unworthy of credit, that there is no truth in English history, nor any documents out of which a true history of England can be constructed, is too glaring for a man of his intel-

ligence. But having, for whatever reason, determined to publish an attack on the succession of the Anglican Churches; he was not long in finding, or fancying that he had found, the means of distinguishing among the several documents which had been produced in the controversy, so as, without destroying the materials of English history, to enable him to assail the consecrations of Parker and Barlow. His notable discovery about the test of authenticity furnished by the words, "*Per breve de privato sigillo,*" and "*Per ipsam Reginam,*" has been, it is believed, sufficiently treated of in the body of this work, and shewn to be utterly groundless. Could it have been sustained, it would doubtless have rendered him valuable service. As it is, he has, without any equivalent for the purposes of his argument, lost the benefit of the impregnable position of his predecessors—impregnable, that is without a resort to sounder principles of discussion than they were willing to admit,—and not only this, but the documents which he has been compelled to receive as authentic, embarrass his argument at every turn. Nothing can be more fatal to a case resting upon falsehood, than to be brought into contact with any portion of indisputable truth. Hence it will be seen that the work before us is not an answer to Mr. Kenrick's predecessors, since he admits premises which they deny;—and in order to answer them, those premises must be proved. Our present object is to indicate, for it is not necessary to do more, the answer to those predecessors. That answer is just this; that the forgery of such a body of documents as have been produced on the Anglican side of this controversy,—and a part only of which are collected in the appendix which we have borrowed for the use of our work,—is an impossibility. The documents

exist in the archives of the English nation ; with respect to some of the most important, this has been distinctly admitted,—with respect to none is it formally denied. The allegation is that they have been interpolated. Now this is a mere impossibility. Many of the documents bear upon the controversy only indirectly and incidentally, in such a mode that no man would have ever thought of forging them,—and they are, therefore, above all suspicion. Such are Nos. xiv. xv. xvi. xxvii. xxviii. and others in the appendix. Yet if these documents be genuine, it is impossible that the others should be forgeries ; because it is impossible that the facts stated in them should be untrue. But besides this, the mere mass of documents is such, that they could not have been interpolated without throwing all the records into a state which would betray the forgery to every inspector. They could not then have been interpolated after their alleged dates ; at the time, it was just as easy to do the acts recorded, as to forge a fictitious history of them. This we conceive to be the true answer to the old school of Romish controversialists upon this point.

The other particular in which our Right Reverend author has departed from the course heretofore pursued by Romanist writers, is the question, whether the ordinal of Edward VI. was legally in force, had a parliamentary sanction, at the time of the consecration of Parker. It is not easy to imagine a more barren and unprofitable question than this. How any man calling himself Catholic can attach any importance to it is inconceivable,—if the parliament of England had seen fit to enact that it should be high treason to consecrate a bishop by the ordinal of Edward the VI. or by the Roman Pontifical, it could not have affected the validity of the consecration

in either case. If the ordinal of Edward VI. directs the consecration to be performed in a manner which includes sufficient matter and form, a person consecrated by it would be validly, although irregularly consecrated, although the use of that ordinal had been prohibited by a canon of the Church,—but an act of parliament could not even make the consecration irregular. Still the Romanists in Elizabeth's time, not having heard of the Nag's-head fable, which their successors in the next century invented, were driven to avail themselves of the wretched Erastian, nay ultra Erastian, argument, that the English bishops were no bishops, because consecrated by a form which had not the authority of parliament. We confess that we are inclined to believe, that the *fact* was so, and that the ordinal of Edward VI. was not a part of the parliamentary law of England, between the first year of the reign of Mary and the eighth of that of Elizabeth. The Romanists, however inconsistently with their professed principles, condescended to maintain that in consequence of that fact, the Anglican bishops were no bishops.

The true answer would have been, that the major of the syllogism was false, that the assent of parliament was not necessary to the consecration of a bishop. Another answer might have been given, which, as the law was then understood, perhaps we might say, as the law then stood, would have been sufficient. That is, that the queen had legalised the consecration by virtue of her dispensing power. But the Anglican controversialists did not choose to give either answer. The first clashed with the Erastian views with which too many of them, as well as of their successors, were unhappily tinctured, and might also have given offence to the government

Besides, it would have been an insufficient answer, as far as the temporal power and revenue of the bishops were concerned, and they were not disposed to abandon any thing. Why the other answer was not given is not so obvious,—perhaps for fear of being assailed as queen-made bishops. But for whatever reasons, it seems to have been determined not to urge either of those answers to the Romanist cavil; and no alternative was left, except to maintain that the ordinal had been re-enacted by the general words of the statute of the first of Elizabeth, which re-established the Prayer Book.

They thus contended with the Romanists at a decided disadvantage, and when the imprudent bigotry of Horne threw the question into the court of Queen's Bench, where the word "bishop," meant a bishop acknowledged by the law of the land, they were very reasonably advised not to risk the point. The statute of 8 Eliz. ch. 2, was passed to heal these defects for the future, and a clause introduced, which prevented the question from being again raised by any retrospective proceeding. The Romanists, who up to this time had assailed the Anglicans as no bishops, for want of parliamentary authority, now, with remarkable inconsistency, assailed them as parliamentary bishops; forgetting that what parliament could refuse, parliament could give. Bishop Kenrick saw this inconsistency, and with more ingenuity than ingenuousness, decided on attempting to shew that the act was designed to remove something more than the legal defect, nay, to use it as an argument for the truth of the Nag's-head fable. It is true, that act itself professed to operate only on consecrations and ordinations performed according to the ordinal of Edward VI. which is declared to have been in force by virtue of the act of 1st Eliz., whether truly

or not, the legal omnipotence of parliament rendered legally immaterial. It is true, too, that the Romish controversialists, up to that time, had been constantly urging the defect, and that the question was, to say the least, a doubtful one. But still it would be very convenient for the Romanists to represent the act as declaring consecrations ecclesiastically valid, which were void upon Catholic principles. Our author therefore sets himself,—in the face of the words of the act, and of the arguments of his predecessors,—to prove that the statute could not have meant what its plain words contained; because the ordinal of Edward VI. was unquestionably re-enacted in the first of Elizabeth. This position involves our author in some difficulties and inconsistencies; but still it varies so much from that taken by other Romanists, that on account of it, as well as of the admission of the genuineness of a large class of documents, which they denounce as forgeries, an answer to him is not an answer to them. For this reason we have thought it desirable to introduce into this preface, a brief explanation of the differences which exist between Bishop Kenrick and other Romish writers, necessarily involving a very strong indication of the true answers to both views, and thus rendering our work as complete an exhibition of the true view of the whole subject, as our limits, information, and capacity will admit.

While we were preparing this edition for the press, we were so happy as to obtain access to two important works bearing upon its subject. The new translation of Courayer's "Defence of the Anglican Ordinations," and the new edition of the third volume of Bramhall's works, containing the work entitled "The Consecration of Protestant Bishops Vindicated and the Fable of the Nag's-

head refuted." The use which we have made of these works, particularly of the latter, has added something to our labors, and not a little to the value of the volume which we now offer to our readers. We have not felt at liberty to alter the quotations which we had made from the old translation of Courayer, because that translation had been used by Bishop Kenrick as well as by ourselves; but we have, we believe, in every instance given a reference to the same passage in the new volume, which we have no doubt will soon be much more accessible in this country than the old. To Mr. Haddan, the editor of Bramhall, we have much deeper obligations. We have occasionally taken a note from the text of Bramhall himself, for the purpose of supporting our reasonings by the coincidence of his, or of establishing a fact which he derived from public documents, which he cited, and to which we had not access. In the same spirit we have drawn largely on the notes which Mr. Haddan, with industry and patience with which we cannot pretend to compare our own, and with facilities of access to books and papers for which we could not hope, has prepared for the work. In exchange for this invaluable benefit, we can only tender him the thanks of an humble laborer in the same cause, valueless in themselves, and not likely ever to come to his knowledge.

As there has been hitherto in this country no convenient access to any collection of the documents bearing on the questions discussed in this volume, the liberty has been taken of re-printing entire the Appendix to Dr. Elrington's work in answer to Gandolphy, which is so often cited in its pages. It contains the fullest and best collection of those documents of any one work which we have yet seen.

It has been suggested, that the course pursued both in the body of the work and in the notes now appended to it, of speaking of Bishop Kenrick without the title of his Ecclesiastical rank, may perhaps be understood as a want of courtesy, or a denial of his right to that rank. Nothing more was intended, than to use the only style to which the title-page of his book laid claim. The same course was pursued with respect to the Protestant Dr. Elrington, who died a bishop. We, however, choose in this place to disavow any uncourteous intention.

It has long been well known in this part of the country, who is the author of these Essays, and in fact it was never desired to be kept a secret, although the usages of periodical literature, and the natural dislike of a professional man to be conspicuous in a matter not very intimately connected with his profession, have hitherto prevented a formal avowal. But after considering the subject, the writer has determined on concluding the Preface with his usual signature.

HUGH DAVEY EVANS.

Baltimore, August 28, 1844.

ESSAYS
TO PROVE THE VALIDITY OF
ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS.

ESSAY I.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THE alleged defects in the consecration of Archbishop Parker, one of the most important links in the chain which connects the Anglican succession with the Apostles, are now frequently spoken of in this country. The Dissenters feel that the want of the Apostolic succession is, to say the least, a defect in their system, and are glad to catch at any thing which they hope may tend to reduce the Church, in that respect, to their level. The Romanists on the other hand are equally willing, amidst the reviving love of Catholicity, which surrounds us, to appropriate exclusively to themselves that succession which is one of its tests. Both parties have therefore shown an inclination to revive the antiquated fables about Parker's consecration. The work, the title of which we have placed in the margin,* was in consequence, published a year or two ago by a distinguished divine of the Romish communion, who we believe has since been elevated to her episcopate. It is the only American work on the subject as far as we know, and we believe the latest published in any country. It cannot be denied to be sufficiently plausible to require some notice. In the meantime our people have generally no access to the valuable works, which have triumphantly established both the fact and the validity of the consecration, or indeed to any thing, on our side of the question, more important than a few newspaper articles. Of these,

*The Validity of the Anglican Ordinations examined, or a Review of certain facts regarding the consecration of Matthew Parker, first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury: By the Very Reverend Peter Richard Kenrick, V. G.—Phil. 1841, 12mo. pp. 227.

the candid letter of Dr. Lingard, the Romish historian of England, which has been occasionally re-published, is among the most valuable.

Under these circumstances, we propose to devote a few essays to the discussion of the interesting questions, which arise in connexion with this matter. These questions are thus fairly enough stated by Mr. Kenrick, although of course in the language of his own sect.

“Matthew Parker was chosen to be the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury. It is not pretended that he was consecrated by any of the [Roman] Catholic Bishops. According to the advocates of Anglican orders, he received Episcopal consecration from Barlow, who had been made Bishop by Henry VIII. and who, on that occasion, is said to have used the form of ordination known as King Edward’s form, in whose reign it had been devised.

“With regard to this important fact there are three questions, all of which must be satisfactorily answered in the affirmative, before those who trace their orders to Matthew Parker, can conclude that they are validly ordained. First, Was Parker really consecrated by Barlow, in the manner described? Second, Was Barlow himself consecrated? Third, Was King Edward’s form a valid form?”

“If these three questions can be satisfactorily answered, then the ordinations of the English Church are valid; its Bishops have the same Episcopal character with the [Roman] Catholic Bishops; its ministers are priests equally with those who minister at [Roman] Catholic altars; in a word, the ecclesiastical hierarchy has been preserved in the English Church.”—*p.* 21.

These questions then we are about to answer; but before we proceed to do so, we shall make some preliminary remarks upon some of the opening chapters of Mr. Kenrick’s book. Firstly, upon the extraordinary canons, which he has thought fit to lay down, as “the principles followed in examining the account of Parker’s consecration.” Secondly, upon the probability of such a rite having been performed; by way of answer to the prejudice which he has endeavored to raise against the fact, from certain errors which he alleges were held by the Anglican Reformers. Having disposed of these preliminary matters, we shall proceed, Firstly, to es-

ublish the *fact* of the consecration of Dr. Parker. Secondly, to refute the fable of the Nag'-head ordination. Thirdly, to vindicate the Episcopal character of Bishop Barlow.^b Fourthly, to establish the validity of King Edward's ordinal.

The first of Mr. Kenrick's principles of examination he states thus :

"With regard to the royal commissions, which are the most important documents we have to examine. I consider as a certain test of authenticity, the words 'Per breve de privato sigillo'—('By warrant under the privy seal,') or 'per ipsum Regem,' or 'Per ipsam Reginam,' ('By the King himself,' or 'by the Queen herself,')—appended to them in the collection of public documents, known as the *Federa* of Rymer. To understand the nature and force of this test, it must be observed, that Rymer,

^b We have adopted the line of argument marked out for us by our author, but in truth the consecration of Barlow is utterly unimportant, as he was not the sole, or even principal, consecrator of Parker,—who was consecrated equally by all four of the prelates present, a fact which escaped our notice until we met with it in the new edition of Bramhall. That writer mentions the fact several times, and is fully borne out by the document No. xii. in our Appendix. We annex the remarks of Mr. Haddan, the editor of the Anglo-Catholic edition of Bramhall.

"It appears by the register, that Barlow presided at Parker's consecration; i. e. Parker was presented to him by the other bishops, and the usual interrogations were addressed to Parker by him, while all the four bishops together, joined in the imposition of hands, in the use of the form of words, and in the delivery of the Bible, i. e. in the consecration itself,—the position occupied by Barlow, therefore, does not answer to that of the consecrating bishop, (as it is termed,) who was usually either the metropolitan himself, or one commissioned by him; for the latter (according to the canon of the fourth Council of Carthage, and according to our ordinal, both King Edward's and the present form,) pronounces the words of consecration alone, the 'assistant' bishops joining in the imposition of hands,—(in the words, however, also, according to the Roman ordinal, although in a lower tone,)—whereas here in consecrating the metropolitan himself, all joined throughout and equally. It follows, then, upon every theory, that the absence of Barlow's consecration, if it were so, would not invalidate that of Parker."—*Bramhall's Works, new edition, vol. iii. p. 136, note 7.*

when he set about making his collections, found that his materials,—the public records,—consisted of two sorts; those which had the seal, public or private, of the power from which such documents emanated, and those which had no attestation of their genuine character. These latter appeared to be royal acts; but had nothing to authenticate them; and they would not be received as evidence in a court of justice, on account of this defect. Now Rymer has inserted *all* the documents he found; but has, at the same time, given his readers the same clue to guide them in their judgment of the character of each, that he himself had. He marked those which had the royal seal, or other unquestionable sign of being a royal act, by these or similar words: 'Per breve de privato sigillo,' or 'Per ipsam Reginam;' while he inserted the rest without any such mark of their authenticity, leaving it thereby to be understood, that they were documents which were not authenticated by the royal seal: Whatever royal acts were found in Rymer, marked either 'Per breve de privato sigillo,' or 'Per ipsum Regem,'—I have admitted as genuine: whatever other documents were found in his collection, which purport to be royal acts, but have not this warrant of their authenticity, I have rejected as spurious; at least, I have not admitted them as evidence, especially when they are, as is sometimes the case, contradicted by other acts, the authenticity of which is undeniable."—*pp.* 63, 64.

The reader will observe that this rule or principle rests entirely upon the assertion of Mr. Kenrick; yet it is a main pillar, if not *the* main pillar of his argument. He continually refers to it and repeats it, with a calmness and confidence which must effectually prevent an uninformed reader from suspecting that it is merely a *convenient conjecture*. A conjecture not merely unfounded, but opposed to all the evidence on the subject. In the first place, the magic words, "*Per breve de privato sigillo,*" or "*Per ipsum Regem,*"^c—are no

^c In addition to what is said in the text, we have now the direct authority of the learned antiquary, Sir F. Palgrave, now the official keeper of these records. "With reference to these documents," says Mr. Had-
dan, "I am assured upon the highest authority, Sir Francis Palgrave's, that the circumstance of the words '*Per ipsam Reginam,*' &c. being added or not to a document, as entered upon the rolls, (a point upon which half of Mr. Kenrick's arguments are built,) is a 'mere matter of

where printed as the remarks of Rymer, but as, what they are, memoranda annexed to the records themselves. Again, the grammatical meaning of the words, as truly translated by Mr. Kenrick himself, is nothing like the meaning which he desires to extract from them. "By warrant under the privy seal," does not mean, on its bare face, that the document to which the phrase is appended, has itself received the privy seal; its natural meaning is that the document has been authorised by another writ under the privy seal, and this we shall presently see is also its legal import. Still less, does "By the King himself," in the ordinary use of language, connect itself with a seal of any sort. But further, the only seal spoken of in either of these phrases, is the "privy seal," which is not the appropriate seal for the documents which are under discussion. A vast majority of them are commissions, or whatever else they may be called, from the crown, authorising the confirmation and consecration of bishops.⁴ Mr. Kenrick, in another part of his book, undertakes to assert as boldly as if he had information on the subject, that these commissions are under the privy seal. "Such commissions," says he, "as that of the 6th December," the commission for the consecration of Parker, "are *never* under the great seal of England, but have generally the King's or Queen's privy seal attached to them."—*p.* 132. Now by the law or statute of 25 Henry VIII. ch. xx. § 5, "such commissions" are expressly required to be "by letters patent under the *great* seal." Lastly, the true legal meaning is perfectly settled, and we shall now give it, in the words of Judge Blackstone :

official form, which makes no manner of difference in the validity of the document,¹ and consequently is no evidence for or against its genuineness."—*Note p. to Haddan's Preface to "Consecration," &c. in Bramhall, new edit. vol. iii. 3d leaf of the Preface, which is not paged*

⁴Such an instrument is usually called a *significavit*.

“The *king's grants* are also matter of public record. For, as St. Gernyn says,⁶ the king's excellency is so high in the law, that no freehold may be given to the king, nor derived from him, but by matter of record. And to this end a variety of offices are erected, communicating in a regular subordination one with another, through which all the king's grants must pass, and be transcribed, and enrolled; that the same may be narrowly inspected by his officers, who will inform him if any thing contained therein is improper, or unlawful to be granted. These grants, whether of lands, honors, liberties, franchises, or aught besides, are contained in charters, or letters *patent*, that is, open letters, *literæ patentæ*: so called because they are not sealed up, but exposed to open view, with the great seal pendant at the bottom; and are usually directed or addressed by the king to all his subjects at large. And therein they differ from certain other letters of the king, sealed also with his great seal, but directed to particular persons, and for particular purposes: which, therefore, not being proper for public inspection, are closed up and sealed on the outside, and thereupon called writs *close*, *literæ clausæ*; and are recorded in the *close-rolls*, in the same manner as the others are in the *patent-rolls*.

“Grants or letters patent must first pass by *bill*: which is prepared by the attorney and solicitor general, in consequence of a warrant from the crown; and is then signed, that is, superscribed at the top, with the king's own *sign manual*, and sealed with his *privy signet*, which is always in the custody of the principal secretary of state; and then sometimes it immediately passes under the great seal, in which case the patent is subscribed in these words, ‘*per ipsum Regem*, by the king himself.’^f Otherwise the course is to carry an extract of the bill to the keeper of the *privy seal*, who makes out a writ or warrant thereupon to the chancery; so that the *sign manual* is the warrant to the *privy seal*, and the *privy seal* is the warrant to the great seal: and in this last case, the patent is subscribed ‘*per breve de privato sigillo*, by writ of *privy seal*.’”^g—*Blackstone's Com. vol. ii. p. 346.*

The same law is to be found in the Prince's case, in Coke's Reports, part viii. page 36, where it is spoken of as the ancient law of England. So much for Mr. Kenrick's “certain test of authenticity.” It is no test of authenticity at all, but a mere memorandum, referring to the authority

⁶ Dr. & Stud. b, 1. d. 8. ^f 9 Rep. 18. ^g *Ibid.* 2. Inst. 555.

under which the great seal had been affixed to the document. A memorandum which will be found to be omitted in perhaps the majority of cases, including some which Mr. Kenrick himself would not suspect of forgery. The letters patent of Mary for restoring the temporalities of Bath and Wells, to Bourne, the Romish successor of Barlow, have neither clause. X

Yet Mr. Kenrick asserts that without these words, the records would not be received as evidence in a court of justice. For this principle of English law he cites no authority; we are to receive it upon the mere assertion of an American clergyman. Undoubtedly a document found floating at large, purporting to be a royal act without a royal seal, would not be received as evidence. But seals are affixed to the documents which are issued to the world, not to the transcripts of those documents which remain in the record offices. Rymer's records are of the last description—they are extracted from the rolls preserved in the proper offices from which the documents issued. The evidence of the genuineness of such records is the place where they are kept and found. The records of the great seal prove that the documents there recorded, are transcripts of those to which the great seal has been affixed. And by law, a copy from those records, certified to be a true copy under the seal, is equal in authority to the original. *Coke's Reports, part v. pp. 53, &c.—Page's case.* Our readers will readily perceive how reasonable this is, if they will consider the difficulty of introducing, not merely a word or line, but an entire document, into the record books of a public office, in such a manner as would not be at once exposed to detection upon the most cursory examination. We think every one will agree that to do this after a lapse of forty or fifty years, is impossible.

Yet Mr. Kenrick wishes us to believe that many such forgeries have been committed, in the case of documents connected with Archbishop Parker's promotion. To induce us to do so, he produces an extract from a general pardon,

granted to some unnamed person in the first year of James I. In this, among other offences, the king pardons forgeries and erasures in the rolls and records. He then says very gravely, "if this does not prove the *possibility* and imply the frequency of such crimes, I must confess I know not what would," *p.* 64. It very clearly proves that some person was guilty or suspected of some such crime, for which he preferred not to be tried. How it implies the frequency of such crimes we cannot see. As to its proving the possibility of forgery, nobody doubts the possibility of altering a few important words in a record. This would be forgery, but if the pardon proves the possibility of such an act, it also proves the probability of discovery; and how does it prove the possibility of interpolating whole instruments and many of them, and that in such a manner as to elude detection? Still further, how does the fact of one man's being guilty of forgery, prove that other men are guilty of specific forgeries? The document has no proper bearing on the controversy, and its production can only be regarded as an unworthy attempt to excite prejudice. The application of the rule or principle upon which we have been remarking, would certainly, as Mr. Kenrick remarks, "prevent much perplexing discussion," *p.* 66—that is much discussion perplexing to him—by removing a great body of evidence from the controversy. But we have shewn it to be unreasonable, and we cannot admit it for his convenience.

Mr. Kenrick states his second principle in the following words :

"I have taken not only these royal acts, but also other records, and extracts from other authors, just as I find them, interpreting them according to the established rules of interpreting official documents; neither supposing errors on the part of those who composed them, nor supplying supposed defects, nor, by unnatural and forced interpretations, endeavoring to find in their words that meaning, and that meaning alone, which best accords with my views. Thus for example, it is an established rule to speak of a clergyman promoted to an Episcopal see, but

not yet consecrated, as a bishop elect: also when a bishop is translated from one see to another, usage requires that in speaking of him, after his translation, and before his canonical installation into the new see, he be named in public documents as formerly bishop of N., now bishop elect of M. Hence I infer that when in a public document, there is only question of a bishop elect, that this bishop elect was never in possession of a former see, and therefore must be regarded as not yet consecrated."—*pp.* 64 and 65.

This rule, as far as it is a general rule, is fair enough, but before it is applied in any particular case, it will be necessary to ascertain what is the established rule of interpreting such documents, and not to assume it, as Mr. Kenrick does, in the latter part of the paragraph; and it is also necessary to see whether the rule, after it is found to be established, properly applies to the case before us. We shall have occasion to return to this matter, when we come to the examination of the particular cases to meet which *this principle was devised*.

The following is his third principle :

“ Ever since the appearance of Mason’s work in 1613, in defence of English ordinations, all Protestant writers,—theologians, historians, &c. have repeated his assertion that Parker was consecrated at Lambeth, and on the 17th December, 1559. I have therefore, rejected all attestations from authors posterior to the year in which Mason wrote, 1613;—and all editions of works printed after that year, in the preceding editions of which, if such there were, such evidence is not found, or can be now ascertained by credible witnesses not to have been found, when these first editions were no longer extant or accessible to me. The reason of this rule is obvious; Protestant writers may have been unduly influenced by the authority of Mason—and indeed they have uniformly followed in his steps in this controversy, or they may have been influenced by the interests of their sect: and the publishers of new editions of works, first published before the appearance of Mason’s defence, may have thought themselves justified in supplying what they regarded as a serious defect.”—*pp.* 65, 66.

This canon is too clearly one-sided to be entitled to any respect. If it be fairly applied, it will discredit all repeaters of the Nag’s-head story, as well as all writers who speak of the Lambeth consecration after Mason. We shall in due

time find that this would scarcely suit Mr. Kenrick. The rule *assumes* that the record of the Lambeth consecration is forged, and to be found only in Mason. But the Lambeth record, whether forged or genuine, is to be found in Parker's Register. The question whether it were forged or not, we will examine hereafter, but it exists. It therefore, and not Mason, *may* be the authority, from which those who wrote after Mason derive their information, or it may be that they had access to other, independent sources of knowledge. If they are mere repeaters of Mason, of course they add nothing to the evidence; but if there is any reason to believe that their testimony is independent, it is none the worse for coming after his. The rule was framed for the purpose of discrediting the historian Camden: when we come to examine his testimony, we shall see how far it can justly apply to him. At present, we need only add that the rule rests on unfounded and unchristian suspicions which would invalidate all human testimony.

Mr. Kenrick not being entirely willing to allow the fact of Dr. Parker's consecration to be tried upon the direct evidence, not only invents for the occasion, the three new rules of evidence, which we have just taken occasion to examine, but commences his book with a dissertation on the opinions of the English reformers on the subject of ordination, for the purpose of shewing that they were men likely to omit the ceremony. Into this dissertation he introduces a good deal of extraneous matter, as to the views of the continental reformers; of Burnet, a comparatively modern commentator on the articles, (who reflects not the opinions of the reformers, but those of the low churchmen and latitudinarians of the reign of William III. a century and a half after the reformation;) and even of McCrie, a Scottish seceder of our own times. Even with the aid of all this, he does not make out a very strong case.

Still, it cannot be denied that there were some among the reformers, as there are men to be found in the Church of

England at this day, who hold very lightly by ordination. Nor can it be doubted, that for a time, Cranmer sympathised with these men. Barlow, who, except as the consecrator of Parker, is a very inconsiderable person in the history of the Reformation, may, for ought we know, have permanently and entirely adopted their opinions. But it is not by the opinions of these, or of any other particular men, that the judgment of the Reformers of the Church of England is to be ascertained. That is only to be found in their own authentic acts as a church. Of this Mr. Kenrick seems to be sensible; since after having endeavoured to raise a prejudice in favor of his views, by the sort of evidence of which we have been speaking, he actually approaches the true question, and attempts, by a garbled statement of the articles, to produce an impression that the Church of England really disregards ordination!

But before we consider the articles, we will bestow a few moments on two alleged facts which he mentions. The first of these in point of time relates to what is called the Bishop's Bible, a translation of the Holy Scriptures, put forth under the authority of Archbishop Parker and some other Bishops. In this translation he asserts that the 22d^e verse of the 14th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles was thus translated: "And when they had ordained elders **BY ELECTION**, in every congregation." If this be true it was a grievous error, almost as bad as some committed at Rheims. But it could not have been made through dislike to ordination; for any person who will refer to his Bible, will find that the "they" refers to Paul and Barnabas, and the passage, as mistranslated, will mean that the Apostles ordained those who were elected to the office of elders, not that the people elected elders who did not require ordination.

The other story upon which our author relies to prove that the Reformers did not value ordination, relates to mat-

^f This should be the 23d.

ters which occurred fifty-one years after Parker's consecration. In 1610 certain Scots, who had received none but Presbyterian ordination, came to London to be consecrated Bishops for the Church in Scotland. A question arose whether they ought not to be first ordained deacons and priests. Archbishop Bancroft, who then held the see of Canterbury, but who was a boy of about fifteen, at the time of Parker's consecration, was of course called on for an opinion on this question. He has frequently been, and by Mr. Kenrick is, represented as maintaining upon the occasion, a doctrine which was inconsistent with all the rest of his life, and with the particular transaction about which he was engaged. Bancroft was always regarded as a high churchman, and as such must have regarded ordination by bishops as necessary, at least under ordinary circumstances. He must, as such, at least, have held with Hooker, that, "cases of inevitable necessity excepted, none may ordain, but only bishops: by the imposition of their hands it is, that the Church giveth power of order, both unto presbyters and deacons."⁶ Although he may have held with the same great divine, that "when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the Church, which at present we would willingly keep: where the Church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath nor can have possibly a bishop to ordain; in case of such necessity, the ordinary institution of God, hath given oftentimes and may give place."⁷ Consistently with these opinions of Hooker, he may have held, as we know Hooker held, that the Scottish Church laboured under such an impossibility of having a bishop to ordain, and that therefore her ordinations were valid without one; but this view is very different from that contempt for orders, which Mr. Kenrick desires to impute to the Reformers. Again, if Bancroft's opinion be correctly reported by Mr. Kenrick, for what purpose did the Scots come to London,

⁶ Ecc. Pol. book vii. ch. xiv. § 11. Keble's Hooker, Oxford, 1841, vol. iii. p. 232.

⁷ Ibid. 231.

and why were the English bishops to lay hands upon them? If they were already priests, and priests could ordain as well as bishops, why did they not proceed to act as bishops, upon the election or appointment which they had already received? But suppose that he held the doctrines above quoted from Hooker, and believed, as he very consistently might, that although the ordinations by presbyters in Scotland had been previously valid; yet now that the Scottish Church had it in her power to obtain Episcopal orders, she was bound to do so; this would account for his concurrence in consecrating the Scottish Bishops, without insisting on their re-ordination. But is it not clear that upon this theory he must have believed that the Church of England had the true succession, the power of giving to the Scots better orders than they had previously possessed? If so he believed that Parker had been really consecrated, and is a witness against Mr. Kenrick, shewing what was the opinion of those among whom he had been brought up—the divines of the Church of England, who were contemporary with Parker and the bishops whom he consecrated.ⁱ

Now according to Courayer, this was Bancroft's doctrine. But the main ground of his opinion, that the Scots need not be re-ordained deacons and priests, was "*that the Episcopal power did supply all other orders.*" Mr. Kenrick relies on Courayer for his version of the story.—Let us compare his quotation from Courayer with what Courayer really wrote.

"Some," says Mr. Kenrick, "at least one of the English bishops, insisted on the necessity of their being re-ordained priests and deacons; inasmuch as they had never received those orders from a bishop; but 'Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury,' says *Courayer*, 'maintained that the ordination given by priests ought to be esteemed valid, though it was not administered by bishops, for otherwise the greatest part of the reformed churches would be found to want ministers.'"—p. 34.

ⁱ Bancroft had been chaplain to Cox, Bishop of Ely, one of the bishops consecrated by Parker, in 1559. Biog. Brit. Art. Bancroft.

We shall now give the passage as it appears in Courayer, putting in italics the words which Mr. Kenrick did not observe, and remarking by the way, that he has not given the page from which he took his extract.

“There was a difficulty which arose about this consecration, because the bishop of Ely [Andrews] insisted to have the ministers ordained priests, before they were consecrated, they not having received the order of priesthood from any bishop. But Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, maintained that the ordination given by priests ought to be esteemed valid, *when bishops were wanting to administer it*, for otherwise the greatest part of the reformed churches would be found to want ministers, *and that the Episcopal power did otherwise supply the other orders: for which he brought examples out of antiquity.*”—*Courayer's Defence, &c. Williams' translation, 8vo. London, 1723, p. 22—New Translation, p. 35.*

But the opinions of Bancroft, or of any other man, are of very little importance in this controversy. The judgment of the Church of England and of her Reformers must be sought in their public acts. There Mr. Kenrick affects to seek it, and cites two of her articles in support of his views. The first of these, which we shall consider, is “article xxv. Of the Sacraments.” In this article he relies on these words, “Those five, commonly called Sacraments, that is to say confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony and extreme unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown, partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed by the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the LORD'S Supper, *for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God,*” p. 33. The italics are his, and he relies on those words to shew that the reformers did not value orders. Who does not see that they are merely a reason why orders should not be regarded as a Sacrament of “like nature with Baptism and the LORD'S Supper?” Let us hear Mr. Kenrick himself on a parallel question.

“In what, then, it may be asked, does the Catholic form consist? I might, in reply, say that question is irrelevant; as from what has been

said, it is evident that the supposed identity between the forms of Edward VI. and those in the Roman Pontifical, cannot be established: and, consequently, that the argument in support of the former, which is built on such a supposition, falls at once to the ground. I will however, observe, that as the Church has not defined what part of the ceremony of ordination is that called the form, theologians have enjoyed on this subject a speculative freedom of opinion, which does not at all interfere with their observance of the laws of the Church, by which they are bound to use the form at present prescribed in the Roman Pontifical. The Church not having defined the exact words that constitute the form of ordination, a certain latitude of opinion necessarily arose: and some theologians, arguing from the principle, that the form of ordination was not specifically determined by CHRIST, as were the forms of Baptism and the Eucharist, were easily led to consider those words, 'Accipe,' etc. as the form, although they may have been aware that they had not been always in use."—p. 181.

We see that, according to our author, if order have any form; that is any precise words, ordained by GOD, he is himself unable to point it out, yet he blames the Reformers because, as he thinks, they deny the existence of an outward visible sign, in the same rite. Let us see whether they really did so. Their own commentary on article xxv. will best explain their views. It is to be found in the "Homily, wherein is declared that Common Prayer and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a tongue that is understood of the people," which "Article xxxv." declares to contain "a godly and wholesome doctrine and necessary for these times."

"Now with like, or rather more brevity, you shall hear how many Sacraments there be, that were instituted by our SAVIOUR CHRIST and are to be continued and received of every Christian in due time and order, and for such purpose as our SAVIOUR CHRIST willed them to be received. And as for the number of them, if they should be considered according to the exact signification of a Sacrament, namely, for the visible signs, expressly commanded in the New Testament, whereunto is annexed the promise of free forgiveness of our sins, and of our holiness and joining in CHRIST, there be but two; namely, Baptism, and the Supper of the LORD. For although Absolution hath the promise of forgiveness of sin; yet by the express word of the New Testament it hath not this promise

annexed and tied to the visible sign, which is imposition of hands. For this visible sign (I mean laying on of hands) is not expressly commanded in the New Testament to be used in Absolution, as the visible signs in Baptism and the LORD'S Supper are: and therefore Absolution is no such Sacrament as Baptism and the Communion are. And though the ordering of ministers hath this visible sign and promise; yet it lacks the promise of remission of sin, as all other Sacraments besides the two above named do. Therefore neither it, nor any other Sacrament else, be such Sacraments as Baptism and the Communion are."—*Homilies, New York edition, pp. 298, 299.—Baltimore, 328, Philadelphia, 316.*

We now see that in article xxv. "Of the Sacraments," the Reformers by "a visible sign or ceremony ordained of God," meant "a visible sign or ceremony," "whereunto is annexed the promise of forgiveness of sins," and that they actually held that "the ordering of ministers," had the "visible sign" "of laying on of hands," but that they did not regard it as a Sacrament, "because it lacks the promise of remission of sins." Now a Romish writer, whom Mr. Kenrick quotes with approbation on page 180, informs us that the visible sign in orders is this very "laying on of hands." What evidence, then, does this article, taken in connexion with the homily afford, that the reformers undervalued ordination.

We now proceed to the other article upon which he relies.

XXIII.—Of Ministering in the Congregation.

"It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public Preaching, or Ministering the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this Work by men who have public Authority given to them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the LORD'S Vineyard."

The mode of calling we see in the extract, which we have given from the homily, to be by laying on of hands. Who the "men who have public authority given to them in the congregation" are, we must learn elsewhere. Mr. Kenrick is pleased to say that this article is Presbyterian, meaning, as

he always does by that word, Erastian. This it clearly is not, for those men who are to call others to the work, are to "have public authority given them in the *congregation*," not in the state. The article is so far Presbyterian, in the true sense of the word, that if it stood unconnected with any thing else, no Presbyterian would hesitate to subscribe it: for it does not decide who are the men to whom public authority is given, and they may be, so far as this article is concerned, either bishops or presbyters. But the article is connected with other acts which do decide, that the persons meant are bishops.

"XXXVI.—*Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.*

"The Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of *Edward VI.* and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering: neither hath it any thing which of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the rites of that book, since the second year of the forenamed king *Edward* unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered."

The following is the Preface to the book approved in the above article:

"*The Form and Manner of making and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.* Anno Domini MDLII.

"THE PREFACE.

"It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time, there have been these orders of ministers in CHRIST'S church;—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: which offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man, by his own private authority, might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same; and also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereunto. And therefore, to the intent these orders should be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England, it is requisite that no man (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon,) shall execute any of

them, except he be called, tried, and examined, and admitted, according to the form hereafter following. And none shall be admitted a Deacon except he be twenty-one years of age at the least; and every man which is to be admitted a Priest, shall be full twenty-four years old; and every man which is to be consecrated a Bishop, shall be thirty years of age. And the Bishop, knowing, either by himself or by sufficient testimony, any person to be a man of virtuous conversation, and without crime, and after examination and trial, finding him learned in the Latin tongue, and sufficiently instructed in Holy Scripture, may, upon a Sunday or holyday, in the face of the Church, admit him a Deacon, in such manner and form as hereafter followeth."—*Cardwell's edit.* 1841, p. 398.

The articles were adopted in 1562, in a convocation at which Parker presided. How is it possible in the face of those articles, thus adopted, to assert that he and his fellow bishops did not hold the necessity of Episcopal ordination, or to imagine that they did not, at least, believe themselves to possess it. There is certainly nothing in these opinions to render it improbable that they should accept consecration.

Apart from any religious principle or theological doctrine, there were two strong reasons why they should have been consecrated. First, the law of the land required it,—King Edward's ordinal was, as Mr. Kenrick supposes, the law of the land, and that as we have just seen, declares "that to the intent that these orders"—*Bishops, Priests, and Deacons* "*should be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England, it is requisite that no man (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon,) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, or examined, and admitted according to the form hereafter following.*" Again the statute of 25 Henry VIII. chap 20, § 6, re-enacted by 1 Eliz. ch. 1, § 7, expressly requires consecration, as a preliminary to inthronisation, and to the "restitution out of the king's hands of all the possessions and profits, spiritual and temporal, belonging to the said Archbishopric or Bishopric, whereunto they shall be elected or presented." The other temporal reason for desiring consecration, was the wish of the queen, a cogent one in Elizabeth's days.

For the existence of this wish Mr. Kenrick himself shall be our authority. He tells us, "That the queen was most anxious for Parker's consecration is admitted by all."—*p.* 76.

But was there any real difficulty in obtaining consecration, such a consecration as is claimed? Its value may be a subject of inquiry hereafter, but the Protestants who allege it must be supposed to value it. Was there any difficulty in obtaining such a consecration? Remark! a specific consecration is alleged; time, place, and persons, specified; was there any peculiar difficulty in procuring that consecration? It is not pretended that the time presents any question. The place could not; the favorite of Elizabeth might command any place in England. As to the persons, they existed. Were they like to resist the wishes of the queen? Why should they? According to the Romanists, they were men of no principle whatever; according to the Protestants, they held no principle which would prevent them from performing the act of consecration. Is it not then abundantly more probable, apart from the direct evidence of the fact, that the consecration took place than that it did not?

But if the bishops who actually performed the consecration had refused, the Church would not have been left without resource. The consecration might have been performed by Irish bishops, and a new line of succession introduced into England; the validity of whose consecration would not have admitted of doubt. Their mission would have been at least equal to that of the Romish bishops in England and Ireland; none of whom can trace their orders from the ancient bishops of those countries, but derive them from modern intruders, consecrated in Italy and Spain. In Ireland, it is said, that all the bishops in possession of sees, at the accession of Elizabeth, except two, and they intruders, conformed to the Reformation.^k How many there were is not precisely known, but it has never been pretended that

^k Palmer on the Church, vol. i. p. 508, Am. Edit.

there was any difficulty about the Irish succession, except such as may grow out of the perpetually assumed and never proved supremacy of the Pope.

Mr. Kenrick, to prove that there was a difficulty in getting Parker consecrated, tells the following story :

“ That the Most Reverend Dr. Creagh, [Roman] Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, who was then a prisoner in the tower of London, was applied to by Parker, with the hope of receiving from him Episcopal consecration. This, however, the venerable prelate firmly refused.”—p. 76.

In this he has been a little too precise, not imitating the caution of the inventors of the story; who while they spoke of an Irish archbishop, never named him. The statement is designed to convey the idea, that Creagh had been Archbishop of Armagh in Mary's reign. Nothing can be more false. Dowdall, who had been consecrated in the time of Henry VIII. but had abandoned his see, under Edward VI. was the only Archbishop of Armagh acknowledged during the reign of Mary; who, perhaps properly, restored him to his see.¹ If he had been alive at the consecration of Parker, he would have been both the Romish and the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh. But he died in 1558, and the see was vacant, for no successor had been consecrated either under the authority of the Pope or the Queen.

As for Creagh, he was in 1559 no bishop, even if he were a priest. According to his eulogist, Roth, “ Having received this degree,” (Bachelor of Theology, at Louvain,) “ he deemed it his duty to return to his country, *now overgrown with weeds and brambles, through the schism and heresy springing up under Queen Elizabeth, (her [Roman] Catholic sister being now dead.*”) Surely the weeds and brambles could not have been so thriving in Ireland as early as 1559. “ He grieved at the errors which were everywhere disseminated in that kingdom, especially in his native city, [Limerick], which he earnestly desired to reform, and also to sow better seed. He laboured strenuously by private exhortation, public

¹ Modern Universal History, vol. 42, pp. 129 to 134.

preaching, and performing the sacred offices of the priesthood, (for he had returned from abroad, invested with the character of a *priest*,) to lend greater efficacy to his work."^m It was after this that he went to Rome; where he was consecrated for archbishop of Armagh, after which, according to Roth, "he came aided by the most liberal munificence of Pope Pius, in order that he might withdraw his sheep in Ireland, from the jaws of most savage wolves and of the lioness, and preside over them zealously and piously."ⁿ Nor was there any Irish Archbishop at the time who adhered to the Church of Rome. The three Archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, all conformed to the Reformation, and retained their sees,—Curwin of Dublin until 1567, when at his own request he was translated to Oxford,^o—the others until their deaths.^p

^m Roth *Analecta* iii. p. 7, quoted by Palmer, *Essay on the Church*, i. 511, Am. Ed.

ⁿ Roth, iii. 22. Palm. i. 512.

^o Wood Ath. Oxon. i. p. 698.

^pThe recent re-publication in England of Bramhall and Courayer, has furnished us with further information about Creagh. The first mention of an Irish archbishop, although without a name, was by Sanders, about thirty years after the consecration of Parker. He only says, that "they were very instant with an Irish archbishop to have presided at their ordination, but he would not."[—]*Bramhall's Works*, vol. iii. p. 47, *new edit.* Fitzsimon, according to Mr. Haddan, was the first who named Creagh,—he certainly connected the story with that of the Nag's-head ordination; but Dr. Elrington says that Fitzsimon does not name the Irish prelate. Talbot, (Nullity of Pre. Clergy,) near one hundred years after the consecration, was probably the first who named Creagh. It was not a well judged act to name him, as it appears that we were not mistaken in supposing that he was not then a bishop. The following valuable note is by the new translator of Courayer.—"This story about Creagh, as our author has shewn in book 2, chap. 2, of his defence of the present work, (vol. i. p. 254—261, of the original French, vol. i. p. 157—161 of the English translation,) is altogether inconsistent with facts. At the time of Elizabeth's succession, the see of Armagh was vacant, Dowdall having died at London, August 10, 1558. The next

Roman Catholic archbishop was Donat O'Teig, who appears to have been consecrated at Rome, in February, 1560, but certainly did not return to England till the latter end of that year, that is not till a year after the consecration of Parker. O'Teig died in 1562, and it was to him that Richard Creagh succeeded as the next Roman Catholic archbishop, having been consecrated at Rome, in the year 1563, i. e. not till the fourth year after the consecration of Parker. One Roman Catholic account indeed, makes it even later, in 1564, but this appears certainly to be a mistake. His first committal to the tower, which was on his return from Rome, did not take place till February 22, 1564, i. e. not till the fifth year after the consecration of Parker.

“Richard Creagh ‘died in the year 1585, (as it is said,) in the tower of London, having been imprisoned there by the State.’—*Ware's Writers of Ireland*, B. 1, p. 77, *Edit. Harris*, as quoted by Haddan, in his invaluable edition (for the Anglo-Catholic library) of Bramhall's *Consecration, &c. of Protestant Bishops*, p. 47, *note e*—see also the other authorities therein referred to.”—*Courayer, Oxford*, 1844, *Editor's notes*, p. iv.

ESSAY II.

ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

MATTHEW PARKER, Archbishop of Canterbury, was consecrated a bishop on the 17th December, 1559. This is the proposition which we propose to establish at this time. Like any other averment of a fact, it is to be proved by evidence. In this case the strongest appropriate evidence exists; the official record of the transaction. This, standing alone, would establish it, much more when it is found in connexion with a series of records, of which some prove the various steps preparatory to the principal action, to have been taken; others are its natural and legitimate consequences; and others bear upon it, only collaterally, but still in such a way as to strengthen the belief, that the event must have taken place about the time alleged. In this case all these facts exist and would seem to leave nothing to dispute about; but on the other side, it is alleged that all, or most of these records are forgeries. The proper mode, then, of establishing the fact of Parker's consecration, is to refute this imputation of forgery. To this task we shall now address ourselves. It can scarcely be necessary to warn our readers, that the discussion must be of matters of detail, dry, complicated, and without attraction, except to those who are interested in knowing the truth of an important fact. Important indeed, since if the doctrines universally believed by the Church in this country be true, and Parker was never consecrated, it may possibly be necessary to obtain the Apostolic Succession from Ireland, where, even upon that supposition, it certainly exists in its purity. Are then the records relative to Parker's consecration forgeries?

The general argument with which the Romanists assail them, is, that they were first produced about fifty years after the transaction. And Mr. Kenrick artfully speaks of the want of reference to "a public and *therefore well known do-*

cument ;" this is no better than a pun, a play upon the word "public." A public document is not necessarily *well known* ; on the contrary, it is usually very little known ; it is public, because it belongs to the public, and every one may have access to it by taking proper steps ; steps, which however, always involve more or less trouble and expense, and which, therefore, are not taken without some adequate motive. A public document, which is the evidence of an undoubted fact, remains generally very little known. How many persons inquire after the letters of consecration of their own bishop, or the letters of orders of their own pastor ? how many persons see the record of the commission of the judge, who presides at the trial of the case, which perhaps involves their entire property ? Such documents are public, but they are not well known, precisely because *the facts* which they are designed to prove, *are* well known and generally acknowledged.

The advocates of Parker's consecration, say that the records were not published until they were required, that the fact of Parker's consecration was not denied for half a century, and that when it was denied, the records were produced.

The Romanists say that Parker's consecration was always denied ; and Mr. Kenrick produces a number of extracts from Romish writers, who published in the reign of Elizabeth, which he deems such denials. These extracts are so connected with an absurd story of a mock consecration, at the Nag's-Head tavern, that it is most convenient to consider them in that connexion. When the time to examine them comes, it will be shewn, that wherever the Romish writers descend from the generalities of that abusive style of controversy ; which was at that time too much in fashion, they attack not the *fact*, but the *validity* of the English consecrations. They rest their alleged invalidity upon two grounds. One, their illegality according to the statute law of England. This Mr. Kenrick gives up, and were it well founded in fact,

it concerns us not. No believer in the Apostolic Succession, Romanist or Protestant, can for an instant suppose, that the English statute law can have any effect, good or bad, upon the Ecclesiastical validity of an ordination. A defect originating in a violation of a statute law, may affect the emoluments or the temporal authority of an English bishop, but surely not his spiritual character. The other objection had its foundation in the peculiar theological views of the Romanists, and will be discussed in its proper place. Our present business is with the *fact*, not the *validity* of Parker's consecration. Against the general imputation of forgery and complaints of the late appearance of the records, it seems to be sufficient to oppose the great probability that Dr. Parker was consecrated, which we have already shown to exist, since the ceremony was required by the doctrines of the Church, by the law of the land, and by the wishes of a queen, whose will at that time was stronger than the law.

We shall now proceed to the records, which we shall enumerate in their chronological order, refuting the arguments adduced by Mr. Kenrick to prove that they are forged, and supporting them by such collateral evidence, as we may be able to produce. When we have thus gone over the records we shall lay before the reader the independent evidence which tends to establish the same fact.

I.¹ The first record in the series is a commission for the consecration of Parker, from Queen Elizabeth, directed to the Bishops of Durham, Bath, Peterborough, and Llandaff, and to William Barlow, bishop, and John Scory, bishop. The Romanists used to regard this as a forged document as

¹ See *post*, Appendix, No. viii. We may as well mention in this place a fact, which we learn from Mr. Haddan. The original letter from Lord Keeper Bacon, the father of the great Bacon, to Dr. Parker, in which the document of the 9th September was inclosed, is preserved in Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge, which was Parker's College. MSS. vol. 114, p. 125. The letter states, that Bacon sealed and delivered the writ in two hours after the receipt thereof.—See *first note* X
 p to Mr. Haddan's "Preface," in *Bramhall*, N E vol. iii.

well as the rest. But Mr. Kenrick, partly no doubt because convinced of the fact, and partly on account of certain advantages he hopes to make of it in argument, is rather ostentatious in proclaiming it to be a genuine document. If he can really make any advantage of it, he is entitled to it. For ourselves, we desire to remark, that it proves three things. First, that a consecration of Parker was really intended.—Second, that all the necessary steps had been taken, previous to the issuing the commission to consecrate ; for the writ recites, “that the see of Canterbury being vacant by the natural death of Reginald Pole, Cardinal, the last and immediate archbishop and pastor,—the Queen, on the humble petition of the dean and chapter of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, had, by her letters patent granted to them license to elect another archbishop and pastor of the said see, that the said dean and chapter, by force of the license aforesaid, had elected her beloved in CHRIST, Master Matthew Parker, Professor of Holy Theology, archbishop and pastor for themselves and the said church, as would more fully appear by their letters patent, sealed with their common seal, and to the Queen directed, that the Queen accepted the election, and signified her royal assent and favor by the tenor of those presents.” The document then requires the persons to whom it was directed, to confirm the said election, and to consecrate Matthew Parker archbishop and pastor of the said church. The date is September 9th, 1559.—Third, that it was from the first intended, that Barlow and Scory should have a part in the ceremony of consecration. Mr. Kenrick's conjecture that they were only designed as witnesses, is opposed to the letter of the document, which places all the persons to whom it is addressed upon a level, and requires of them all the same duties.

This commission was never executed. The three first named bishops, and perhaps the fourth, refusing to act, the others had no legal right to proceed without them, for two reasons. The first, that there was no clause in the commis-

sion, authorising a less number than the whole to act. Mr. Kenrick sneers at this reason, and intimates that there is no such law; but if we are rightly informed, the rule is familiar to every lawyer, even to this day, that a special power must be strictly pursued, and consequently when given to several, all must unite in its execution, unless the instrument conferring the power provide otherwise. He also seems to think that the law officers of the crown would not, under the circumstances, have been on the watch for departures from strict rule. Perhaps not; but it behoved Parker to see that no just legal exception should exist to the consecration. The other objection to proceeding under this commission, was that after three bishops had declined acting, there did not remain the four, which the act of 25 Henry VIII. ch. 20, § 5, requires, when there is no archbishop among them. If, as Mr. Kenrick believes, and not without probability, four declined, there did not remain the three, required by the ancient canons and the general practice of the Church. The reason, however, is not very material, the fact is certain, the commission was never executed.

II. A second commission was then issued, directed to Anthony, Bishop of Llandaff, William Barlow, formerly Bishop of Bath and Wells, now elect of Chichester, John Scory, formerly Bishop of Chichester, now of Hereford, *

* See *post*, Appendix, No. ix.

In all the copies which we have seen, which purport to have been taken from Rymer, we find this commission thus worded, but in the copy in Fuller's Church History, which purports to have been taken from Parker's Register, it is "elect of Hereford." This proves the existence of two records of the writ, one at the Rolls and one in Parker's Register, and thus adds to the proofs of its genuineness. See Fuller, *book ix. sec. 1, vol. iii. p. 452. Ed. 8vo. Lond. 1842.*

Mr. Haddan has had the Rolls examined afresh for his edition of Bramhall, and it appears that the word elect (*electo*) is in the record, but omitted through the mistake of Rymer's transcriber, but it is true that there are two copies of the document extant, one at the Rolls, the other in Parker's Register.—See *Bramhall's Works, N. E. vol. iii. p. 178, note m.*

Miles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter, Richard and John, Suffragan Bishops of Bedford and Thetford, and to John Bale, Bishop of Ossory. In other respects this was a repetition of the former commission with the addition of a clause for supplying defects, of which the reader will see more in the course of the discussion, and another clause, authorising any four of the seven to act.

This commission is dated the 6th December, 1559. Mr. Kenrick, in common with many other Romanists, pronounces it a forgery; yet it seems to have been exactly what might have been expected under the circumstances. The Queen, the law, and the principles of the Church, all required that the act should be done. Those who had been appointed to do it, refused;—what more natural than that a new authority should be given to others. Still it may be a forgery,—was it so?—Three reasons are assigned by Mr. Kenrick for believing it to be forged. The first is, that it wants his certain test of authenticity—The magic words "*Per breve de privato sigillo*," or "*Per ipsam reginam*,"—but as these words have already been shewn to be no test of authenticity at all, we may dismiss this objection. The second is, that the commission was directed to the Bishop of Llandaff, who had already refused to act. It is by no means certain, although we have already admitted it to be probable, that the Bishop had refused to act. The probability of such a refusal seems scarcely a sufficient ground from which to infer forgery. But whether the Bishop had refused or not, there was a peculiar propriety in naming him in the commission, almost amounting to a necessity, because he was the only bishop in England in possession of a see. The third reason requires somewhat more discussion. It is founded chiefly upon a commission, dated on the 20th October. He gives the beginning of this commission, with a translation, which we copy from his book:

"The Queen to the Most Reverend Father in CHRIST, Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Reverend Fathers in CHRIST,

Edmund, Bishop of London, and Richard, Bishop of Ely,—and also to our beloved and trusty counsellors, &c." p. 71.

Here he again parades his discovery about the important words "*Per ipsam reginam*," which he says are in the commission of the 20th October, and not in that of 6th of December, and as usual, infers that the first is genuine and the last forged. We have already shewn that the absence of these words is no proof of forgery. As to the document of the 20th of October, we have no doubt that it is genuine. He then remarks :

"The only way of eluding the testimony it (the commission of October,) affords, that Parker, Grindal, and Coxe were then considered to be Bishops, is that the word 'Bishop' is taken in a vague sense, and only indicates 'Bishops elect,' this plea is inadmissible,—Firstly, because such an assumption is contrary to the general rule for interpreting official documents before laid down, and if once admitted, would render nugatory all arguments derived from the language of documentary evidence." pp. 71, 72.

Now that such an interpretation would be contrary to the particular example, which, with a special view to this and another case, Mr. Kenrick annexed to his general rule, is clear enough. That it is contrary to the general rule itself is not so clear. The general rule is this :

"I have taken not only these royal acts, but also all other records and extracts from authority, just as I find them, according to the established rules of interpreting official documents, neither supposing errors on the part of those who composed them, nor supplying supposed defects, nor by unnatural and forced interpretations, endeavoring to find in their words that meaning, and that meaning alone, which best accords with my views." p. 64.

But in order to apply this rule, it remains to be shewn, not merely that it is a general, but that it is an invariable "rule to speak of a clergyman promoted to an Episcopal See, but not yet consecrated, as a bishop elect;" because unless the rule is an invariable one, it cannot be practically established as a rule for interpreting official documents; for if there are exceptions, the document under examination may be one of

them, and even admitting the rule to be an invariable one, although we would not be justified in "supposing errors on the part of these who composed them," we apprehend that we would be at liberty to *prove* such errors, as we shall in this case do. The view which Mr. Kenrick takes of the subject in this place is the more extraordinary, because on page 69 he erroneously contends that the word bishop, applied in the commission of the 9th of September to Barlow and Scory, means "bishop elect." Now that this rule about bishops elect is not an invariable one, has been abundantly shewn in the work named in the margin.* Dr. Elrington, page 44, refers to *Rymer, vol. xv. page 409, 410, and Burnet's Reformation, vol. i. page 142. Records*; for undoubted instances of this use of the word "bishop." But unless the commission of the 6th December be assumed or proved to be forged, it is itself a sufficient reason for considering the words archbishop and bishop, as being used in that of the 20th October for archbishop elect and bishop elect, for that is the only means by which the two commissions can be reconciled. In that mode they may be reconciled, and if they can, in all fairness they must, unless some other reason can be assigned for regarding one of them as a forgery. Now Mr. Kenrick's other two reasons, the want of his favorite words, and the naming of the bishop of Llandaff, have been shewn to be frivolous. His present argument, then, is, that one commission must receive such a construction as will make it conflict with another, in order that the contradiction may prove the latter a forgery. But the latter does not stand alone. The commissions directed to Parker to consecrate Grindal and Cox, are two of the six writs of a similar character which issued on the 18th of December. Dr. Lingard having referred to these writs as a proof of Parker's consecration, Mr. Kenrick makes the following most "lame and impotent" reply :

*The Validity of English Ordinations, established in answer to the Rev. P. Gandolphy's sermon on St. John x. 1.—By the Rev. T. Elrington, Provost of Trinity college, Dublin.—Dublin, 8vo. 1818.

“This argument is certainly weak. Because six writs are said to have been issued to Parker, as archbishop, on the 18th of December, it is concluded, that *therefore*, he was consecrated on the 17th. Does it not equally follow from the commission above referred to, of the 20th October, that he was consecrated on the 19th of this latter month, just two months before the date of the six writs? Not a single one of these six writs, as may be seen in Rymer, bears the stamp of authenticity before referred to. Besides, can we attach any credit to writs for the consecration of Grindal and Coxe, who according to the commission of 20th October, were bishops, the one of London the other of Ely,—at least on the 19th of that month.” p. 12.

With the weakness or strength of Dr. Lingard's argument, we have at present nothing to do; we shall come to it in due time. But the reader cannot fail to remark, that Mr. Kenrick's only objections to the authenticity of the six writs are, first, that they want his imaginary stamp of authenticity; and secondly, that they conflict with the commission of October, as he understands it. Thus seven writs are to be pronounced forgeries, to sustain Mr. Kenrick's interpretation of one. But the evidence of mistake does not stop here. Grindal and Coxe were consecrated together by Parker, on the 21st of December, in pursuance of those writs. This fact is mentioned by Camden, and by the contemporary author of Parker's Life,—writers, the value of whose testimony we shall have occasion to examine hereafter,—and so far as relates to Grindal, by Stow also a contemporary, and an author whose very silence has been relied on, as an argument against Parker's consecration.—See *Courayer, Williams' Translation, London, 1728, p. 44. New Trans. pp. 53, 54. Elrington p. 44.* The same facts are to be found in the proper Registers. Mr. Kenrick, page 127, gives a short note of Grindal's consecration, to which he makes no objection, but that it conflicts with his favorite commission of the 20th of October. Nor does the evidence close here. Parker's Register, extracts from which are printed by Elrington, in his Appendix, pages xxxi. xxxii.^a shews the archbishop to have exercised

^a See *post*, Appendix, No. xvi.

✕ Jurisdiction over London, as a vacant diocese, on the 19th December, 1559, and also over Ely, on the 19th and 21st of the same month. Mr. Kenrick goes on thus :

“Bishops elect are styled such until they are consecrated, and do not receive the absolute title of the sees, for which they have been elected, until they are in *actual possession* of them. Hence Parker is called ‘Archbishop elect of Canterbury,’ in the commission of the 9th of September; but absolutely ‘Archbishop of Canterbury,’ on the 20th of October. This difference can alone be explained, either by saying that in the meantime he had been consecrated; or that the Queen believed her orders to have been complied with; or what is more probable, that she was forced to acknowledge him as archbishop, although he had received no Episcopal Consecration. This will not appear wonderful to those who remember what were the principles of the reformers on the *necessity* of consecration, and that Archbishop Cranmer had solemnly declared that election, (the royal authority,) alone sufficed to make bishops.” p. 72.

To all this we answer: first, that Parker was not consecrated before the 20th of October, because he was, as will be abundantly shewn hereafter, consecrated on the 17th of December; second, that Elizabeth generally knew whether her orders had been complied with; third, that there was no sort of difficulty in procuring Parker to be consecrated, either by those who actually performed the office, or by Irish bishops, as we have shewn at length in our preliminary remarks. Lastly, that whatever were the errors of Cranmer, he was dead; and the sentiments of the reformers, as a body were the reverse of those here imputed to them, as appears by the Articles, Homilies and Ordinal.

Mr. Kenrick is not however, so well satisfied with his general rule of construction, or its application to the commission under examination, as not to assign some other reasons in support of his particular view. “Secondly” says he, “the object of the commission proves that Parker, and the other bishops named in it were considered as bishops, or at least were *to be considered as such,*” page 72. The reason he assigns is that “none but a bishop could validly

tender the oath of supremacy to a bishop in his purely spiritual character," and that the commission was issued to empower the persons therein named to present the said oath to all persons, ecclesiastical or lay, within their respective jurisdictions, it follows, that Parker, Grindal, and Coxe must have then been regarded as bishops." The rule of law he infers from the fact that the judges, when Boner was proceeded against for refusing the oath of supremacy tendered him by Horne, permitted him to dispute the fact that Horne was a bishop; this does not prove that none but a bishop could tender the oath to a bishop, but only that Horne professed to act by virtue of his authority as a bishop. The statute of 1st Elizabeth, chapter i. § 19, provides that "all and every archbishop, bishop, and all and every other ecclesiastical person," &c. "shall make, take and receive a corporal oath upon the Holy Evangelists, *before such person or persons as shall please your Highness, your heirs or successors, under the great seal of England to assign and name, to accept and take the same,* according to the tenor and effect, hereafter following,"—then follows the oath of supremacy. The act under which Horne proceeded against Boner was the 5th Elizabeth, ch. i. which in its 8th section gives power to all bishops to tender the oath to ecclesiastical persons within their respective dioceses, and in its 9th provides for the mode of certifying a refusal into the Queen's Bench.—*See Boner's case "Dyer's Reports," folio 244, a. pl. 15.* and Fuller's "Church History," book, ix. § 2. Apart from the law, there is a short answer to this objection in our author's own pages. The commission is addressed not only to the persons named, "but also to our beloved and trusty counsellors." *Kenrick, page 71.* "The object of the commission" then, whatever it was, was something that laymen might do.

A third argument is founded on the words "Most Reverend Father in CHRIST," applied to Parker, and "Reverend Father in CHRIST" applied to the others. The application of these words to unconsecrated persons is certainly unusual

still this is in fact only a repetition of the first argument which has been already sufficiently answered. A fourth argument is founded upon a statement of Holinshead, "that one of the deprived bishops (Tunstal of Durham,) lived with Parker at Lambeth, where he died on the 18th of November, 1559." *p.* 73. This argument takes two shapes; first, that Holinshead calls Parker, bishop; but if he had been speaking correctly he would have called him archbishop; and at any rate Holinshead did not believe him to have been consecrated in November, because he states his consecration on the 17th of December.—*Elrington*, *pp.* 39, 43. The other shape is that Parker would not have been in possession of his palace before his consecration. That he had no legal right to it is clear enough, but he might have lived there by favor; and that he did not pretend to a legal right appears from this, that he afterwards sued out restitution of his temporalities. *Lingard's letter in Kenrick*, 116. *Courayer*, 33, *N. T.* 44, *cites Rymer*, xv. 573. The date of this record is March 21st. Mr. Kenrick's only answer to it is that it by no means establishes the fact of Parker's consecration. *page* 121. That is not our present business, it establishes the fact that he was not in legal possession of his temporalities on the 18th of November, and thus disproves the inference that he was considered as consecrated on that day, which is attempted to be drawn from his residence at Lambeth.

Besides these reasons, which only tend to refute Mr. Kenrick's argument against the record under the examination, there is a very important proof that it is genuine in the statute, 8 Eliz. ch. 1st. The preamble to this act declares:

"That for the avoiding of all ambiguities, and questions that might be objected against the lawful confirmations, investing and consecrations of the said archbishops and bishops, her highness in her letters patent, under the great seal of England, directed to any archbishop, bishop or others for the confirming, investing and consecrating of any person elected to the office or dignity of any archbishop or bishop, hath not only used such words and sentences as were accustomed to be used by the late King Henry, and King Edward, her Majesty's father and

brother, in their like letters patent, made for such cases, but also hath used and put in her Majesty's said letters patent, divers other general words and sentences whereby her Highness, by her supreme power and authority hath dispensed with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disability that can or may in any wise be objected against the same as by her Majesty's said letters patent remaining of record, more plainly may appear."

This commission contained, as we before observed, a remarkable clause, generally called the clause *Suppletēs*. No other commission has been produced containing such a clause, and this fact has been made an objection to the commission. We give our translation of the clause :

"Supplying nevertheless, by our supreme royal authority, of our mere motion and certain knowledge, whatsoever either in those things which are to be done by you according to our aforesaid command, or in you or any of you, or in your condition, state or faculty, is wanting or shall be wanting to perform the premises, of those things which by the statutes of this realm, or by Ecclesiastical laws, are required in this behalf, or are necessary, the reason of the time and the necessity of affairs demanding it."^v

The reader will at once remark how this clause answers the description of the words and sentences said in the act of parliament to have been inserted in the Queen's letters patent, and will judge for himself whether the penman of the statute had not the commission in his eye. Mr. Kenrick admits that this argument is imposing. To shew that it is not conclusive, he favors us with this remark :

"The royal act referred to in the foregoing part of the preamble to the act of 8th Elizabeth, is expressly stated to be by letters patent under

^v *Suppletēs nihilominus, suprema auctoritate nostra Regia, ex mero motu ac certa scientia nostris, si quid aut in hiis quæ juxta mandatum nostrum prædictum per vos fient, aut in vobis, aut in vestrum aliquo conditione, statu, facultate vestris ad præmissa perficienda desit aut deerit, eorum quæ per statuta hujus regni, aut per leges ecclesiasticas in hac parte requiruntur, aut necessaria, sunt, temporis ratione et rerum necessitate id postulante.—Elrington, Appendix xii.—Post, Appendix, No. viii.*

the great seal of England, whereas such commissions as that of the 6th December, 1559, are never under the great seal of England, but have generally the King's or Queen's privy seal attached to them." p. 132.

But the act of 25 Henry VIII, ch. 20, § 5, expressly requires that after a bishop is elected, and has taken the oaths, such a commission as that of the 6th December shall issue. The direction is given in the following words :

"The King's Highness by his letters patent under his *great* seal shall signify the said election to one archbishop and two other bishops, or else to four bishops within this realm, or within any other the King's dominions, to be assigned by the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, requiring and commanding the said archbishop and bishops with all speed and celerity to confirm the said election, and to invest and consecrate the said person so elected, to the office and dignity that he is elected, unto."

He then again assures us that the commission has no seal because Rymer is silent on the subject; a new form of the *convenient conjecture* to which we have been so often compelled to allude, and the groundlessness of which we have shown. He then informs us that "Hardouin contends, and not without some appearance of reason, that the supplying clause of the commission of the 6th of December, 1559, was suggested to the mind of whoever forged this document by the above reference." But what suggested "the above reference" to the penman of the statute? In the next page we are told that the supplying clause given in page 42, in our page 49, is nowhere to be found, but, in the commission of 6th of December, 1559. Mr. Hardouin's argument then is this; a reference is found in an authentic act to a particular clause which is found in an instrument of prior date and in no other, and this proves that the prior instrument is forged to meet the reference. Really it seems hardly worth while to argue with a man believing, or feigning to believe, that such an argument has any appearance of reason.

III. * The commission to confirm and consecrate having been issued, the next step is to confirm the election. Now,

* See *post*, Appendix, No xi.

if this can be shewn to have been done, it is obviously an important link in the chain of evidence; for it confirms the authenticity of the commission under the authority of which it was done, and increases the probability of the consecration, towards which it is the last preliminary step. The act of confirmation of Parker's election remains, and has been often printed; the first time by Archbishop Bramhall, in 1674. It has then been long enough before the world for the Romish controversialists to make their objections. Mr. Kenrick's answer to that part of Dr. Lingard's letter which refers to it, is cavalier enough.

"The third fact," the confirmation, "is by no means admitted—it *being intimately and necessarily connected with the one at issue*, and supported by no evidence that is not now matter of controversy." p. 120.

The first reason we have put in italics, it being in fact nothing more than that the fact is an inconvenient one for Mr. Kenrick. The other reason amounts to this: I do not admit it because I dispute it. But he nowhere says a word of any ground for doubting that the act of confirmation is genuine, and even argues from it, as if genuine, on page 128. The confirmation must then be taken to be proved.

IV. The next step is the actual consecration. The authentic act of this is to be found in Parker's register,² and is distinctly admitted by Mr. Kenrick to exist, and to have existed in the beginning of the seventeenth century, page 108. He, however, asserts that it is forged, and assigns seven reasons for that belief, which we shall proceed to examine.

1. The first is, that "the wording of the entry in the register is suspicious, inasmuch as it is different from all the entries which precede and follow it," page 126. He then gives a short minute of the consecration of Parker, in which the bishops are named by their family names, and contrasts it with a minute of Grindal's consecration, in which they are named by the titles of their sees, which he says is the usual

² See *post*, Appendix, No. xii.

mode. This is true, but Mr. Kenrick is at once guilty of two acts of unfairness, one in arguing from the minute of Grindal's consecration, which in the same breath he pronounces a forgery; the other in introducing the minute of Parker's consecration as the record which had been relied on to prove that fact. Within two pages, he refers to the real register, and complains of its *minuteness*. He well knows that in that document the bishops are not merely described by their family names; but by those of the sees with which they were or had been connected, precisely as they are in the act of confirmation, to which on this occasion he refers. He, however, states, himself, the true reason of the difference between the two minutes, which is that in the interval the bishops had been put in possession of their sees.

2. The second reason is "the great variety among those who quote the register, as to the number of the bishops present on the occasion, and the name of one of them." If the question were about the existence of the document, and quotations were the evidence produced, the objection would be a just one. But the document is admitted to exist, and surely a genuine document is as liable to be misquoted as a forged one.

3. His third reason is the circumstantiality of the register. This most people will think is evidence that is not forged.

4. His fourth is that, according to Mason, Parker was elected in December, whereas according to those who maintain the fact of his consecration, he was bishop elect on the 9th of September. Mr. Kenrick's favorite record of the 9th September, *proves* that Parker was bishop elect at that time. But this only proves that Mason was mistaken, not that the Register is forged.⁷ With this is coupled a reiteration of the document of the 20th of October, in answer to which we can only refer to what has been already said.

⁷ According to the Register, the election was on the first of August.

5. The fifth reason, mis-numbered 4, is a repetition of Hollinshead's statement about Tonsal, which has also been before explained.

6. The sixth reason, mis-numbered 5, is that it does not appear that the archbishops of Canterbury were ever consecrated at Lambeth. There are in modern times very few instances of persons being consecrated archbishops of Canterbury. The see is usually filled by translation.* To this practice there have been but five exceptions since 1349, a period of nearly five hundred years. The exceptions are Cranmer, Pole, Parker, Sancroft, and Tillotson. There was no person consecrated for the see of Canterbury for one hundred and eighty-three years before Cranmer, and for one hundred years after Parker. There can then be no usage on the subject worth a straw in argument. If Parker lived at Lambeth, which is asserted by Hollinshead, it was the most convenient place.

7. The seventh reason, mis-numbered 6, is that Parker is said to have been elected by virtue of a *conge d'elire*, directed to the Chapter of Canterbury, and that the writ of *conge d'elire* was abolished by the act of Parliament of 25 Henry VIII, chap. 20. Now, the act of the 25 Henry VIII, chap. 20, so often quoted, in its 4th section, expressly requires a writ of *conge d'elire*; and the undisputed commission of the 9th of September, recites that "at the humble petition of the Dean and Chapter of our Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of Christ Church, Canterbury, we have granted to them by our letters patent *license of electing*^a for themselves an archbishop and pastor of the said see, and that the said Dean and Chapter by force and colour of our license, have elected our beloved in CHRIST, Matthew Parker,"^a &c.

Such are the reasons, upon which we are called upon to pronounce a solemn official document, supported by a long series of documents, a forgery. But this is not all; there is

^a In the original "*licentiam eligendi*," in French *conge d'elire*.

^a See Note A, at the end of this Essay.

strong evidence that it is not a forgery. Wadsworth, a Romanist, in a letter published in 1615, states that he had seen the records, and expresses no doubt that they are genuine, or that the consecration really took place; although he denies the *validity* of the consecration and does not correctly detail the facts. Elrington, 40, 63. Besides Archbishop Abbot caused the register to be exhibited to certain Romish Priests, of which transaction Mr. Kenrick gives us the following account :

“Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom Mason had dedicated his work, caused some priests, Alexander Faircloth, and Thomas Lathwait, *alias* Scott, Jesuits, and the arch priest, Colliton, and Thomas Leake, a secular priest, who were then in prison on account of their religion, to be brought to view the register in the presence of himself and six other bishops.” * * * “The result of this examination is variously stated. The advocates of the Anglican ordinations, assert, that the priests were satisfied of the authenticity of the register, whereas the [Roman] Catholics state that they merely testified that such a document existed; and that Faircloth,^b one of their number, expressed his astonishment to the Archbishop and bishops, inasmuch as he had heard from his father, who was a Calvinist, of the Nag’s-Head consecration, of which his father declared he himself had been a witness. Both Protestant and [Roman] Catholic writers agree that the priests were anxious to have the register submitted to them a second time, when they might have the opportunity of examining it more conveniently. They accordingly addressed a letter to the Archbishop to that effect, but were not able to succeed in getting a second view of the register. Protestant writers say that the cause of this refusal, was an apprehension that they should destroy so important a document; but this appears a very insufficient reason, because the document might be subjected to a private and most searching investigation in the presence of some faithful officers without at all exposing it to the alleged danger. The [Roman] Catholic writers assign a more probable reason for the refusal—the fear that the spurious character of the register should be detected and exposed.” *pp.* 107, 108.

This is scarcely a fair representation of what the Protestant writers say, for they allege that the priests,

^b This statement was, however, not published for near half a century.

"Having required that the book should be put into their hands to examine it with greater attention, they were told that those books were not to be removed, but that they might examine them again upon the place; but that they should not trust them in their hands," *Courayer*, pp. 37, 38. *Edit.* 1728; p. 48. *Edit.* 1844.

But even according to Mr. Kenrick, they testified to the existence of the register, and they did not assign any *internal* evidence of its forgery. Now, such a document could not have been interpolated into the register without circumstances of suspicion, which would have instantly struck less intelligent men than these priests.

Further, when *Courayer* was preparing for his book, he informs us that, "though he had not the honor to know the Archbishop of Canterbury, yet upon his bare application, he was pleased to permit a new examination to be made in the presence of four witnesses, two whereof were [Roman] Catholics, and the other two of the Church of England."—*Ibid.* They reported no suspicious circumstances. In short there is no evidence that any body ever applied for a proper examination of this record, and was refused, or that any person who saw it ever pointed out any circumstances of suspicion in its appearance.

But it is said never to have been heard of before Mason alluded to it in 1613. It is alluded to in Parker's life, published 1572; but as that is asserted by Mr. Kenrick, not to have been published at that time, we will not press it until we come to a place at which we can properly shew that he is mistaken. But it is clearly mentioned by Sutcliffe who published in 1591.

"Bishop Parker, says he, was consecrated by imposition of hands, by Bishop Barlow, Bishop Coverdale, Bishop Scory and several suffragans mentioned in the act of consecration." *Quoted by Elrington*, p. 23.

Besides these facts, there is in Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, another copy, agreeing, except some clerical errors, with the copy in the register.^c This was printed by Archbishop Bramhall, who did not trace his consecration through Parker, in 1674. It is accompanied by a certificate

^c See *post*, Appendix, No. xii.

from the public orator of the University, the Margaret professor, and another Doctor of Divinity, "that it is a true and genuine record of the rites and ceremonies of Archbishop Parker's consecration, and as ancient as the date it bears."^d There is also another certificate from the Master and Fellows of the college, which contains these words: "We are fully satisfied that the said record is as ancient as the date it bears, and the occasion to which it doth refer. Nor can we doubt that the plain and evident tokens of antiquity which it carries, will as much satisfy any ingenious person who shall have a sight thereof, which therefore we shall readily afford to those who shall repair to the college for that purpose."^e What Romanist ever accepted this invitation? We shall now leave the record of the consecration.^f

V. The next step in the series of record evidence, is the issuing of six writs to Parker, on the 18th of December, the day after his consecration, for the confirmation of the elections of Barlow and Scory, and for the consecration of Grindal, Coxe, Sandys, and Meyrick.^g These are writs requiring him to do what only a bishop could do, and they bear date the day after he became a bishop, according to the record, which they therefore confirm in a remarkable manner. Mr. Kenrick mistakes Dr. Lingard's argument, when he says, *page* 121, that those writs are said to have been issued on the 18th, and therefore it is concluded, that Parker was consecrated on the 17th. The true argument is, as we have stated above, that the issuing the writs confirms the evidence of the record of a consecration on the 17th, tends to shew that the record is not forged. The case is not like that of the commission of the 20th of October, as Mr. Kenrick would persuade us:—first, because there is no record or allegation of a consecration on the 19th of October, and

^d Courayer 365, N. T. 333, 334; Elrington, Appendix, xix.; Bramhall's Works, N. E. vol. iii. p. 213.—See *post*, Appendix, No. xii.

^e Elrington *ubi supra*. *Post*, Appendix, No. xii.

^f See Note B, at the end of this Essay.

^g Lingard in Kenrick, 115.

again, because the act required to be done by the writ in October, was not peculiarly episcopal. Mr. Kenrick intimates that these writs are forged, but gives no reason but the want of his fancied test of authenticity.

VI. The next step is the letters patent for restoring to Parker the temporalities of his see, dated 21st March.^b This act alone might not prove a consecration, although without one it would be illegal, and an act of bounty on the Queen's part, of which perhaps Elizabeth would not be suspected, by the Romanists, unless to serve a present purpose.ⁱ But we refer to it because it is a link in the chain of testimony, upon the absence of which our adversaries would not fail to remark. Mr. Kenrick does not deny the authenticity of this writ, but endeavours to evade its effect.

VII. The next and last records to which we shall refer, are the ordinary official registers of the diocese of Canterbury, extracts of which have been published by Elrington, *Appendix*, pp. xx. to xxxii.^h During the vacancy, the dean and chapter were the guardians of the spiritualities. The last entry of an act, performed by them in that character, is on the 8th of December. The first act recorded of Parker is on the 18th day of the same month. A book of the records of the Prerogative Court of the province of Canterbury, kept in the name of the dean and chapter, begins from the 1st day of April, 1559, till the — day of December, contains entries as late as the 15th December. Another book, kept in the name of Parker, professes to begin on the 9th of December, the day his election was confirmed; it contains an entry of a commission, issued on the 15th, and the second entry is on the 19th. It is remarkable that the dean and chapter appear to have closed their own proceedings on the day before the confirmation, while Parker did not commence his until after his consecration. But in the

^h Courayer 33, N. T. 44, cites Rymer T. 15 p. 573.

ⁱ Stat. 25 Henry VIII. ch. 20, § 5.

^h See *post*, Appendix, Nos. xiv. xv. xvi.

Prerogative Court, in which wills are proved, and which must always go on, there seems, during the interval between confirmation and consecration, some vacillation, which does not occur before or afterwards.

VIII. We come now to the historical evidence. We shall first name Hollinshead, who mentions Parker's consecration in his Chronicle, page 1491. Edit. 1586, Elrington 40, ix. Camden, in his History of the reign of Elizabeth, gives an account of the transaction, naming all the bishops. Mr. Kenrick seeks to invalidate his testimony, because his book was first published in 1615, after Mason. But Camden wrote, as he tells us, at the request of Lord Burleigh, who died in 1597, and it is to be observed, that the account of the consecration is in the very beginning of his book, and must have been written, although not printed, before the appearance of Mason. Besides, in another work printed as early as 1586, Camden refers to the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, perhaps written by Parker, in which the fact is mentioned.

We come now to the work just named, first published in 1572, in the life time of Parker, and written either by him or his chaplain, or by the two in junction. The following account of this work is given by Dr. Elrington :

“ *Hardouin* and *Le Quien* endeavor to represent this book as a forgery, but *Courayer* gives a list of twenty-one copies, which were in different libraries in England when he wrote, thirteen of which contained the life of Parker and the reference to the registry; and the remaining eight, though they had not that life, yet gave a list of the bishops, with the dates of their consecrations, which as effectually supports the registry as the actual reference: and the copies of an edition printed at Hanover are common, and that edition, containing the above mentioned list, though not the life of Parker, refers to the London edition of 1572. Besides *Cujas*, who died in 1590, refers to the *Antiquitates*, (*Ad. Tit. 28, de Appel. cap. qua parte 25.*) *Thynne*, in his abridgment of the lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, inserted in *Hollinshead's Chronicle* at *p. 1435*, refers to it, and *Hollinshead* was published in 1586; and *Camden*, in his *Description of England*, gives a long extract from it, enumerating the bishoprics into which England was divided, and this

book was first printed at London in 1586, then in 1590 at Frankfort, and then in London in 1600, and again in 1607. Of this last edition, *Hardouin* asserts that it does not refer to Parker. Now the fact is that it contains exactly the very passage above mentioned, as may be seen at page 116, the last page of the *Britannia Divisio*. In the edition of 1536, the passage will be found at page 58. *Elrington* 39. note.

But as *Elrington* is a controversial writer, we shall sustain his testimony by that of *Anthony a Wood*, a mere antiquary.

"When Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, Dr. Parker, although a married man, (for his wife died not till 17th August, 1570) was nominated to the see of Canterbury, after several persons had refused it; whereupon being consecrated thereunto in the archbishop's chapel, at Lambeth, 17th of December, 1559, (after a sermon, invocation of the HOLY GHOST, and celebration of the Eucharist had been performed) by the laying on of hands of three bishops, viz: *Will. Barlow, B. of B. and Wells, John Scorey of Chichester, and Miles Coverdale of Exeter*, (assisted also by *John Hodgeskyn*, Suffragan Bishop of *Bedford*,) sat there with great honor, until the time of his death. He was a religious and learned man, of modest manners and behaviour. He was well read in English history, very studious and skilful in antiquities, a worthy patron of good learning, and a diligent and curious collector of ancient MSS. that had been scattered at the dissolution of the monasteries which he gave to the college where he had been educated. He is also reported to have been a person of great charity, a noted benefactor to the public, and an eminent ornament to the places which gave him birth and education.

The chief book which he wrote and published. (assisted therein, as it is said, by his servant or chaplain, *John Josline*,) was that entitled, *De Antiquitate Britannie Ecclesie, et privilegiis Ecclesie Cantuariensis, cum Archiepiscopis ejusdem* 70, Lond. 1572-3. Most of the copies of this impression that were commonly sold, conclude with the life of *Reynold Pole*, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1558. The other copies which remained, and were to be bestowed on public libraries, or else to be given to special friends, had in the year 1574, added to them. 1st. The life of the author, *Matthew Parker*, containing 29 pages. 2d. A catalogue of such books which he gave to the common library at Cambridge, containing 4 pages. 3d. A catalogue of chancellors, vice chancellors, proctors of, and doctors of all faculties, that took their degrees in, Cambridge, containing 6 pages. Before which cata-

logues are the arms of every college and hall there, with the *area*, or platform of the common schools, the arms and seal of the university, and seal of the chancellor thereof. 4th. A catalogue from 1500 to 1571, of all the bishops that have been educated in Cambridge, among which have been divers that have been bred in Oxon. who have only taken one degree, and perhaps that neither, there. 5th. The titles of such charters that have been granted to that university, by divers Kings and Queens, from Henry III. to the thirteenth or fourteenth of Queen Elizabeth. 6th. An account of the particulars that are successively delivered to the magistrates and servants of the said university, when they enter into their respective places. 7th. The foundation of each college and hall in Cambridge, with the building of the public schools, and an enumeration of the old hostles. All which contained under this seventh head, were involved in the first book of the *History of the University of Cambridge*, written by Dr. Jo. Cay, printed at London, 1574, in qu. As for the life of the said *Matthew Parker*, mentioned under the first head, it was as soon as it peeped into the world, translated into English, under this title, "*The life of the 70th Archbishop of Canterbury, presently sitting. Englished,*" &c. *This number of 70 is so complete a one, as it is a great pity that there should be one more, &c.* Printed in Holland, in a Dutch character, 1574, in oct. It was translated by a thro-paced separatist, with very vile notes added in the margin, endeavoring to bring an *odium* on the Archbishop, and make him ridiculous, for erecting his monument while he lived."—*Wood. Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 688, 689.—*Life of Pole among the Bishops, folio, 2d edition, London, 1721.*¹

XI. Fuller, the Church historian, mentions the transaction in the following manner. After giving some account of Parker and his election, he inserts a copy from Parker's Register, of the significavit of the 6th December, and then goes on in these words:

"But the old bishop of Llandaff appeared not at the consecration, terrified, say the Papists, by Boner's threats, so as to absent himself, which others do not believe. For he that feared not the lion out of the grate,—would he be frightened with the lion within the grate? If Boner, when at liberty, could not deter him from taking the oath of supremacy, improbable it is that, when now detained prisoner in the tower, he could dissuade him from his obedience to his sovereign. More likely it is, that

¹ See Note C, at the end of this Essay.

his absence (as also Bishop Bale's and the Suffragan's, of Thetford,) was occasioned by their indisposition of body, and infirmity of old age."

"But the other four bishops appeared,—William Barlow, John Scory, Miles Coverdale, and John Hodgeskin; by whom Matthew Parker was solemnly consecrated December 17th, in manner and form following.—The east part of the chapel of Lambeth was hung with tapestry, the floor spread with red cloth; chairs and cushions are conveniently placed for the purpose. Morning prayer being solemnly read by Andrew Pearson, the Archbishop's chaplain, Bishop Scory went up in the pulpit, and took for his text—"The elders which are among you, I exhort, who also am an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of CHRIST," &c.—1 Pet. v. 1. Sermon ended and the Sacrament administered, they proceed to the consecration. The Archbishop had his rochet on, with Hereford and the Suffragan of Bedford; Chichester wore a silk cope, and Coverdale a plain cloth gown down to his ancles. All things are done conformable to the book of ordination,—Litany sung, the Queen's patent for Parker's consecration audibly read by Dr. Vale. He is presented, the oath of supremacy tendered to him, taken by him, hands reverently imposed on him, and all with prayers, begun, continued, concluded."—*Fuller's Church History of Britain, Book ix. sec. 1, par. 23, 26, vol. ii. pp. 452, 453, Edit. London, 1842.*

He then proceeds to speak of the Nag's-head story, against which he argues upon probable grounds, and then adds this remarkable fact:

"Besides Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, (not more famous for the coronet of a count, than for the crown of old age,) alive in the latter end of the reign of King James, being requested of a friend whether he could remember Matthew Parker's consecration, gave an exact account of the same solemnly performed in Lambeth chapel, being himself an eye witness thereof, and an invited guest to the great feast kept there that day; therefore the more observant of all particular passages thereat, because the said Archbishop was related to him as a kinsman."—*Idem, 29, 30, pp. 454, 455.*

XII. There is preserved in Corpus Christi College, a private memorandum book, all in Parker's handwriting, of which the following is an extract:—"1559, 17 December. *Ann. 1559, Consecratus sum in Archiepiscopo Cantuariens.* In English, "1559, 17 December, 1559, I was consecrated

Archbishop of Canterbury."—*Elrington*, 103, and Appendix xx.^b

Such is the body of evidence in proof of the fact which we have undertaken to establish. We hesitate not to say that it is such as to authorise us to conclude this essay, in the words with which it was begun—Matthew Parker was consecrated a bishop on the 17th December, 1559.

NOTE A.

THE CONGE D'ELIRE FOR PARKER.

THIS conge d'elire is extant, printed in Rymer xv. 536; it is also to be seen in Cramer's Register, from whence it has been published in Bramhall's Works. It is in these words:

ELIZABETH DEI gr'a Anglie francie, et Hibernie Regina fidei defens. etc. Dilectis nobis in Xpo Decano et Cap'to eccl'ie Metropolitice Cantuar. Salutem. Ex parte v'ra nobis est humil'r Supplicatum, Ut cum eccl'ia predicta, per mortem naturalem Reverendissimi in Xpo, patris et d'ni, d'ni Reginaldi Pole, Cardinalis ultimi Archie'pi ejusdem iam vacat, et Pastoris sit Solatio destituta, alium vobis eligend, in Archie'pum et pastorem, L'niam n'ram fundatoriam, vobis concedere dignaremur. Nos precibus v'ris in hac parte favorabil'r inclinati, L'niam illam vobis duximus concedend. Rogantes q'd talem vobis eligatis in Archie'pum et pastorem qui D'co devotus nobisq; et Regno n'ro utilis et fidelis existat. In cujus Rei Testimonium has literas n'ras fieri fecimus patentes, Teste meip'a apud Westm. decimo octavo die Julii Anno Regni n'ri primo.—*Bramhall's Works, New Edit. vol. iii. p. 190.*

The election took place on the first of August, 1559.—*Ibid*, 194, 5, 6.

NOTE B.

ON THE RECORD OF PARKER'S CONSECRATION.

To the record from which the one spoken of in the text is extracted, there is, in the new edition of Bramhall, annexed the following note, vol. iii. p. 173, note a.

"The record here printed occupies from the 2nd to the 11th leaf (inclusive) of vol. i. of Archbishop Parker's Register, the 1st leaf being emblazoned with his arms and motto, and the 2nd containing the title of the entire volume engrossed in large capitals. The remainder of the

^b See *post*, Appendix, No. xiii.

volume consists of 1. succeeding *confirmations and consecrations* up to those of Edm. Freake to the see of Rochester (March 3 and 9, 1571—2) inclus. folio 12 a—145 b, (the concluding portion of Freake's record being entered, for want of room, in a later page, folio 213 b, 214 b.) 2. *Inductions, &c.* by the Archbishop, in different sees of his province, during the *Vacancies*, within a similar period, folio 146 a—213 b. 3. *Commissions* during a similar period, including accounts of *Ordinations*, first up to May 28, 1560, while Anthony Huse was primary Registrar, fol. 217 a—221 a, next from June 2, 1560, while John Incent held the same office, fol. 221 a—299 b. 4. *Visitations*, fol. 301 b—339 b. 5. *Inductions, &c.* within the Archbishop's own diocese during a similar period, fol. 340 a—411 a, being the end of the volume. A second volume continues all five classes of entries to the close of Parker's primacy, including also the register of the see between Parker's death and *Whitgift's appointment*. [qu Grindal's ?] Both are entire volumes, and not (as is Cranmer's) collections of loose leaves bound together at the Archbishop's death; which is proved of vol. i. by the record of Freake's consecration above mentioned.

"That the record here printed is an original portion of the volume to which it belongs, is proved,—1. by the reference to it for details of arrangement and form of consecration employed in the records of twelve succeeding consecrations, the last in folio 80 a,—2. by its agreement with the entries under the several "*Vacancies* above mentioned, the earliest acts of jurisdiction by Parker, (among some hundreds,) bearing date Dec. 11 and 12, 1559, (viz. probate of will in Lincoln dioc. folio 150 a, and institut. of John Oxenbridge to Church of Llanynis, Bangor dioc. fol. 148 a,) i. e. two and three days after the date assigned to Parker's confirmation,—3. by its agreement with the commissions entered under the 3rd head above mentioned, of which the earliest is dated Dec. 20, 1559,—4. by the hand-writing, which is the same with that of the immediately subsequent entries,—(the marginal headings being given in another hand, and eight or ten corrections, for the most part of no importance, and the paragraphs at the foot of fol. 2 b, 3 b, being added in a third hand.)—and 5. by the paging. The genuineness of the entire volume is proved (to say nothing of the absurdity of supposing a folio volume of 411 pages, filled with matter so multifarious and circumstantial, to be a forgery,) by the non-existence of any other Register of Parker's Archiepiscopal acts, by the agreement of this in hand-writing and appearance with what it professes to be, by the minute consistency of its several parts one with another, (e. g. the dates under the '*Vacancies*'

of the several sees exactly tallying with the dates assigned to the several consecrations which filled up each vacancy,) by its exact correspondence in the order of the consecrations recorded with the order of precedence among the several bishops concerned, in convocation and parliament, by its equally exact correspondence in a multiplicity of names and dates with the Registers of the chapters of the several sees of the province, and with the Rolls, by the detailed references to it in the life of Parker, in the *De Antiq. Brit. Eccl.* (1572,) and from thence in Hollinshead in 1586, and by its agreement with all that is known, from other sources of the several bishops and other persons mentioned. That the last three arguments apply also directly to the particular record of Parker's confirmation, &c." Proofs of this are given, but the details cannot be made intelligible within the very moderate space which we can afford.

The note goes on,

"The objections to the genuineness of that record, rest either upon the misprints in the folio edition of Bramhall's Works, or upon the mistake in the Rolls noticed below, or upon the additional sentences printed here in italics." Those above said to have been added in a third hand, in folios 2 and 3 of the Register, to which we mean to return. The note of Mr. H. goes on without closing the sentence:—"or upon the assertion, that the Register was not produced, although called for, until the time of Mason, when the witnesses were all dead, the truth being that it *was* quoted, although not called for, in 1572 and 1586, and referred to in 1565, although undoubtedly not printed at length, so as to publish the witnesses' names, until 1676,—or lastly, upon the misquotations of Butler, Sutcliffe, and the (confessedly inaccurate) first edition of Godwin.

"It," the record, "is re-printed here," in the new edition of Bramhall, "from the original Register, the contractions, stops, and orthography being retained with as much exactness as in so long a record and with ordinary types is attainable.

"The record of the consecration of Parker, headed *Rituum et Cere-
moniarum Ordo*, &c. has been printed also by Percival, (*Appendix A.*;) and the whole record was printed (for the first time) at the end of the folio edition of Bramhall's Works, in 1676—7; and collated for Courayer in 1725."—See *post*, *Appendix*, No. viii.

This is a long note, but as two or three things in it require explanation, we must detain the reader a few minutes longer. The paragraphs said to be added in a third hand, on folio 2, are a memorandum of the death of Anthony Huse, and of the succession to him of John Incent as Re-

gistrar, and a similar memorandum of the death of Archbishop Parker. The paragraph on folio 3, is appended to the significavit of the 6th Dec. and is the legal opinion of the validity of that document, which will be found in our Appendix, No. x.

The mistake in the Rolls alluded to, relates to the name of Hodgeskin. His true name was John, but he is called in the rolls Richard,—the mistake is continued in the Register, and afterwards corrected. Mr. H., page 178, note n, says, "In the original (i. e. the Register) it was writ '*Richardo*' first, which has a dash through it, and '*Joannis*' is writ over, (by the third hand.) Note by the editor of the fol. edition of Bramhall's Works, appended by mistake in that edition to the word '*Johanni*,' immediately following in the text. It stands '*Richardo*' in the roll, and therefore (most probably) in the original patent; whence arises a strong presumption for the genuineness of the Register."

In addition to this very interesting account of the original record of Parker's confirmation and consecration, we copy the following valuable note from Mr. Haddan's edition of Bramhall, because it contains some facts of which we were not aware before we saw it; although a portion of its contents is to be found in our own text.

"This record (besides its own agreement with the writs from the Rolls, as urged in the text" of Bramhall, "and the exact correspondence of the records of the following consecrations, contained in the same register, with the registers of the respective sees,) is confirmed by the following MS. or printed evidence:—1. the transcript of it in the library of C. C. C. Cambridge;"—see our text, Essay II. number IV. page 59; "2. Parker's MS. Diary in the same library, printed by Strype, (Parker, Append. num. ix.) recording his own consecration to the Abp. on Dec. 17, 1559;"—see our Appendix, No. xiii; "3. Reg. of Chapter of Canterb. recording acts of jurisdiction by the Chapter during the vacancy of the Abp. up to Dec. 8, 1559, (in Lambeth library; extracts printed in Couray. Def. de la Diss. Pr. Just. art. viii. § 1;) 4. Reg. of Prerogative Court, recording the probates of wills; the commissary of which court (Dr. Haddan) acted in the name of the Chapter of Canterbury, prior to December 10, 1559, (on which day intelligence of Parker's confirmation, Dec. 9, would be received,) in that of Parker as Abp. 'elect and confirmed,' from thence to Dec. 15, inclusive, in that of Parker as Abp. without this additional clause after Dec. 17, (extracts ap. Couray. *ibid* § 2;)"—see the extracts mentioned in the two last clauses in our Appendix, Nos. xiv. xv.; "5. Reg. of same Court regarding goods of persons dying intestate, headed 9 Dec, 1559, and in the name of

Parker as Abp. (Couray. *Ibid.* § 3;) 6. Parker's own Register, wherein the last two changes of No. 4 occur, with the same dates, (Couray. *ibid.* art. ix. and liv. iii. c. 1;) 7. Writs addressed to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, 'Sede Archiepisc. Cant. vacante,' relating to induction into benefices, dated Sept. 27, Oct. 6, Oct. 9, 1559, (Rymer tom. xv. pp. 542—544;) 8. Abp. Parker's statutes for the Court of Arches, containing a calendar wherein his consecration, 'XVI. Kal. Jan., is recorded, (see Couray. *ibid.* liv. iii. c. 1, § 4;) 9. a table of the consecration of Parker himself, and the other bishops consecrated by him, from 1560 to 1571, printed in some copies of the *De Antiq. Brit. Eccl.* (p. 39, ed. Hanov.) in 1572;"—see note B immediately following this note; "10. MS. note by John, eldest son of Abp. Parker, giving (among others, the date of his consecration, in a copy of *De Antiq. Brit. Eccl.* once belonging to the Earl of Sunderland, now in Lambeth Library, printed in Couray. (*ibid.* Pr. Just. art. xiii. § 2,) and Todd, (*Acc. of Lamb. MSS.* num. 959.) A corresponding abstract in MS. of the particulars of Parker's consecration is in the same book, Couray. *ibid.* § 3. Todd. *ibid.* num. 959, § 58;) 11. The life of Parker in the *De Antiq. Brit. Eccl.* itself in 1572—3;"—see note B *post*; "12. the other authors who have cited the register before Mason; 13. The Zurich Letters; 14. (The 'Life' of Parker in 1574," see note B, *post*.) "which confirms the general account of the register, but does not enter into details. In the margin of the older copy of the original 'Historiola,' in C. C. C. Library, the correct date is written in the same hand-writing with that of the MS. itself, viz: Jocelyn's, (see Master's *Hist. of Benet Coll.* p. 113, ed. Lamb.) These are all (one excepted) independent evidences, the MSS. derived from five widely separated places, eight of them contemporary with the consecration itself, five others within twenty years following, and all prior to Mason. Against it have been urged, (of the same kind of evidence;) 1. a commission authorising Parker, among others, to administer the oath of supremacy, dated Oct. 20, 1559, (Rymer, tom. xv. pp. 546, 547,) and 2. the Herald's patent, authorising an addition to his arms, dated Nov. 28, 1559, (ap. Strype, Parker, bk. i. c. 10;) in both of which he is styled 'Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus,' without the edition of 'elect,' but these relate to civil acts, and naturally follow the use of ordinary language, (see Couray. *Def. de la Diss.* liv. iii. c. 3, Supplem. c. x.); 3. The silence of Stow in his *Chronicle*; 4. Hollinshed, who mentions (*Chron.* vol. iii. p. 1186,) the committal of Tonstall (deprived after Sept. 29, died Nov. 18, 1559,) to Parker's custody, as Archbishop and residing at Lambeth; which fact, dated as it is

two months after Parker's election to the see, proves merely that he was allowed to hold part of the temporalities before consecration."—*Bramhall's Works, New Edit. vol. iii. p. 85, note f.*

Mr. Haddan has been at the trouble of having the rolls consulted, "in order to correct the errors and supply the deficiencies of Rymer." As such an examination was on many accounts desirable, we take the liberty of inserting the result in this place, to which it is perhaps as appropriate as to any other.

"The result of the examination," says Mr. Haddan, "is as follows: that in the first edition of Rymer, *all* the Episcopal documents enrolled for the years 1559—1561 are printed, *except one*, (viz: significavit for Grindall, Dec. 18, 1559, directing confirmation and consecration, and in regular form,) and subject to the following corrections;—Ely, Cox, significavit, date should be Dec. 18, (not 23,) 1559, (R. xv. 552.)—Canterbury, Parker, second significavit, the word 'electo' should be inserted before 'Herefordensi,' in the description of Scory, (R. xv. 540.)—Hereford, Scory, significavit, the name spelt rightly, Scory, (not Story,) and the clause directing consecration not inserted, (R. xv. 551.) Barlow, Chichester, significavit, similar clause not inserted, (R. xv. 551.) All these corrections, except that relating to Parker's significavit, are made in the later editions of Rymer.—Further, in the Roll of Summons for 28 Hen. VIII. 'the reading is rather obscure, but seems to be 'T. Meneven.' as given by Rymer,' and in the similar roll of 33 Hen. VIII. which is in good condition, the reading is most plainly T. Meneven. as given by Rymer,' while unfortunately the duplicates of these summons which 'exist for some years about this period, on what are called the Parliament Pawns,' do not exist for these two years.—The date of the Conge d'Elire for Horne is inexplicable; unless my own supposition may be admitted, —that it has been entered upon the rolls of the wrong year. That it is the Conge d'Elire for Horne, appears from its describing the see as vacant 'per legitimam deprivationem ultimi Episcopi ejusdem; scil. of White; while the similar writ for Pilkington is enrolled besides.—It should be added, that although fees were due for the enrollment of the documents relating to a bishop's admission to his see, it does not follow that all the documents were enrolled, for the fee might be taken and the duty omitted, inasmuch as the absence of the enrollment would not in all probability be discovered by any of the parties concerned."—*Bramhall's Works, New Edit. vol. iii. note t on last page of "Preface."*

^c This writ is entered on the rolls of 3 Eliz. which would 1561. The year is not given in the document itself.

NOTE C.

ON THE BOOK CALLED "DE ANTIQUITATES BRITANNIÆ."

The book called "*Antiquitates Britannie*" is so important a feature in this controversy, that we shall make no apology for giving in this note large extracts upon the subject, from Archbishop Bramhall, and his recent excellent editor, Mr. Haddan. The first says; "Christian reader, whereas there is mention made in this treatise of a book, entituled *Antiquitates Britannie*, printed first at London, in Latin, by John Day, the Queen's printer, in the year 1572, and re-printed at Hannow [Hanover] in the year 1605,—be pleased to take notice of these two things :

"First, that it is not material to our present controversy, whether Archbishop Parker himself, or his domestic chaplain, John Jocelyn, were the author of that book; or perhaps the chaplain author of the Archbishop's life, (as a subject more proper for his pen than his master's,) and the Archbishop himself of all the other lives. This is undoubtedly true, that it was written at the Archbishop's charge and by his appointment, and was approved and authorised by himself, and published to the world three years before his death.

"Secondly, that since the publishing of this treatise, I have found in the library of my kind friend, Mr. Michael Honnywood, (whom I name on purpose, that they may view it who have a desire,) an old translation (as the character itself doth testify sufficiently) of the last of those seventy lives (namely, of Archbishop Parker himself) into English, which doth more concern this cause than all the rest; printed in the year 1574, that is, two years after the first edition of "*Antiquitates Britannie*, one year before the death of Archbishop Parker, thirty years before this abortive fable was hatched, and forty years before Mr. Mason's book was printed.

"Who translated it, and who printed it, is unknown; neither of them durst avouch it: but this is evident by his mistranslations, and by the title, (wherein he wisheth, that as Austin was the first, so Matthew might be the last, Archbishop of Canterbury,) and by his marginal notes every where, (as for instance, where he scoffeth at our 'Poope holy' orders,) that the translator was a most virulent adversary both of Archbishop Parker and of the Church of England. Yet notwithstanding his snarling humor, where it is related in Archbishop Parker's life, how he was 'consecrated by four bishops according to the law,' and how all the other bishops were legally consecrated by him, this Rabshakeh stands, like the picture of Silence in a heathenish temple, with his finger in his mouth, and was not able to contradict it, who, you may be sure, would

have made good sport with the Nag's-head ordination, if any such thing had been heard of in those days.

"The use I make of this is double.—First, it sheweth undeniably, that the legal consecration of our Protestant bishops was published to the world, in print, both in Latin and English, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; and could not be contradicted then by the greatest adversaries of our Church. Secondly, that the exception, which the English Non-conformists in those days did take to our Episcopal orders, was not the want of consecration, but legal consecration itself; upon which ground, this translator nick-named them 'Poope holy' orders."—*Works, New Edit. vol. iii. pp. 11 to 14.*

Upon this passage Mr. Haddan has favored us with several learned notes; two of which we shall take the liberty of transcribing. The first relates to the authenticity of the *Antiquitates*.

"Le Quien and Harduin have questioned the genuineness of the edition of this book," *the Antiquitates*, "in 1572; but with an entire ignorance of the state of the case, and upon almost childish pretences. The evidence of its genuineness consists;—1. in the quotation of it by a chain of authors,—from the Puritan 'Lyfe,' (mentioned in note f below,) in 1574, Powell in 1583, Thynne in Hollinshead in 1585, Camden in 1586, Cujas in 1589, and eight others at similar intervals to 1610, (see the references in Drake's Preface to his last edition of the book, London, fol. 1729;) 2. in the known existence, in 1724, of twenty-one copies of it, thirteen containing the life of Parker, 50 being the number originally printed, (see a list of their then owners, in a letter of Drake's, in Couray. Def. de la Diss., Pr. Just. art. xii. dated Nov. 15, 1724,) and some of them MS. notes and entries of considerably earlier date than 1605, (e. g. a presentation copy to the Earl of Arundel from Parker himself, now in the Cotton Library, and another, now in the Bodleian Library, presented '5th Januarii 1593,' to Richard Cosin, by John Parker, the Archbishop's eldest son; and another in the Lambeth Library, which belonged originally to the same John Parker,—the same which passed subsequently into the hands of the Earl of Sunderland,—see an account of it by Dr. Ducarel, in Todd's Acc. of Lamb. MSS. No. 959, and Couray. Def. de la Diss. Pr. Just. art. xiii.; and also see below, p. 123, note g;) 3. in the existence of two letters of Parker's own, one to C. C. C., Cambridge, (printed in Drake, Pref. before quoted,) speaking of the book as his own, the other accompanying a presentation copy, to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, in Append. to Strype's Parker, num. lxxxix.; 4. in the existence among the Cotton manuscripts of the origi-

nal collections, &c. which formed the foundation of the work, and were made by Jocelyn, the Archbishop's secretary, Dr. Yale, and others, (see Strype, Parker, bk. iv. c. 23 ;—Plantas, Catalogue of Cotton MSS.) And this evidence in part applies to the life of Parker in particular, as well as to the book in general. Against it, objectors have nothing to urge but a difficulty about the death of Parker being mentioned in a book, written by himself,—the fact being that it is not mentioned, (see below, p. 121, note z,) a mistake or misprint in Stow's Annals, p. 639, ed. 1615,—'Barlow, Bishop of *Chester*, instead of Chichester, in 1559, Abp. Parker describing his see correctly,—and the rarity of the book, with the differences between the various copies of it, which are sufficiently explained by the account given of the mode of its publication, and by Parker's great reluctance to publish it, (see his letter to Cecil just quoted.) It should be added, that the Register or Table described below, p. 122, is expressly described and quoted in the Puritan Life, in 1574, towards the end of the 2nd Part."

The description of a Register or Table just referred to, as at page 122 of the 3d vol. of Bramhall's Works, is by that prelate himself,—we copy it from his text.—

"The author," i. e. of the *Antiquitates*, "undertaketh to write the lives of seventy Archbishops of Canterbury, from Austin to Matthew Parker; and having premitted some general observations 'concerning the antiquity' of Christian religion in Brittany, with the 'names of some Archbishops of London,' and 'the original and changes of Episcopal sees in England,' and some other generalities concerning 'the privileges of the see of Canterbury,' and the conversion of Kent, just before he enters upon the life of St. Austin, the first Archbishop, he presenteth the reader with a summary view of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, at that time when the book was first printed, in the year 1572; with the names of all the bishops of the province at that time, their countries, their arms, both of their sees and of their families, their respective ages, their universities, their degrees in the schools, with the times of their several consecrations, if they were ordained bishops, or confirmations, if they were translated from another see. It is hardly possible for the wit of man to contrive more matter into a lesser room. Then he sets down a like table for the province of York; and lastly, an alphabetical catalogue of the bishops, whose lives were described in this book, and among the rest, Archbishop Parker, whose life (if you call it 'foisting') is 'foisted' out of this Hannow edition. If this hath 'no connexion or affinity

with that which goeth before and followeth after.' I know not what connexion or affinity is.

"Your friend's last exception against the authority of that book, called *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, is that it containeth more things done after Matthew Parker had written that book. So you confess, that Archbishop Parker himself (about whom all our controversy is) was the author of that book, wherein I agree with you. The conclusion of the preface, and many other reasons, invite me to do so. Surely this author meant, that there is something contained in this register, which is not within the compass of the following lives in the Hannow edition, (that may well be, because Matthew Parker's life is foisted out in this edition;) but there is nothing which was not in the London edition, much more largely than it is in this register, especially for the confirmations and consecrations of our Protestant bishops: there is nothing after the time when this register was made, which is prefixed in the frontispiece of it in the Hannow edition, with M. P. for Matthew Parker. Matthew Parker died May the 27th, [17th,] anno 1575; he printed his book at London, three years before his death, without the author's name, in the year 1572. I appeal to the ingenuous reader, (let him be of what communion he will, or never so full of prejudice,) whether it be credible, that Archbishop Parker's own book should be printed in London by the Queen's printer, in his lifetime, and have any thing foisted unto it contrary to his sense."—*Bramhall's Works, New Edit. vol. iii. pp. 122, 123, 124.*

To the words "M. P. for Matthew Parker," in this passage, Mr. Haddan has appended the following note, which is the same to which he refers in the note we have copied above, as "p. 123, note g."

"The last date in the abovementioned table or register, (whether in the editions of 1572 or 1605,) is that of the consecration of Edmund Freake to the see of Rochester, 9 March, 1571, (i. e. 1571—2.) A list of kings and contemporary archbishops, which occurs likewise in many copies of the edition of 1572, but is not in the Hannow edition, extends to Abp. Parker inclusive as printed, but with the addition in MS. of Grindall and Whitgift, and no more in one copy in the Bodleian; as is the case also with a list of Cambridge bishops, in the account of Cambridge University, which is added to most of the copies of the edit. of 1572, in that preserved in the Merton Library. These may be added to the multiplied proofs of the absurdity of supposing the edition of 1572 to have been a forgery of 1605. Further, May 27, in the text, is a misprint or mistake for May 17; the day on which the Archbishop really

died, (Strype's Parker, bk. iv. c. 44.) And lastly, the table in question contains several errors, one or two in common with the life of Parker itself, others either obvious misprints, or as obviously arising from carelessness."

We now turn to the second note of Mr. Haddan, which we promised our readers upon page 69. It relates to the Puritan "Lyfe" of Parker, which Bramhall saw in Honnywood's library, and is as follows:

X "The book meant is a translation, not of the life of Parker in the De Antiq. Brit. Eccl. but of another life of him, (in many passages substantially the same,) contained in a little Latin book, belonging to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 'called *Historiola*, being a MS. declaring briefly the History of the Foundation and the successive masters of that College,' (of which Parker was one;) writ by the Archbishop's own directions, about the year 1569, and still preserved with great esteem in the College," (Strype, Parker, book iv. c. 42;—there are two copies of the MS. in C. C. C. Library, the older of them in the hand-writing of Jocelyn;—see Master's Hist. of C. C. C. p. 113, edit. Lamb.) It is entitled, 'The Lyfe of the 70 Archbishopp off Canterbury, presentlye sittinge Englished, and to be added to the 69 lately sett forth in Latin;—this numbere off seventy is so compleat a number, as it is a great pitie ther shold be one more; but that as Augustin was the first, so Mathew might be the last, imprinted 1574,' no place or name; and contains,—1, 'Historiola, or a Little Story of the Actes and Life of Mathew, now Archbishope of Canterb.' 2, a virulent invective against the De Antiq. Brit. Eccl. (of which the author had seen a copy without the life of Parker,) headed, 'To the Christian Reader, peace with CHRISTE and war with Antechriste,'—it is a little duodecimo pamphlet in an old character, (Dutch, according to Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. c. 983, ed. Bliss.) The supposed author was Dr. Aldrich, Master of C. C. College, from 1569 until his ejection by Parker's means, in 1573, 'for notorious non-conformity,' and frequent violations of the College statutes, (Le Neve; Strype, Parker, bk. iv. cc. 27, 42;—Lindsay, Pref. to Mason's Vindic. p. 95, note o;—Wood Fasti T. i. col. 172, ed. Bliss;) but Strype, although he allows that Aldrich was probably 'privy' to the transaction, inclines rather to attribute the pamphlet to John Stubbs, the same who lost his right-hand 'not many years after, for bold and rebellious writing,' (Parker, bk. iv. c. 42.) Baker, the antiquarian, also acquits Aldrich, because the translation in question is made from a copy of the *Historiola* belonging to the University Library at Cambridge, not from those belonging to C. C. C. (Master's Account of Benet Coll. Life of Aldrich.)—*Ibid*, p. 12, note f.

ESSAY III.

THE NAG'S HEAD FABLE.

THE Nag's-head fable, is a story, first published early in the seventeenth century, that the Anglican bishops, in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, were not consecrated; but passed through a profane parody of consecration, at a tavern called the Nag's-head, in Cheapside. Mr. Kenrick wishes his readers to believe this story, although he declines to say that he believes it himself. One of his chapters is entitled, "General observations, on the story of the Nag's-head consecration." It contains five observations, of which we give the first entire.

"I do not undertake to establish the truth of the Nag's-head consecration; but merely to examine whether it be so entirely destitute of probability or proof, as has been pretended; and whether the vindicators of Catholic faith who publicly avowed their belief in its reality, at a period when they had better opportunities of ascertaining the truth than we now can possibly be supposed to have,—were imposed on by an absurd tale. Hence, if the Nag's-head consecration be disproved, the only consequence to be inferred is, that these latter were mistaken; it by no means follows that Parker was consecrated, which is a fact to be proved—like all other facts—by positive evidence; and is not established, by the confutation of the extraordinary event that forms the subject of this inquiry." p. 77.

We agree with our author that the disproving the Nag's-head fable, will not prove that Parker was consecrated. We therefore commenced by proving Parker's consecration at Lambeth, producing the evidence, and answering all the objections to that evidence. We are now about to shew the falsity of the Nag's-head story; and as a commencement we examine the "General observations" of our author. In so doing we remark that the proof of Parker's consecration, renders the travesty at the Nag's-head of all things the most

absurd and improbable; and that without reference to the character of the actors. Let them be what they might, if they were, or expected to be, consecrated bishops, nothing can be more unlikely than that they would indulge in the coarse and ridiculous horse-play imputed to them by the authors of the Nag's-head fable.

The first "General observation" of Mr. Kenrick we have given above, and we need only remark upon it, that it takes singularly low ground, representing the object of the writer to be "to examine whether it," the tale, "be so entirely destitute of probability or proof as has been pretended and whether" those "who publicly avowed their belief in its reality were imposed upon by an absurd tale."

The second "General observation" is that we must not think the story improbable "because Protestant clergyman set a high value on orders."

"But we must remember that we have not to judge of our contemporaries, but of Parker, and his compeers, who publicly avowed their disbelief in the efficacy of the imposition of hands;^d and who, by the violation of their solemn vows to God, by their duplicity, and the total want of principle which appears in their whole conduct have shown that they were capable of even still more serious profanations than that laid to their charge." p. 78.

Now as to the disbelief of "Parker and his compeers" in the efficacy of the imposition of hands, it is enough to refer to what has been said, to the Articles, and the Homilies, which were their work, and to the Ordinal which they sanctioned. As to their moral character, it is not now to be affected by slanderous declamation; and our author himself attempts nothing more.

The third "General observation," relates to the improbability of a consecration having been intended to take place at a tavern. This objection, he answers, by saying that "manners are not precisely the same now as they were two hundred and eighty years ago." This is true, but every body

^d See Chapter II., Kenrick.

knows that it is because *less* attention is now paid to external decorum. He then slips out of sight the fact that the alleged meeting was for the purpose of consecrating bishops, and talks of meetings of distinguished persons "clerical and lay" in London taverns, which for some purposes are certainly common enough. He next tells us that the Protestant writers, who have denied the Nag's-head consecration, have admitted that the Prelates did actually *dine* at the Nag's-head tavern. An admission which if made would help his case but little. How would the fact of their using the tavern for its proper purpose, shew that they had designed to use it as a church? How would it prove either a consecration of bishops or an intent to consecrate them there? But the admission has not, as we suppose, been made; for the dinner spoken of by the writers, whom Mr. Kenrick cites, was given not to the prelates, but to the *civilians* or lawyers concerned in the ceremony of confirming Parker's election. Grindall, Sandys, Jewell and Horn, the four bishops named as having been at the Nag's-head for the purpose of consecration, had no earthly business there, and have never been admitted to have been there. Parker was not present at the confirmation, and therefore probably not at the dinner. This "General observation" winds up with the following passage:

"Dr. Heylin repeats the same thing, almost in the same language:— 'But to proceed,' says he, 'unto the consecration of the new Archbishop the first thing to be done after the passing of the royal assent for ratifying of the election of the dean and chapter, was the confirming of it in the court of Arches, according to the usual form in that behalf: which being accordingly performed, the Vicar General, the Dean of the Arches, the proctors and officers of the court, whose presence was required at this solemnity, were entertained at a dinner provided for them at the Nag's-head in Cheapside; for which, though Parker paid the shot, (that is, the reckoning,) yet shall the Church be called to an after-reckoning.' The Doctor then gives a minute account of the supposed consecration of the 17th of December, after which he says, that after the ceremony 'there was a plentiful dinner for the entertainment of the company which resorted thither. Amongst whom Charles Howard (eldest son of Wil-

liam Lord Effingham, created afterwards Lord Admiral, and Earl of Nottingham,) happened to be one, and after testified to the truth of all these particulars, when the reality and form of this consecration was called in question by some captious sticklers for the Church of Rome.

"For so it was, that some sticklers for the Church of Rome, having been told of the dinner which was made at the Nag's-head tavern, at such time as the election of the new Archbishop was confirmed in the Arches, raised a report that the Nag's-head tavern was the place of consecration. And this report was countenanced by another slander, causing it to be noised abroad, and published in some seditious pamphlets, that the persons designed by the Queen, for several bishoprics, being met at a tavern, did then and there lay hands on one another without form or order.'^e

"We may here remark the important fact, which this last extract from Heylin lets out; namely, that the Nag's-head consecration, instead of being first published fifty years after the event, as Protestant writers maintain, was noised abroad and published in some seditious pamphlets soon after the fact occurred. If it was not thought of until fifty years afterwards, how could Parker's dinner at Cheapside have been, as it confessedly was, the 'small foundation of the story?' " pp. 79, 80, 81.

The reader perceives that Heylin is produced to prove that the Nag's-head consecration, instead of being first published fifty years after the event, was "noised abroad and published in some seditious pamphlets, *soon after the facts occurred.*" He also perceives that the words we have italicised are not in Heylin. But will it be believed that Heylin in a few lines gives a contradiction of them? We give the whole passage from his book.

"But to proceed unto the consecration of the new archbishop, the first thing to be done after the passing the royal assent for ratifying of the election of the dean and chapter, was the confirming it in the Court of Arches according to the usual form in that behalf; which being accordingly performed, the Vicar General, the Dean of the Arches, the proctors and officers of the court, whose presence was required at this solemnity, were entertained at a dinner provided for them at the Nag's-Head tavern in Cheapside; for which although Parker paid the shot, yet shall the Church be called to an after-reckoning. Nothing remains to expedite

^e History of Queen Elizabeth, p. 121, 122.

the consecration but the royal mandate, which I find dated on the sixth of December, directed to Anthony Kitchen, Bishop of Llandaff, William Barlow, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, Lord elect of Chichester, John Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, Lord elect of Hereford; Miles Coverdale, late Bishop of Exeter, John Hodgkins, Suffragan of Bedford, John ———, Suffragan of Thetford; and John Bale, Bishop of Ossory in the Realm of Ireland, requiring them or any four of them at the least to proceed unto the consecration of the Right Reverend Matthew Parker, lately elected to the Metropolitan See of Canterbury. The first and the two last either hindered by sickness, or by some other lawful impediment, were not in a condition to attend the service; which notwithstanding was performed by the other four on Sunday, the 17th of that month, according to the Ordinal of King Edward the VI. then newly printed for that purpose. The ceremony was performed in the Chapel at Lambeth House, the east end whereof was hanged with rich tapestry, and the floor covered with red cloth; the morning service was read by Peerson, the Archbishop's Chaplain, the sermon preached by Dr. Scory, Lord elect of Hereford, on those words of St. Peter, 'The elders which are among you I exhort,' &c., 1 Peter, v. 1. The letters patent for proceeding to the consecration publicly read by Dr. Vale, the act of consecration legally performed by the imposition of the hands of the said four bishops, according to the ancient canons and King Edward's Ordinal; and after all a plentiful dinner for the entertainment of the company which resorted thither; amongst whom Charles Howard (eldest son of William Lord Effingham, created afterwards Lord Admiral and Earl of Nottingham,) happened to be one; and after testified to the truth of all these particulars, when the reality and form of this consecration was called in question by some captious sticklers for the Church of Rome.

"For so it was that some sticklers for the Church of Rome having been told of the dinner which was made at the Nag's-head tavern at such time as the election of the new Archbishop was confirmed in the Arches, raised a report that the Nag's-head tavern was the place of consecration. And this report was countenanced by another slander, causing it to be noised abroad, and published in some seditious pamphlets, that the persons designed by the Queen for the several bishopricks being met at a tavern, did then and there lay hands upon one another without form or order. The first calumny fathered upon one Neal, once Hebrew Reader in the University of Oxford, and chaplain unto Bishop Bomer; which last relation were sufficient to discredit the whole tale, if there were no other evidence to disprove the same. *And yet the silence*

of ALL Popish writers concerning this Nag's-head consecration during the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, when it had been most material for them to have insisted upon it, as much discrediteth the whole figment as the author of it. The latter published by Dr. Nicholas Slanders, (never more truly Dr. Slanders than in that particular) in His pestilent and seditious book entitled '*De Schismate Anglicano*,' whose frequent falsehoods make him no fit author to be built upon in any matter of importance. Yet on the credit of these two, but on the first especially, the tale of the Nag's-head consecration being once taken up, was generally exposed to sale, as one of the most vendible commodities in the writings of some Romish priests and Jesuits; as Champney, Fitzsimmons, Parsons, Kellison, &c."

Mr. Kenrick's copy of Heylin differs from the one to which we have access. [3d Edit., folio, London 1674.] He quotes from pp. 121, 122. We find the passage in the copy before us at pp. 293, 294.

Upon this passage in Heylin we remark, that he is mistaken in supposing the statement he mentions is in Sanders; both Dr. Fuller and he have been deceived by the assertion of Kellison; but Mason denied the existence of any such passage more than two centuries ago, and it has never been pointed out. It seems to be admitted by Mr. Kenrick that "perhaps it is not" in the book on English schism, If it were we should be left in no doubt on the subject. Besides the existence of such a statement is disproved, by admissions, inconsistent with the story, in that very book. In one place he has this passage:

"Elizibetha quidem ita hæc [officia] per literas patentes conferebat, ut tamen oportuerit eos, quibus collata erant, a certis personis ac ritu etiam certo, secundum leges regni ordinari. *Sanderus de Schism. Ang. lib. 3, p. 349*—quoted by *Cowayer, p. 34 in note, N. T. p. 45*. Elizabeth indeed conferred these offices by letters patent, yet so as those who were thus collated, were required to be ordained by certain persons and a certain rite, according to the laws of the kingdom.

And again:

"Decrevit ne quisquam electus in episcopum bullas pontificas seu mandatum Apostolicum de consecratione requireret, sed regium tantum

diploma adferret, secundum quod a tribus episcopis cum consensu metropolitani ordinatis, jubeatur, lege comitiorum facta ad imitationem antiquorum canonum, esse verus episcopus, nec alio modo ordinatum pro episcopo agnosci oportere. *Sanderus de Schismate Anglicano, lib. 3, p. 348, quoted by Courayer, p. 59, in note, N. T. p. 66.* Thus translated in the text: "It is ordered that no person elected a bishop should obtain pontifical bulls or Apostolical mandates for consecration, but should only exhibit the King's mandate; according to which he being ordained by three bishops with the consent of the metropolitan, by act of parliament, in conformity to the ancient canons, he is to be reputed a true bishop; nor was any one otherwise ordained to be acknowledged as such."

The fourth "General observation" relates to the difficulty of obtaining consecration, which difficulty we have shewn did not exist, and we have also proved that a solemn consecration did actually take place.

The fifth "General observation" is that "no opinion or expression of contempt, can invalidate the *testimony* of good and faith-worthy witnesses, who either testified what they had seen, or bore evidence to what they had heard from those who were eye witnesses of the affair, or who attest the public belief of its *credibility*," pp. 83, 84. This is all very true, except that expressions of contempt, will prove that the public do not believe the story, to which they are applied. No man speaks contemptuously of that, which his contemporaries know to be true. But the proper answer is that no such witnesses have been produced; as shall presently be shewn.

We now proceed to the examination of the story of the Nag's-Head consecration; if the word may be so applied without profanity. It has appeared in several different shapes, growing, like other Romish traditions, from very small beginnings, into a shape quite different from that in which it first appeared. This is asserted upon the assumption that the story attributed to Constable, is really what the Romanists say it is, the most ancient version of the tale. The particular statement which Mr. Kenrick has chosen to

adopt, is that of Champney, which we shall now give in his [Mr. K.'s] own words.

“At the Nag’s-head, in Cheapside, by accorded appointment, met all those that were nominated to bishoprics; thither came also the old bishop of Llandaff, to make them bishops; which being known to Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, then prisoner, he sent unto the bishop of Llandaff, forbidding him, under pain of excommunication, to exercise any such power within his diocese, as to ordain those men. Wherewith the old bishop being terrified, and besides also moved in his own conscience, refused to proceed in that action; alleging, chiefly, for reason of his forbearance, his want of sight: which excuse they interpreting to be an evasion, they were much moved against the poor old man. And whereas, hitherto, they had used him with all courtesy and respect, they then changed their copy; reviling him, and calling him ‘doating fool,’ and the like: some of them saying, ‘This old fool thinketh we cannot be bishops, unless we be greased,’—to the disgrace as well of him, as of the Catholic manner of episcopal consecration. Being notwithstanding thus deceived in their expectation, and having no other means to come to their desire, they resolve to use Master Scory’s help, who having borrowed the name of bishop in King Edward’s time, was thought to have sufficient power to perform that office, especially in such strait necessity. He having cast off, together with his religious habit, all scruple of conscience, did the thing quickly, which he performed in this sort.—Having the Bible in his hand, they all kneeling before him, he laid it upon every one of their heads or shoulders, saying, ‘*Take thou authority to preach the word of God sincerely,*’ and so they rose up bishops. This whole narration, without adding or detracting any word pertaining to the substance of the matter, I have heard oftener than once, of Master Thomas Bluett, a grave, learned, and judicious priest; he having received it of Master Neal, a man of good sort and reputation, sometime reader of the Hebrew Lecture in Oxford; but when this matter passed, was belonging to Bishop Bonner, and sent by him to deliver the message before mentioned to the bishop of Llandaff, and withal to attend there to see the end of the business. Again Mr. Bluett had other good means to be informed of this matter, being a long time prisoner with Dr. Watson, bishop of Lincoln, and other men of note of the ancient clergy, in whose time, and in whose sight, one may say the matter was done. This was related to me by Master Bluett in Wisbech castle.’ In the Paris edition of 1618, this last circumstance is thus mentioned. ‘And of this

narration, there are now as many witnesses as there are priests living, who were captives for the faith in the aforesaid castle of Wisbech, with the aforesaid Master Bluett, in which place I also had it from him."† *pp.* 85, 86.

This is the account which our author adopts, but he supports it by the publication of two earlier statements. Of these that which is said to be the oldest, and which bears some internal evidence of having been the germ of the whole story, was first published by Champney himself, in the very book from which we have, on the authority of Mr. Kenrick, just given an extract. He attributes it to one, whom he calls "that learned and noble man, Henry Constable," and gives it, as we learn from Mr. K., in these words :

"Parker was ordained by at most two heretic priests, not bishops. If indeed Barlow assisted Scory in that action; which I indeed know not (*quod me quidem latet.*) But that old man the bishop of Llandaff, who was brought to the place designed for the consecration of Parker and the rest, pretended to have lost the use of his eyes, lest he should commit so great a sacrilege. Whence it happened, that they recurred to Scory, of whom before they had not thought. Which not only [Roman] Catholics of most unquestionable integrity, who were eye-witnesses of the affair, testify, but also John Stowe is witness of the same, who diligently inquired into all the circumstances of this action, although he feared to relate them in his Chronicle."‡ *pp.* 91, 92.

Concerning this statement, it may be remarked; first, that it names no place, and the scene may as well have been at Lambeth, as at the Nag's-head. Secondly, it speaks of a solemn consecration, and not of a profane foolery, as Champney does; and it objects to that consecration only for want of the episcopal character in Scory and Barlow. Thirdly, that it was written by a man very ill informed in the matter, for he alleges that Scory had not been thought of previously to the refusal of the Bishop of Llandaff, whereas the record of the 9th September, 1559, which Mr. Kenrick admits to be genuine and above all suspicion, shews that Scory was thought of from

† Champney, p. 499.

‡ Champnaei De Vocatione Ministrorum Tractatus, p. 501—502.

the first. Fourthly, that the statement is made to rest upon certain confidential communications of Stowe, the Chronicler, to certain unnamed persons. It will be perceived, that the story relates not only to the consecration of Parker, but of others. Now, one of the bishops whose names are always connected with the profanation in Cheapside, when any body is named, is Grindall. We have already seen that Stowe, in his History of London, mentions the solemn consecration of Grindall by Parker in December, agreeably to Parker's Register. The statement of Constable is then of very little value, and whatever it be worth, it does not support the Nag's-head story. On the contrary we believe that whoever carefully considers it, will come to the conclusion that the author had never heard of that story.

There is another account of the Nag's-head consecration, which is really the first published, and which Mr. K. inserts in support of Champney's tale. It is by Holliwod, a Jesuit, who wrote under the translated name of *De Sacro Bosco*. Mr. Kenrick gives it to us as follows :

"Of Mr. Jewell's being a bishop we have not so much certainty: yea, we have no certainty at all: for, who, I pray you, made him? Who gave him his jurisdiction? Who imposed hands on him? What orders had they? What bishops were they? It is true that both he, Sands, Scory, Horn, Grindall, and others, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, met at the Nag's-head in Cheapside, (a fit sign for such a sacrament) and being disappointed of the [Roman] Catholic bishop of Llandaff, who should have been there to consecrate them, they dealt with Scory of Hereford, to do so; who, when they were all on their knees, caused John Jewell to rise up Bishop of Salisbury, and him that was Robert Horn before, to rise up bishop of Winchester, and so forth with all the rest." p. 87.

It is remarkable that the name of Parker, the first in place, and in all respects the most important person, does not occur in this version, any more than in Champney's; and it is almost equally so, that in the very next page Mr. Kenrick quietly assumes that it does. It is also remarkable that it says nothing of the presence of the Bishop of Llandaff, or of

the coarse abuse, which Champney attributes to the intended bishops, or of the mode of consecration. All these circumstances were not yet invented. The mode in which the Bishop of Llandaff is spoken of strongly implies his absence, and so far is a contradiction of Champney. Another Romish account of the matter is that of Fitzsimons, to which Mr. Kenrick refers, but prudently enough, does not print it because it will be found to contradict Champney, in no less than three particulars. Yet it professes to have come from the same author, Neale. According to this story, which has been printed by Dr. Elrington, *p.* 59, the Bishop of Llandaff was not present, which is one contradiction. The author states that the intended bishops applied to him for consecration, which he refused; that they then applied to the nameless Irish archbishop, whom some intermediate writer, followed by Mr. Kenrick, has converted into Dr. Creagh. He also refusing, they appointed the meeting at the tavern for the express purpose of being consecrated by Scory. A second contradiction is that, while Champney makes the act of consecration to have consisted in laying the Bible on the head or shoulders of the candidate; Fitzsimons makes it to have consisted in the consecrator taking the candidate, while on his knees, by the hand and telling him to rise up Lord Bishop of such a place. The third contradiction is that Fitzsimons says Neale, whom he makes his author, came from Oxford to see the mock consecration. Champney says that he was sent by Boner from the Tower to prevent Kitchen from officiating. One or other of the stories is false; yet both profess to rest on the authority of Neale. The mention of Oxford reminds us that Neale was about this time appointed Professor of Hebrew at Oxford by Queen Elizabeth.^b From which we may safely infer that his connexion with Boner was at an end, and that he was not likely to be acting against the Queen's wishes in the matter of the consecration.

^b *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. i. 250.

The discrepancies of the story are not yet ended. Hollinwood, who was the original publisher, if not the inventor of the fiction, has given two accounts of it; one in 1603, which we have copied from Mr. Kenrick, and which agrees with Fitzsimons, that the Bishop of Llandaff was not present; the other in 1604, which speaks of him as present and deterred from taking a part by the menaces of Boner, and speaks of the abuse bestowed upon him by the candidates, though with less of detail than Champney, and for all this he also vouches Neale.¹ By this time we think that the reader will have perceived that the "good and faith-worthy witnesses, who either testified to what they had seen, or bore witness to what they had heard from those who were eye-witnesses," of whom Mr. Kenrick speaks, have no existence. They are all repeaters, at some second or third hand, of inconsistent accounts of an improbable transaction. Champney's ornamented version of the story is so unsupported by the others that it must fall to the ground, and the plainer tale of Hollinwood is that to which our attention must be chiefly directed. We shall hereafter abundantly prove its falsehood, but must first turn our attention to the mode in which Mr. Kenrick attempts to support Champney, by evidence of a date yet later than the publication of his tale; forgetting, we suppose, the rule which he had laid down on page 65, that the evidence of all repeaters of a story is to be rejected; or perhaps considering that as a rule applicable only to Protestants.

The first of these in point of date is Pitsæus, whose work is nearly contemporary with that of Champney, and who it appears retails the story as he heard it, at second hand, from one of the hearers of Neale. We are not favored with details, or perhaps we might discover new discrepancies. The next is Godwin, of about the same period, the amount of whose testimony is, that Parker was consecrated at

¹ Elrington, 51, 52—cites *De Sacro Bosco, De Investiganda Christi Ecclesia*, ch. 4.—See the passage, in the Addendum to Essay V.

Lambeth, although the Romish writers whom he names say otherwise.

But his great authorities are two Romish works published in 1657 and 1659, a century after the fact, alleging two most extraordinary admissions by Protestant prelates. One of these works relates, on the authority of Holliwood, a conversation between Bancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and a Mr. Alabaster. It is said that Alabaster asked Bancroft, "how Parker and his colleagues, were consecrated bishops?" to which Bancroft replied, "I hope that in case of necessity a priest may ordain bishops." "The allusion," says Holliwood, "was evidently intended for Scory, the consecrator at the Nag's-head." It is very clear that this conversation must have been mutilated, in the course of its passage from Bancroft to us, which does not seem to have been very direct. Bancroft's answer does not fit Alabaster's question. It is possible that in the course of a conversation, begun by Alabaster's inquiry, Bancroft may have used the words imputed to him, but not as an answer to that question. Even if they were used as an answer to that question, they do not connect themselves with the Nag's-head story more than with the Lambeth record. Holliwood's conjecture, that the allusion was to Scory, is unfounded. Scory, was certainly regarded by Bancroft as a bishop, and not as a mere priest. The *fact* of Scory's consecration is undoubted, though Romanists deny its *validity*, upon Romish grounds; which neither Bancroft nor any other Protestant would admit for a moment.

The other story is stranger still. A book, it seems, was brought into parliament by certain Presbyterian Lords, to prove that the bishops had no right to seats in the house, because they had never been consecrated. To this, Morton, Bishop of Durham, "in the name and with the assent of the whole bench," replied in a speech in which "he endeavours to prove their succession from the last [Roman] Catholic bishops who," says he, "by imposition of hands, ordained

the first Protestant bishops *at the Nag's-head in Cheapside*, as was notorious to all the world." p. 92. Now, if the five italicised words are left out of this speech, it is a denial of the whole story; and with them, it does not tally with any other account of the alleged transaction at the Nag's-head. According to this statement, it was not Scory, the heretic priest, the usurping bishop under Edward; but "the last [Roman] Catholic bishops" who performed the rite. The rite itself, was not laying a book on the heads of the candidates, or taking them by the hands, but the ancient and truly Catholic rite of imposition of hands. Now, if all this be true, it matters not where it was done. A tavern is not a very proper place for a consecration; but would not a formal consecration, by an authorised consecrator, be valid, even although performed in a tavern? But suppose that the words "Nag's-head in Cheapside," are to supersede all the rest of the speech, and Bishop Morton is to become one of the patrons of Holliwood's story; who will then believe one word of the tale? Bishop Morton, one of the most distinguished divines of the reigns of James I. and Charles I.; who was consecrated in 1616, only three years after the publication of Mason's book, and that by the same Abbot who shewed the Lambeth record to the priests; who must therefore have been perfectly acquainted with the whole controversy; he gravely rests his claim to the episcopate, upon the transaction at the Nag's-head! A transaction, the reality of which he must have known that all the divines of his day denied; a transaction, to disprove which, according to the Romanists, those with whom his life had been spent had committed forgery! And the whole bench of bishops unite in his folly and allow him to state, in their name, that which they had spent their lives in denying; to state as the proof of their title, that which their adversaries had alleged to destroy their title! These things are impossible and therefore cannot be believed, although twenty Lord Audleys had sworn to them. Yet we are called on to believe them;

because an anonymous author has thought fit to publish a document, purporting to be an affidavit of Lord Audley ; but which is in substance a sort of misty argument against the details of Bishop Morton's denial. For those details we care nothing. We oppose to all Lord Audley's arguments the impossibility of the alleged fact. To his assertion we oppose Bishop Morton's denial.

"I do hereby in the Presence of ALMIGHTY GOD solemnly protest and declare to all the world, that what this Author there affirms concerning me is a most notorious untruth, and a gross slander ; for to the best of my knowledge and remembrance, no such book, as he there mentions, was ever presented to the Upper House in that or any other Parliament that ever I sat in ; and if there had, I could never have made such a speech as is there pretended, seeing I have ever spoken according to my thoughts, and always believed that fable of the *Nag's-head* Consecration to have proceeded from the Father of lies, as the authentic records of the Church still extant, which were so faithfully transcribed, and published by Mr. *Mason*, do evidently testify."—*Elrington ; Appendix, p. xxxiii.—Post App. No. xvii.*

Mr. Kenrick then proceeds, "briefly to notice all the objections that are usually urged by the advocates of the Anglican orders against the narrative of this extraordinary event." The objections which he "notices" are thirteen in number, to all of which he gives what he conceives to be satisfactory answers. On the first six we deem it unnecessary to observe. They are arguments, more or less cogent, to which he has made answers, more or less satisfactory : but they are arguments which we have not used, and with which we think we can well dispense. So far as the answers have any bearing upon the views which we have taken, they have been as we think, sufficiently observed upon in what we have already written.

The seventh of these objections, is the silence of the Romanists for forty-five years after the event. To this, two answers are given. First, that they were silent, if at all, because they were persecuted. Second ; that in fact they were not silent. Into the question of whether they were perse-

cuted or not we shall not enter; it is certain that, however that matter was, they did speak against the Anglican ordinations and in very vituperative language. This appears from the quotations in our author's own book. Yet he has failed to give us any instance, in which any of them have alluded to the alleged transaction at the Nag's-head. This question he has however examined more at length elsewhere; and the reply to both passages so falls in with the line of argument we intend to adopt, in shewing the falsehood of Holliwood's story, as to make that the most convenient place for stating it.

The eighth objection is that "Kellison, before he mentioned it in his controversy with Sutcliffe, dwelt principally on the want of a due form and not on the want of a consecrating prelate." The answer to this is:

"That it is not unusual for" [Roman] "Catholic writers to omit the discussion of a matter of fact when they have objections which establish their point even on the supposition that the disputed fact actually occurred." *p.* 100.

To this we reply; first; that this is the very first time that we have heard such folly imputed to [Roman] Catholic or indeed to any other writers. It is not unusual under the supposed circumstances to discuss both questions; but we believe it to be very unusual to pass over without allusion, that question which presents, as matters of fact generally do, the shortest, most easily understood, and to common minds, the most satisfactory termination of the controversy. But in his later writings, Kellison does urge this objection, and the inference is irresistible, that if he had known it before, he would have used it before. Now, up to 1608 he did not urge it; after that period he did. We infer therefore, that he did not know of it before it was published by Holliwood in 1603; and we conclude from that inference, that a fact of which Kellison, a distinguished writer among the Romanists, was ignorant, was not generally known and could not have been frequently published.

The ninth objection is "the silence of the Puritans in their disputes with the early English bishops." His answer follows.

"The doctrine of the Anglican church for fifty years after its establishment was, according to Bishop Burnet, that the king's commission sufficed to make a bishop, and that no external ceremony was absolutely necessary. (See Chapter III.) Hence, the point in dispute between them, regarded rather the character of the Episcopal order, than the necessity of Episcopal consecration; about which there was not, according to Burnet's observation, for fifty years after the framing of the articles, any important difference between Anglicans and Presbyterians." *pp.* 100, 101.

To this we reply, firstly, that we have already shewn the falsehood of the assertion, as to the doctrine of the Church, and secondly, that in fact there was a controversy between the Puritans and the Anglicans, about the necessity of Episcopal consecration. In proof of this we refer to the seventh book of Hooker's great work. He gives the definition of a bishop thus:

"A bishop is a minister of GOD, unto whom with permanent continuance there is given not only power of administering the Word and Sacraments, which power other presbyters have; but also a further power, to ordain ecclesiastical persons, and a power of chiefly in government over presbyters, as well as laymen, a power to be by way of jurisdiction a pastor even to pastors themselves. So that this office as he is a presbyter or pastor, consisteth in those things which are common unto him with other pastors, as in ministering the Word and Sacraments: but those things incident unto his office, which do properly make him a bishop, cannot be common unto him with other pastors."—*E. P. VII. ii. 3. Keble's Edit., 1841, vol. iii. p. 148.*

And when he comes to state "in what respects episcopal regiment is gainsaid by the authors of the pretended reformation at this day," he tells us:

"They hold as Aerius did, that if CHRIST and his Apostles were obeyed, a bishop should not be permitted to ordain; that between a presbyter and a bishop the Word of GOD alloweth not any inequality or difference to be made; that their order, their authority, and their power,

ought to be one; that it is but by usurpation and corruption that the one sort are suffered to have rule of the other or to be any way superior to them."—*E. P. VII. x. 1, Keble, vol. iii. p. 203.*

And again, giving his own views of this matter, he says;

"For inasmuch as there are two main things observed in every ecclesiastical function, power to exercise the duty itself, and some charge of people, whereon to exercise the same, the former of these is received at the hands of the whole visible Catholic Church. For it is not any one particular multitude that can give power, the force whereof may reach far and wide indefinitely, as the power of order doth, which whose hath once received, there is no action which belongeth thereunto but he may exercise effectually the same in any part of the world without iterated ordination. *They whom the whole Church hath from the beginning used as her agents in conferring this power, are not either one or more of the laity, and therefore it hath not been heard of that ever any such were allowed to ordain ministers: only persons ecclesiastical, and they, in place and calling, superiors both unto deacons and unto presbyters; only such persons ecclesiastical have been authorised to ordain both, and to give them the power of order in the name of the whole Church. Such were the Apostles, such was Timothy, such was Titus, such are bishops.*"—*E. P. VII. xiv. 10. Keble, vol. iii. pp. 229, 230.*

We think that we have established the existence of a controversy, in which the Presbyterians might fairly enough, have retorted upon the Anglicans, the irregular proceedings at the Nag's-head, had they ever heard of them. But this is not all. Whittingham and Travers, two distinguished Puritans, were actually, at different periods during the reign of Elizabeth, called in question, for officiating without Episcopal ordinations; yet they never mentioned the Nag's-head story. Travers' defence is extant, and querulous enough, but not one word of the tale. See his *supplication to the Council; in Keble's Hooker, vol. iii. p. 552, et seq. N. Y. Ed. vol. ii. p. 329, et seq.* The case of Whittingham is yet more remarkable; he was one of the exiles of the Marian persecution, consequently a contemporary of Parker, and living at the time of the alleged transaction in Cheapside, and in the reign of Elizabeth was Dean of Durham. His orders were questioned by Archbishop San-

dys, or Sandes, one of the bishops said to have undergone a mock consecration at the tavern. Sandys, at his visitation, 1578, summoned Whittingham "to shew his orders or rather no orders that he had received at Geneva." Here seems to be a very fair challenge, to question the no orders received in Cheapside, yet we hear not a word of them. Whittingham was protected by the civil power and managed to protract the proceedings for about six months, at the end of which time he died. Sandys, however, stood up to the question like a man of whose orders there could be no doubt, and wrote to Burleigh in the following bold language :

"If his ministry without authority of GOD or man, without law, order, or example of any church, may be current, take heed of the sequel; who seeth not what is intended? GOD deliver his Church from it. I will never be guilty of it."—*Keble's Hooker*, vol. iii. p. 554 n. 13. N. Y. Ed. vol. ii. p. 332.

The tenth objection is the improbability that Neal would have been permitted to be present; and the eleventh, the improbability that a consecration should take place in a tavern, when the new bishops had all the churches in London at their disposal. The answer to the first, is that Neal might have been present without their consent, to the other that on account of Kitchin's scruples privacy was sought. Now, it was strange to go to seek privacy in a place, where not only strangers, but enemies could be present without their assent! Privacy might have been found, we should have thought, more readily any where than in a tavern. If they sought privacy, they took their measures very badly, for their secret was so little kept, that the time and place of action became known, to Boner in the tower, according to one account, and according to another to Neale at Oxford, time enough to enable him to be present. The two answers refute each other, and probability is against both. There is another improbability connected with Neale's interference, to which we have before alluded, that is, that he had just received from Elizabeth an honorable and advantageous appointment in the University of Oxford, and as he was no

zealot for either church, was not like to be at Boner's command.^k

The twelfth objection is thus stated :

"There was no need to have recourse to the [Roman] Catholic bishops, as there were enough of Protestant bishops to perform the function; namely, Barlow, Hodgskin, Coverdale, Scory, Bale of Ossory, or the Suffragan of Thetford." p. 101.

The answer given to this is that these bishops "had either never been themselves consecrated or had been consecrated according to the ritual of Edward, in either of which cases the Queen would have disregarded their consecration." Now, it is not pretended that recourse was had to the Romish bishops. The consecration was really performed by four of the bishops named; and according to the fabricators of the Nag's-head story by one of them. The Queen did not disregard the consecration. It would have been strange if she had; for as to the "ritual of Edward," she had given her assent to an act, which in Mr. Kenrick's opinion, made it the law of the land, and in 1562, within three years, she assented to the article, which declares it to contain "all things necessary to a valid consecration and ordination." Coverdale, Scory, and Bale had all been consecrated by this ordinal. Barlow, Hodgskin, and the Suffragan of Thetford, by the Romish. We know that Mr. Kenrick denies the *fact* of Barlow's consecration; but it is nevertheless a fact, as in due time we shall prove. Of the *fact* of the other consecrations there is no dispute so far as we know.

The thirteenth and last objection, is that Neale did not depose to the fact on oath. To this it is answered, that Neale's testimony has never been disproved. On the con-

^k But when Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, and he thereupon be-
 beft of his Lord and patron, Boner, he betook himself to Oxon; and in
 1559, he was made the Queen's professor of the Hebrew Lecture.—
Wood, Athenæ Oxon. Art. Thomas Neale, vol. i. c. 250. Kenrick,
p. 205.

trary ; we say that it remains to be proved that Neale ever made any of the statements attributed to him. If he made them all, he has contradicted and discredited himself. Now, there is just as good reason to believe that he made them all, as to believe that he made any one of them. They all remained for about half a century in the form of gossip, if they were not merely the invention of those who published them. None of them are worth any thing as evidence. Mr. Kenrick is so sensible of this, that he quotes, as corroborating testimony, a third hand¹ statement of what one Faircloth, a Romish priest, had heard his father, a Calvinist say, who had been a witness of the strange event. But this is liable to just the same sort of objection ; it is stale and comes through an interested witness ; it looks like the last resource of the priest, who could not deny the authenticity of the Register, which had been shown to him. Moreover there is nothing to account for the presence of this Mr. Faircloth, at a meeting intended, according to the Romish writers, to be strictly private. It being, according to them, absolutely necessary, for the Protestant prelates to keep secret the fact of a consecration ; in virtue of which they were to occupy their sees and govern the Church ! And this secrecy, so manifestly necessary to their objects, they, according to the same Romish writers, preserved, by holding their meeting at a public tavern and permitting all men to come in and look on ! It is an improbable story, contradicting itself, told by interested witnesses, at third hand, incredible by all the rules of evidence.

¹ Mr. Kenrick traces this story of Faircloth no higher than Le Quien, about 160 or 170 years after the alleged transaction at the Nag's-head ; and about 115 or 120 after the date of the younger Faircloth's assertion. But Challoner has been more successful, he quotes it from "The Nullity of the Prelatic Clergy," published in 1659—only one hundred years after the event, and forty-six after the statement of Faircloth. See "Grounds of the Old Religion." 18mo., London, 1820, p. 182. The case must be weak which calls in the aid of such testimony.



ESSAY IV.

BISHOPS JEWEL AND HORNE.

WE are now to disprove the truth of Holliswood's story. Having shewn already, that it is the origin of the Nag's-head fable, and that that tale has really no evidence to entitle it to belief; we are now to shew that its originator has stated absolute falsehoods. The mode in which we shall proceed is this: Holliswood names four bishops, who, as he says, submitted to the profane mockery of consecration, Grindal, Sandes, or as he is more commonly called, Sandys, Jewel, and Horne. We shall prove that these bishops were not consecrated, and were not regarded as bishops, until long after the period which has been fixed on as the date of the Nag's-head profanation. That transaction is said to have taken place in September, 1559. Now as to Grindal, we have already had occasion to shew, both by Stowe, and by Parker's Register, that he was consecrated on the 21st December, 1559, a fact which is also stated by Camden and by other writers. We have shewn, too, that, up to that period, the see of London was considered as vacant, and that Parker, as archbishop, exercised jurisdiction over it as a vacant diocese.—*Ante pp.* 45, 46.

Sandys was consecrated at the same time with Grindal—the consecration took place in pursuance of two of the six writs of significavit, issued to Parker on the 18th December, of which we have before spoken. The existence of these documents, and of the acts of consecration in Parker's Register, seems to be abundant proof of the fact, especially when taken in connexion with the conduct of Sandys, in the matter of Whittingham, and with the absence of any denial of his consecration on that occasion.

The cases of Jewel and Horne, for reasons which will presently appear, require more attention. These prelates

were both consecrated by Parker, the first, several weeks, the latter, many months after his own consecration. This renders it easy to shew that they were not regarded as bishops, for a considerable time after the date assigned by the Romanists to the Nag's-head affair.

To begin with Jewell, the bishop of the elder consecration. The see of Salisbury being vacant, by the death of John Capon, its last Romish bishop, a writ of *conge d'elire* issued on the 27th of July 1559, authorising the dean and chapter to elect a successor. This writ is printed by Rymer, *Tom. xv. p. 537*. It was received by the chapter on the 16th of August; on which day they elected Jewel. These facts are on record in the Registers of the diocese. On the 21st of the same month, as appears by the same Registers, they affixed their seal to the usual certificate of the election. The signification did not, however, issue until the 27th December: it has been printed by Rymer, *Tom. xv. p. 555*. The election was confirmed on the 18th day of January, 1559-60, and on the 21st of the same month he was consecrated, by Parker; Grindal of London, Coxe of Ely, and Hodgkin Suffragan Bishop of Bedford, assisting. Of all which authentic records are extant. That he was not consecrated before that time appears from Parker's Register, which shews the archbishop to have exercised jurisdiction over the vacant diocese of Salisbury, upon the 21st December, and the 16th and 17th of January; and from his own Registers of his episcopal acts, in the dates of which he always reckons the years of his consecration from that time.^m

Such is the evidence of the time and place of Jewel's consecration, which we oppose to the contradictory hearsay statements, professed to have been derived from Neale. There is nothing else extant, which contradicts the evidence we have produced. These documents, then, overthrow the Nag's-head fable. But Mr. Kenrick thinks proper to assert, that Jewel, in his controversy with Harding, admitted the truth of Harding's assertion that he had never been conse-

^m See *post* Appendix, No. xxviii.

crated. The facts, according to Mr. Kenrick's account, are these : Harding, in his "Confutation of the Apology for the Church of England," has these expressions :

"You bear yourself as though you were Bishop of Salisbury, but how can you prove your vocation? By what authority usurp you the ministration of doctrine and sacraments? What can you allege for the right and proof of your ministry? Who hath laid hands on you? By what example hath he done it? How and by whom are you consecrated? Who hath sent you? Who hath committed to you the office you take upon you? Be you a *priest* or be you not? *If you be not, how dare you usurp the name and office of a bishop?* If you be, tell us who gave you your orders?" pp. 49, 50.

It seems clear enough, that all this torrent of questions was intended to bear upon Jewel's ordination as a *priest*; the want of which Harding seems to have thought, would invalidate his episcopal consecration. The objection to the priest's orders of Jewel, could only be founded on the alleged defects in the ordinal of Edward VI. At any rate, Jewel seems, not unnaturally, to have thought that Harding meant to deny his episcopate, upon the ground that he had never been ordained priest. Having an opportunity of using the *argumentum ad hominem*, he answered, that he "was made priest long since, *by the same rite* and title, by the same person, and by the same hands by which" Harding "was made priest, in the time of Edward VI., that excellent prince." Harding, who had adopted the then prevalent Romish notion, that the orders conferred according to the ordinal of Edward VI. were invalid, and had been re-ordained, replied by denying that he and Jewel had been ordained together. This fact gives the key to his whole view; he regarded the orders of the Church of England as nullities, and he did not mean to deny the *fact* but the *validity*, of Jewel's vocation, as he calls it. He, however, goes on to say, "I ask you as much of your promotion to the episcopal dignity, as to the priesthood," p. 51. Jewel again had recourse to the *argumentum ad hominem*, and replied, that he was a bishop, by the free and canonical

“ELECTION of the whole chapter of Salisbury, assembled for that purpose ; of which you, Harding, were then a member, and as I heard, were present in your own person, with your brethren, and gave your free and public suffrage to that same election. If you deny this, take care lest you be found to give testimony against yourself.”—*Kenrick*, p. 51. Harding denied the freedom of the election, and his own share in it ; but for all that appears in Mr. Kenrick's book, dropped the subject until it was resumed by Jewel in a subsequent work. In this he declares, that he had been consecrated by the archbishop, assisted by three other bishops. Now then, was the time for Harding to have told the story of the Nag's-head had he known it. Jewel would then have been shown to be, not only no bishop, but a convicted liar. Did Harding do so ? Nothing like it. What does he say ?

“ But you were made, you say, by the consecration of the archbishop, [Parker,] and other three bishops. And how, I pray you, was your archbishop himself consecrated ? What three bishops were there in the realm to lay hands upon him ? You have made the matter worse than I had objected it to you. Your metropolitan, who should give authority to all your consecrations, had himself no LAWFUL consecration. There were, indeed, some LAWFUL bishops in the kingdom, who either were not asked to impose hands on you, or being required, refused to do so.” p. 52.

Harding then distinctly admits, that Jewel was consecrated by Parker, an admission inconsistent with the Nag's-head fable ; further, he denies that Parker had LAWFUL consecration, not that the *fact* of his consecration had taken place ; and he assigns as a reason of the *unlawfulness* of his consecration, that there was not three bishops to lay hands upon him ; and lastly, he explains what he means by bishops, by referring to the *lawful*, that is Romish bishops, who either were not called on to join in the consecrations, or refused to do so. Truly it requires some confidence to cite this passage, as a proof that the Nag's-head tale was known to Harding, or that no consecration of Parker had taken place.

Jewel gives us the key of this whole controversy between himself and Harding in his "Defence of the Apology."

"We deny not the consecration of [by] three bishops, we deny not the confirmation of the metropolitan. *We ourselves are so consecrated and so confirmed.* The matter that lieth between us is this: *Whether through the whole Church of CHRIST, no man may be allowed for a bishop, without the CONFIRMATION OF THE POPE.*" *Defence* 125, quoted by *Elrington*, 24.

Against the Papal pretensions in this matter, Jewel had in his great work argued thus :

"Furthermore, we believe that there be divers degrees of ministers in the Church: whereof some be Deacons, some Priests, some Bishops; to whom is committed the office to instruct the people, and the whole charge and setting forth of religion.

"Yet notwithstanding, we say that there neither is, nor can be, any one man which may have the whole superiority in this universal state; for that CHRIST is ever present to assist His Church, and needeth not any man to supply His room, as His only heir to all His substance: and that there can be no one mortal creature which is able to comprehend, or conceive in his mind, the universal Church—that is, to wit, all the parts of the world; much less able rightly and duly to put them in order, and to govern them.

"For 'all the apostles,' as ST. CYPRIAN saith, 'were of like power among themselves, and the rest were the same that Peter was.' And that it was said indifferently to them all, 'Feed ye;' indifferently to them all, 'Go into the whole world;' indifferently to them all, 'Teach ye the gospel.' And as ST. JEROME saith, 'All bishops, wheresoever they be, be they at Rome, be they at Eugubium, be they at Constantinople, be they at Rhegium, be all of like pre-eminence, and of like priesthood.' And as CYPRIAN saith, 'there is but one bishopric, and a piece thereof is perfectly and wholly holden of every particular bishop.'

"And, according to the judgment of the Nicene Council, we say, that the Bishop of Rome hath no more jurisdiction over the Church of God than the rest of the Patriarchs, either of Alexandria, or of Antioch, have."—*Apology, chap. vi. sect. 7. Lady Bacon's Translation, N. Y. Edition, 12mo. 1831. pp. 34, 35.*

A little further on, he gives his own views and those of the Church of England, on the subject of orders,

“Further we say, that the minister ought lawfully, duly, and orderly, to be preferred to that office of the Church of God, and that no man hath power to wrest himself in the holy ministry at his own pleasure. Wherefore these persons do us the greater wrong, which have nothing so common in their mouths as that we do nothing orderly and comely, but all things troublesomely, and without order; and that we allow every man to be a priest, to be a teacher, and to be an interpreter of the Scriptures.”—*Id. chap. vi. § 7, pp. 38, 39.*

The editor of the New York edition, appends a note to the word “orderly” in our last quotation, in which he gives us a collection of passages from the Defence, bearing on this question.

“JEWEL refers here, doubtless, to the *mode* of conferring ministerial authority, as he had, in the word ‘lawfully’ to the *source* of such authority. On this subject he adds: ‘We deny not the consecration of three bishops, [the need of three bishops to consecrate regularly.] We deny not the confirmation [of their act by the assent] of the Metropolitan. We ourselves are so consecrated, and so confirmed.’ *Defence, p. 125.* ‘Our bishops are made, in form and order, as they have been ever, by the election of the chapter; by consecration of the Archbishop and other three bishops; and by the admission of the Prince.’ *Defence, p. 131.* ‘To be short, we succeed the bishops that have been before our days. We are elected, consecrated, confirmed, and admitted, as they were. If they were deceived in anything, we succeed them in place, but not in error.’—*Id. p. 38, note m.*”

^a An important explanation of Harding’s views, and the meaning of his expressions, will be found in the following extract from one of Mr. Hadan’s valuable notes to Bramhall.—“In the Confutat. of the Apologie, Pt. ii. c. 5, fol. 56, a,—57, b, 59, a, b, Antw. 1565, Harding had affirmed, that exclusive of the ‘apostates,’ (viz. from the Romanist side,) ‘that he fledde . . . unto your congregation,’ “ye have not in your secte consecrated bishops; ‘and therefore, being without priests made with *lawful* laying on of hands . . . how can ye say . . . that ye have any *lawful* ministers at all?’ He had then gone on to distinguish between succession of person and succession of doctrine, and to deny to Jewel *only* the latter, affirming in the margin, that he could ‘prove no *lawful* succession;’ and demanding ‘the register (not of his own consecration, as Talbot, in answering Bramhall, assumes, but) ‘of your bishops continually succeed-

We now pass to the case of Horne. There is extant in the Register of the dean and chapter of Winchester, an act,

ing one another from the beginning.' From succession he passed on to vocation, demanding 'who had laid hands on' Jewel, 'who had consecrated him' Bishop of Salisbury, and other questions to the same purpose, adding that '*bishops have always after the Apostles' time, according to the Ecclesiastical canons, been consecrated by three other bishops, with the consent of the metropolitan, and confirmation of the Bishop of Rome.*'—*Bramhall's Works, N. E. vol. iii. p. 128, note u.*

Compare the impudent falsehood here asserted in italics, with Jewel's declaration in his answer, "the matter that lieth between us, is this, whether through the whole Church of CHRIST, no man may be allowed for a bishop without the confirmation of the Pope," and it will be clearly seen what was Harding's real objection to the orders of the Church of England. Mr. Haddan well remarks, in the same note, "that it is impossible to believe that Harding, or the others, knowing the Nag's-head story, would have omitted it."

Abp. Bramhall's own answer to the production of Harding is well worthy of note. He says; "Their last witness is Dr. Harding, who had as good a will (if there had been any reality in it) to have spoken of the Nag's-head ordination as the best, but he speaketh not a syllable of it more than the rest; and though they keep a good stir with him, yet he bringeth nothing that is worth the weighing. First, he readeth us a profound lecture, that '*Sacerdos* signifieth both a priest and a bishop.' Let it signify so, and in St. Hierome's sense; what will he infer from thence? Next he asks Bishop Jewel of bishoply and priestly vocation and sending, What new canting language is this? Could he not as well have made use of the old ecclesiastical word of 'ordination?' Thirdly, he taxeth the Bishop, that he 'answereth not by what example hands were laid upon him, or who sent him.' What doth this concern any question between them and us? Hands were laid upon him by the example of CHRIST, of His Apostles, of the primitive and modern Church; so CHRIST sent him, the King sent him, the Church sent him in several respects. He telleth us, that when he had 'duly considered' his Protestant ordination in King Edward's time, he did not take himself for a lawful deacon in all respects. If his Protestant ordination were a nullity, (as these men say,) then he was a lawful deacon in no respect. Pope Paul the Fourth, and Cardinal Pole, were of another mind. Then follows his two grand exceptions against our ordination, wherein you shall

of which an examined copy has been printed by Dr. Elrington, *Appendix, p. xxxviii.*^o It bears date on the 11th De-

find nothing of your Nag's-head fable; the former exception is that King 'Edward's bishops who gave orders were out of orders themselves;' the second is, that 'they ministered not orders according to the rite and manner of the Catholic Church,'—for the former exception, I refer him to the Council of Carthage in St. Austin's time, and for both his exceptions to Cardinal Pole's confirmation of King Edward's bishops and priests, and Paul the Fourth's ratification of that act. If any man have a mind to inquire further into the validity of our form of ordination, let him leave these fables and take his scope freely.

"To all this they say, that 'Bishop Jewel answers with profound silence,' yet they add 'only he says, without any proof, that their bishops are made by form and order, and by the consecration of the Archbishop and other three bishops, and by the admission of the Prince.' I expected 'profound silence,' but I find a profound answer; this is the first time I learned how a man can both keep 'profound silence' and answer so pertinently all at once. How doth Dr. Harding go about to take away this answer? for Bishop Jewel was the defendant, and the burden of the proof did not rest upon him. First, I pray you, 'how was your Archbishop consecrated?' If Dr. Harding did not see his consecration, he might have seen it if he would. He asks further, 'what three bishops were there in the realm to lay hands on him?' Ask the Queen's letters patent, and they will shew you seven. What a weak, Socratical kind of arguing is this, altogether by questions, without any inference? If Dr. Harding could have said it justly, (and he could have said it if it had been so,) he should have confuted him boldly, and told him, your Metropolitan was consecrated in the Nag's-head, by one single bishop, in a fanatical and fantastical manner; but he did not, he durst not do it, because he knew it to be otherwise, and it was publicly known to be otherwise. All his exception is against our form,—'If you had been consecrated after the form and order which hath ever been used, you might have had bishops out of France or at home in England.' It is the form established in King Edward's time, and restored in Queen Elizabeth's time, which Dr. Harding imputeth not that ridiculous form which they father upon Bishop Scory; and their chief objection against that form, was that vain cavil, that it was not restored by act of Parliament; which since hath been answered abundantly by act of Parliament. Herewithon

^o See *Post, Appendix, No. xxi*;

ember, 1560, and is addressed to Queen Elizabeth. It informs her, that on the 4th day of the month of December, they had received her royal letters of *conge d'elire*, under the great seal of England, for the election of a bishop and pastor, and that they had elected Robert Horne. Upon this certificate a significavit issued on the 12th February, in the third year of the Queen's reign, that is, in 1560, beginning the year on the 25th March; 1561 beginning it on the 1st January. The former being, at that time, the mode of reckoning in ecclesiastical matters. Dr. Elrington has printed this instrument from Parker's Register, *Appendix, xxxix.*^p Under its authority Horne was consecrated on the 16th of the same month, by Parker, assisted by Young of St. David's, elect of York, Grindal of London, and Bentham of Coventry and Litchfield;^q of which the record is extant, and copied into the same work, *p. xl.* Parker sent a certificate of this consecration to the Archdeacon of Canterbury, whose duty it was to instal the new bishop, dated "on the 17th day of the month of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and sixty, and the second of our consecration." Edward Guest, Bishop of Rochester, and Archdeacon of Canterbury, issued a commission on the 19th of the same month, to certain persons, authorising them to instal Horne. Horne himself, on the same day, gave a commission to his proxies to represent him in that ceremony. These three last acts are to be found in the Register of Horne, as Bishop of Winchester, and in Elrington.—*Appendix, pp. xli. xlii. xliii. xlii.* Besides all

he telleth Bishop Jewel, that his 'Metropolitan had no lawful consecration.' Though his consecration had not been lawful, yet it might have been valid; but it was both legal and valid. This is all Dr. Harding hath, which a much meaner scholar than that learned prelate might have adventured upon, without fear of burning his fingers."—*Works, N. E. vol. iii. pp. 128, 129, 130.*

^p See *Post*, Appendix, No. xxii.

^q See *Post*, Appendix, No. xxiii.

this; the documents in his Register shew that the period from which he dated his consecration, was in February, 1560-1, not from September, 1559, according to the Nag's-head story.⁷

But as Jewel was involved in a controversy with Harding, so Horne was engaged in one with Stapleton, another Romish divine, and in both cases the Romanists rely much on what took place in the course of those controversies. Stapleton, according to Mr. Kenrick, in his "Counterblast to Horne, pretended Bishop of Winchester," says :

"To say the truth, you are no Lord of Winchester or any where else, but only Mr. Robert Horne. Is it not notorious, that you and your colleagues were not ordained according to the prescript, I will not say of the Church, but even of the very statutes? How then can you challenge for yourself the name of the Lord Bishop of Winchester?"—*Kenrick, p. 53.*

Here we see nothing like an allusion to the Nag's-head story, no denial of the *fact* of a consecration. He is denying Horne's Episcopal character, yet he rests his denial, not on the want of consecration, but on the irregularity of a consecration, neither canonical nor legal. In another place, as we are told on the same page, he thus addresses Horne, "You are without any consecration of your metropolitan; himself, poor man, being no bishop neither." But this is sufficiently explained by the other, and if it were not, we shall presently furnish a commentary. But let us now proceed with Mr. Kenrick's passages.

"In his answer," says Mr. Kenrick, 'to Jewel's book, entitled "A Reply," he says—"How chanced then, Mr. Jewel, that you and your fellows, bearing yourselves for bishops, have not so much as this congruity and consent, I will not say of the Pope but of any Christian bishops at all, throughout Christendom, neither are you liked and allowed by any one of them all, but have taken upon you that office, without any imposition of hands, without all ecclesiastical authority, without all order of canons, and right? I ask not who gave you bishoprics, but who made you bishops." pp. 53, 54.

⁷ Appendix, Nos. xxiv. xxv. xxvi. xxvii.

Here, although there is an apparent denial of the imposition of hands, yet it is directly connected with the approbation of the Pope, and the other Christian bishops, meaning thereby *Romish* bishops, for no others had expressed any disapprobation. Moreover, the Christian bishops of Ireland, did give their "congruity and consent." But he has explained himself; in the preface to "The Counterblast" above mentioned, he has the following words :

"Again, in the first year of our gracious Queen, the act of Parliament for making and consecrating of bishops, made in the twenty-eighth [25th] year of King Henry, was revived. *And yet the bishops were ordered, not according to that act, but according to an act made in King Edward his days, and repealed by Queen Mary, and NOT REVIVED* the said first year, and if they will say, that that defect is now supplied, let them yet remember that they are but parliament bishops, as being ordered in such manner and fashion as no Catholic Church ever used." —*Stapleton's Counterblast, Quarto Louvain, 1567. Latin translation in Staplet. Op. T. ii. p. 823, cited by Elrington, p. 34.*

The ignorance, or recklessness, of Stapleton is sufficiently apparent in this passage, since the act of Henry contains no direction about the mode of *ordering* bishops, but only about the election and other preparatory steps; all of which were strictly pursued by Elizabeth. Still, here is a distinct admission, in so many words, that the Anglican bishops, in the first of Elizabeth's reign, were ordered according to the act of Edward VI., that is, by imposition of hands. Their episcopacy is still disputed, because that act had not been revived, and because the ordinal was not Catholic. The first objection Mr. Kenrick gives up; the second we shall consider in its place. The admission remains, and is the answer to all attempts to convert Stapleton's declamation into the denial of the *fact* of a consecration. There is another admission also, that Stapleton believed or knew, that the object of the act of the 8th Elizabeth, of which so much is said by Mr. Kenrick, was to cure the *legal doubt* of the title of the Anglican bishops, which arose out of the denial that the statute of Edward, and the ordinal framed under its authority, had

been revived. In "The Counterblast" itself, Stapleton objects to Horne's episcopacy.

"Because his vocation was directly contrary to the canons and constitutions of the [Roman] Catholic Church, and the universal custom and manner practised heretofore, not only in England, but in all other [Roman] Catholic countries and Churches;" and he especially objects to him *the want of the Pope's confirmation*, and yet further, that there being *no act of parliament to confirm his marriage*, the canon law standing in full force, makes him NO BISHOP, and his heresies also had the same effect."—*Elrington p. 36.*¹

¹ Staplet. Op. T. ii. p. 838.

¹ The proofs, given in the text, that Harding had never heard of the Nag's-head fable, and did not mean to deny the *fact* of the Anglican consecrations seem, to us abundant; but Mr. Haddan has, as in many other cases, thrown additional light upon the matter, and we shall again avail ourselves of his labors. Bramhall, in his text, had quoted from Stapleton these words, "To say truly, you are no Lord of Winchester, nor elsewhere, but only Mr. Robert Horne; . . . Is it not notorious, that you and your colleagues were not ordained according to the prescript, I will not say of the Church, but even of the very statutes? How then can you challenge to yourself the name of the Lord Bishop of Winchester? . . . You are without any consecration at all of your Metropolitan, himself, poor man, being no bishop neither." To this passage Mr. Haddan appends the following note: "The quotation in the text is made up of three distinct clauses, as above marked, taken from widely separated passages: viz. bk. i. c. 1, fol. 7, b, 9, b; bk. iii. c. 19, fol. 301, a, of the original edition, Louvain, 1567, of Stapleton's Counterblast to Mr. Horne's Vayn Blaste againt M. Feckenham, (tom. ii. pp. 838, 839, 840, 1031, in Stapleton's Works, edit. 1620,) written upon occasion of Horne's tendering the oath of supremacy to Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster. The second passage should stand thus, 'were not ordained, no not according to,' &c. A perusal of the context of the above passages which Talbot borrowed, as they stand above, from Champney, will prove beyond possibility of doubt, that the writer of them had never heard of any thing in the slightest degree resembling the Nag's-head story. In his preface to the reader, (pp. 828, 829, ed. 1620; not paged in edit. of 1567,) he advances the legal objection noticed above, p. 79, note p;" [The repeal of the statute establishing the ordinal of Edward

But the most important transaction in which Horne was engaged, was his attack upon Boner. This led to passing the famous act of the 8th Elizabeth, chapter 1, which has been seized on by the Romanists, as a pretext for the nickname of a Parliament Church, which they bestow upon the Church of England. Mr. Kenrick affects to regard this act as an admission of the truth of the Nag's-head story; we are about to shew that it is no such thing; but is, as we have just seen Stapleton admitted it to be, an act to remove a legal doubt, in the legal construction of a former statute. Mr. Kenrick gives an account of it from Ward, a Romish writer, and remarks, that "the account given by the Protestant historian, Fuller, in his Church History, so exactly coincides with that of Mr. Ward, that [he] shall only quote that part of it, that throws light upon what was the real difficulty of the case." p. 38. As in our opinion he has neglected to

VI.] "in bk. i. c. 1, (here quoted,) he specifies as the grounds of his denial of Horne's orders—1. the want of the Pope's confirmation; 2. that he did not possess '*approbatam et assuetam* vocationem et consecrationem;' and lastly, in bk. iii. c. 19, he returns to the legal objection. Other passages are quoted by Le Quien, (Null. des Ordin. Angl. tom. i. pp. 260—282,) and answered by Browne, (cc. vii. viii. xi.) They may be divided into two classes;—1. such as are taken from his earlier writings;—e. g. Counterblast, bk. i. c. 5, p. 33 b; bk. iv. c. 7, p. 453, b, ed. 1567; Fortress of Faith, &c. Pt. ii. c. 8, pp. 142, b, 144, a, ed. 1565; Return of Untruths to Jewel, p. 130, ed. 1566;—of which the strongest expressions amount only to an absolute denial (not of the fact, but) of the truth of Engl. orders, Le Quien's arguments being founded in each case (and that very scantily) upon the Latin translation of those works published in 1620, (which is not Stapleton's,) and *not borne out at all by the original English*; as may be seen at length in Browne; 2. such as are taken from works published 30 years later, e. g. Relect. Princip. Fidei. Controv. II. Qu. iv. art. 4, publ. in 1596, which seems to be the strongest passage, and in which he adopts the then current untruth, that Engl. bishops were made so, *in the first instance*, (which must mean in the time of Edward VI. and refer to his act abolishing Conges d'Elire, &c.) '*Sola Regia autoritate*,' and not by imposition of hands."—*Bramhall's Works, N. E. vol. iii. p. 127, note r.*

quote "the part which throws light on what was the real difficulty of the case," we shall give our readers the whole, although we regret that it is not shorter.

But that the reader may the better understand it, it is necessary to introduce it with a short statement of some historical facts. The book called the first Liturgy of Edward VI., contained no form for the consecration of bishops or ordination of ministers. To remedy this defect, the act of 3d Edward VI. ch. 2, contained the following clause :

"Such form and manner of making and consecrating of archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and other ministers of the Church, as by six prelates and six other men of this realm, learned in God's law, by the King to be appointed and assigned, or by the most number of them, shall be devised for that purpose, and set forth under the great seal, before the first of April, next coming, shall be lawfully exercised and used, and none other."

In pursuance of this act, the office known as the ordinal of King Edward VI. was devised and set forth, and during the remainder of that reign, was the undoubted law of the land. It was not, however, a part of "The Book of Common Prayer;" it is spoken of as a separate book, not only in the forty-two articles, set forth in the reign of Edward, but in the thirty-nine articles set forth in the reign of Elizabeth. A phraseology which, perhaps improperly, is continued in the articles, both in England and this country until this day, only accommodated to the revisions which have been made of the ordinal. In 1552, however, the second Liturgy of Edward was set forth. In the statute passed on that occasion, we find the following words :

"The King's most excellent Majesty, with the assent of the Lords and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, hath caused the aforesaid order of communion service, entitled 'The book of Common Prayer,' to be faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect, and by the aforesaid authority, hath annexed and joined it, so explained and perfected, to this present statute : Adding also a Form and Manner of making and consecrating archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, to be of like force, authority,

and value, as the same like foresaid book entitled 'The book of Common Prayer,' was before, and to be accepted, retained, used and esteemed in like sort and manner, and with the same clauses of provisions and exceptions, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, as by the act of parliament, made in the second year of the King's Majesty's reign, was ordained, limited, expressed, and appointed for the uniformity of service, and the administration of the Sacraments throughout the realm, upon such several pains as in the said act of parliament is expressed. And the said former act to stand in full force and strength, to all intents and constructions, and to be applied, practised, and put in use, to and for the establishing of the book of Common Prayer, now explained and hereunto annexed, and also the said form of making of archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons hereunto annexed, as it was for the former book."—*Statute 5 and 6 Edw. VI. ch. i. § 5.*

Both these statutes were, however, repealed in the reign of Mary. On the accession of Elizabeth, another act was passed; of which the following are the clauses bearing upon this question :

"Whereas at the death of our late Sovereign Lord, King Edward the Sixth, there remained one uniform order of Common Service and Prayer, and of the administration of the Sacraments, rites, and ceremonies, in the Church of England, authorised by act of parliament, holden in the fifth and sixth years of our said late Sovereign Lord, King Edward the Sixth, entitled, 'An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments,' the which was repealed and taken away by act of parliament, in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Mary, to the great decay of the due honor of God, and discomfort to the professors of the truth of CHRIST'S religion.

"Be it therefore enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the said estatute of repeal, and every thing therein contained, only concerning the said book, and the service, administration of the Sacraments, rites, and ceremonies, contained or appointed in or by the said book, shall be void and of none effect, from and after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, and that the said book, with the order of service, and of the administration of the Sacraments, rites, and ceremonies, with the alterations and additions therein added and appointed by this estatute, shall stand and be, from and after the said Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, in full force and effect, accord-

ing to the tenor and effect of this estatute, any thing in the aforesaid estatute of repeal to the contrary notwithstanding.

“And farther, Be it enacted by the Queen's Highness, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and singular ministers, in any Cathedral or Parish Church, or other place within the realm of England, Wales and the Marches of the same, or other of the Queen's dominions; shall from and after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, be bounden to say and use the Matins, Evensong, Celebration of the LORD's Supper, and administration of each of the Sacraments, and all the common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book, so authorised by parliament, in the said fifth and sixth years of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, with the alteration or addition of certain lessons, to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and none other nor otherwise.”—*Stat. 1 Eliz. chap. 2, § § 1, 2, 3.*

A question however arose, whether the ordinal was a part of the book of Common Prayer, and revived by this act, which related to matters “*only concerning the said book.*” The question was certainly a grave one, and led to important consequences. But Mr. Kenrick, having adopted a new line of argument, has discovered that his brother Romanists have been always in the wrong about it, and that there never could have been any question at all. We now pass to Dr. Fuller's account of Boner's case.

“In this year began the suit between Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, and Edmund Boner, late Bishop of London; on this occasion, all bishops were empowered by the statute *quinto Elizabethæ*, to tender the oath of supremacy to all persons living within their dioceses. Now Bishop Boner was within the diocese of Winchester, full ill against his will, (as being a prisoner in the Marshalsea in Southwark,) to whom Horne offered this oath, and he refused the taking thereof. Hereupon his refusal was returned into the King's Bench, and he indicted on the same. Being indicted, he appeared there, confessed the fact, but denied himself culpable; and intending to traverse the indictment, desired that counsel might be assigned him. Sir Robert Catelme, then Chief Justice, granted his motion, and no meaner men than Plowden, that eminent

lawyer, Sir Christopher Wray, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, and ——— Lovelace, were deputed his counsel.

"First, They pleaded for their client, that Boner was indicted without the title and addition of 'Bishop of London,' and only styled 'Doctor of Law and one in Holy Orders.' But the judges would not allow the exception as legal to avoid the indictment.

"Secondly, They pleaded that the certificate entered upon record, was thus brought into the court: *tali die et anno per A. B. cancellarium dicti episcopi* Winton; and did not say *per mandatum episcopi*; for the want of which clause Boner's counsel took exceptions thereat, *sed non allocatur*, because the record of it by the court is not of necessity.

"Pass we by their third exception, 'that he was indicted upon that certificate in the county of Middlesex, by the common jury of inquest in the King's Bench for that county;' it being resolved by the judges, that his trial could not be by a jury of Middlesex, but by a jury of Surrey, of the neighborhood of Southwark. The main matter, which was so much debated amongst all the judges, in the Lord Caeline's chamber, was this, 'Whether Boner could give in evidence on that issue, that he had pleaded, of *not guilty*, that Horne, Bishop of Winchester, was not a bishop, *tempore oblationis sacramenti*, at the time wherein he tendered the oath unto Boner!' And it was resolved by them all, "that *if the truth of the matter were so indeed*, that he might give that in evidence upon that issue, and that the jury might try whether he was a bishop then or no.

"Whilst this suit as yet depended, the Queen called a parliament, September 30th, which put a period to the controversy, and cleared the *legality* of Horne's episcopacy, in a statute, enacting, 'That all persons that have been or shall be made, ordered, or consecrated archbishops, bishops, priests, ministers of God's Holy Word and Sacraments, or deacons after the form and order prescribed in the said order and form, how archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and ministers, should be consecrated, made, and ordered,' [the ordinal of Edward VI.] 'be in very deed, and also by authority hereof, declared and enacted to be, and shall be, archbishops, bishops, priests, ministers, and deacons, and rightly made, consecrated, and ordered; any statute, law, canon, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

^a Dyer, fol. 234. *Mich. et 7 Eliz. Placito*, 15,

“ However it immediately followeth: ‘ Provided always, and nevertheless be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no person or persons shall at any time hereafter be impeached, or molested in body, lands, livings, or goods, by occasion or mean of any certificate, by any archbishop or bishop, heretofore made, or before the last day of this present session of parliament, to be made, by virtue of any act made in the first session of parliament, touching or concerning the refusal of the oath declared and set forth by act of parliament, in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, any thing in this act or any other act to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ The seasonable interposing of this statute made it a drawn battle between Horne and Boner. The former part thereof here alleged, cleared Horne’s episcopacy from all *cavils of law*, the latter proviso was purposely inserted in favor of Boner, [who here himself found what he never shewed to others,] that he [as all other Popish bishops deprived,] might be no more molested, for refusing the oath of supremacy. The Parliament saw they had already lost their livelihood and liberties for their erroneous consciences, and had received their thirty-nine stripes, more than which the State thought not fit to inflict, lest their justice should degenerate into cruelty.

“ The enacting of this statute did not stop the railing mouths of Papists against our bishops, but only made them alter their note, and change their tune in reviling them. Formerly they condemned them as illegal, whose calling was not sufficiently warranted by the laws of the land; henceforward Sanders and others railed on them for ‘parliamentary bishops,’ deriving all their power and commission from the State. But as well might the Jesuits term Shemaiah and Nethaniah prerogative Levites, 2 Chron. xvii. 8. because sent by Jehosaphat to preach to the people of the land. For the good king did not give, but quicken and encourage, their commission to teach; as here the parliament did only publish, notify, and declare the *legal* authority of the English bishops, whose call and consecration to their place was formerly performed, derived from Apostolical, or at leastwise, ecclesiastical institution.”—*Fuller’s Church History, Book ix. sect. 2nd. Edit. 8vo. London, 1842. vol. ii. pp. 478, 479, 480.*

It is quite clear that there is nothing in this passage to countenance the tale of the Nag’s-head. The clause in the act of parliament, which, according to Dr. Fuller, “cleared Horne’s episcopacy from all cavils of law,” confirmed no

such transaction, but only legalised the orders of those who had been ordained according to the ordinal of King Edward VI. Yet Mr. Kenrick is "much inclined to question," that "he chiefly relied on the non-revival of Edward's ordinal, as the proof of their illegality." p. 39. For his doubts he assigns several reasons. One that Boner would not have denied the validity of an episcopal consecration, in consequence of a *legal* informality, p. 45. But in a judicial proceeding, the line of defence is rather the act of the counsel than the client. If it were not, and Boner were as conscientious as Mr. Kenrick can desire, it would have been perfectly right for him to avail himself of a legal flaw in Horne's character, in a criminal proceeding founded on an act exclusively legal, not ecclesiastical. We have seen Harding and Stapleton urging this very objection, even in theological controversies. Another reason, is that the Romanists reproached the English bishops with the want of consecration, which they would not have done on merely legal grounds. They, themselves, put it partly on legal grounds, partly on the defects of the ordinal. Another reason is that Strype, near a century and a half after the transaction, assigns a different ground. p. 41. A fourth, that Courayer, still later, conjectures a ground, upon which, he supposes, that the denial of the revival of Edward's ordinal, might have stood. But the strongest reason is, that in Mr. Kenrick's opinion, the ordinal of Edward was revived. This opinion he maintains at some length, seeming to think every body must agree with him; and gravely sustaining himself by what he calls the admissions of Protestant writers. Now we believe he is the first Romanist, who has not denied the revival: the admissions he relies on, are attempts of the Protestants to prove it against their Romish adversaries. His construction of the statute of 1 Eliz., may be right—it has the authority of the act of the 8th with it; but it is not so clear that nobody could ever doubt it. We have seen Stapleton actually denying it; and

Challoner, another Romish writer, in 1742, uses this language :

"Parker's consecration, supposing the truth of the *Lambeth Register*, was neither *legal* nor *canonical*; that is, it was neither according to the laws of the land, nor the canons of the Church.

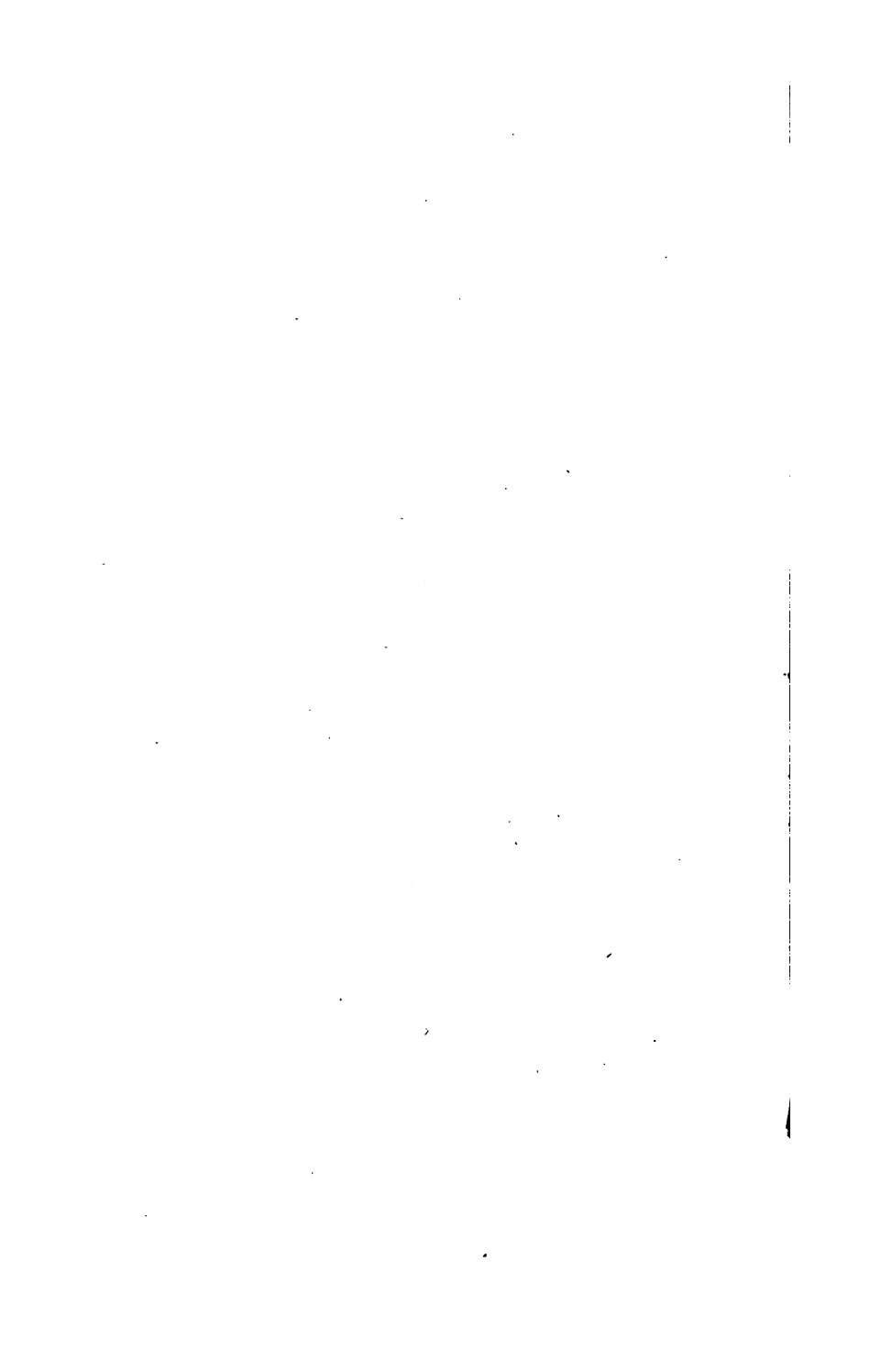
"1. It was not according to the laws of the land then in force; because he was consecrated, if we believe the *Register*, after the manner of King Edward's Ordinal, which having been expressly repealed by law under Queen Mary, was not restored at the time of Parker's consecration. For the statute 1 Eliz. 1. reversed that of Queen Mary *only* as far as it concerned the Book of *Common Prayer*, and not as to the *Ordinal* of King Edward, as is plain from the words of the statute, and therefore the consecration of Parker by that ordinal was illegal."—*Challoner, Grounds of the Old Religion, Edit. London, 1820, 18mo. p. 197.*

Mr. Kenrick has referred to Dr. Heylin's account of this matter, we therefore give an extract from that part of his work which bears upon the subject.

"The second principal plea was this, that Horne, at the time when the oath was tendered, was not Bishop of Winchester, and therefore not empowered by the said statute to make tender of it, by himself or his chancellor. And for the proof of this, that he was no bishop, it was alleged, that *The Form of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, which had been ratified by Parliament in the time of King Edward, had been repealed in the first year of Queen Mary, and so remained at Horne's pretended consecration.* The cause being put off from term to term, came at last to be debated amongst the judges at Sergeant's Inn, by whom the cause was finally put upon the issue, and the trial of that issue ordered to be committed to a jury of the county of Surrey. But then withal it was advised, that the decision of the point should rather be referred to the following parliament, for fear that such a weighty matter might miscarry by a country jury, of whose either partiality [or] insufficiency there had been some proof made before, touching the grants made by King Edward's bishops, of which a great many had been made [void] under this pretence, that the grantors were not actually bishops, nor legally possessed of their several sees.

"According to this sound advice, the business came under consideration in the following parliament, which began on the 30th September, where all the particulars being fully and considerably discoursed upon,

it was first declared, 'That their not restoring that book to the former power, in terms significant and express, was but *casus omissus*; and secondly, that by the statutes 5th and 6th Edward 6th, it had been added to the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, as a member of it, or at least an appendant to it, and therefore by 1st Eliz. was restored again, together with the said Book of Common Prayer, intentionally at least, if not in *terminis*.' But being *the words in the said statute were not clear, enough to remove all doubts*, they did therefor revive it now; and did accordingly enact, that all persons that had been or should be made, ordered, or consecrate archbishops, bishops, priests, ministers of God's Holy Word and Sacraments, or deacons, after the form and order prescribed in the said book, be in very deed and also by authority hereof, declared and enacted to be and shall be archbishops, bishops, priests, ministers, and deacons, rightly made, consecrate, and ordered, any statute, law, canon, or any thing to the contrary notwithstanding."—*Heylin, pp. 345, 346, Edit. London, folio, 1674.*



ESSAY V.

THE QUESTION IN ELIZABETH'S TIME.

WE now proceed to examine the testimony, which Mr. Kenrick has produced, in order to shew that the Nag's-head story was publicly known in Elizabeth's reign. This may be divided into three classes. Protestants who admit the fact, that the English bishops had no orders; Romanists who deny Parker's consecration; and Protestants who admit that Romanists had spoken of the Nag's-head story. Of the first class, he has named none who can even be pretended to have alluded to the Nag's-head fable. Among the Romanists he has not been more successful. Of Protestant writers, who, according to him, admit that the English Church has no valid orders, he has named, besides Jewel, whose testimony we have already considered, only Whitaker and Fulke.*

* We have, perhaps, in this place spoken more slightly of Drs. Whitaker and Fulke than was proper, for we find Abp. Bramhall has spoken more respectfully of them than ourselves. It is, however, certain that they were puritans, and as such, not the true representatives of the Church of England. Justice to them, perhaps, requires that we should print their views on Episcopacy, as given us by Abp. Bramhall, in "The Serpent Salve," a work directed against the Dissenters, as they have been since called. In this work, Dr. Bramhall says: "I see it lately published to the world in print, that Dr. Whitaker, Dr. Fulke, and Dr. Reynolds were all oppugners of Episcopacy. Perhaps of Popish Episcopacy; that is the abuse, not the thing; or of an absolute necessity, by Divine right, of such and such an Episcopacy, endowed with such or such degrees of power or pre-eminence; or of such an Episcopacy, as is held to differ from presbyterate in the very power of order: but surely not of Episcopacy itself. I wondered at the impudence of the man. It is a bad cause which stands in need to be under-propped with such pious impious hands, and is only fortified with hideous and palpable lies. If he fable in this, let him have the just reward of a liar,—not to be trusted

These men are not of the great doctors of the Anglican Church. Fulke would, in fact, now be forgotten, but for his book against the Rhemish Testament. Yet upon them does he rely to establish, against the Articles, the Homilies, and the Ordinal, the strange fancy that the Church of England attached no importance to holy orders. Whitaker, a learned puritan, in a work in which he had undertaken the impossible task of sustaining the orders of the continental Protestants, says: "I would not have you to think that we make such reckoning of your orders, as to hold our own vocation unlawful without them."—*Kenrick*, p. 59. There is something in the air of this sentence, which induces a suspicion that if we had the context, we should find that the writer was speaking of some orders peculiar to the Roman-

in other matters. And first for Dr. Whitaker,—Bellarmine objects against the Protestants, that they take away bishops; he answers, '*Neque nos totum Episcoporum ordinem damnamus, ut ille falso calumniatur, sed pseudo-Episcopos tantum Pontificios*'—'We do not condemn all the order of bishops as he falsely slanders us, but only those bishops of the Church of Rome,'—and about the same place, speaking of that ancient constitution, that three bishops should be present at the ordination of a bishop, he affirms, 'that it was a good and goodly sanction,' and fit for 'those good times.' Dr. Fulke expresseth himself home;—'That among the clergy, for order and seemly government, there was always one principal, to whom the name of bishop or superintendant hath been applied, by long use of the Church; which room Titus exercised in Crete, Timothy in Ephesus, others in other places: that though a bishop and an elder is of one order and authority in preaching the Word and administering the Sacraments, yet in government by ancient use of speech, he is only called a bishop, who in Scripture is called '*πρωτάμενος*,' '*πρωτος*,' '*ηγούμενος*,' (Rom. xii. 8.—1 Tim. v. 17.—Heb. xiii. 17,) that is, the chief in government, to whom the ordination or consecration by imposition of hands was always principally committed.' So, according to Dr. Fulke, the name is from man, but the office from God. I beseech the reader view the three places cited by him at leisure, and there shall see who are the rulers, and governors, and ruling elders mentioned in Holy Scripture, in the judgment of Dr. Fulke."—*Works*, N. E. vol. iii. pp. 473, 474.

ists, not of Catholic ordination. But be that as it may; it amounts, taking the words in the strongest sense they will bear, only to the opinion of Whitaker, of one man and he a puritan. We are not conversant with the writings of the old puritans, and we suspect that Mr. Kenrick is not more so; or he would have found in them many expressions quite as much to his purpose as this single one of Whitaker's. But the Puritans no more represent the Anglican Church, than their kinsmen the Jansenists, do the Romish Church. Both were parties within their respective bodies, holding opinions which, whether true or false, were not the opinions of the Churches to which the parties respectively belonged. But what is the true meaning of Whitaker's expressions? He only asserts the validity of the vocation of which he speaks; and we know not what vocation that was, but does not deny the necessity of some vocation.⁷

Fulke appears to have been a very coarse writer, and, as quoted by Mr. Kenrick, at second hand, he says: "You are highly deceived, if you think we esteem your offices of bishops, priests, and deacons, better than laymen;" and in another work: "With all our hearts,—we defy, abhor, detest, and spit at your stinking, greasy, and anti-Christian orders." —*Id.* These seem to be rather attacks on the Romish orders, than admissions of a defect in the English. We

⁷ Mr. Haddan seems to have taken very much the same view of the passages which the Romanists have been accustomed to use from Whitaker, as we have done in the text. He says: "Whitaker in this chapter is disputing Bellarmine's doctrine concerning succession of bishops, as a note of the Church; and in order to take up a ground which shall at once include foreign Protestants and exclude Romanists, he dwells strongly on doctrinal, as distinct from personal succession, rests the claims of ministers on 'extraordinary' vocation, and affirms priestly to be equivalent to Episcopal orders. It is futile to argue from this against the fact of a personal succession in the English Church." It undoubtedly proves Dr. Whitaker to have been a very bad Churchman, but it proves nothing more.—*Bramhall's Works, N. E. vol. iii. p. 135, note s.*

know not on what ground Dr. Fulke denies the authority of the Romish orders; he was probably wrong in so doing, as he was certainly wrong in the manner of doing it. But whatever the grounds of his denial were, and whether they were solid or not, they did not extend to the Anglican ordinations; for in another work he says, in the same coarse style: "It is a lie of this author's to say, that they do not use laying on of hands, and that at the beginning there was no bishop to lay them on. For there was one popish bishop in place, and many consecrated in the time of King Edward."—*Fulke's Answer to Stapleton*, p. 142, London, 1584, cited by *Elrington*, p. 23.*

* There is a similar resemblance between Bramhall's view and our own in the case of Fulke. The Abp. says: "You say Mr. Fulke speaks more plainly; let us hear him,—'You are highly deceived, if you think we esteem your offices of bishops, priests, and deacons, better than laymen; . . . and with all our hearts we defy, abhor, detest, and spit at, your stinking, greasy, anti-christian orders.' This is high enough, indeed, and might have been expressed in more moderate terms; but it is to be expounded, not of the invalidity of your ordination, as if it wanted any essential, but partly in respect of the not using or abusing these sacred offices, and partly in respect of the laws of England. Excess may make an ordination unlawful, although they do not make it invalid. Holy orders are an excellent grace, conferred by God for the conversion of men; but if those who have them, instead of preaching truth, do teach errors to his people, and adulterate the old Christian Faith by addition of new articles, they are no longer true pastors, but wolves which destroy the flock; and so they are not only no 'better,' but worse than laymen; '*corruptio optimi pessima*.' In this respect they tell you, that your priests and bishops are not true priests and bishops; as Marcellus told his soldiers, that they were no true Romans, (who were natural Romans,) because they wanted the old Roman virtue. Lastly, you have habitual power to exercise these offices, but you want actual power in England, by reason of the not-application, or rather the subtraction of the matter by our laws; so you are no legal bishops or priests there. This I take to have been the sense of those two doctors," viz. Whitaker and Fulke.—*Works*, N. E. vol. iii. pp. 135, 136.

The Protestant authorities being of so little worth, we pass to the Romish. Of these the first, with the exception of Harding and Stapleton, who have been already disposed of, is Sanders. Sanders, according to Mr. Kenrick, uses the following language :

“ For being destitute of all *lawful* ordination, when they were commonly said and proved by the *laws of England* to be no bishops, they were constrained to crave the assistance of the secular power, that they

Upon this passage Mr. Haddan has a note, which is valuable for its facts, and which we shall therefor copy. It is appended immediately to the above quotation from Fulke.

“ This quotation,” says Mr. Haddan, “ is made up of two passages from distinct tracts, as marked above, borrowed by Talbot, as they stand in the text, from Champney or Fitzsimon. The first is from Fulke's *Answer of a True Christian to a Counterfeit Catholic*, art. 13, p. 50. Lond. 1577; the second from his *Retentive against Bristow's Motives*, Motive 21, p. 69. Lond. 1580. It must be added—1. that the Pref. to the Ordinal, ratified by Convocation in 1562, is a sufficient confutation of any such inference as is sought to be fixed on the above passages; and 2. that they are in themselves by no means a fair specimen of the ground taken by Elizabethan divines, or even by Whitaker and Fulke, in behalf of Anglican orders.” See the last note but one, and “ see the full account of the subject in Keble's *Preface to Hooker*, pp. li. lxxvii.; to which may be added the testimony of Fulke himself, *Overthrow of Stapleton's Fortress*, c. viii. p. 113. Lond. 1580;—that ‘ imposition of hands is used of us in ordaining of ministers;’ and that ‘ where he saith that when all the popish bps. were deposed, there was none to lay hands on the bps. that should be newly consecrated, it is utterly false; for there was one of the popish bishops that continued in his place, there were also divers that were consecrated bps. in Kg. Edward's time:—and of Bridges, *Defence of Ch. Gov.* bk. xv. p. 1276. publ. by authority, in 1587, (and quoted by Fitzsimon in the very same page with the above,) affirming pointedly and expressly against the Puritans, the derivation of our orders through the Roman Catholics. Further, although Dr. Aubrey, Grindall's, Vicar General, acknowledged Scotch Presbyterian orders in 1582, (see Collier, *Ch. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 579,) yet Whitgift, on the other hand, disallowed those of foreign Presbyterians, in the case of Travers, in 1584.) See Walton's *Hooker*, in *Wordsw. Eccl. Biogr.* vol. iii. p. 472, and note.” *Note t*, p. 135.

might receive the consecration of the lay magistrate in the next parliament: by authority whereof if any thing were done amiss, and not according to the *prescript of the law*, or omitted and left undone in the former inauguration, it might be pardoned them; and that after they had enjoyed the episcopal office and chair many years, *without any episcopal consecration.*"—p. 55.

What is this but a statement of the fact that there was a *legal defect* in the consecration of the English bishops, which *legal defect*, parliament by *authority of law* supplied. Dr. Sanders chooses to call this legal defect a want of episcopal consecration; but he was not particular about truth in matters touching the Reformation. If we mistake not, he is the person who left on record the remarkable opinion, that it is lawful to calumniate an opponent. The whole passage shews that he admits an actual consecration, which he regards as void, because of its supposed inconsistency with the laws of England. But he elsewhere styles them "queen's prelates," and calls Parker "Master Doctor Parker, bearing the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury." What then? The former passage explains it; Dr. Sanders chose to treat their consecration as a nullity, because illegal; while at the same time he denies the right of the parliament to remove the legal defect. This is not logical, but that is not our fault; nor was it that of Dr. Sanders; but of his cause, which would not allow him to be logical. He never meant to deny the fact of consecration, for in another place he says:

"Elizabeth indeed conferred bishoprics by letters patent, but so that she obliged those who were thus collated, to be ordained by certain persons, and by some ceremonies prescribed by the laws of the realm."—*De Schism. Anglic. lib. iii. p. 347, cited by Elrington, pp. 34. 35.*

But: "According to Fuller, 'Sanders (who died in 1583) lewdly lies that these new elected bishops, out of good fellowship, mutually consecrated each other.' The same was also affirmed of Sanders by Dr. Kelhison, as we learn from Mason, who however says that Sanders, mentions no such thing. It may not, perhaps, be found in his 'History of the English Schism,' which, of all his works, is the one most generally

known : but these testimonies render it probable that he mentioned it in some other of his numerous works. The denial of Mason, is consequently inconclusive."—*Kenrick, p. 99*:

The denial of Mason would certainly not be conclusive ; but the work on the English Schism, where Mr. Kenrick admits that "perhaps it is not," is the very place where it would be, if any where. It is moreover, probably the place where Kellison asserted that it was, since we have seen that it was the place where Heylin supposed it to be.^a Mason's denial taken alone, would certainly not be conclusive, but two hundred and thirty years, have elapsed since that denial was published. These afford time enough to have found the passage ; and it would most assuredly have been found, had it existed ; either in Sanders' book on the English Schism, or in any "other of his numerous works." The absence of proof to establish the fact denied, not the denial itself, is conclusive. We conclude then, that both Heylin and Fuller have been deceived by the assertions of Kellison and Fitzsimon.^b

^a *Ante*, page 78.

^b What Sanders said will appear by the following extracts from Archbishop Bramhall's "Consecration of Protestant Bishops Vindicated."—"Let them tell me," says Bramhall, "how it cometh to pass, that Nicholas Sanders, who professeth to write 'The Ecclesiastical History of England from the one and twentieth year of Henry the Eighth, until the eight and twentieth of Queen Elizabeth,' then current, in his 'Three Books of the Original and progress of the English Schism,' hath no one syllable of the Nag's-head ordination?" *Works, New Edition, vol. iii. p. 46*. He having related the form of our English consecrations, partly true and partly false, proceedeth to this first ordination of Protestant Bishops, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; alleging that "the Catholic bishops refused to impose hands upon them, and that they had not of themselves two or three bishops, or so much as one metropolitan. What a shameful untruth is this, that there were not 'two or three' Protestant bishops, when the Queen's commission under the great seal of England, recorded in the Rolls, is directed to seven Protestant bishops, expressly by their names and titles.

The next witness is Bristow, who says: "In England the king, yea the queen, may give their letters patent to whom

"He addeth, that 'they were very instant with an Irish Archbishop to have presided at their ordination, but he would not.' He mistaketh the matter altogether; they might have had seven Irish archbishops and bishops if they had needed them;—where the proceedings were not so rigorous, where the old bishops complied and held their places, and joined in such ecclesiastical acts, until they had made away to their kindred all the lands belonging to their sees. We found one bishopric reduced to five marks a year by these temporisers, another to forty shillings a year, and all of them to very poor pittances for prelates. But by this means there wanted no ordainers; never did any man question the ordination of the first Protestant bishops in Ireland until this day.

"Then he telleth, how, being thus rejected by the Catholic bishops and the Irish archbishop, they applied themselves to the lay magistrate in the ensuing parliament for confirmation, from whence they were called parliamentary bishops. By whom were they called so? By none but himself and his fellows. How many ordinations were passed, one after another, before that parliament? Was there any thing moved in this parliament concerning any the least essential of our Episcopal ordination? Not at all, but only concerning the repealing and reviving of an English statute. English statutes cannot change the essentials of ordination; either to make that consecration valid which was invalid, or that invalid which was valid. The validity or invalidity of ordination dependeth not upon human law, but upon the institution of CHRIST. Neither did we ever since that parliament, change one syllable in our form of ordination." [Note, this was written before 1662.] "Then what was this confirmation that he speaks of? It was only a declaration of the parliament, that all the objections which those men made against our ordinations, were slanders and calumnies; and that all the bishops which had been ordained in the Queen's time, had been rightly ordained, according to the form prescribed by the Church of England and the laws of the land. These men want no confidence, who are not ashamed to use this statute in this case. But we shall meet with this parliament again.

"In all this impertinent discourse, where is the fable of the Nag's-head ordination? It had been a thousand times more material than all this jargon. And you may be sure it had not been missing, if there had been the least grain of truth in it, or if there had but been any suspicion

they will, and thenceforward they may bear themselves for bishops, and may begin to ordain ministers."—*Kenrick*, pp. 55, 56. The man who would publish such a notorious falsehood,^c utterly discredits himself. He is either totally ignorant of the subject, or worse. His assertion [quoted, *Kenrick*, p. 56.] that the priests who had been made "by the [Roman] Catholic rite," "were deemed without a new ordination, to be not only priests, but even bishops and archbishops, either by virtue of the royal letters, or by a certain ridiculous consecration, of those who had received no power to consecrate, except what the queen had given them;" is to

of it when that was written. It was not then full thirty years after Archbishop Parker's consecration, and there were store of eye-witnesses living to have hissed such a senseless fable out of the world. And therefore Sanders, very prudently for himself, after so many intimations, passed by their ordination in a deep silence, which was the only work he took in hand to shew.—' *Qualescunque fuerint aut quomodocunque facti sunt isti Pseudo-Episcopi,*' &c.—'What manner of persons soever these false bishops were, or after whatever manner soever they were ordained;' &c. If Bishop Scory had ordained them all at the Nag's-head, by laying a Bible upon their heads, and this form of words, 'Take thou authority to preach the Word of God sincerely;' Mr. Sanders needed not to have left the case so doubtful how they were ordained. And if there had been the least suspicion of it, he would have blown it aloud upon a silver trumpet; but God be thanked there was none. The universal silence of all the Romish writers of that age, when the Nag's-head ordination is pretended to have been done, in a case which concerned them all so nearly, and which was the chief subject of all their disputes, is a convincing proof to all men, who are not altogether possessed with prejudice, that either it was devised long after, or was so lewd a lie, that no man dared to own it, whilst thousands of eye-witnesses of Archbishop Parker's true consecration at Lambeth were living."—*Ibid.* pp. 47, 48, 49.

^c See *Ante*, pp. 28 to 32.

be disregarded, as coming from a man unworthy of credit.⁴ This would be right, even if he were not contradicted upon the matter directly asserted, by the statutes, the Prayer Book, the records of the kingdom and of the Church, and the notorious fact. The third quotation from this valuable witness, is nothing more than a statement that the Church of Rome does not acknowledge the validity of our orders. This we are willing to believe on Mr. Kenrick's own assertion.

⁴ This passage of Bristow, wild and absurd as it is, is really, upon the supposition that it is genuine, the best piece of testimony which Mr. Kenrick produces. But unfortunately for the Romanist cause, it is not Bristow's, as we, misled by the Romanist writers, believed when we wrote the text, and what is more to the purpose, it was not published until after Holliswood had promulgated his invention of the Nag's-head. For these important discoveries we have again to thank Mr. Haddan. Bristow's book, entitled "Motives to the Catholic Faith," was first published in 1574. In this book, at folio 90, b, he affirms, "that the English 'seek as much as they possibly can to be consecrated by one of our' [Romanist] 'order, lest there might some danger or doubt arise afterward of their right institution; and in § 22, fol. 93, a, 94, b, he denies that they can shew the *lawful, orderly, entire*, without any breach, and sound notorious succession of bishops,' &c. 'ever since the Apostles' time.' The man who affirmed this, and *no more*, had certainly never heard of the Nag's-head story. And the case is plainer from the fact, that Worthington, who in 1608 (four years *after* Holliswood) published a Latin work, founded on Bristow's, and professing to be a translation of it by Bristow himself, although almost entirely a different book, *adds to the above passage an assertion*, that Parker, Grindall, Sandys, Horne, and the others, having been ordained priests, 'secundum Catholicum ritum,' thought themselves bishops, and even archbishops, 'sine nova ordinatione,' and were made bishops, 'vel solis literis Regiis vel ridicula quadam consecratione eorum qui nullam nisi a Regina potestatem consecrandi acceperant.' (*Antihæret. Motiva, Motive*. 24 § 4. pp. 266, 277.) [This is the passage translated in Mr. K's book, and copied in the text.] And even this (which is unfairly quoted by Le Quien, as from Bristow in 1567;—if it was his, it was not published until 1608, which was after his death) falls very short of the Nag's-head story."—*Bramhall's Works, N. E. vol. iii. p. 124, note h.*

The next witness is Rainolds, author of a strange book, called *Calvino-Turcismus*, the object of which is to prove that Protestantism is worse than Mahomedanism. A proposition which seems to give countenance to the notion of a Protestant writer, that the man was mad. In this strange book it seems that there is an assertion—that

“There is no herdsman in all Turkey, who hath not undertaken the government of his herd upon better reason and greater right, order, and authority, than these, your magnificent apostles and evangelists, can shew for this divine and high office of governing souls.”—*Kenrick*, p. 56.

This is a rhetorical flourish “full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.” It does not rise to the dignity of “a tale told by an idiot.” One wonders to find it gravely quoted to prove any thing, unless perhaps the madness or folly of the writer.

The only two remaining Romish witnesses are Weston and Osorius, who are introduced as saying that the English prelates had no consecration. With respect to Osorius, who was a Portuguese, it is clear that he had no means of information. He could know nothing of the matter; his opinion is merely the echo of the empty noise, made by the English Romanists. The value of this we have already ascertained, by examining their assertions as reported by Mr. Kenrick. The quotations, both from Weston and Osorius, are suspiciously short; had we access to their works, we might find some qualifying expressions, which would prove that they meant, what all the other witnesses have been shewn to mean, that the English bishops had no consecration *which the Romanists accounted valid*. What then has all this array of witnesses proved? Just this; that the Romanists of Elizabeth's reign, had all the disposition in the world to tell the tale of the Nag's-head profanation, if they had ever heard of it, and that *they did not tell it*.

* Weston's book was not published until 1602.—See *Bramhall's Works*, N. E. p. 31, n. c.

The Protestants who are produced, as admitting that the Romanists had mentioned the Nag's-head transaction, in Elizabeth's time, are Mason, Godwin, Fuller, and Heylin, to whom may be added Courayer, who, though a Romanist, wrote on the Protestant side of this controversy. Heylin's admission we have already explained.^f Godwin is only introduced as stating that Harding had said something about it. But if Harding had really done so, the passage would have been found and produced in the lapse of more than two centuries. Moreover the quotations from Harding, which we have copied from Mr. Kenrick,^g prove that he did not know, or did not believe the tale. If he had, it is not conceivable that he should have refrained from telling Jewel, when the latter stated that he had been consecrated by Parker and three bishops, that he had been consecrated by Scory alone, at a tavern.

Fuller's evidence is as follows :

"But when once one Jesuit had got this shameless lie of the Nag's-head, by, (I cannot say by the tail, but by the ears,) instantly Champney, Fitzsimon, Parsons, Kellison, and Constable, and all the whole kennel of them, bawl it out in their books to all posterity."—*Kenrick*. p. 99. *Fuller*, vol. iii. p. 454. *Book ix. sec. 1, ¶ 27.*

But then he immediately adds, what Mr. Kenrick, with his usual prudence, omits :

"ALL the authority the Papists produce for their Nag's-head consecration, is ultimately resolved into the *single testimony* of one Thomas Neale, chaplain to Bishop Boner, and some time Hebrew professor in Oxford."—*Fuller*, *ubi supra*.

Upon this Mr. Kenrick remarks: "The words of Fuller shew, that long before Kellison and Holliwood, [Sacro Bosco] the Nag's-head narrative was publicly declared by Parsons and Constable." They shew nothing of the sort. They shew that Fuller believed, that all those whom he named had learned the story from one Jesuit, Holliwood. And further, that it all rested on the testimony of one witness,

^f *Ante*, page 76. ^g *Ante*, pages 97, 98, 99. See also note n, page 100.

Neale. But how was the fact? Champney wrote thirteen years after Holliwod, according to Mr. Kenrick himself. Compare *p.* 85 with *p.* 87. Fitzsimon has never been pretended to have written before Holliwod. Kellison actually quotes him; see his story in Elrington, *p.* 66.^h But "the

^h We think it best to reprint here all that Dr. Elrington says about Kellison, including Kellison's own version of the Nag's-head story. As we shall also re-print from Mason, that part of the preface to Parsons, which relates to the matter, and Holliwod's story, and have given Champney's at page 80, the reader will be enabled to judge for himself how little the different versions of this ridiculous story agree with each other.

"Kellison tells us a sixth story, which, it appears, he learned between the years 1608 and 1616, for he published his English Survey of the *New Religion* in 1603, and a second edition of it in 1605, and his Reply to *Sutcliffe* in 1608, without mentioning the story of the *Nag's-head* consecration; except incidentally in the latter work, saying, *that he had heard it credibly reported, that some of them were made Bishops at the Nag's-head, a fit church for such a consecration.* But in 1616 came out his '*Examen novæ Reformationis,*' with his account of it. This runs as follows:—'That as none of the Catholic Prelates would ordain Queen *Elizabeth's* new Bishops, they were obliged to wait upon an Irish Archbishop, then prisoner in the Tower, and, with many entreaties and offers of great rewards, to desire him to lay hands on them, which Bishop refusing, they were forced to request *Scorye's* assistance, which otherwise they had not desired, because they knew him only to be a titular bishop, and unlawfully made in King *Edward's* time. So *Constable* relates it from *Stowe*, who, though he durst not put it into his Chronicle, yet used often to tell it to the Catholics, of whom some are yet alive. Many others, worthy of all credit, have related the same; and one *Thomas Neale*, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, who also himself was an eye-witness, used to declare to many persons (whereof some are yet living) that this consecration of the first mock Bishops, under Queen *Elizabeth*, was in a tavern in London, at the *Nags'-Head*, in Cheapside; a fit church for such a consecration. So also *Sacro Bosco* relates it—and because they were sensible that they were not consecrated according to the statute, 25th *Henry* the Eighth, which requires that a Bishop be not consecrated but by three Bishops,

Nag's-head narrative," says Mr. Kenrick, "was publicly declared by Parsons and Constable, long before Kellison and Holliwod." Indeed! Yet Constable's narrative was first published by Champney, thirteen years after Holliwod had published his edition of the story.

Our authorities for this assertion are Champney and Mr. Kenrick. The former, as quoted by the latter, says; "But concerning this thing, I find the following in *the manuscripts* of that learned and noble man, Henry Constable."—*Kenrick*, p. 91. But Parsons? Why he has never said a word on the subject. If he has, why is it not produced? The story occasionally quoted by his name, and in this place

with the consent of the Metropolitan; and besides, that a rumor was spread abroad, that they were not rightly ordained bishops, they were forced to call for the assistance of the secular arm, that they might, in a following parliament, be confirmed by the lay power.'

"It is unnecessary to repeat the observations just now made upon the non-existence of this Irish Archbishop, and the total loss of credit of the story teller, from being convicted of such a falsehood; but it may be important to observe the additional proof which we have in this account of the disregard to truth in quoting authorities, which is so constantly to be observed in the controversial writers of that party. We find *Kellison* referring to *Constable*, and to *Sacro Bosco*, as having related the story in the same manner that he does; and, on looking back to *Constable's* narrative, we scarcely perceive any resemblance; the Irish Archbishop, and the *Nag's-head* itself, not being once named by him, to say nothing of minor differences. And *Sacro Bosco's* story is directly inconsistent with the application to the Irish Archbishop, and differs in many other important particulars from *Kellison*. We may observe, also, that *Kellison* does not pretend to say that he heard the story from *Neale* himself, nor from any other actual witness of that profanation, though he asserts that there were several such witnesses, *many others have related the same*; and *Thomas Neale*, who also *himself was an eye-witness*, &c. this assertion alone would destroy the credit of the story; for to allege that the tavern was chosen for privacy, as all who write upon it do assert, and yet to say that many Roman Catholics were permitted to be present, carries the marks of falsehood upon the very face of it."—*Elrington*, pp. 65, 66, 67.

alluded to by Fuller, was not written by him, nor during his life. It is known by his name, because it is contained in an anonymous preface to his answer to Barlow; which was prefixed to an edition of that work, published after the appearance of Holliwood's book, and is believed to have been the work of Fitzherbert.ⁱ When it was written we do not precisely know, but it could not have been long before the publication of Mason's book, if it be true as Fitzherbert, quoted by Mr. Kenrick, asserts, that Mason's book was an answer to it.—See *Kenrick*, p. 106. This tale has not been printed by Mr. Kenrick, because it contradicts Champney about the presence of Kitchen. So it turns out, that of these two public proclamations, which Mr. Kenrick says were made before Holliwood, his authority, Fuller, says that both were made after Holliwood; that one, whenever written, was, on his own shewing, first published thirteen years after Holliwood, and that the other has no existence.

"The last witness I shall produce," says Mr. Kenrick, to establish the fact which is the subject of this chapter—namely, that before the appearance of Mason's book, in 1613, it was constantly and publicly denied, that the bishops and other clergy of the English Church, were *validly* ordained, is no other than Mr. Mason himself."—p. 57.

No witness at all is necessary for that. This is an instance of the skill with which Mr. Kenrick can substitute one thing for another. It is admitted that the Romanists, in Elizabeth's time, denied the *validity* of the English orders; the dispute is, whether before Holliwood, they denied the *fact* of Parker's consecration. The title of "this chapter" is, "The Anglican bishops reproached by their [Roman] Catholic contemporaries with having received no ordination." The whole line of argument of the chapter, and indeed of the book, is that the Lambeth record is to be regarded as a forgery, because not produced *when* the *fact* therein stated was denied; that the answer of the Protestants, that the Nag's-head story was first told by Holliwood, and that before

ⁱ Elrington. p. 56.

that the controversy had been about the *validity*, and not the fact of the consecration, was a falsehood. How does the evidence of Mason, that the *validity* had always been denied, affect this issue? The parts of Mr. Mason's book upon which Mr. Kenrick relies, are the title page and the dedication; which, as cited by him, certainly admit that the *validity* of the Anglican orders had been denied. It was for that reason that he wrote to defend them. But his book is not a pamphlet on the Nag's-head fable. It is a folio volume, the chief work of a learned man's life, in which he refutes all the stories about the fact, and all the arguments about the validity, of the English orders, which the Romanists then relied upon; and in his title page, he enumerates the authors to whom he replies. Mr. Kenrick seems to suppose, that his readers will consider this title page as an admission that all the authors named in it, had denied the *fact* of the ordination, which is the true question; although he himself carefully speaks only of the *validity*. Wood's account of Mason's book is as follows:

"Our author, Mason, hath written."—"Vindication of the Church of England, concerning the consecration and ordination of the bishops, &c. as also of the ordination of priests and deacons, in five books. London, 1613, fol. Framed in form of a conference between Philodox, a seminary priest, and Orthodox, a minister of the Church of England. From which book it appears that the author was a general read scholar thorough paced in the Councils and all sort of histories whether divine, civil, or profane. The next year he, as a grateful son, sent a copy of it to be reposed in the library of his tender parent *Mert.* College, with this note at the end of it, written with his own hand:—"Whereas, Mr. Fitzherbert hath lately sent a book from Rome, against the Most Rev. Bishop of Ely, to which he hath annexed an Appendix, concerning the Records and Registers by me produced, desiring that some of their discreet [Roman] Catholics might view and consider whether they be true or counterfeit: Know therefore, that upon the 12th of this present May, *an.* 1614, his grace of Canterbury sent for Mr. Colleton the Arch-priest, Leake, a secular priest, as also one Jesuit, called Lathwait, &c. and shewed unto them the Register and other records of his predecessor Matth. Parker, which they perused over and over, and found that the

said Parker was consecrated at Lambeth Chapel, and not at the Nag's-head in Cheapside, by certain bishops that had been ejected in Queen Mary's reign," &c. This book of the Vindication of the Church of England, coming at length into the hands of Anthony Champney, an Englishman born, a Roman Catholic priest, and a doctor of the *Sorbon*, was by him answered in English, and dedicated to George, Archbishop of Canterbury, not without some reproaches and scoffs given to him in the Epistle. But afterwards Champney, recollecting himself, thought that he had not sufficiently consulted his own reputation, by publishing his answer in English. Wherefore he translated it into Latin [entitled *Tractatus de Vocatione Ministrorum*.—*Par.* 1618, in *Oct.*] that his pretended victory over Mason might by this means be spread over all Europe. Soon after our author, to be even with him translated his own book also, and entitled it *Vindicia Eccles. Anglicanae*, &c. and therein interweaves answers to Thom. Fitzherbert, priest, Henry Fitzsimon Jesuit, Dr. Matthew Kellison, A. Champney, &c. and withal dedicated it to Hen. de Gondy, Bishop of Paris, without any aspersions at all thrown upon him. All this he did in the year 1619, or 20 at farthest; but before he could conveniently put it to press he died. Whereupon, at the desire of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Nath. Brent, warden of *Mert.* College, did review it, examine the quotations, compare them with the originals, and at length printed the copy, as he had found it under the author's hand, *an.* 1625, fol. printed again at Lond. 1646, fol.—*Athenæ Oxon. Article Francis Mason, vol. i. c.* 463.

It only remains to take some notice of the testimony of Courayer, as cited by Mr. Kenrick. It is contained in the following passage :

"I know that Stapleton, Harding, and other [Roman] Catholic writers, contemporary with Parker, have affirmed to the face of the new bishops, that they were not true bishops, that their consecration was a chimera, and that they could not prove their ordination; having received it from a man whose ordination was equally unsustainable."—*p.* 57.

Mr. Kenrick quotes the above passage from Courayer 255. In the copy before us, we find it at pages 263, 264. But it is immediately followed by this passage :

"It is in effect true, that these divines urged all these things, and that they did it boldly; but in truth upon what reasons? It was in the

first place upon this, that these bishops had received their ordination from bishops engaged in a schism as Harding says, 'Qui alios ordinare eo tempore præsumebant, erant ipsi omnino sine ordine, ministrantes ordines non secundum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ ritum, quippe qui omnium episcoporum in orbe Christiano successionem abjicientes, novam congregationem propriæ suæ plantationis sibi erexerunt.'^k 'Those who undertook to ordain others at this time, were themselves altogether without orders—ministering orders, not according to the rite of the Catholic Church, because rejecting the succession of all the bishops in the Christian world, they had erected a new congregation of their own planting.' It is secondly upon this account Parker was said not to be ordained, because not by the [Roman] Catholic bishops. 'Dicis Episcopos vestros per archiepiscopi triumque aliorum episcoporum consecrationem creatos esse, sed archiepiscopus ipse quomodo, quæso, consecratus fuit? et qui fuerunt tres illi in toto regno episcopi qui manus illi imposuerunt? . . . Nam metropolitanus vester, qui omnium vestrum consecrationes autoritate sua confirmare deberet, legitimam consecrationem minime obtinuit. . . . Fuerunt quidem in regno episcopi legitimi, qui vel non fuerunt requisiti manus vobis imponere, vel requisiti illud facere recusarunt.'^l 'You say that your bishops were made by the consecration of an archbishop and three other bishops,—but your archbishop himself, how, I pray you, was he consecrated? And who were the three bishops in all the kingdom, who imposed hands on him?—For your metropolitan, who ought to confirm all your consecrations by his authority, least of all had *lawful* consecration. There were indeed in the kingdom some lawful [Romish] bishops, who either were not required to lay hands on you, or being required, refused to do it.' In fine, it is for this reason, that they did not observe the Pontifical, only in the imposition of hands and prayer; and that they retrenched, or altered all that the objector thought essential. 'Quod clare demonstrat vos talem consecrationem, quæ in usu semper fuerat, non quæsisisse; sed aliam novam quam omnes antiqui episcopi despiciabant.'^m 'What clearly shows your consecration to be such, those things which were always in use were not required; but another new form which all the old bishops despised.' Now are those reasons proper to convince a man that Parker was no bishop, and so consequently all those whom he had ordained? The two former reasons prove that all bishops ordained in schism and heresy, are not validly consecrated—a doctrine now looked upon as false by all

^k Harding, *Detect. Error. Jueli* p. 129. ^l *Ibid*, p. 234. ^m *Idem*.

Catholic divines. The third is that a bare change of the rite alters the substance of the sacraments, a pretence which destroys itself, and which the practice of Churches alone refutes, without any necessity of an enlargement to shew its falsity.

"Besides it is of no small weight to observe, that as almost all the divines of those times were persuaded, the essence of ordination consisted not only in the imposition of hands, but also in the unction, in the imposition of the book of the Evangelists, and in the delivery of the instruments; and that this sentiment is not so given up, but that some schoolmen of our age, against all probability, have maintained it. Being persuaded of the truth of this opinion, they could not judge favorably of the validity of an ordination, where, excepting imposition of hands and prayer, all the rest were omitted, though they thought them equally essential. And it was a necessary consequence that they ought not to regard them as bishops, whose ordination wanted some things that they imagined absolutely necessary."—*Courayer*, pp. 264, 265, N. T. pp. 237, 238, 239.

So far was Courayer from believing that the objections of the Romish writers, during the reign of Elizabeth, had any connexion with the Nag's-head story. In another place he expresses himself upon the matter yet more clearly, in the following words :

"But it is objected that several writers, contemporary with Parker, highly reproached him, as well as the other new bishops, that they had no consecration;—the record of consecration is therefore false; and if the story of the Nag's-head be not true, yet it is nevertheless true that he had no real ordination.

"This consequence may appear well grounded in their sense, who made these reproaches without presuming the record forged. These bishops according to them, were not consecrated, because they were not ordained by that form which they reputed essential; and that they did not repute them as bishops who consecrated them: they might, therefore think the act or record of consecration genuine, and yet believe that these bishops were not consecrated; because that the record in question, mentions only a consecration which they reputed entirely invalid. This is what evidently appears from Stapleton's way of reasoning against Horne, Bishop of Winchester, 'who knows not,' says he, 'that you and your colleagues were ordained, I will not say otherwise than the canons require, but contrary to the direction of your own statutes?' This, therefore, was not an entire omission of consecration, but the want of

a canonical consecration, that he objected and defied him to prove. *Nec approbatam et assuetam vocationem aut consecrationem ostendere unquam poteris.* It is in this sense that they upbraided the new bishops with not being bishops, and not having any ordination; but is there the least room to conclude, from such a way of reasoning, that the act of Parker's consecration is forged; whereas if it be looked upon as genuine, the argument has the same force."—pp. 43, 44, N. T. p. 53.

ADDENDUM TO ESSAY V.

When this Essay was written, and indeed when it was first printed, we had never seen Dr. Mason's book. This may account for our speaking of it on page 132, as a somewhat larger work than it really is. By the kindness of a friend we have since had access to the original edition, which is now on our table. It answers truly enough to the description of Wood in the passage cited in the text, but not to the conception we had formed of it from reading that passage. It is a small folio, the page scarcely so large as the size of paper now called foolscap,—the whole number of pages is 270. It is not "true, as Mr. Fitzherbert, quoted by Mr. Kenrick, asserts, that it is an answer" to Parson's work mentioned in the Essay. The Appendix occupies part of p. 267 and the whole of 268 and 269. It is in these words:

"When this work had almost passed the press, there came to my hands certain scandalous books made by our popish adversaries, reproaching the consecrations of some bishops of blessed memory; who in their life-time poured out such precious ointment, as still filleth the Church with the sweetness of the odour. Among which jewels, Bishop Jewel is first produced, who, like another *Shammah, stood in the midst of the field, and defended it, and slew the Philistines: so the LORD gave great victory*: In regard whereof, they being filled with malice and envy, and not being able, with dint of argument, to encounter him and the rest of his fellow soldiers, those worthies of David which fought the LORD's battles, have sought by all means to disgrace their calling, disgorging their poison against them without any respect of conscience or truth, in these opprobrious and scurrilous words:

"Of Mr. Jewel's being bishop, we have not so much certainty, yea we have no certainty at all. For who, I pray you, made him? who gave him his jurisdiction? who imposed hands upon him? what orders had they? what bishops were they?

"136.^o True it is that both he, Sands, Scory, Horne, Grindall, and others, (if I mistake not their names,) in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, met at the Horsehead in Cheapside, (a fit sign for such a sacrament,) and being disappointed of the Catholic Bishop of Llandaff, who should have been there to consecrate them, they used the like art as the^p Lollards once did in another matter, who being desirous to eat flesh on Good Friday, and yet fearing the penalties of the laws, in such cases appointed, took a pig, and diving him under the water, said, 'Down pig and up pike;' and then after constantly avouched that they had eaten no flesh but fish: so I say these grave prelates assembled as aforesaid, seeing the bishop whom they expected came not to consecrate them, they dealt with Scory of Hereford to do it, who, when they were all on their knees, caused him who kneeled down John Jewel to rise up Bishop of Salisbury; and him that was Robert Horne before, to rise up Bishop of Winchester; and so forth with all the rest. Which Horsehead ordering was after confirmed synodically by parliament, wherein they were acknowledged for true bishops: And it was further enacted, that none should make any doubt, or call in question that ordination.

"' 137. This was the first ordering of Master Jewel, and the rest, as I have been informed by one who heard it from Master Neale, reader of the Hebrew Lecture in Oxford, who was there present, and an eyewitness of what was done and passed,' &c.

"Now the place of Sacrobosco which he citeth in the margent is this,^q 'Principio regni Elizabethæ creandi erant Episcopi sectarii; Candidati convenerunt Londini in quodam hospitio plateæ Anglice dictæ Cheapside, ad insigne capitis manni, et una ordines collaturus Landa-
vensis Episcopus, homo senex et simplex; quod ut intellexit Bonerus tunc decanus Episcoporum in Anglia, misit e turri Londinensi, (ubi religionis causa detinebatur,) capellanum suum, qui Landavensi proposita

^p "A Preface to a book called, *A discussion*, numb. 135."

^q "Christ. a Sacrobosco de invest, CHRISTI Eccles. c. 3, he should say c. 4."

^r "Sir Thomas Moore."

^s Sacrobosc. quo supra, cap. 4.

excommunicationis pœna prohiberet novas candidatos ordinare: ea autem denuntiatione territus Landavensis, pedem retulit, multiplicique tergiversatione usus, sacrilegam vitavit ordinationem. Hic furere candidati, Landavensem contemnere, nova quarere consilia; quid plura? Scoreus monachus (post Herefordensis pseudo Episcopus) cæteris; ex ceteris quidam Scoreo manus imponunt, fiuntque sine patre filii, et pater a filiis procreatur, res sæculis omnibus inaudita. Quod D. Thomas Neale Hebraicus Oxoniæ lector qui interfuit, antiquis confessoribus, illi mihi narrarunt, et fidem astruit quod in comitiis postea sancitum fecit, ut pro legitimis Episcopis haberentur Parlamentarii isti.

"These imputations I found first in general, cunningly cast forth by Kellison. "He heard credibly reported that some of your new superintendants were made bishops at the Nag's-head in Cheape.' Whereupon, because I would deal *candide* with my adversary, and propose his objection with most probability, I brought it against the first bishop, consecrated in the Queen's time, that is, Archbishop Parker, and cleared him from this reproach. For can any man of reason imagine, that they would go to consecrate one another in a tavern, and so incur the danger of the law, after that they had according to their hearts' desire, an Archbishop of their own religion, quietly possessed of his church and chair? But now the author of the Preface affirmeth in particular, that Jewel, Sands, Horne, and Grindall were there, then and in that manner consecrated by Scory, and Scory by some of them, saith Sacroboscus.

"To answer briefly, (for the glass is almost run,) first, it is a silly surmise, that Bishop Scory should be consecrated by them, seeing he was consecrated by Archbishop Cranmer and other bishops in the time of King Edward. Secondly, those reverend prelates, Grindall and Sands, were both consecrated upon one day, by Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by three other bishops, as you have heard out of the records. To which I add, moreover, upon a review of the same records,

"Kellis. Reply, page 31."

"See above, page 93," [This reference is to a statement of the consecration of Scory and Coverdale, on 30 August, 1551, agreeing with the statements in other parts of these Essays, and citing as authority Parker's Register, folio 334.

"See page 134."

"See page 135." [These references are to similar statements of the consecrations of Grindall and Sands, (Sandys,) on the 21 December, 1559, referring to Parker's Register, folios 18 and 39.

that the place of their consecration was the chapel at Lambeth; the time Sabbath day in the forenoon, after Morning Prayer; the manner with imposition of hands, and such form of words and prayers as are used in the Church. For the better performance whereof, there was a sermon preached by Master Alexander Nowell, then the Archbishop's chaplain, upon this text:^w 'Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock whereof the HOLY GHOST hath made you overseers;' and a Communion reverently ministered by the Archbishop. Thirdly, Bishop Jewel was^x consecrated the twenty-first of January following, by Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund London, Richard Ely, and John Bedford, in the foresaid chapel of Lambeth, upon the Sabbath in the forenoon, with Common Prayers, Communion, and a Sermon, preached by Master Andrew Peirson, the Archbishop's chaplain, upon this text:^y 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your FATHER which is in Heaven.' Lastly,^z Bishop Horne was consecrated the year following, by Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas, Bishop of St. David's, Edmund, Bishop of London, and Thomas, Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, as was before related. The place of his consecration was likewise the chapel at Lambeth: the time the Sabbath day in the forenoon; and the manner in all respects as the former. Thus all things were most orderly and reverently performed. Now let the world judge, what is to be thought of these men, which do confidently blaze such untruths, and are not ashamed to produce an eye-witness for that which was never seen by the eye of man. As for their down pig and up pike, and such other of the same stamp, I may say with the prophet: ^a 'Upon whom have you jested, upon whom have you gaped and thrust out your tongue?' And I advise you to remember the saying of Solomon,^b 'As the noise and crackling of the thorns under the pot, so is the laughter of a fool:' ^c 'As also that of David, 'Blessed is the man that hath not set in the seat of the scornful.' I will conclude this point with this saying of Solomon, ^d 'The lying lips are an abomination to the LORD; but they that deal truly are His delight.'"

^w "Acts xx. 23."

^x "See p. 137." [This is a reference similar to the others, the authority, Parker's Register, folio 46.]

^y "Matthew, v. 16."

^z "See p. 134." [This is a similar reference, authority, Parker's Register, folio 88.]

^a "Eccles. vii. 4." ^b "Eccles. vii. 8." ^c "Psal. i. 1." ^d "Pro. xii. 22."

The reader will observe from this long extract, that although Mason's book was not, as Fitzherbert asserted, an answer to Parson's book, in the Preface to which the Nag's-head fable is repeated, yet that it was almost ready for publication before the author had seen Parson's book. He will also remark—firstly, that Mason knew nothing of the Nag's-head story but from Kellison, Holliwood, and the preface to Parson's book. Secondly, that the last expressly quotes Holliwood as its authority. Thirdly, that Mason had actually seen the records of the consecrations, and made extracts from them, before he supposed that the fiction of the travesty of ordination applied to any but Parker; and lastly, that Kellison's remark was of the most vague and indefinite character. We also desire to remark, that the imprint of the copy of Mason before us is 1613, and the publication of Constable's story by Champney, was, according to Mr. Kenrick, pages 85 and 91, in 1616; that Kellison's brief remark, which was the first which Mason heard of the tale, was published in 1608, four years after Holliwood, and in his detailed statement—see note h, page 129—he quotes Holliwood as his authority; and this detailed statement was not published for five years after Mason's book. It is also worthy of note, that although the preface writer to Parsons, besides quoting Holliwood, professes to have heard the tale from one to whom Neale had told it, the paragraph has very much the air of having been suggested by the concluding sentence of Holliwood's tale, and brought in to support the story with fictitious aid.

ESSAY VI.

BISHOP BARLOW.

OUR present task is to vindicate the episcopate of Bishop Barlow,* one of those whom we have shewn to have united in the consecration of Archbishop Parker. It is not denied that Barlow was elected Bishop of St. Asaph in 1535 or 1536. He was never, however in full possession of that see; but he can be shewn to have been, in 1536, Bishop of St. David's, and was afterwards successively in possession of the sees of Bath and Wells, and of Chichester. His consecration is denied by the Romanists. The facts we have above mentioned, and that of his having been regarded as a bishop during his life, for at least thirty years, furnish all the proof of consecration which is ordinarily required. It is speaking within bounds, to say that in the case of nine tenths of the Christian bishops who have existed, more evidence than this cannot be given. If any bishop in the world were called upon to prove his right to a place in the Apostolic Succession, and were required to produce stronger evidence of the consecration of all those through whom he traced his claim, he must fail in making out his case. In the case of Barlow the Romanists are not content with this. They say that the Register of his consecration is not to be found. To this it is answered, that it is notorious that in that age very little care was taken to preserve the evidence of consecration. During the reign of Henry VIII. there were many bishops of whose consecration no Register is to be found.

* See note A. at the end of this Essay.

'As to the practice in the time of Henry VIII. the following extract may serve to shew what it was :

"Gardiner's consecration cannot be found in the Registers of Canterbury, and is it the less certain for that reason? And the consecration of Fox, as I have before observed, was likewise omitted: if the record which was elsewhere found, had not appeared, was there more reason to call it in question, because the Register makes no mention of it? There is no notice taken, in Cranmer's register, of the ordination of King, Suffragan Bishop of Lincoln; we do not, nevertheless, dispute but that he was really ordained, and that it was performed in the year 1541. The author of a letter, lately published, touching the succession of the English bishops, and who himself has consulted the Registers of Canterbury, gives an account of a great number of omissions of the same kind; for according to him, without mentioning Fox and Gardiner's consecrations, which are not found at all, how many others were omitted? 'We confess,' says this author, 'that the consecration of Barlow is not to be found in Cranmer's Register, no more are there those of several other bishops, whose ordinations have hitherto never been disputed by any body; such as Fox Bishop of Hereford, Sampson of Chichester, Bell of Worcester, Day of Chichester, whose consecrations, if I have not too hastily ran over that Register, are entirely omitted. What shall we say of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Latimer, of Worcester, White of Lincoln, Bayne of Litchfield, Turberville of Exeter, Hopton of Norwich, Goldwell of St. Asaph, whose confirmations and consecrations, if I am not very much mistaken, are not to be found now in the Archiepiscopal Register? Silence is therefore no convincing proof, when there are other positive facts that supply this, as there are in this case.'"—*Courayer*, pp. 52, 53, N. T. p. 60.

Mr. Kenrick's answer to this argument is remarkable.

"There is however, a remarkable difference between the fact of Barlow's consecration, and that of those other bishops, the record of whose consecration does not appear. Barlow, is the connecting link between the new Church and the old; and if his consecration be not absolutely certain, the validity of the ordinations of the English Church is, to say

X 'The original Essay contained, at this place, some remarks, supported by extracts from Percival on the Apostolic Succession. But as Mr. Haddan has shewn that Mr. P. was mistaken, the remarks and extracts are both withdrawn.

the least, not absolutely certain, at least as far as he is concerned. Whether the other bishops, whose record of consecration no longer appears, were, or were not, consecrated, is a matter of comparatively minor importance; but it is of most serious importance for the Anglicans, to establish, by positive proof, that the man, through whom they claim orders, had himself received them. Besides, it does not appear that the consecration of these other bishops was ever questioned; whereas that of Barlow has been constantly denied."—*Kenrick*, p. 136.

Now as to the importance of Barlow's consecration, it could not have been foreseen at the time the event took place, and therefore could not have afforded a reason for any special care in the matter of the Register. Whatever may be the case now, in the reign of Henry VIII. it did not differ in importance from those of other bishops, whose Registers are not to be found. Barlow was then of no more consequence than Gardiner; both were unregistered, and both all their life-times regarded as bishops. Now, in the estimation of the Romanists, Barlow is no bishop; while Gardiner, under similar circumstances, is. Why is this? Mr. Kenrick tells us; *because Barlow, is important to the Anglican Succession!*

But although the importance of Barlow's consecration to the Anglican Succession furnishes no argument against the existence of that consecration, it furnishes a very sufficient answer to the other argument which Mr. Kenrick has adduced: "It does not appear that the consecration of the other bishops was ever questioned." Certainly not. They were of no importance to the Anglican Succession; nobody, as the facts have turned out, cares whether they were consecrated or not. But the question was important in their life-times, and they were not then questioned. But the consecration of Barlow "has been constantly denied." Yes! ever since the Romanists clearly perceived that it was their interest to deny it; but when, and by whom, before? By no one. We have seen no proof that it was ever denied before the reign of James I. when it became known that search had been made for the Register, and that it could not be found. While Barlow lived, the question was wrapped

up in the general declamation about the Anglican orders; if indeed any question existed in any mind about it.

But what are the facts? Mr. Kenrick informs us, that "Barlow was elected bishop of St. Asaph in the early part of 1535." This is a mistake, the election took place January 16th, 1536, and is recited to have been lately made in the *significavit*, issued on the 22d of February, 1535-6, which would now be called 1536. Mr. Kenrick is of opinion, that "it is not easy to fix upon the date of this election, as the royal act for his confirmation, dated on the 22d of February in that year, has not in Rymer the usual marks of an authentic instrument so often referred to." This strikes us as a *non sequitur*; but the passage is of no other importance than as it shews the pertinacity with which the writer clings to his fancied test of authenticity. But the "royal act" we may be sure, is liable to no other objection than the want of those *important* words, about which we have already said enough. We shall therefore treat it as a genuine royal act. It is directed to Cranmer, as Archbishop of Canterbury—announces to him the election—signifies the royal approval—and requires him to do his duty in the matter. His duty, by the act of 25th Henry VIII. was to "confirm the said election, and to invest and *consecrate* the said person so elected, to the office and dignity that he is elected to." This he was bound within twenty days to do, under the penalty of total ruin, for that is the true meaning of the legal term *premunire*. Why would he not do it?

Mr. Kenrick tells us that Cranmer and Barlow did not believe in consecration. We suppose that they believed in the *premunire*. This would have been a sufficient motive of action, unless it was counteracted by some other. What could that be? Conscience! Why, Mr. Kenrick would laugh to scorn the idea that Cranmer or Barlow had a conscience! We undoubtedly think better of them, but we see no reason to suppose that either of them had any scruples of conscience about consecration. Cranmer was certainly consecrated

himself, and as certainly consecrated many bishops, some before and some after Barlow. Barlow consecrated Parker and other bishops under Elizabeth, and at least one under Henry. There could then be no conscientious scruples.

As far as Cranmer is concerned, the principal, if not only proof, of his not holding the necessity of orders, is found in his answers to certain questions put to him and some other divines. This is to be seen in the Appendix to Burnet's History of the Reformation; American Edition, vol. iv. p. 114. It is not, as in one place, Mr. Kenrick appears to suppose, an act of the convocation, but a record of the questions put to, and answers made by, certain bishops and clergymen as individuals. This appears on the face of the instrument. The answers of Cranmer and Barlow are erroneous enough. But as to Cranmer, at least, it would appear that the opinions they express had been very recently taken up, after the consecration of Barlow. The questions were put, and the answers given, in 1540; for Thirlby is mentioned in the document as "my Lord elect of Westminster," and he was consecrated on December 12th in that year. But Cranmer's opinions a few years earlier were very different. In order to shew them, we insert the following large extracts from another document to be found in the same work:

"As touching the Sacrament of Holy orders, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge.

"First, How that CHRIST and His Apostles did institute and ordain in the New Testament: that besides the civil powers and governance of Kings and Princes, which is called in Scripture *potestas gladii*, the power of the sword, there should be also continually in the Church militant, certain other ministers or officers which should have spiritual power, authority, and commission *under* CHRIST, to preach and teach the Word of GOD unto his people, and to dispense and administer the Sacraments of GOD unto them, and by the same to confer and give the grace of the HOLY GHOST, to consecrate the blessed body of CHRIST in the Sacrament of the Altar, to loose and absolve from sin, all persons

which be truly penitent and sorry for the same; to bind and excommunicate such as be guilty in manifest crimes and sins, and will not amend their defaults; to order and consecrate others in the same room, order and office whereunto they be called and admitted themselves; and finally, to feed CHRIST's people like good pastors and rectors, as the Apostles calleth them, with their wholesome doctrine, and by their continual exhortations and monitions to redeem them from sin and iniquity, so much as in them lieth; and to bring them unto the perfect knowledge, and perfect love, and dread of GOD, and unto the perfect charity of their neighbours."

* * * * *

"Item, that this power, office, and administration, is necessary to be preserved here in earth for three special and principal causes. First, for that it is the commandment of GOD that it should be so, as it appeareth in sundry places of Scripture. Secondly, for that GOD hath ordained NONE OTHER ordinary mean or instrument, whereby he will make us partakers of the reconciliation which is by CHRIST, and confer and give the graces of His HOLY SPIRIT unto us, and make us the right inheritors of everlasting life, there to reign with Him forever in glory, but only His Word and Sacraments; and therefore the office and power to minister the said Word and Sacraments, may in no wise be suffered to perish, or to be abolished.

"Thirdly, because the said powers, and office or function hath annexed unto it assured promises of excellent and inestimable things; for thereby is conferred and given the HOLY GHOST, with all His graces, and finally our justification and everlasting life, according to the saying of St. Paul. '*Non me pudet Evangelii JESU CHRISTI potentia siquidem est DEI ad salutem omni credenti,*' that is to say, I am not ashamed of the room and office which I have given unto me by CHRIST, to preach this Gospel, for it is the power of GOD, that is to say, the elect organ or instrument ordained by GOD, and endued with such virtue and efficacy, that it is able to give and minister effectually Everlasting Life unto all those that will believe and obey the same.

"Item, that this office, this power and authority, was committed and given by CHRIST and His Apostles unto certain persons ONLY, that is to say, unto priests or bishops, whom they did elect, call and admit thereunto, by their prayers and imposition of their hands.

"Secondly, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed unto their spiritual charge, that the

Sacrament of Order, may worthily be called a Sacrament, because it is a holy rite instituted by CHRIST and His Apostles in the New Testament, and doth consist of two parts, like as the other Sacraments of the Church do; that is to say, of a spiritual and invisible grace, and also of an outward and visible sign. The invisible gift or grace conferred in this Sacrament, is nothing else but the power, the office, and the authority before mentioned,—*the visible and outward sign is the prayer and imposition of the BISHOP'S hands upon the person which receiveth the said gift of grace.* And to the intent the Church of CHRIST should never be destitute of such ministers, as should have and execute the said power of the keys, *it was also ordained and commanded by the Apostles, that the same Sacrament should be applied and administered by the BISHOPS* from time to time unto such other persons as have the qualities which the Apostles so diligently descryve; as it appeareth evidently in the third Chapter of the First Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, and his Epistle unto Titus.”—*Burnet's History of the Reformation, Addenda to Records, part i. New York, 3vo. 1842. vol. iv. pp. 175, 176.*

This paper was signed by Cromwell the King's Vicegerent, two archbishops, eleven bishops, and about twenty divines and canonists, including *Cranmer, Latimer*, and several other bishops of the Protestant party, and Cox, one of the divines raised to the Episcopate in 1559. The instrument has no date, but Burnet says :

“ This paper was signed either in the year 1537 or 1538, since it is subscribed both by John Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, and Edmund Fox, Bishop of Hereford; for the one was consecrated in 1537, and the other died in May, 1538.”—*Burnet, Addenda to vol. i. p. 585. American Edition.*

The consecration of Barlow took place in 1536. The instrument, of which we have just given extracts, more probably gives Cranmer's views at that time than the document of 1540.

Of Barlow's doubts, two evidences are given, one his answers in 1540. But how does Mr. Kenrick know that they are his answers? There is not one word in the document of Barlow. The answers which Mr. Kenrick attributes to him, are those of the Bishop of St. David's. Mr. Kenrick doubts whether Barlow was ever Bishop of St. David's at all, and even thinks “ that there is something very

like positive proof that Barlow was not Bishop of St. David's in 1536 and 1541." Of course he could not have been in 1540. It is a little singular, that the other evidence of Barlow's erroneous views about consecration, implies an assertion that he was himself actually consecrated. Mr. Kenrick gives it to us in these words :

"In 1536 among the many errors which he (Barlow) was accused of spreading, he was charged with having maintained this proposition : 'That if the King's Grace being supreme head of the Church of England did choose, denominate, and elect any layman (being learned) to be a bishop; that he so chosen (without mention made of any orders) should be as good a bishop, *as he is*, or the best in England.'"—*p. 30.*

The royal act for the confirmation and consecration, was then issued, and there was no reason that it should not be obeyed; but very strong reasons for obeying it. What was done under it? Why, the very day after its date the confirmation took place. Mr. Kenrick, *p. 137*, tells us this and gives as his authorities, Wharton and the author of the *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*; Courayer, *p. 51*, N. T. *p. 59*, gives us the very words of both. According to him, Wharton says in Latin :

"Gulielmus Barlow tunc Prior Canoniorum Regularium de Bisham Ordinis Augustiani a Decano et Capilo [Capitulo] Assavensi in Episcopum electus, anno 1536, Januarii 16, a Thoma Archiepiscopo Cantuar. die 23 Februarii sequentis confirmatus est." William Barlow, then Prior of the Canons regular of Bisham of the Augustinian order, by the Dean and Chapter of St. Asaph, was elected bishop in the year 1536, January 16, by Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, was confirmed on the 23d of the following February.

The author of the *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, writing in English, says :

X "William Barlow, S. T. P. was elected January 16, 1535, confirmed February 23d following."

The significavit bears date the 22d February 1535-6, and on the very next day the election was confirmed, an unusual rapidity of proceeding, which betokens any thing except a

disposition to postpone the completion of the affair, and strengthens the probability that the consecration took place within the twenty days. But Strype, a careless writer, who lived about a century and a half after the event, says that he was confirmed on the 15th September, 1535. Godwin, something less than a century after the transaction, mistakes the date of the *significavit* for the time of consecration. The anonymous correspondent of Courayer, after a lapse of near two centuries, was of opinion that Barlow was not consecrated for St. Asaph, or at least uses words which may be so understood. That they were not intended to convey that meaning is abundantly apparent from other passages in the same letter. The writer tells us, that "he," Barlow, "was probably consecrated in the country;" and that "we know with certainty that he was confirmed, and it is reasonable to *suppose* also consecrated." Upon this we would observe, that the translation, which we have copied from Mr. Kenrick, of the last remark, is scarcely accurate. *Credere* does not signify *suppose*, but *believe*. The two last quotations shew that the preceding one from the same letter was a slip of the pen. The writer could not mean, after having said that it was probable that Barlow had been consecrated in the country, and that it was reasonable to believe that he had been consecrated, within four pages to assert that he had not been consecrated. There is some error, probably of the press, in Mr. Kenrick's citations, *pp.* 138, 139. The first quotation from the Appendix to Courayer is there, *p.* 389, the second *p.* 376, the third *p.* 377. In the copy before us, the same passages are at *pp.* 390, 387, 388, New Edit. *pp.* 351, 349, 350. Mr. Kenrick seems too to have misunderstood the second passage, where the word "probable," refers to the place and manner of consecration, not to the consecration itself. Within a dozen lines the writer tells us that Richard Rawlins, Bishop of St. David's, died on the 18th February, and that Barlow was substituted for him with such celerity, that on the 11th of April his election took

place. "Within such a small space of time," says he, "Barlow was elected and confirmed to two bishoprics,—St. Asaph and St. David's, and as *we boldly affirm*, [*ut nos constanter asserimus*,] also consecrated a bishop." This furnishes still stronger proof that the letter writer did not mean to assert, in the first passage quoted by Mr. Kenrick, that Barlow was not consecrated for St. Asaph. A still stronger proof will be found in the whole scope and purview of the letter; the design of the writer manifestly being to establish the fact that he was so consecrated.

Mr. Kenrick infers from all the mistakes which he has collected, that "nothing is known of the period of Barlow's consecration," *p.* 137. He should have said day. From this he jumps to the conclusion that he was never consecrated, remarking that they are all contradicted by a royal act. This we shall presently consider. He adds several other reasons. That Bale says, "he was first under Henry VIII. made Bishop of St. David's, afterwards under Edward VI. of Bath and Wells." This seems to prove nothing; Bale only meant that he was Bishop of St. David's before he had the other see. Besides, Barlow might, with great propriety, be said to have been first Bishop of St. David's, as he was never in possession of the see of St. Asaph. Lord Herbert, writing about a century after his consecration, calls him Bishop elect of St. Asaph. He certainly was such. His nephew says that he was never Bishop of St. Asaph. It is not pretended that he was ever in possession of that see. There is no record of his acts as Bishop of St. Asaph. It has never been asserted that he performed any. He was confirmed for St. Asaph on the 23d of February, for St. David's on the 21st of April, an interval of less than two months, during a part of which he was absent in Scotland. It is not probable that he went to St. Asaph at all. All these things prove, our author remarks, "that it is very uncertain whether he ever was consecrated to the see of St. Asaph." *p.* 140. They certainly do not prove that he was

consecrated; but they none of them interfere with the facts and documents which do prove his consecration. He tells us, moreover, that the uncertainty "is confirmed by the date *assigned* for his passing to the see of St. David's," which he says, was "just six weeks after the act of Barlow's confirmation to St. Asaph." But this is more than the twenty days, within which, by the statute, Cranmer was bound to consecrate him. He winds up with repeating the former statement, that he was one of three bishops who had been removed to second sees, without having been consecrated to the first, which we have shewn to be a mere slip of the pen of a modern writer. The statement appears in this new shape, "he is said to have been elected to the see of St. David's, not yet having been consecrated to St. Asaph," p. 140. The reference is to the same page of Courayer as a few pages before. On page 139, he quotes the same writer as saying: "Hence, although we know with certainty that he was confirmed, and as it is reasonable to suppose, also consecrated; yet nothing further appears with regard to the see of St. Asaph." We shall take the liberty of translating a few sentences from this letter, including those of which we have just copied his translations.

"Barlow was confirmed Bishop of St. Asaph on the 23d day of February, 1535. He was then absent from the city, engaged in the king's business, out of the realm. Hence his confirmation was made by proxy, and himself probably consecrated in the country by force of an archiepiscopal commission. At the very time at which these things were done, died Richard Rawlins, Bishop of St. David's, on the 18th day of the same month. In his place Barlow was substituted, with such celerity, that on the 10th day of the following April, his election by the precentor and chapter of St. David's took place. Within so narrow a space of time, Barlow was elected and confirmed to two bishoprics, St. Asaph and St. David's, and as we steadfastly assert, (constanter asserimus) also consecrated bishop. What wonder if in so many affairs, transacted in so short a space of time, some were done more negligently than they are usually accustomed to be; and the act of consecration of Barlow not at all sent to the archbishop, or by his officer not inscribed

in his register ? to whom it might have, perhaps, appeared absurd to insert there the consecration of Barlow to the bishopric of St. Asaph, who, before it could have been done, had been named by the king to the bishopric of St. David's, and perhaps elected by the chapter.

"And it appears from hence, (that I may also observe this in passing,) why Barlow, in the royal letters and the whole process of the election of his successor, Robert Wharton, was called elect of St. Asaph. When, therefore, it is certain that he never had possession of the bishopric of St. Asaph, when he never was installed in the episcopal seat, never received the temporalities from the king ; when finally, nothing of his confirmation or consecration had been, in a lawful manner signified to the chapter ; as not only from the silence of the public acts in the matter, but even from the very shortness of time, between his confirmation as Bishop of St. Asaph and his election as Bishop of St. David's, may be fairly concluded it follows from the thing itself, that although we know certainly that he was confirmed, and, as it is reasonable to believe, consecrated, *yet with respect to the see of St. Asaph, he could have been called nothing more in law than bishop elect*, because neither his confirmation nor consecration had been certified in due form of law to the chapter thereof, ('*Sequitur cum quantumvis reipsa ut certo scimus, confirmatum, et ut par est credere, etiam consecratum, respectu tamen sedis Assavensis, nihil amplius quam episcopum electum jure dici potuisse, & uptote cujus nec confirmatio nec consecratio illius ecclesie capitulo, in debita juris forma, fuisset certificata.*')

"Nor ought we here only to consider the space of time between the departure of Barlow from the see of St. Asaph, and the election and consecration of his successor, for as much as all those things which are said of Barlow, in the process of the election and confirmation of Wharton, respect only the time at which he was Bishop of St. Asaph. And Barlow might even, during that space, have been consecrated Bishop of

* This is the passage which Mr. Kenrick, p. 139, translates thus : "Hence although we know with certainty that he was confirmed, and, as it is reasonable to suppose, also consecrated, yet nothing further appears with regard to the see of St. Asaph." To countenance this translation, he affects to give the original in a note, and stops at the word "amplius." The true translation of so much of the Latin as he gives, would be, "Although it follows from the thing itself, that we certainly know that he was confirmed, and, it is reasonable to believe, consecrated, yet with respect to the see of St. Asaph, nothing more."—See Courayer, N. E. 350.

St. Asaph, and nevertheless rightly called bishop elect, if neither the consecration had been legally signified to the dean and chapter of St. Asaph, nor any installation nor restitution of the temporalities had followed thereupon. And in this we have Champney himself consenting with us.^b I will say nothing of the statute of Henry VIII. made concerning creating bishops; where all bishops are held for elect, until all things which, by that law, are required for their perfect constitution, are done, which, in the case of Barlow, in respect of the see of St. Asaph, never were done."—*Courayer, Appendix, 387, 388, 389. New Edit. 349, 350.*

But it is time to return to Mr. Kenrick and his "royal act," of which we shall allow him to give his own account.

"All these contradictions are evidence that nothing certain is known of the period of Barlow's consecration; and they are all contradicted by an authentic Royal Act of the 29th of May, 1536, by which the Chapter of St. Asaph's obtained permission to proceed to the election of a new bishop for that see, vacant,—*per liberam transmutationem Will. Barlow, ultimi episcopi ibidem ELECTI*,—that is, by the voluntary EXCHANGE of William Barlow, the last bishop ELECT of that place. Hence, it appears that he was never consecrated for St. Asaph's; for not only is he styled "ELECT," but his removal is called an "EXCHANGE," (transmutatio) whereas, had he been consecrated for St. Asaph's, it would have been termed a "TRANSLATION," (translatio.) Of this Courayer was so fully aware, that he renders the word "*transmutationem*," by "*translation*,"—a fraud which fully proves the importance he attached to this expression of the royal writ. Indeed, among the documents which are found annexed to this writer's vindication of the English orders, we find one communicated to him by an English advocate of the same cause, in which it is expressly stated, that Barlow was not consecrated for St. Asaph's."—*pp. 137, 138.*

The accusation of fraud which Mr. Kenrick, after his manner, so unceremoniously throws at Courayer, might, we think, have been spared. The words translation, transmutation, EXCHANGE, when applied to a bishop, are so nearly equivalent, that for the purposes of his argument, Mr. Kenrick may be allowed to take his choice of them. In the very next page, speaking of the three bishops who are said to

^b Cap. 14, p. 506.

have been *translated* to second sees, without having been consecrated to the first, Mr. Kenrick himself uses the word translated with reference to those bishops. It is his own word; the literal translation of the original word would have been "went over." It is neither our interest nor our inclination to find fault with his version; but it serves to acquit Courayer from the charge of fraudulent intention. We believe that both Courayer and Mr. Kenrick used the most familiar word to express a general idea, without attending to the particular modification of that idea before them.

We however desire to call his attention to his own phraseology. The word *document*, is generally understood in historical discussion, to mean a contemporary public or private act, proving some fact. It seems to us a novel use of language, to call an expression in a letter, written nearly two centuries after an event, a *document communicated* by the letter writer to his correspondent, relating to that event.

But we would ask Mr. Kenrick, how Barlow could *exchange*, since that is the word he prefers, what he never possessed? How he could be *exchanged* from a place he never filled? How the place could be vacant by his *exchange*, unless it had been filled by him? Whether if it had not been filled by him, it would not have been still vacant by the death of his predecessor, Standish? And lastly, what all this word-catching signifies to the question of Barlow's consecration?

Courayer's correspondent, the writer of Mr. Kenrick's *document*, (Kenrick 138, Courayer 390, N. E. p. 351,) mentions three bishops who had been translated without being consecrated. Of these Barlow is said to have been the first, by what we have already shewn to have been a mistake of the writer.

"The second Boner, who when he was long detained beyond sea, in an embassy, was in his absence elected to the bishopric of Hereford, was confirmed and held it almost one year unconsecrated, and then passed over to the see of London, not yet returned to his country.' 'Secundus Bonnerus, qui cum in legatione, ultra mare diu detineretur, ad

episcopatum Herefordensem absens electus, ac confirmatus est, eumque uno fere anno tenuit non consecratus; ac deinde ad sedem Londinensem transiit, nondum in patriam reversus.'—*Courayer, Appendix, 391. New Edit. 351.*

As we have not access to the proceedings adopted to fill the vacancy in the see of Hereford after Boner's promotion, we proceed to the case of the third bishop. Juxon was elected to Hereford, and passed over to London, as Boner had been about one hundred years before. We know that the lapse of about a century from the *exchange* of Barlow, renders this transaction of but little value to the argument on either side. But we intend to shew that that little is not in Mr. Kenrick's scale. *Courayer, page 78, New Trans. p. 81, gives us an extract from the significavit for the confirmation of Lyndsell, who was promoted to Hereford on that occasion in the following words :*

“ Cum sedes Episcopalis Herefordensis, tam per mortem naturalem Francisci Godwin nuper Episcopi ibidem, ac per promotionem Reverendi in CHRISTO patris Willemi Juxon in Episcopum ibidem electum ad Episcopatum Londiniensem, nuper vacaverit.' ‘Whereas the Episcopal see of Hereford had been vacated *as well by the death of Francis Godwin, late bishop there, as by the promotion of the Reverend Father in CHRIST, William Juxon, lately elected Bishop there, to the bishopric of London.*’ ”

The reader observes, that in the case of Juxon, who had never been consecrated, the see is considered as vacant, as well by the death of Godwin as by the promotion of Juxon. In the case of Barlow, the see is regarded as vacant by his EXCHANGE—no mention made of the late bishop. What is the inference, except that Barlow had been consecrated and Juxon not?

But all this is to yield to the word “elect.” Clergymen who are promoted to an Episcopal see, but not yet consecrated,” are spoken of “as bishops elect,” and bishops in full possession of their sees before translation, are called “formerly Bishop of N. now bishop elect of M.” therefore, in

perhaps the only case which ever occurred that did not fall under either of those conditions, these rules must be arbitrarily applied. We leave the matter with this remark, and the reasoning of the passage which we have translated from Courayer's correspondent. We shall now pass to the proofs of Barlow's consecration.

NOTE A.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER'S REGISTER.

The only important question discussed in this and the two following Essays, is, whether Barlow was consecrated? Even this fact is of little or no importance, in consequence of the peculiar mode of consecration adopted in the case of Parker.—*See ante, p. 17, note b.* But it is really the only question about Barlow; the particular day of his consecration is entirely immaterial. About the last fact, we are bound to inform our readers, that Mr. Haddan, the editor, in the Anglo-Catholic Library, of Abp. Bramhall's works, has, with much greater opportunities of research than we possess, come to a conclusion different from ours. But the consecration itself is the only fact of the least importance, and that both Mr. Haddan and ourselves consider incontrovertibly proved, by the facts stated in this Essay. The arguments on the other side have never been but four in number, and are all urged by Mr. Kenrick. They are, the want of a Register of his consecration, his absence in Scotland at the time at which it should have taken place, his and Cranmer's erroneous opinions on the subject, and the alleged fact that other bishops held sees without consecration. Under the last objection, the only two cases named, are those of Latimer and Ridley. These cases, we think, we have sufficiently disposed of in our Essay VIII. and the note on Parker's consecrators appended to it originally; but we shall, in the proper place, have the pleasure of adducing some further evidence as regards Latimer. On the third objection we think nothing need be added to the text of this Essay. Of the first we shall now proceed to speak, reserving the second for a subsequent note. In addition to what is said in the text, it appears that the most shameful negligence on the subject of the Registers existed during the primacies of Warham and Cranmer. The Register of the latter, according to Mr. Haddan, who appears to have

seen it, or at least received a trustworthy account of it, consists of "collections of loose leaves bound together at the death of the Archbishop."—*Bramhall's Works*, N. E. vol. iii. p. 173, note a. Now if they were really bound immediately upon the death of the Archbishop, there might be some room for suspicion of foul play,—if, as is more probable, they were not bound until the accession of Elizabeth, they were exposed for several years in a very perilous condition, in addition to the careless manner in which they were kept. In answer to the question,—why was not Barlow's consecration registered? Mr. Haddan answers: "An inspection of Crammer's Register supplies the answer,—through the carelessness of the Registrar. The omission would be a conclusive objection during Parker's primacy, when the Register was kept with peculiar care; it is absolutely none at all during Crammer's, when it was kept with equal carelessness. For how stand the facts? There are recorded in Crammer's Register, during his primacy of twenty years or thereabouts, (1533—1553,) the confirmations and consecrations of thirty-six, (including those of Reppis,) and the confirmations upon translation (leaving Barlow out of the question) of eight bishops, and the mandate of [sic?] the Archdeacon of Canterbury, to enthrone, in the case of two other translations in 1550, (subsequently to Edward the Sixth's act abolishing election and confirmation;) and there are omitted in the same Register and period, the confirmations prior to the statute (just referred to) in 1547, of two, and the mandates subsequently to that date, for three, and the consecrations of no less than eight, bishops, (exclusive of Barlow,) being something more than a fourth of the whole number of actual entries; and in the cases of four of the last named eight, the confirmations are recorded, but nothing more, and of a fifth, one page and a half at the commencement of the record of confirmation, breaking off in the middle of a page and of a sentence, and of three more, no documents whatever," [Latimer, Hilsey, and King,] "while the consecrations of three of the eight—two whose confirmations are recorded, and one who is not mentioned at all—are known to be recorded in the diocesan Registers" [Fox, Skyp, and Hilsey,] "which last, in Barlow's case, do not exist; and of those of the other five, (of which four, for ought that has yet appeared, may be recorded also in the respective diocesan Registers,—the fifth was to a suffragan see) there can be, as will be seen below, no reasonable doubt. Further, at the very time when I have supposed Barlow to have been consecrated, the consecrations of three bishops ought to have been recorded, (according to what has been said above,) viz. Sampson, Reppis, and Barlow,—of these, the confirmation only of the

first is entered, (folio 189 a—192 b,) and the record of consecration, which, in his case, took place (almost certainly) the very next day after his confirmation, is omitted; the entry relating to the second is neither regular nor in its place, being postponed (as is also the record of Barlow's confirmation to St. David's, which it immediately follows) until after the consecrations of 1537,—viz. to fol. 208, a—212, b, while the regular entry of consecration is entirely omitted, and the record closes with the Archbishop's certificates of both confirmation and consecration, in which (unusually) the particulars of the consecration are given at length. What argument can possibly be founded, under these circumstances, upon the omission to register the consecration of the third? An omission, it is to be remembered, not of a second part of a document of which the first part stands correctly in the Register, (which would be the case had he been consecrated and confirmed at the same time, and which is the case with others undoubtedly consecrated,) but of a short and distinct entry, relating to an act certainly differing in date from both his confirmations, and probably above seven weeks subsequent to the latter of them. It is plain, that from an omission of this kind, in a book kept so carelessly and so irregularly, and known to omit consecrations which are proved to have taken place, no negative conclusion whatever can be drawn. Such a register is good evidence for what it contains; it is no evidence at all against what it simply omits. Upon the whole, then, as the case stands, the Register, by recording Barlow's confirmations, affords an undeniable presumption (not against, but) for his consecration also: and the supposition that he really was consecrated on June 11, in itself (date apart) a fact to be taken for granted unless disproved, appears to be not only perfectly consistent with every existing document connected with the subject; so that no difficulty lies in the way of admitting its truth; but on the contrary, to be required to explain the existing evidence, so that insuperable difficulties arise, should we suppose the case to have been otherwise."—*Preface to Vindication, &c. Bramhall's Works, N. E. vol. iii. 7 & 8th leaves of Preface, which is not paged.*

In the above passage, Mr. Haddan promises proofs of the consecration of the bishops whose consecrations are omitted in Cranmer's Register, which promise he thus fulfils.

"The record of consecration in the Archiepiscopal Register, is wanting for six, (out of twenty-six bishops consecrated during Warham's primacy, (1503—1533;) it is wanting also in eight instances (exclusive of Barlow) during Cranmer's primacy, (1533—1553,) as has been said

above; and in one, or possibly two instances, during the vacancy between Cranmer and Pole. Now in the cases during Warham's primacy, there can of course be no doubt of consecration having actually taken place. It is useless, therefore, to enter into longer details concerning them than may be found below in the note, (g);" [which we omit] "further than to say, that in one of the number, (Gardiner's,) and possibly more, the consecration is certainly entered in the Diocesan Register. Only let it be observed—first, that the omissions in the Registers apply to Bishops who did not, as well as to those who did, hold Reforming opinions; and secondly, that not only the *entire* omission of *all* entry, but the insertion also of a *partial* entry relative to a consecration, is thus shewn to be no evidence against the fact of consecration itself. Nor will there be any doubt in the case of the one (or two) omitted during the vacancy, between Cranmer and Pole; one of whom (Goldwell made Bishop of St. Asaph in 1554) was probably consecrated at Rome, while of the other (Pates Bp. of Worcester) there is so much doubt as to the time when he was consecrated to that see, that his case can be of no weight in the question in either direction. To confine the question, then, to the omissions in Cranmer's Register. These are of three kinds, (leaving Barlow out of consideration :) entire omissions of all entry whatsoever, of which there are three cases, Latimer, Hilsey, and King; or omissions of the entry of consecration, while that of confirmation (and to a first see) is correctly entered, and of these there are four, Fox, Sampson, Skyp, and Day; or lastly, unfinished entries, of which there is one case,—viz. Bell. Now of course in an accurate Register, the presumption against consecration would be considerably stronger in the second class than in the first, and would not exist at all in the third: but the question is cut short at once, and all presumption of the kind against either class destroyed altogether, by the fact, that in one case of the first and two of the second class, viz. Hilsey, Fox, and Skyp, the record of consecration actually exists in the Diocesan Registers. Of course, then, what is of no weight in these cases, can be of none in the other four. However, to examine these four, and Bell's in detail,—I. Latimer is said by Le Neve, from Fuller, (Worthies' County Leicestershire,) to have been consecrated in Sept. 1535; but his installation, according to Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 539, from the Dioc. Reg.,) took place Aug. 20, 1535. Probably, then, he was consecrated in the latter month. Now in the month of September, 1535, there were two other consecrations in the province of Canterbury, and only two—Fox to the see of Hereford, and Hilsey to that of Rochester, both occurring at Winchester, both omit-

ted in *Cranmer's Register*, and both recorded in the respective Diocesan Registers; and these two bishops, together with Latimer, were restored to their temporalities by writs dated the same day, Oct. 4, 1535—Rymer, xiv. pp. 552—544,) wherein, according to the (then) customary form, consecration is in each case recited as already performed. There had been no previous consecration in 1535, (Latimer's excepted,) later than Shaxton's, on April 11. The presumption then is, that Latimer was also consecrated at Winchester; and the omission in the Archiepiscopal Register, being at once accounted for and supplied in the two cases, can be of no force in the third. ii. Sampson's case has been mentioned already." [See ante, pp. 157, 158.] "iii. Bell succeeded to the see of Worcester in 1539, 'per liberam resignationem Hugonis Latimer,' who resigned July 1, 1539, (Le Neve.) The entry in Cranmer's Register, relating to him, extends over 1½ pages, and comprehends merely the usual summary prefixed to a record of confirmation, and half the first document,—viz. the Royal Assent, in the middle of which it breaks off with an unfinished sentence, and is followed by 7½ blank pages. The documents relating to him in the Rolls, are the Royal Assent, Aug. 1, 1539, (Rymer, xiv. 642, 643,) the significavit (in this case a distinct document,) Aug. 2, 1539, (ibid 643,) and the writ of restitution of temporalities, Aug. 1539, (ibid;) which last recites consecration, although as he was confirmed only on (Monday, Aug. 11, Reg. Cranmer,) he could not, at the time, have been actually consecrated. Of course the usual form was drawn out and sealed, although it was true at that time by anticipation only. There is this difficulty, then, in making out the details of his case; but it is plain, that the half omission in the Archiepiscopal Register can afford no ground for doubting the fact of his consecration. iv. Day succeeded to the see of Chichester in May, 1543, upon the translation of Sampson to Litchfield. His confirmation is entered in Cranmer's Register, May 5, 1543, giving the date of receipt of the Conge d'Elire, April 20, 1543, (that document itself is given in Rymer, xiv. 780, being dated April 5, 1543,) and of the election, April 24, 1543. His consecration is omitted. (The Royal Assent is in Rymer, xiv. 780,) dated May 1, 1543, and the writ of restitution of temporalities (reciting consecration) is in Rymer also, (xiv. 785,) dated May 10, 1543. After what has been shewn of the carelessness of the Registrars, what is there to hinder us from accepting the inference probably arising from the date of this last writ, and concluding Day to have been consecrated on the day after his confirmation, in ordinary course,—viz. on Sunday, May 6, 1543.—v. and lastly, Robert

King, styled, *Episcopus Rovensis*' (sic in Rymer) in the charter of erection of the bishopric of Oseney, (afterwards of Oxford,) Sept. 1, 1542, (Rymer, xiv. 755,) was consecrated Bishop of the suffragan see of Boven or Thevnen, in 1539, (see Wharton's *Suffragans*, in Nichols' *Biblioth. Topogr.* vol. vi. ;) but neither is his consecration entered in Cranmer's Register, nor his confirmation in the see of Oxford, nor is the king's writ for his consecration to be found in Rymer. Now in his case there are, of course, no diocesan Registers to supply these omissions: yet the assumption of his Episcopacy in a legal document, in 1542, is sufficient evidence of his consecration having really taken place, when the sole ground for doubt is the omission of a single (paragraph for he was a Suffragan Bishop and therefore not confirmed) in an inaccurate Register.—To sum up what has been said.—Assuming (what is undeniable) that the fact of Barlow's consecration must be regarded as certain until it is disproved, it has been shewn,—1. that at the time to which the existing evidence limits the period of his consecration, he was actually upon the spot, when one, if not two, other bishops were certainly consecrated, and that immediately afterwards he began to assume his Episcopal rights; 2. that the omission of a formal entry of his consecration at this time, supposing it to have then taken place, is shared by him with both the other bishops in question, of one of whom, nevertheless, the consecration is actually (although incidentally) recorded in the Register, by an entry there of the Archbishop's certificate of it, and relates to a Register wherein more than one-fifth of the consecrations, during the period to which it relates, are unrecorded,—three out of the eight which constitute this number, being known to be recorded elsewhere; 3. that there is nothing whatever known, either of him or of any of the others whose consecrations are omitted, (much less, common to all of them, or of Cranmer, which should render it otherwise than in the highest degree improbable, that either he or they should have risked their sees by refusing to receive consecration, or Cranmer by refusing to consecrate; and 4. and lastly, that no case whatever can be pointed out, to diminish the irresistible presumption, that his and their consecrations actually took place, arising from the invariable practice of the English Church, from the very beginning to the present moment. In a word, the fact of his consecration is disproved by nothing; it is proved by the law of the land, by the canons of the Church, by the still more peremptory fiat of public opinion, compelling, enjoining, and requiring, its performance; and by the invariable practice in every other known case, and the as invariable belief of all parties, without exception, as regards him-

self, until forty-eight years subsequent to his death, implying and assuming that it was performed."—*Ibid*, leaves 9, 10, 11. "Respecting the diocesan Registers in Barlow's case," says Mr. Haddan, in a note on the above passage, there is no Register of the acts of the Chapter of St. David's prior to the year 1560, the first six acts entered in the earliest existing Register relating to the appointments of a new precentor, &c. in that year; and the seventh being the record of the receipt of a Conge d'Elire (Feb. 20, 1560—1, agreeing with Rymer) for the election to the see of Richard Davies, then Bishop of St. Asaph, which took place accordingly, March 18, 1560—1. There is, however, a Liber Computi belonging to the Chapter, reaching back as far as 1334, and thence to 1560, in which the entries break off with the year 1492, and re-commence with the feast of St. Peter, ad Vincula, 1539,—and in the margin against the first entry under the latter date, (p. 26,) are the words, 'Hen: 8: Rex. Anno Regni 31, William Barlow Episcopus.' The 31 Henry VIII. was from April 1539, to April 1540. Barlow's Episcopal Register is wanting both at St. David's, and at Bath and Wells. And at St. Asaph's, no Register at all exists for the period during which he nominally held the see. Note k, leaf 11.

ESSAY VII.

BISHOP BARLOW. PROOFS.

WE come now to the examination of those documents which have a direct bearing on the question of Barlow's consecration.¹ Those we mean which relate to Barlow himself, and his transfer to the see of St. David's. The *significavit* remains, and has been printed by Elrington, Appendix. p. lii.² Its date is 20th April, 1536. It signifies to the archbishop, the king's approval of "an election lately made in the Cathedral church of St. David's, vacant by the death of Richard Rawlins, the last bishop there, of the *Reverend Father in CHRIST Sir William Barlow, S. T. P. THEN BISHOP of ST. ASAPH.*" "*Electione nuper factæ in Ecclesiâ Cathedrali Menevensi, per mortem bonæ memoriæ Dom. Richardi Rawlins ultimi episcopi ibidem, vacante de Reverendo in CHRISTO Patre Domino Willielmo Barlow, S. T. P. TUNC EPISCOPO ASSAVENTIS in episcopum loci illius [et] pastorem.*" Here we have a direct affirmation, that at the time of his election to St. David's, Barlow was Bishop of St. Asaph, and consequently, according to *Mr. Kenrick's own selected illustration of his own general rule*, was consecrated. On the same page will be found the proceedings for confirming the election copied from the Register of Cranmer, folio 250, in which Barlow is called, "the Reverend Father in CHRIST, William Barlow, Bishop of St. Asaph and *Commendator* of the monastery of Bisham, elected bishop of St. David's." Here we find not only that he was Bishop of St. Asaph's, and so spoken of in the very style dictated by Mr. Kenrick, but that he was *Commendator* of Bisham, that is, held the office of head of that house in

¹ See note A at the end of this Essay.

² See post, App. xxx.

Commendam. Now in the significavit for St. Asaph, he is described as absolutely *Prior* of Bisham. How did he cease to be so, unless he had vacated his office by being consecrated a bishop, but continued to hold in commendam, by virtue of a royal license. We give our readers the law on this subject, from a very high authority. They will perceive that it was only by *consecration* that Barlow could have been transformed from Prior into Commendator.

“*Commendam* is a benefice or ecclesiastical living, which being void [or] to prevent its becoming void, is committed, *commendatur*, to the charge and care of some sufficient clerk, to be supplied until it may be conveniently provided of a pastor. Thus, when a parson of a parish is made the bishop of a diocese, there is a cession of his benefice by his promotion; but if the king gives him power to retain his benefice, he shall continue parson thereof, and be said to hold the same in *commendam*.”—*Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, vol. ii. p. 1. Title Commendam, § 1.*

The same authority informs us that :

“The possession of a bishopric doth of a common right void all other promotions.—This is the ancient law of the Church, as expressed in a canon of the Council of Lateran, under Alexander III. And agreeable hereunto, [and without doubt derived from this,] are the declarations that we meet with every where, in the books of common law, that of common right, all promotions are vacated by the taking of a bishopric as such: But the law is otherwise if one is a mere titular bishop, or a suffragan bishop, upon the statute of the 21 Hen. VIII. ch. 14.

“But this voidance may be prevented by dispensation of retainer, granted before possession of a bishopric; which is commonly called a *commendam retinere*. This the pope had power to do, as claiming a right to dispose of all promotions becoming void in that manner. And the same thing the king may do; either singly and by himself, (as many of the law books hold,) or at least by command to the archbishop, to exert the right of dispensation vested in him by the statute of the 25 Hen. VIII. ch. 21, as the ordinary method is. Which sort of *commendam* is defined by Hobart, to be a faculty of retention and continuation of the benefice in the same person and state wherein it was, notwithstanding something intervening, (as a bishopric, or the like,) that without such a faculty would have avoided it. By which means, the

institution and induction, or other method whereby the person obtained such benefice, remain, and are continued in their full force. *And it being the doctrine both of canon and common law, that former promotions are not vacant, BUT BY CONSECRATION* in case of creation, and by confirmation in case of translation; if such dispensation comes before these, it is time enough to continue the possession; but otherwise it comes too late."—*Ibid*, pp.¹ 2-3 §§ 2-3.

To return to our records; in Elrington, Appendix, page lvi;^k we find the certificate of Archbishop Cranmer, to Henry VIII. of the confirmation of the election, as Bishop of St. David's, of the Reverend Father, Lord William Barlow, late Bishop of St. Asaph and Commendator of Bisham. Now, besides the repetition of those titles, for what purpose was that certificate made, except to notify the king that the precept of his significavit had been obeyed. That precept was that the archbishop should "do what belonged to him in the matter," "quod vestrum est in hac parte exequamini." The certificate makes no mention of consecration; which it was the duty of the archbishop to perform, unless Barlow had been previously consecrated. In other words, this certificate, sent by Cranmer to Henry VIII., upon the supposition that Barlow had not been consecrated for St. Asaph, was a certificate that Cranmer had disobeyed the king's orders. And this certificate too, is sent with needless haste, when there was plenty of time to have performed the consecration within the legal period. The significavit is dated the 20th of April, the act of confirmation the 21st, the certificate the same day. The last named instrument concludes with a request, that the king "would graciously act, do, and command those other things, which further become your majesty, and which belong equally to your royal dignity and prerogative in the matter;" *cæteraque peragere, facere et jubere, ulterius dignetur vestra majestas gratiose, quæ ad regiam vestram dignitatem pariter et prerogativam attinent in hac parte.*" Now after issuing the significavit, there was

¹*Post App. No. xxxi.*

nothing,—according to the statute of 25 Henry VIII. then but two years old,—for the king to do, until the bishop elect was consecrated. The king however, grants the archbishop's request, and in five days after, on the 26th of April, the writ of restitution to the temporalities of St. David's issued to the new bishop.

Of this writ, Mr. Kenrick observes, that it does not allege that Barlow was consecrated. It certainly does not allege that fact, in so many words, that not being the usual form of such instruments; but it calls him the "now BISHOP," "*eidem nunc episcopo.*" This, according to Mr. Kenrick's second "general principle," page 65, is equivalent. Certainly in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it ought to be inferred, from such an expression that he was consecrated.

Let us now, however, return to the significavit for the confirmation of Barlow at St. David's. In that instrument, we have seen that Barlow is styled "Bishop of St. Asaph." We have not access to the significavit in the case of Juxon; but in all the process of his confirmation and consecration, he is, according to Courayer's correspondent, called "Bishop elect of Hereford."—Courayer, Appendix. p. 392. *New Edit.* pp. 352, 353. But we have the opportunity of seeing the significavit in the case of Boner, four years after the promotion of Barlow, and we shall perceive very striking differences between them. Barlow, as we have seen, is called "Bishop of St. Asaph;" Boner is called "Bishop elected and confirmed of the Cathedral church of Hereford." These words exactly describe his situation, and that of Barlow also, *unless he were consecrated for St. Asaph.* Why the difference? In Barlow's case, the archbishop is only required "to do what belongs to his office in the matter." An usual form, from which, taken alone, we know nothing can be inferred. Yet it is worthy of remark, that in Boner's case, the matter was not left thus at large, but the archbishop was specially directed "to confirm the election with all con-

venient speed," and to confer upon Boner "the gift as well of consecration as of confirmation," "munus tam consecrationis quam confirmationis."

The significavit in Boner's case, to which we have referred is to be found in Courayer, Appendix, p. 391. *N. E.* pp. 351, 352, it bears date on the 26th of March, in the 31st of Henry VIII. i. e. 1540, and is taken from Cranmer's Register, folio 260. By authority of this writ, Boner, on the 4th of April following, was consecrated, as appears from the same Register, folio 259; Percival, Appendix, p. 100. *N. Y. Edit.* Mr. Kenrick, however, affects to believe that Boner was consecrated for Hereford. For this belief he assigns several reasons. The first is, that the significavit for Hereford was issued on the 27th November, 1538, and the statute required a consecration within twenty days. In the cases of Barlow and Parker, he allows no weight to this argument. In the case of Boner it is entitled to none. Boner was absent in France, as ambassador, from before his nomination to Hereford, until near the period of his consecration for London. That he was in France at the time of his nomination to Hereford we know, from his own letter of thanks to Cromwell, dated Blois, September 2d, 1538, which is published by Fox, "Acts and Monuments," vol. ii. pp. 316—317, Edition, London, 1583, folio, and in the "Biographia Britannica," Art. Bonner. That he was "absent in an embassy" at the time of his nomination to London, we are told by Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 150. It is true that the "Biographia Britannica" says that he was re-called from France in 1538, but this is plainly a mistake, for Fox, the authority cited, says, vol. ii. p. 321, that he was re-called about the time of his nomination to London. We shall presently see reason to believe that it was still later. Another reason is, that in the writ for the restitution of his temporalities, "Cranmer is only said to have *confirmed* him,—there is no mention made of his supposed consecration," p. 149, *note*. Such is the usual form, and it would have been strange if it had been departed from

on this occasion, for the writ was issued several months before his consecration. *The omission in it of all mention of his consecration*, is an odd mode of proving that his consecration had then taken place. If it be sufficient, the same omission, in Barlow's case, must also prove that he had been consecrated for St. Asaph. The text to which this note is appended, is an argument to shew that the suing out the writ of restitution of the temporalities of St. David's, does not prove Barlow's consecration; and in the note we find the very same writ, cited to prove Boner's consecration, although consecration is admitted not to be mentioned in it. In fact both writs are in the same form, being the usual, if not the invariable one, for such writs.

Another reason seems to be, that Godwin, an hundred years afterwards, wrote "installationem," for "consecrationem." But the strangest reason yet is that, according to Mr. Kenrick, there were two different writs of significavit, in *both* of which the archbishop, although in different forms of words, is directed to consecrate the elect. But in one of the writs, "these words are evidently the usual phraseology of such documents," and the other "is not *per breve de privato sigillo*." We thus learn from Mr. Kenrick, that there were two writs of significavit in the case of Boner's promotion to London. From this fact we draw two inferences. The first, that he was still absent during the twenty days which were the limit of the authority conferred by the first, or why was it not executed. The other, that he was not consecrated for Hereford, for if he had been a consecrated bishop, all that was necessary to his perfect translation, was confirmation and inthronisation. Every one knows that these ceremonies not only may be, but most frequently are, performed in the absence of the elect, who may be represented by proxies. Why, then, if Boner were a consecrated Bishop of Hereford, was he not confirmed and inthroned by proxy, under the first significavit, and why then a second? In fact he was confirmed under the first in November, 1539.

Wood ubi supra; Biog. Britt. Art. Bonner. What was the use of the second, unless consecration were wanted? Mr. Kenrick is here too in another dilemma. In the only writ of significavit for Boner's promotion to London which we have seen, he is called Bishop elected and confirmed of Hereford. If in the other, of the existence of which we know only through the information of Mr. Kenrick, he had been called any thing more, we should undoubtedly have heard of it, as conclusive of the point Mr. Kenrick was then arguing. We have a right, then, to assume that Boner is there also called bishop elect. Mr. Kenrick must then give up either the notion that he was consecrated for Hereford, or his whole argument against both Parker and Barlow, founded on his second "general principle" about bishops and bishops elect.

But he informs us, besides all this, that "the fact that Boner's consecration, before his translation to London, is also established, by public acts, bearing his name as Bishop of Hereford and of London, several months previous to his supposed consecration in April, 1540." He does not choose to inform us what those acts were; and until they are produced, they can prove nothing. Two of them are the writs of restitution of the temporalities of his two sees, of which enough has been said. There is but one other as far as we know. One record certainly does exist, in which he is named Bishop of London, on the 12th November, 1539. It may be found among the records, in Burnet, vol. i. No. 14, vol. iv. p. 104, American Edition. Mr. Kenrick, however, ought not to use this act, for it is not "*per breve de privato sigillo.*" He will not more precisely allude to it, for another reason. It is one of those commissions,—unjustifiable they certainly were,—"which the time-serving bishops of that reign," among whom Boner was perhaps the most time-serving, consented "to receive from the lustful and sanguinary tyrant Henry VIII." by which "the king did empower them in HIS STEAD, to give institution, and to do all the other

parts of the episcopal function." We have said it is one of those commissions, it is something more, it is the only one of them which remains, perhaps the only one of them which issued, a fact which would sufficiently account for the restitution of the temporalities before consecration. See *Burnet, vol. i. p. 429. Am. Ed.*

We have spent some time and space upon the case of Boner, but we think not uselessly; for we have shewn that either the second "general principle," must be given up, or Boner admitted to have been promoted to London before consecration, and that once admitted, the different forms of the writs in his case and that of Barlow become at once significant, and go far to establish Barlow's consecration.

The writ of restitution of the temporalities of St. David's to Barlow, bears date on the 26th of April, 1536.^m On the 27th, writs were issued for a Parliament, and among the other members of the House of Lords, the Bishop of St. David's was summoned. Of this summons we shall say no more at present, than that we expect shortly to return to it. The record of the return of this writ in Parliament is thus entered, as appears by a certified copy of the record published by Elrington, Appendix, p. lxiv.ⁿ

"Die Veneris 30 Junii decimo tertio die Parliamenti." "Hodie allatum est Regium breve Reverendo in CHRISTO Patri W. Menevenal Episcopo directum quo idem Episcopus in presenti Parlamento personaliter ad comparandum summonebatur, qui presens admissus est ad summ Eminentie locum salvo cuiuspiam jure."

"Friday, 30th June, the thirteenth day of the Parliament." "This day the royal writ was brought in, directed to W. Bishop of St. David's, by which the said Bishop was summoned, personally to appear in the present Parliament, who being present, was admitted to his place of eminence, saving to every one his right."

Of course a Convocation met at the same time with the Parliament. Concerning Barlow's share in this Mr. Kenrick says:

^m See *Post*, Appendix, No. xxxii.

ⁿ See *Post*, Appendix, No. xi.

“It is true, indeed, that he is generally supposed to have been the Bishop of St. David’s, who assisted in the Convocation, held under Henry, in 1536; nor do I wish to be understood as positively denying such to have been the case. But although he is mentioned in the preface, and his name appears among the subscriptions of those who were present at that Convocation, there is reason to suppose that the subscriptions to the acts, as well as the preface, under the name of Henry VIII. were added in the reign of James I. It appears certain that they were not in the original edition of the acts.”—*Kenrick p. 142.*

What does this mean? Does Mr. Kenrick intend to intimate that the record of the Convocation has been altered? Why then does he not say so? Simply because he has no proof to sustain such an assertion, and he therefore prefers insinuation. But it appears certain that they, “the preface and subscriptions,” “were not in the original *edition* of the acts.” What of that? Does every edition of the Laws of the State of Maryland contain the authenticating signatures? No. But the signatures are in the original documents, and in the official record, and an edition might be published from them if desired. Would there be any reason to charge the publishers of such an edition with the guilt of forgery? The true question is not whether the “subscriptions” are in the *original edition*, but whether they are in the *original acts*. Mr. Kenrick is dextrous in the use of words and phrases. There is no evidence of forgery produced here, or indeed any where in the whole controversy; yet forgery is the ceaseless cry of the Romanists. A cry which, unsustained as it is by any thing worthy the name of proof, is a strong evidence of the weakness of their cause.

But we come now to a document which Mr. Kenrick admits to be genuine.^o

“It is certain that by a Royal Act of the 3rd of February, 1548, which is undoubtedly authentic, being *Per breve de privato sigillo*, the see of Bath and Wells, was conferred on William, Bishop of St. David’s, but as the name of Barlow is not mentioned, this document cannot be regarded as a positive proof that the individual there named

^o See *Post*, Appendix, No. xxxv.

was William Barlow, although Godwin maintains that it was. In the Act of nomination of Ferrar to the see of St. David's, this is said to be vacant 'by the translation of William;' but it does not add 'Barlow,' The arguments derived from these two authentic acts are, consequently, not absolutely conclusive."—*Kenrick*, pp. 140, 141.

Yet Mr. Kenrick says, "I have not met with any certain proof that he [Barlow] was bishop, either under Henry or Edward, though *I incline to believe that, at least, under the latter, he was Bishop of Bath and Wells.*" Pray how did he become so, unless by virtue of the "*authentic royal act,*" which conferred that see upon a man bearing his Christian name, and the title of his former see. But "the name of Barlow is not mentioned." ^p Who was the Bishop of St.

^p The reasoning in the text seems to us conclusive; but as we, through the industry of Mr. Haddan, have become possessed of another piece of contemporary evidence, which establishes directly the possession of St. David's by Barlow, his long continuance in the see, and his translation to Bath and Wells,—and may thus relieve Mr. Kenrick's mind altogether of any doubts as to the identity of William, Bishop of Bath and Wells, translated from St. David's, with William Barlow, successively Bishop of St. David's and of Bath and Wells, we insert it. We may further remark, that it perhaps suggests a different period for the consecration of Barlow from that named by Mr. Haddan, as well as from that supposed by ourselves, but we incline to think that the first of May was either the time at which Barlow's agents were put in possession of the temporalities, under the writ of restitution; which would prove nothing either way, or perhaps the day of enthronisation, which would establish our view; but the fact is too uncertain to build an argument upon. The evidence to which we allude is:

"*An inquest* made April 17, 4 Edw. VI.' [1550,] 'certifying the Barons of the Exchequer upon oath of 23 men, how often and how long the Bprie. of St. David's had been void since March 2, anno—Henr. Viti.' Abstract in Wharton's MSS. Lamb. Libr. num. 585, p. 239; wherein it is declared that 'R. Rawlins, D. D. succeeded Edw. Vechan, and died about the Feast of the Purification of the B. V. about the 27th year of Hen. VIII.' [i. e. Feb. 2, 1835—6,—it should be Feb. 18,] 'and that the Bprie. was vacant from Candlemas' [viz. Feb. 2,] 'until the Feast of the App. Phil. and James next,' [May 1, 1536;] and fur-

David's if it were not Barlow? We call the attention of our readers to a rule of evidence, not got up for the occasion, or founded on our own conjectures; but known to the courts of justice of all civilized nations, founded in the experience of mankind, and approved by their universal common sense. This rule we shall give in the words of the most philosophical of the English writers on the Law of Evidence.

"Where a fact or relation is in its nature continuous, after its existence has once been proved, a presumption arises as to its continuance at a subsequent time; for, from the nature of the fact or relation, a very strong presumption arises that it did not cease immediately after the time when it was proved to exist; and as there is no particular time when the presumption ceases, it still continues; therefore, where a *partnership* between two persons has once been established, its continuance at a later period is to be presumed, unless the termination be proved. So also, where the existence of a particular individual has once been shewn, it will within certain limits, be presumed that he still lives."—*Starkie's Practical Treatise on the Law of Evidence, Part i. Sect. 19, vol. i. p. 36.*

Now to apply this rule. We have shewn Barlow Bishop of St. David's in 1536. The "*relation*" between him and his see was "*continuous in its nature.*" It could only be dissolved by death, resignation, or translation. Now Barlow did not die. Had he not lived to the reign of Elizabeth, there would have been no controversy about his consecration. He was alive in 1559, and bearing the title of "late Bishop of Bath and Wells;" an additional circumstance to shew that he was the "William Bishop of St. David's," named in the "authentic royal acts," of which we have just been speaking. He did not resign. No one writes of the reign of Henry VIII. without mentioning the resignations of Bishops Shaxton and Latimer. Who has mentioned that of Bishop Barlow? Was he translated? If so, to what see,

ther, 'that William Barlow, M. A. succeeded R. Rawlins, and was translated to the Bprie. of Bath and Wells, about the 1st day of March, anno 2do Edw. VI.' [1547-8—the exact date is Feb. 3 in that year.]" —*Bramhall's Works, N. Edit. vol. iii. p. 228, col. 1.*

and when? Who was the William that succeeded him at St. David's? Till these questions are answered, we are warranted in believing that he was not translated. *De non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio.* The same reason applies to things which do not appear, and those which do not exist. This is a rule of evidence not confined to the law; all men acknowledge it; lawyers, philosophers, men of action, all alike admit its force. It prevails equally in jurisprudence, in science, and in the business of life. If he did not die or resign, and was not translated, he must have been the Bishop of St. David's spoken of in these "royal acts." Both of them speak of him as *Bishop of St. David's*; upon Mr. Kenrick's own rules of evidence, a recognition of his consecration. William Barlow was then Bishop of Bath and Wells under Edward as Mr. Kenrick is rightly "inclined to think."

"On her accession to the throne, Mary deprived the Bishop of Bath and Wells of his see, as is certain from the records given by Rymer; but that that Bishop was William Barlow, although generally believed, does not appear to be certainly established. There is, indeed, a degree of obscurity about this portion of Barlow's history,—if he were in reality the bishop so deprived—which it is extremely difficult to clear up. In the royal and authentic act nominating Bourne to Bath and Wells, *Per ipsam Reginam*, the see is said to be vacant, 'by the deprivation and removal of the last bishop of that place;' whereas, according to the writ issued by Bourne for the temporalities of his see,—which writ is not either *Per breve de privato sigillo*, or *Per ipsam Reginam*, and therefore of doubtful authority—the vacancy is attributed to the 'free and voluntary resignation of the last bishop of that place.' When it is considered that but fifteen days intervened between the dates of these commissions, this difference of style will appear very remarkable; and is of itself sufficient evidence that one or other of them is supposititious."—*Kenrick*, pp. 143, 144.

Let us again apply to our principle of evidence. If the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells was not Barlow, what had become of Barlow? He was not dead, for he was living in Elizabeth's time, and moreover was then the "late Bishop

of Bath and Wells." He had not then been translated from that see, for if he had, he would have been bishop or late bishop of the see to which he had been translated. He did not resign in Edward's days,—nobody has ever asserted that he did. Why should he? All things were then going on to his mind. That he resigned, under compulsion, in the beginning of Mary's reign, is precisely what we assert.

Mr. Kenrick's logic about the two writs which recite his removal from his see is curious. They both speak of the late Bishop of Bath and Wells, and therefore upon his own principles, both recognise his consecration. Yet he strives to make it appear that one of them is supposititious, as if his case were at all helped until he had got rid of both. One of these writs speaks of the deprivation, the other of the resignation of the late Bishop of Bath and Wells. Both acts imply that he was a legal and canonical bishop, not a mere unconsecrated intruder. But Mr. Kenrick thinks that there is a difference. Let it be so for the present. The writ speaks of a free and voluntary resignation. Barlow resigned his bishopric in prison to save his life. If it were thought necessary in order to make the assurance of his successor doubly sure, there would have been no difficulty in procuring a deprivation just as canonical as the resignation was free. But the writ which speaks of his resignation, "is not either *Per breve de privato sigillo*, or *Per ipsam Reginam*, and therefore of doubtful authority." But in the *conge d'elire* for filling the vacancy, 13th March, 1553-4, the vacancy is said to have occurred "*per liberam et spontaneam resignationem in manus nostras ultimi episcopi ibidem.*"—*Courayer, Appendix, p. 379. N. Edit. p. 341. Elrington, Appendix, p. lxi. cite Rymer, Tom. xv. p. 369.*¹ This writ is "*Per breve de privato sigillo*," and so Mr. Kenrick is foiled at his own weapons.

We come now to the admitted authentic document of the 9th September, 1559, the mandate for the consecration of Parker, in which Barlow and Scory are called simply

¹ See *Post*, Appendix, No. xxxvi.

“bishops.” They were not then called bishops in reference to any sees of which they were, or had been in possession; the title is manifestly given them, only in respect of the indelible character which they had received at their consecrations. They are called upon to do an act, which none but consecrated bishops could do, in conjunction with other bishops of undoubted consecration. If this is not a recognition of their episcopal character, we should be at a loss to devise one.

Passing by, with a mere allusion, the second writ, that under which Parker’s consecration took place, we come to the writ for the confirmation of Barlow in his new see of Chichester. The Romanists used to cite this as a proof that Barlow was not consecrated; because as published by Rymer, it contained a clause directing his consecration. The argument was certainly fair, although not conclusive. But the original records at the Rolls and in Parker’s Register, having been examined, at the instance of Courayer, it was found that Rymer’s copyist had made a mistake, and that the writ contained no such clause.—*Courayer, Appendix, pp. 380, 381, N. Edit. p. 345. Elrington, Appendix, pp. lxi lxii.*^r

We believe that we have now established the moral certainty that Barlow was a consecrated bishop. Mr. Kenrick says, that “all are agreed that Barlow’s consecration cannot be established by *positive* evidence, and may at most be inferred from the circumstances of his history.” We think that those circumstances are stronger than *positive* evidence. If Mr. Kenrick means by positive evidence, a Register of the consecration, all are agreed that that does not exist. If it did, however, nothing would be easier than, as in Parker’s case, to call it a forgery. Such a charge could only be disproved by the very circumstances of Barlow’s life upon which we now rely. We call our readers’ attention to the opinion of the same profound and philosophical lawyer, from whose

^r See *Post Appendix, No. xxxix, see also ante, page 41, note s.*

book on Evidence we have before given an extract, as to the value of such circumstantial evidence.

“Where direct evidence of the fact in dispute is wanting, the more the jury can see of the surrounding facts and circumstances, the more correct their judgment is likely to be. It is possible that some circumstances may be misrepresented, or acted with a view to deceive; but the whole context of circumstances cannot be fabricated; the false invention must have its boundaries, where it may be compared with the truth; and therefore, the more extensive the view of the jury is of all the minute circumstances of the transaction, the more likely will they be to arrive at a true conclusion. Truth is necessarily consistent with itself; in other words, all facts which really did happen, did actually consist and agree with each other. If then the circumstances of the case, as detailed in evidence, are incongruous and inconsistent, that inconsistency must have arisen either from mistake, from wilful misrepresentation, or from the correct representation of facts prepared and acted with a view to deceive. From whatever source the inconsistency may arise, it is easy to see, that the greater the number of the circumstances is which are exhibited to the jury, the more likely will it be that the truth will prevail; since the stronger and more numerous will be the circumstances on the side of truth. It will be supported by facts, the effect of which no human sagacity could have foreseen, and which are therefore beyond the reach of suspicion; whilst, on the other hand, fraudulent evidence must, necessarily, either be confined to a few facts, or to be very open to detection, by affording too many opportunities of comparing it with that which is known to be true. Fabricated facts must, in their very nature, be such as are likely to become material. Hence it has frequently been said, that a well supported and consistent body of circumstantial evidence is sometimes stronger than even direct evidence of a fact; that is, the degree of uncertainty which arises from a doubt as to the credibility of direct witnesses, may exceed that which arises upon the question, whether a proper inference has been made from facts well ascertained. A witness may have been suborned to give a false account of a transaction to which he alone was privy, and the whole rests upon the degree of credit to be attached to the veracity of the individual; but where a great number of independent facts conspire to the same conclusion, and are supported by a number of unconnected witnesses, the degree of credibility to be attached to the evidence increases in a very high proportion, arising from the improbability that all these witnesses should be mistaken or perjured,

and that all the circumstances should have happened contrary to the usual and ordinary course of human affairs."—*Starkie's Practical Treatise on the Law of Evidence. Part I. sect. ix. vol. i. pp. 19, 20.*

NOTE A.

THE DATE OF BISHOP BARLOW'S CONSECRATION.

The reader is already aware of a difference of opinion between Mr. Haddan and ourselves, as to the period of Bishop Barlow's consecration. He thinks that he has proved that it took place on the 11th June, 1536. We agree with him thus far, that assuming that Barlow was not consecrated previous to that day, he has shewn it to be in a very high degree improbable, that his consecration was omitted on that day. In other words, we think that there is very high moral evidence to establish the fact, that Barlow was consecrated June 11, 1536, *if not before*. But we are of opinion that he was consecrated before that day, and that we have so proved in the preceding Essay. The facts, according to Mr. Haddan, to whose Preface we must be understood to refer in this note, unless where we give a different reference, are that Barlow was elected to St. Asaph in January, 1535-6; at which period he was absent from the kingdom and in Scotland, whither he had gone as a sort of ecclesiastical ambassador, not very long before, and from whence he did not return until early in April, after his confirmation as Bishop of St. Asaph. During that absence, he signed his letters "W. Barlo." We agree with Mr. Haddan, that up to the period of his return in April he was unconsecrated,—we think that he was consecrated during his stay in London, in April,—Mr. H. that he was not. The arguments in our favor are derived from the fact of his being called, in the act of confirmation for St. David's, "Bishop of St. Asaph and *Commendator* of Bisham," not Bishop *elect* of St. Asaph and *Prior* of Bisham, from Abp. Cranmer's certificate of confirmation, in which the king is requested to do his part, when, if Barlow were not consecrated, there was nothing for the king to do, but consecration, the next step, belonged to the Archbishop himself, and waving all use of the restitution of temporalities, from the fact that during this stay in London, a summons to Parliament, issued for the Bishop of St. David's, and from another fact, which we learn from Mr. H. that immediately on his return to Scotland he assumed the signature of "*Wilmus Menev*," i. e. William, Bishop of St. David's.

Mr. H's reasons for thinking that he went back to Scotland unconsecrated, are—first, that he supposes that the act of confirmation, and the certificate of confirmation, exclude the idea that Barlow was then consecrated. They certainly do exclude the idea that he was consecrated under the *significavit* to which they relate; but they certainly do not exclude the idea of his having been consecrated before; on the contrary, they are just such documents as would be proper in the case of the translation of a consecrated bishop; while few things would be more absurd than a certificate to the king that his writ was in part executed, in the case of an elect who had never been consecrated. Second, that as Parliament was not in session during Barlow's stay, it is not probable that there were in town sufficient bishops for a consecration. This reason sounds to us very modern. Parliament now sits for a considerable portion of every year, and the bishops of course occupy the remainder of the time in their dioceses; but in the reign of Henry VIII. matters were very differently conducted. The sessions of Parliament were short, at irregular and long intervals, and did not materially interfere with the Episcopal duties of the prelates: they no doubt attended their duty in the House of Lords, and a session of Parliament would consequently bring them together; but it may be doubted whether they waited for Parliament to come up to London; it was the court which was then the attraction. The bishops of Henry VIII. were attracted to the court, by attendance upon which they might not only obtain rich commendams or beneficial translations, but the civil offices and political power which were at that time open to them. The king, and not Parliament, was then the real sovereign of England. Besides, the Archbishop lived at Lambeth, the Bishops of London and Rochester were at hand, even if in their dioceses, the Bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) held an office at court which required his constant attendance,—there were probably other bishops similarly situated, as well as casually in town, and there were suffragans in the neighborhood. Some other cause than the vacation of Parliament must be found to account for a difficulty in finding three or four bishops in London. Third, that Barlow, in the documents connected with the see of St. Asaph, is called bishop elect there in May. This brings us back to our own first argument, growing out of the *significavit*, confirmation, and certificate of confirmation, for St. David's. We confess that we think that the correspondent of Courayer, *ante*, p. 152, has sufficiently accounted for the use of the word, elect, in the St. Asaph documents, and that by means of his reasoning, the two sets of documents may be reconciled. If, however, they cannot, then we decidedly think it more

probable that the mistake should be made in those documents in which Barlow had no personal interest, and which were prepared while he was in Scotland, than in those in which he had a personal interest, and which related to transactions in which he personally took part, since the question relates to his consecration, a matter of course within his personal knowledge. Moreover it is worthy of remark, that Abp. Cramer calls Barlow Bishop of St. Asaph and Commendator of Bisham, both titles proper only if he had been consecrated, while the Archbishop must have known whether he were consecrated or not. Mr. H's fourth reason is undoubtedly the strongest of all; it is that Bishop Reppis, who is known to have been consecrated on June 11, seems to have taken precedence of Barlow,—but as he admits that they both occasionally appear to have taken precedence of Bishop Capon, who was certainly consecrated before either, its force is somewhat weakened.

In returning to our own reasons for believing that the consecration took place in April, we have nothing to add in respect of the two first, which we have already contrasted with Mr. Haddan's third. As to our own third, we have to remark, that a summons to Parliament is, we believe, never issued to any but a consecrated bishop. That this summons was undoubtedly intended for Barlow, although the initial T. is substituted for W. is certain;—first, because unless Barlow were Bishop of St. David's, the see was vacant—Rawlins was dead, and if the writ were intended for him, his Christian name began with R. so that there was no person who could be meant but Barlow; the same thing is proved by the fact, that Barlow actually sat in Parliament, and produced, on the occasion of taking his seat, a writ of summons; now no other writ of summons for a Bishop of St. Davids, in that Parliament, has ever been produced, except that of the 27th April, 1536.—See *ante*, p. 170, and *post*, Appendix, No. xi. As to our fourth reason, Mr. Haddan endeavors to weaken its force, by saying that Barlow would be more likely to assume the title of St. David's before consecration, because he had been present at his own confirmation, than that of St. Asaph, which he did not assume, and to which he had been confirmed in his absence. We hope it will not be considered inconsistent with the most profound respect for Mr. Haddan, if we say that we do not see the least force in the remark.

ESSAY VIII.

BISHOP BARLOW. CAVILS REFUTED.

WE now regard the consecration of Barlow as proved, and turn back to observe upon some cavils of Mr. Kenrick; which we would not allow to interrupt the course of our argument, but which we do not choose to pass without some notice. He has a way of not positively denying a fact, but endeavouring to raise doubts about it, while at the same time it is quite evident that he believes it, and has too much conscience to say that he does not. He perhaps regards this as a "golden principle of preserving a *via media* between truth and falsehood," See Kenrick, *p.* 139. He pursues this course in relation to Barlow's possession of the bishopric of St. David's. Thus he talks of his *resignation* of St. Asaph, on account of its poverty, *p.* 139. A strange reason, if he got nothing in "exchange." Besides, Mr. Kenrick's own "authentic royal act," *p.* 137, according to his own translation, says that the see of St. Asaph was vacant by Barlow's EXCHANGE. To what see did he exchange, if not to St. David's, of which our author, in the next page tells us, that "it is generally believed he was possessed," in the same year.

But in the next page again, "there appears something like positive proof that Barlow was not Bishop of St. David's in 1536 and 1541." This proof is, that in the writs of summons to parliament in those years, as printed by Rymer, the Bishop of St. David's is designated by the initial letter T, which is not proper to Barlow. He says that "Courayer suppressed the T in both instances, and cited these two writs to prove that Barlow was Bishop of St. David's;" and that "he endeavored to excuse himself by adducing a multitude of reasons to prove that the T of the two com-

missions had been erroneously put for W." We do not know what Father Courayer's reasons were, but it is quite clear, notwithstanding all Mr. Kenrick's surprise and indignation, that the fact was so. The summons of 1536, issued the day after the restitution of the temporalities of St. David's, to Barlow, and could have been intended for nobody but him. Now if it was a mistake in 1536, it is clear that it was one in 1541. Barlow had neither died, resigned, nor been translated in the interim. When Barlow's Erastian opinions are to be proved, Mr. Kenrick has no difficulty in using the answers of the Bishop of St. David's of 1540. The summons of 1541 must then have been for him, and the T must be a mistake. Mr. Kenrick, however tells us that Courayer's translator has omitted the T in one of these documents and retained it in the other; and then sneers at "the golden principle of Anglicanism preserving a *via media* between truth and falsehood." Upon which side of that way does the man walk, who can insinuate that Barlow was not Bishop of St. David's, and yet hold him responsible for the opinions of the Bishop of St. David's? What right has that man to be virtuously indignant on such a subject, who can intimate that a summons of the Bishop of St. David's to parliament could be designed for any but him who had received restitution of the temporalities of that see, on the *day before its date*?

Another cause of cavil is found in another slip of Courayer's correspondent, who, it seems, had asserted, that in several convocations, including that of 1552, Barlow subscribed as Bishop of St. David's. Barlow was in 1552 Bishop of Bath and Wells. The attention of the writer having been called to this error; in another letter, to which we have not access, he acknowledges the mistake, and according to Mr. Kenrick, says that the word St. David's had been introduced by mistake—Mr. Kenrick then discovers that it must be struck out altogether, and that all the subscriptions will then be reduced to the single word bishop. Common candor how-

ever, would limit the correction to the extent of the mistake, and not extend a careless expression to matters of which it is quite clear that the writer was not thinking. But suppose that the subscriptions are really only of the word bishop, and that Barlow all that time was not in possession of any see. Although all this would be contrary to the evidence before us, we will so far gratify Mr. Kenrick as to suppose that it is possible. What then would it amount to? Why should Barlow subscribe himself bishop, having no see? No reason can be assigned, if he were not a consecrated bishop. It is clear that the argument of Mr. Kenrick is a captious one, and that if the fact be as he would have us believe, his cause is not served in the least. We care not, however, what Courayer's correspondent may have written, near two hundred years after the event. Barlow is abundantly shewn to have been Bishop of St. David's from 1536 to 1548, and Mr. Kenrick may, as far as that question is concerned, do with the subscriptions what he pleases.

He next attacks an alleged work of Barlow's against Protestantism, which is said to have been published by him, to save his life, in Mary's reign. In the title of this work he is called "late Bishop of Bath;"—Mr. Kenrick thinks the work is not Barlow's, but "one of the many ingenious devices resorted to for the purpose of working out the very difficult problem of Barlow's episcopacy." We care not whether the work is genuine or not.—If it be, it adds but a trifle to evidence already abundant, that Barlow was Bishop of Bath. If it be forged, it was forged by the Romanists. Such is Burnet's view, whom Mr. Kenrick, with his usual skill, invokes as his authority for believing it forged, without saying by whom Burnet believed it to have been forged, *nor at what time*. We give the whole passage from Burnet, which has some small bearing upon other matters.

"The Bishop of Bath and Wells, Barlow, was also made to resign, as appears by the conge d'elire for Bourn to succeed him, dated the 19th of March. Therein, it is said, the see was vacant by the resignation of

the former bishop; though in the election that was made on the 28th of March, it is said, the see was vacant by the removal or deprivation of their former bishop. But I incline to believe it truer that he did resign; since he is not mentioned in the commissions formerly spoken of. But that was not all; for *at this time* a book was set out in his name, whether written by him, or forged and laid on his name, I cannot judge, in which he retracts his former errors, and speaks of Luther and Ecolampadius, and many others, with whom he says he had familiarly conversed, with great bitterness. He also accuses the gospellers in England of gluttony, hypocrisy, pride, and ill-nature and indeed it is one of the most virulent invectives against the Reformation which was written at that time. But it is not likely, if he had turned so heartily as the strain of that book runs, that he would have been quite thrown out; so I rather look on it as a *forgery cast on his name to disgrace the Reformation.*" —*Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. i. pp. 428, 429. Am. Ed.*

The reader has observed, that the book, whether forged or not, was published in the reign of Mary, and is, therefore, whether forged or not, an evidence that Barlow was then considered "late Bishop of Bath." We care not, therefore, as we said before, whether the work is forged or genuine. According to Mr. Kenrick, p. 146, a collateral descendant, of Barlow in 1640, stated it to be his. As this gentleman, according to the same authority, page 140, was a Romanist, he did not say this "to work out the problem of Barlow's consecration." He made the statement, either because he believed it, or to serve the Romanist cause. Charity requires us to believe the first. He would probably know the truth from family tradition, and at any rate, in 1640 could not have believed it to be genuine, if it had been forged after 1616, when Barlow's consecration, was first doubted.

"Supposing, however, that Barlow was in possession of the bishopric of St. David's; and subsequently of Bath and Wells, does it therefore follow that he was consecrated? Certainly not." So says Mr. Kenrick, page 147. Now we think it does follow, unless it can be shewn that other bishops in that age held sees without consecration. The private opinions of Cranmer and Barlow, with reference to this

matter, we have already sufficiently discussed. We will in this place therefore merely again correct the monstrous error into which our author has fallen, in supposing that the Erastian answers which those prelates made in 1540, to certain questions put to them and some other divines,—the majority of whom differed with them,—was an act of the bishops assembled in convocation. A reference to his own authority, Burnet, would at once settle the matter.—*Burnet's Hist. of Reformation. Part. i. Book iii. Records, No. 21, Vol. iv. page 114. Am. Ed.*

But he feels the necessity of naming some unconsecrated persons who held episcopal sees and enjoyed the title of bishops. He fixes upon the Martyrs Latimer and Ridley. Latimer, it is true, is in the predicament of Barlow; there is no record of his consecration. But the record of Ridley's consecration, on September 5th, 1547, is to be found in Cranmer's Register. This, however, is of course a forgery, because, according to Heylin, he was nominated under Henry and consecrated under Edward. Which is no way inconsistent with the record, for Henry died in January, 1546–7 according to all the historians, and consequently the 5th September, 1547, was in Edward's reign, as in fact he himself tells us in his Journal.—*Burnet, Part ii. Book i. Records, No. 1.*

“But from this alteration, which was made in parliament, in reference to the manner of making bishops, and the way of exercising their authority when they were so made, let us proceed unto such changes as we find made among the bishops themselves. The first whereof was the election of Dr. Nicholas Ridley to the see of Rochester; to which he had been nominated by King Henry VIII. when Holbeck, who preceded him, was designed for Lincoln. But that king dying shortly after, the translation of Holbeck was deferred till the time of King Edward; which was no sooner done, but Ridley was chosen to succeed him, although not actually consecrated until the 5th of September.”—*Heylin, p. 53, under date 1547.*

Dr. Heylin really asserts the very fact, and sustains the very record, against which his evidence is relied upon. But

Collier calls him elect of Rochester, at the obsequies performed in London for Francis I. of France. He could scarcely have been any thing else. Francis died on 31st March, 1547.—*Henault, vol. i. pp. 355, 382, 384.* Heylin says under the year 1547.

“But that which seemed to give most satisfaction to the Court of France, was the performance of the solemn obsequy for King Francis I. who left this life on the 22d day of March, and was magnificently interred among his predecessors, in the monastery of St. Dennis, not far from Paris. Whose funerals were no sooner solemnised in France, but order was given for a *Dirige* to be sung in all the churches of London on the nineteenth of June, as also in the Cathedral church of St. Paul; in the choir whereof, being hung with black, a sumptuous barge had been set up for the present ceremony. For the next day the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted with eight other of the bishops, all in their rich mitres and other their pontificals, did sing a mass of *Requiem*; the funeral sermon by Doctor Ridley, Lord Elect of Rochester; who, if he did his part therein, as no doubt he did, could not but magnify the Prince for his love of learning.” p. 40.

Mr. Kenrick is a little unfortunate upon this occasion, as all the facts upon which he relies, although true, are no way inconsistent with those which he desires to disprove. He has still, however, another argument left,—Ridley was no bishop, because he was only degraded from priests' orders by the commissioners under Mary. The same argument is the only one adduced against the consecration of Latimer, except the want of a Register. The truth is, that the assertion that the Martyrs were not bishops, was only a paltry insult, contrived by the low-minded men to whom the dirty work of the persecution was intrusted. Mr. Kenrick himself tells us, p. 150, note, that “in the commission of Cardinal Pole, they are styled bishops.” No investigation of facts took place after the issuing of the commission. Pole was full as likely to be well informed in the matter as Brookes, and much less likely intentionally to mislead.

We are told, on page 146, that the fact of Barlow's having been regarded as a bishop by his contemporaries, depends

upon "proofs which are any thing but conclusive." It depends upon the public acts of Church and State, spread over four reigns, two of which were Protestant, one Romish, and one, that of Henry, neither. If such proofs are not conclusive, there can be no conclusive proof. And what is opposed to them? not the slightest proof of a single contemporary doubt. But "the [Roman] Catholic theologians would not have called in question the *fact* of Parker's consecration, if Barlow had been consecrated and had consecrated Parker." Here is the usual confusion of ideas between fact and validity. What had Barlow's consecration to do with the *fact* of Parker's consecration. It affects its validity; that is to say, if Barlow were not a bishop, his consecration was of no value, but still he might have performed the act. But in truth nobody ever did deny the *fact* of either Parker's consecration or Barlow's, till they had been both many years dead. Mr. Kenrick has utterly failed in producing any evidence that they did. When all evidence of the fact was supposed to be out of the way, a few reckless men circulated the Nag's-head story; and when, in the discussions and investigations to which it gave rise, it was discovered that the record of Barlow's consecration was missing, the circumstance was seized on to assist in maintaining a sinking cause. One which has ever since been kept alive only by reckless and pertinacious allegations of forgery, unsustained by proof. The men whom Mr. Kenrick unworthily dignifies with the name of [Roman] Catholic theologians, but who were really mere controversialists, the opprobrium of the Roman Obedience, denied the validity of the Anglican Ordinations, because, as they thought, the interests of their sect demanded the denial, and they sustained it by any arguments or assertions which they could discover or invent.

On page 152, we are informed, that "there are some very stubborn facts to shew that Barlow was not consecrated previously to the commission of the 9th September." In the first place, in a service performed on that day, Parker was

assisted by Barlow and Scory. This was certainly, in our opinion, irregular and indecorous. Mr. Kenrick, however, is kind enough to furnish us with a precedent on the same page, "Cardinal priests," it seems, "on account of their dignity," are in the Church of Rome "sometimes assisted by bishops." It does not seem to us a very different case, for an archbishop elect to be assisted by consecrated bishops, who at the time were not in possession of sees, but who were about to become his suffragans, especially as he was, and they were not, in favor with the civil government, and the event occurred at a period of change and revolution, when ordinary rules were not likely to be very strictly regarded.

But the commission of the 9th September, "does not prove that Barlow and Scory were consecrated bishops, as the only object the Queen seems to have had in view, in joining them with the [Roman] Catholic prelates, was that they might be authentic witnesses of Parker's consecration, which she hoped the [Roman] Catholic bishops might be induced to perform." *pp.* 152, 153. It is then singular that they should have been required to join in the act. "It seems" to no one but Mr. Kenrick, who has ventured on a conjecture opposed to the letter of the document, and which has no usage or propriety to support it. When were witnesses joined with consecrating bishops? Of what use would it be to name such in the commission? Are not the consecrating bishops themselves sufficient witnesses? If witnesses were required, could they not have been had in any number, without naming them in this document? Why, if they were witnesses, were they not so designated, and not joined with the bishops, and required to unite with them in every act which they were to perform?

But Barlow and Scory are merely styled "bishops,"—this to us is a more powerful argument in favor of their consecration than if they had been merely named because in possession of sees. We are not anxious to account for the difference of style between this commission and that of the sixth

December,—either is sufficient for our present purpose; both have all the usual marks of authenticity; and all the Romish controversialists for near three hundred years have failed in impeaching either.

“If Barlow had been consecrated in the reign of Henry VIII. it seems most probable that Queen Elizabeth would have been consecrated by him.” *p.* 153. Is any body ignorant that in the very beginning of her reign, until she felt herself firmly seated on the throne, it was her policy not too openly to countenance the Reformation. But “we are not left to our mere conjectures upon this subject. Dr. Heylin, in endeavoring to solve the difficulty, mentions only three bishops of *King Edward’s making* as then alive, who were friendly to the Reformation.” We are certainly not left to “mere inferences,” as far as Dr. Heylin can supply evidence. Let us see what he says.

“She [Elizabeth] was crowned, according to the order of the Roman Pontifical, by Dr. Owen Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, the only man among all the bishops, who could be wrought on by her to perform that office. Whether it were that they saw some alteration coming, to which they were resolved not to yield conformity, so that they could not be in a worse case upon this refusal than they should be otherwise, or that they feared the Pope’s displeasure, if they should do an act so contrary to his pretensions, without leave first granted; or that they had their own particular animosities and spleens against her, (as the Archbishop of York particularly, for his having been deprived of the seal,) is not certainly known. None were more condemned for the refusal than the Bishop of Ely, as one who had received his first preferments from the King her father, and who complied so far in the time of King Edward, as to assist in composing this public Liturgy, and otherwise appeared as forward in the Reformation as any other of that order. So that no reason can be given for his denial now to perform that service, or afterwards for his not complying with the Queen’s proceedings, but that he had been one of those that were sent to Rome, to tender the submission of the kingdom to the Pope still living, and could not now appear with honor in any such action, as seemed to carry with it a repugnance (if not a manifest inconsistency,) with the said engagement. It cannot be denied but that there were three bishops living of King Edward’s mak-

ing, all of them zealously affected to the Reformation. And possibly it may seem strange that the queen received not the crown rather from one of their hands, than to put herself unto the hazard of so many demials as had been given her by the others. But unto this it may be answered, that the said bishops at that time were deprived of their sees, (but whether justly or unjustly could not then be questioned,) and therefore not in a capacity to perform that service. *Besides there being at that time no other form established for a Coronation, than that which had much in it of the ceremonies and superstitions of the Church of Rome, she was not sure that any of the said three bishops would have acted in it, without such alterations and omissions in the whole course of that order, as might have rendered the whole action questionable among captious men, and therefore finally, she thought it more conduci- ble to her reputation amongst foreign princes, to be crowned by the hands of a Catholic bishop, (or one at least which was accounted to be such,) than if it had been done by any of the other religion."* pp. 278, 279.

The reader sees that Dr. Heylin mentions three bishops, whom he calls of King Edward's making, and all of whom he considers as consecrated bishops. He includes Barlow, by mistake, in this number, for there were but two bishops alive who had been consecrated in Edward's time—Scory and Coverdale. There is then no ground for the inference, that Barlow was unconsecrated, which is attempted to be drawn from this passage. Mr. Kenrick speaks of Dr. Heylin, as "endeavoring to solve a difficulty" in such a way as to induce his reader to suppose that the difficulty related to Barlow's consecration, when the only difficulty in Heylin's mind, was why the queen should be crowned by a Romish bishop, when she had three Protestant bishops—of whom Barlow was one—at command.

But if Barlow had been a bishop, Elizabeth would not have applied to the Romish bishops to consecrate Parker, p. 154. All the documents which prove such applications, prove that Barlow was to be joined with them in the act.

If he had been a bishop consecrated for St. Asaph, he would have been senior to Kitchen, and therefore named be-

fore him. "It follows from this, that either Barlow was never consecrated, or that the commission of the 6th December is a spurious document," *p.* 155. Mr. Kenrick often tries, according to the familiar proverb, to kill two birds with one stone, and generally misses both. The order of the names is the same in the document of the 9th September, the genuineness of which he acknowledges; it therefore proves nothing against that of the 6th December. As to the consecration of Barlow, it seems strange to infer that he was not consecrated, merely from the position of his name in a document, which supposes him to have been consecrated, and calls upon him to do an act which he could not do unless consecrated. But the order of the names is easily accounted for. The Romish bishops had sees, Barlow and Scory had none. Moreover, it is quite clear that in neither of these documents was the seniority of consecration the principle which governed the order of the names. In that of September, Bourne of Bath and Pool of Peterborough, both consecrated in the reign of Mary, are named before Kitchen of Llandaff, who was consecrated in the reign of Henry. In that of December not only is Hodgeskin named after Scory and Coverdale, although he had actually been one of the consecrators of them both, but Salisbury of Thetford is named after him, although of older consecration not only than him, but than any bishop named in the document, or indeed than any bishop then living. Of Salisbury's consecration we presume Mr. Kenrick will not doubt, since one of the officiating prelates was Cardinal Fisher, a martyr for the Church of Rome, and if not a canonised saint, at least as well entitled to that distinction as many that have it. Few men in any communion have led more saintly lives; none have been more sincerely attached to the good and the evil which are to be found in the doctrines and practices of Rome.

The last cavil is that if "Barlow had been a bishop or did even pass for one," *p.* 156, he would have been employed at

the conference between the Romanists and Protestants, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.³ This argument attempts to prove too much, for it is impossible to deny that Barlow "passed for a bishop," in the face of the undisputed commission of the 9th September. We agree with Mr. Kenrick, that "this observation of itself indeed *proves nothing*." As we do not see that it is even attempted to be coupled with any thing else, to enable it to prove any thing by the combination, the only inference which we can draw from the "observation," is that it must be a weak cause, which its advocates seek to sustain by arguments which they admit prove nothing.

NOTE A.

ON THE CONSECRATORS OF ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

We have now, we believe, presented and discussed all the evidence which exists, in relation to the consecration of Bishop Barlow. But his consecration is of less importance than has been believed, since without him, three qualified consecrators officiated at the consecration of Dr. Parker.⁴ We shall now proceed to trace the ecclesiastical descent of these prelates, from undoubted bishops in full communion with Rome.

The consecrators of Archbishop Parker, were William Barlow, A; John Scory, B; Miles Coverdale, C; and John Hodgeskin, D.

A. Concerning Barlow enough has been already said.

B & C. We shall, for the present, pass by Scory and Coverdale, until we have traced the ecclesiastical pedigree of Hodgeskin, who was one of the consecrators of both, as well as of Ridley, another of their consecrators.

D. Hodgeskin was consecrated, according to Cranmer's Register, folios 203, 204, on the 9th December, 1537, by John Stokesly, Bishop of London, I; John Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, II; and Robert Whar-ton or Parfew, the successor of Barlow at St. Asaph, III,

³ Hardly, if his book against the Reformation be genuine.

⁴ See *ante*, page 17 note b.

D. I. Stokesly was an elder bishop than Cranmer, consequently consecrated by Romish bishops, and according to the Romish ritual. No objection has ever been taken to his consecration. He was not a Reformer.

D. II. Hilsey was consecrated at Winchester, Sept. 13, 1535, as appears by the record in his own Register as Bishop of Rochester.—*Preface to Bramhall's Vindication, N. E. second note, d.* His death is mentioned as that of John, Bishop of Rochester, in the record of his successor Heath's consecration, April 4, 1540, Reg. Cranm. fol. 255, a, *Ibid.* There is no vestige of a direct record of his consecration remaining in Cranmer's Register; but besides the mention of his death as above, he is mentioned as a consecrator no less than ten times.—*Ibid, second note, i.* We find further evidence of his Episcopal character, in his signing, as Bishop of Rochester, the paper touching consecration and ordination, extracts from which we have given at page 145. The names of his consecrators are not given by Mr. Haddan, but Cranmer was almost certainly the principal, and Gardiner probably another.

D. III. Robert Wharton or Parfew, Bishop of St. Asaph, was consecrated on July 2d, 1536, by Thomas Cranmer, i; John Capon, ii; and William Rugg or Reppis, iii.—*Cranmer's Register, folio 197.*

D. III. i. Cranmer was consecrated on March 30th, 1533, with the assent of the Pope, by Standish of St. Asaph, Voysey of Exeter, and Longland of Lincoln.—*Cranmer's Register, 4.* All these prelates had been consecrated many years before, by his predecessor, Archbishop Warham, who lived and died in full communion with Rome. The same remark applies to several of the prelates who assisted in those consecrations. Among these was Cardinal Fisher of Rochester, one of the ornaments of the Romish party. Voysey, one of the consecrators of Cranmer, and also of Longland, another of them, lived to the reign of Mary, resigned his see in that of Edward, was irregularly restored by Mary, and died in possession. Cranmer has always been admitted by the Romanists to have been a bishop.

D. III. ii. Capon was consecrated for Bangor, on the 19th April, 1534, by Cranmer D. III. i, Longland of Lincoln, one of the consecrators of Cranmer, and Christopher, Bishop of *Sidon in partibus infidelium*. Of the last named prelate we know nothing; but Capon has always been acknowledged for a bishop on all sides. He was translated to Salisbury in 1539, when the act of the six articles brought the friends of Rome into power, and died, possessed of that see, a few weeks before Mary. His consecration is in Cranmer's Register, folio 162.

D. III. iii. Rugg or Reppis was consecrated June 11, 1536, by Cranmer D. III. i. assisted by Voysey, one of his, Cranmer's, consecrators, and Clark of Bath and Wells, who had been consecrated probably by Warham, in 1529.—See *Preface to Bramhall's Vindication*, &c. *first note w*, and the text to which it is appended, and *second note g*. These facts appear by the certificates of the Archbishop in his Register. There also, appear the conge d'elire, May 25, 1536, Rymer xiv. 569, received May 27, by the Chapter of Norwich, the election, May 31, Reg. Cramn. The Royal assent 1536, *ibid*, the confirmation not dated, but which took place June 10, *ibid*, and the Restit. of Temporalities, reciting consecration, July 19, 1526, (Rymer, xiv. 573,) *note w*, *ubi supra*.

D. III. Wharton has been fully acknowledged as a Romanist bishop. He was translated by Mary to Hereford, in possession of which he died, just at the close of her reign.

D. Hodgeksin was then consecrated, according to the Romish ritual, by two bishops acknowledged as such by the Church of Rome, and a third whose consecration has never been denied, and is supported by abundant evidence. In addition to this, he himself he has been acknowledged as a bishop by the Romanists. On December 19th, 1540, he was joined with Boner and Heath in the consecration of Thirlby.—*Cranmer's Register*, folio 261. Thirlby was not only acknowledged as a bishop throughout the Reign of Mary, but used as one of the consecrators of Pole.—*Pole's Register*, folio 4. Hodgeksin was also joined with Heath in several other consecrations.

B. C. Scory and Coverdale were consecrated together, on the 30th August, 1551.—*Cranmer's Register*, folio 321. The consecrators were I, Cranmer, D. III. i.; II. Ridley; III. Hodgeskin, D.

B. I. & III. Of Cranmer and Hodgeskin enough has been already said.

B. II. Ridley was consecrated on September 5th, 1547, by i. Henry Holbeach, Bishop of Lincoln; ii. Hodgeskin D.; iii. Thomas Chetham Bishop of Sidon *in partibus infidelium*.

B. II. i. Holbeach was consecrated on March 24th, 1538, by 1 Hilsey, D. II. 2 Latimer, 3 Wharton D. III.—*Cranmer's Register*, folio 321. Two out of the three consecrators being two of the same individuals who consecrated Hodgeskin; who, as we have seen, is acknowledged by the acts of the Romanists, to have been a bishop.

B. II. i. 2. There is no record whatever of Latimer's consecration or any of the steps towards it in Cranmer's Register, but he "is said by Le Neve, from Fuller, (Worthies County Leicestershire,) to have been

consecrated in September, 1835; but his installation, according to Wharton, (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 539, from the Dioc. Register,) took place Aug. 20, 1835. Probably then he was consecrated in the latter month. Now in the month of September, 1535, there were two other consecrations in the province of Canterbury, and only two, Fox to the see of Hereford, and Hilsey to that of Rochester, *both occurring at Winchester, both omitted in Cranmer's Register, and both recorded in the respective Diocesan Registers*; and these two bishops, *together with Latimer*, were restored to their temporalities by writs dated the same day, (Oct. 4, 1835—Rymer, tom. xiv. pp. 552—554,) wherein, according to the (then) customary form, consecration is in each case recited as already performed. There had been no previous consecration in 1535, (Latimer's excepted,) later than Shaxton's, on April 11. The presumption then is, that Latimer also was consecrated at Winchester: and the omission in the Archiepiscopal Register, being at once accounted for and supplied in the two cases, can be of no force in the third."—*Preface to Bramhall's "Vindication," &c. N. E. vol. iii. fourth leaf from the end of the Preface.* We find additional evidence of Latimer's Episcopal character, in his resignation,—Cranmer's Register, folio 224,—in the commission of Pole as legate for proceeding against him, in which he is called a bishop, although long before out of the possession of his see, and in his signature, as Bishop of Worcester, to the document, page 145.

B. II. ii. See D.

B. II. iii. Thomas Chetham, Bishop of Sidon *in partibus*, had united in many consecrations during the reign of Henry VIII.; particularly with Cranmer D. III. i. and Stokesly D. I. in 1535, in consecrating Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury.—Cranmer's Register, folio 172. Shaxton was then a Reformer, and resigned his see on the passage of the act of the six articles. But in Mary's reign he conformed, and was suffragan to the Bishop of Ely, so that his consecration was acknowledged by the Romanists.—Burnet ii. 429, Am. Ed. The Bishop of Sidon was also one of the consecrators of Kitchen, the validity of whose consecration is assumed by the Romanists, throughout this whole controversy. We do not know when or by whom Chetham was consecrated; probably by Warham, from his title; for the act giving English titles to the suffragans, instead of titles *in partibus infidelium*, was passed in 21st Hen. VIII. i. e. 1529, before the death of Warham. On the other hand, the Bishop of Sidon, who assisted at a consecration in 1534, is called Christopher, and Mr. Percival supposes him to have been a different person,—but this

may be a mistake. If Chetham was consecrated by Warham, his consecration is probably registered, as Mr. Haddan does not mention his name among the omitted cases. If he was consecrated by Cranmer, his consecration is not registered. But we have seen that the absence of a Register is no proof that a bishop has not been consecrated.

B. II. Mr. Kenrick has thought fit to deny the fact of the consecration of Ridley, upon what slender grounds we have already shewn. The only objections which seem open to the authority of his consecrators, are the want of Registers in the cases of Latimer, B. II. i., 2, and Chetham, B. III. iii. the last one of his consecrators, the other one of the consecrators of Holbeach, another of his consecrators. We think that there is conclusive moral evidence for the consecration of both these prelates, and we do not believe that any one has ever affected to doubt that of Chetham. Holbeach's consecration is very parallel to Boner's and Heath's,—neither of them was consecrated by an Archbishop. The presiding Bishop in Holbeach's case was Hilsey; in Boner's and Heath's, Gardiner,—neither of them registered at Canterbury, both in their own dioceses. The assistants in the case of Boner and Heath, were Sampson and Skyp. Neither of them registered any where. In that particular Holbeach has rather the advantage, as although Latimer one of his consecrators, was not registered, Wharton, the other, was. In like manner Ridley's consecration compares very equally with Thirlby's. Boner was the presiding Bishop at the one, and Holbeach of the other, the prelates whose consecrations we have just compared. Hodgeskin was an assistant in both; the third was, for Thirlby, Heath, for Ridley, Chetham. So Ridley's consecration may be compared with Kitchen's, whose presiding bishop was Thirlby, whom we have shewn not to be in better condition than Holbeach or Ridley, assisted by Chetham, also an assistant at the consecration of Ridley, and by Thomas, Suffragan of Shrewsbury, like Hodgeskin an undoubted bishop. We need not say that Boner, Heath, Thirlby, and Kitchen are all acknowledged by all Romanists as bishops.

A. Whatever becomes then of the question of Barlow's consecration, a fact of which we, however, see no reason to doubt, Parker was consecrated by three lawfully consecrated bishops.

B. With respect to Scory, we think we have fully established his claims; we, however, think proper to add in this place, that the acts of his consecration for Rochester and installation at Chichester, have been printed by Elrington, Appendix, pp. lxv. to lxix,^a and that in the same

^a See *Post Appendix*, No. xii. xiv.

book, pp. lxxvi. lxxvii. will be found an extract from Boner's Register, purporting to be an act by which Boner restores him on repentance for his marriage, to the function and public execution of his ecclesiastical, pastoral, and ministerial office, within the diocese of London. In this document, Boner calls him "Dilectus confrater noster Joannes nuper Cicestrien. Episcopus." "Our beloved brother, John late Bishop of Chichester."

C. Elrington has also printed, Appendix lxxi. to lxxiii.^w extracts from the act of Coverdale's consecration, and from his Register as Bishop of Exeter, leaving no doubt of his having been in actual possession of that see.

D. With respect to Hodgeskin, the act of his consecration, and the certificate from Cranmer to the king that it had taken place, are also to be found in the same book, pp. lxxiv. lxxv.^z

For all the references to the Registers of Cranmer and Pole in this note, except where credit is given elsewhere, we are indebted to Percival, *Apology for the Doctrine of the Apostolic Succession*, Appendix, pp. 99-101, N. Y. Edit.

NOTE B.

ON CONSECRATIONS BY A SINGLE BISHOP.

We are not going to discuss the question of the validity of consecrations by a single bishop,—it is sufficient for our purpose that they are practically accounted valid by our adversaries. We are going to use that opinion as an *argumentum ad homines*, without attempting to decide whether it be well founded or not. Archbishop Carroll, the first Archbishop of Baltimore, through whom most of the Romish prelates in this country trace their episcopate, was consecrated by a single bishop, who had himself been consecrated by a single bishop. Such consecrations, among the Romanists, in England and Ireland are so common, that they have in those countries no probable episcopate, except upon the supposition that they are valid.

If such consecrations are valid, it is easy to shew that they lose all their labor in attacking the consecration of Parker and his consecrators. As to Barlow, we have already said, in the former note, that his consecration

^w See *Post* Appendix, No. xliii.

^z See *Post* Appendix, No. xliv.

is in fact immaterial, since Parker was consecrated by three consecrated bishops without him.

But they deny the episcopate of Scory and Coverdale. Upon what ground? An alleged deficiency in Ridley. But there still remain Cranmer and Hodgeskin, whom they cannot dispute. If one bishop is sufficient to consecrate, Parker had at least three good consecrators. Parker's episcopate can be traced to Cranmer and to Stokesly by three lines each, exclusive of Barlow and Ridley.∇

But upon the principle of consecration by one bishop, the episcopate of Parker himself is now unimportant. The succession of the Church in England, her colonies, Scotland, and the United States, can upon that principle be traced through several lines, independent of him.

Christopher Hampton was Archbishop of Armagh, from 1613 to 1624; he was of Irish, not English consecration. In 1616 he united in the consecration of Thomas Morton, the very bishop who has been represented as tracing his episcopate from the Nag's-head.

About the same time, Marc Antonio De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, in Italy, became a Protestant, and came to England. In 1617 he joined in the consecration of Nicholas Felton and George Montaigne.

In 1619 Bishop Morton was one of the consecrators of several bishops, among whom was John Howson, Bishop of Oxford.

In 1621, Bishops Montaigne, Felton, and Howson all united in the consecration, at different times, of John Williams and William Laud. These two great prelates, rivals through life, heads of the two great parties in the Church, and incumbents at the same time of the two archiepiscopal sees, thus both united the English, the Irish, and the Italian lines of succession.

Brian Duppa, successively Bishop of Salisbury and Winchester, was consecrated on June 17th, 1633, by Laud,—Morton was also one of his consecrators, as was Robert Wright, one of whose consecrators was Williams.

∇ Thus—1. Parker, Scory, Cranmer.

2. Parker, Coverdale, Cranmer.

3. Parker, Hodgeskin, Wharton, Cranmer.

4. Parker, Scory, Hodgeskin, Stokesly.

5. Parker, Coverdale, Hodgeskin, Stokesly.

6. Parker, Hodgeskin, Stokesly.

Bishop Duppa, in 1660, after the restoration, consecrated Gilbert Sheldon as Bishop of London, who was afterwards translated to Canterbury. There were four other consecrators, of whom two had been consecrated by Laud, one by Williams, and one by Archbishop Juxon, who was himself consecrated by Laud.

In 1666 William Fuller, another bishop of Irish consecration, was translated from Limerick to Lincoln. In 1667 he was one of the consecrators of Anthony Sparrow, Bishop of Exeter, who in 1669 was one of the consecrators of Peter Gunning, Bishop of Chichester.

On the sixth day of December, 1674, Henry Compton, successively Bishop of Oxford and London, was consecrated by Archbishop Sheldon, Bishop Gunning, and others. He was consequently connected with the Irish succession through two different lines; and united the lines of Fuller, De Dominis, Hampton, and Parker. He lived till 1713,—consecrated thirty-four bishops, and at the time of his death, every bishop in England but two traced his episcopate through him. On the death of the two exceptions, their places must of necessity have been filled by the ecclesiastical descendants of Bishop Compton. Bishop White, one of the deprived bishops in the time of William III. was consecrated by him, and as he was one of the consecrators of Hickee, the nonjuring suffragan of Thetford, it has come to pass through his uniting in one consecration for the Church in Scotland, that all the bishops of that branch of the Church can also trace their episcopal descent from Bishop Compton.

It thus appears that all the bishops of the English, Scottish, American, and Anglo-colonial Churches, can trace their descent from the Churches of England, Ireland, and Italy, through Parker, Hampton, De Dominis, and Fuller.

We annex three tables, the first shewing the descent from Bishop Compton of all the Archbishops of Canterbury since his time. The other shewing the descent from him of all the consecrators of the first American bishops; the third, Bishop Compton's descent from Parker, Hampton, De Dominis, and Fuller.

TABLE I.
ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

1. Sancroft, Compton.
2. Tillotson, Burnet, Compton.
3. Tension, Compton.

4. Wake, Compton.
5. *Potter, Trelawny, Compton.
6. Herring, Potter, Trelawny, Compton.
7. Hutton, Wilcocks, Wake, Compton.
8. Secker, Gibson, Wake, Compton.
9. Cornwallis, Herring, Potter, Trelawny, Compton.
10. Moore, Cornwallis, Herring, Potter, Trelawny, Compton.
11. Sutton, Moore, Cornwallis, Herring, Potter, Trelawny, Compton.
12. Howley, Sutton, Moore, Cornwallis, Herring, Potter, Trelawny, Compton.

TABLE II.

BISHOP SEABURY'S CONSECRATORS.

1. Kilgour, Falconer, Rattray, Gadderar, Hickes, White, Compton.
2. Petrie, Falconer, Rattray, Gadderar, Hickes, White, Compton.
3. Skinner, Kilgour, Falconer, Rattray, Gadderar, Hickes, White, Compton.

BISHOPS WHITE AND PROVOOST'S CONSECRATORS.

1. Moore, Cornwallis, Herring, Potter, Trelawny, Compton.
2. Markham, Drummond, Herring, Potter, Trelawny, Compton.
3. Moss, Terrick, Hutton, Wilcocks, Wake, Compton.
4. Hinchcliffe, Cornwallis, Herring, Potter, Trelawny, Compton.

BISHOP MADISON'S CONSECRATORS.

1. Moore, Cornwallis, Herring, Potter, Trelawny, Compton.
2. Porteus, Markham, Drummond, Herring, Potter, Trelawny, Compton.
3. Thomas, Terrick, Hutton, Wilcocks, Wake, Compton.

TABLE III.

BISHOP COMPTON'S DESCENT.

1. Compton, Gunning, Sparrow, Fuller.
2. Compton, Sheldon, Duppa,^a Morton, Hampton.

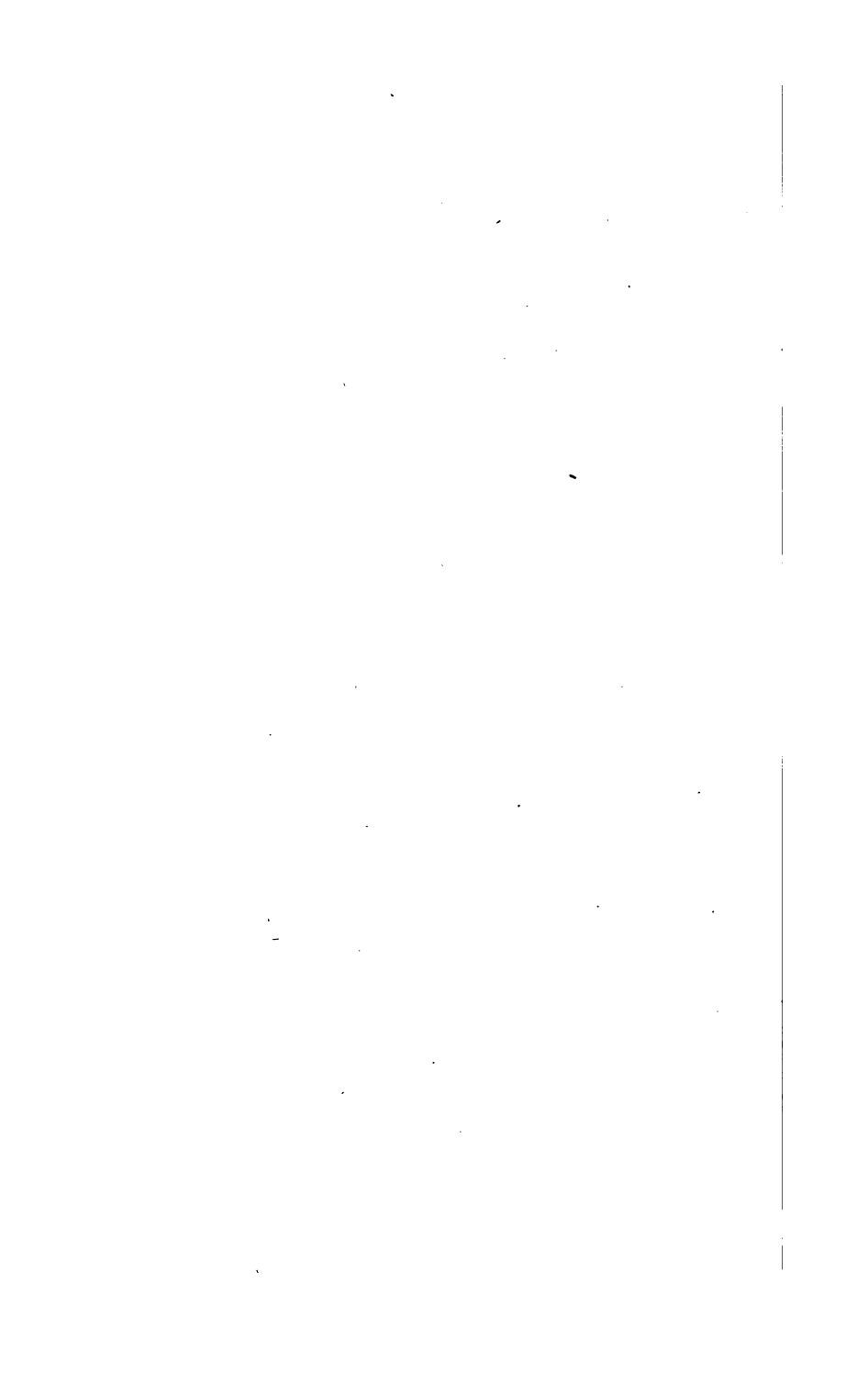
^a Archbishop Potter was consecrated by four bishops, of whom three had been consecrated by Compton, the fourth by an Archbishop of his consecration.

^a Or in another line :—Duppa, Wright, Williams, Howson, Morton, Hampton.

3. Compton, Sheldon, Duppa,^b Laud, Montaigne, De Dominis.
4. Compton, Sheldon, Duppa,^c Laud, Montaigne, Abbot, Bancroft,
Whitgift, Grindal, Parker.

^b Or in another line :—Duppa, Wright, Williams, Montaigne, De Dominis.

^c Or in another line :—Duppa, Wright, Williams, Howson, Morton, Abbot, and as in the text.



ESSAY IX.

THE ORDINAL OF EDWARD VI.

WE now leave the historical questions with which we have been so long occupied, and approach one of a more theological character. Is or not the office commonly called the ordinal of Edward VI. capable of conveying valid ordination? This question occupies the eleventh chapter of Mr. Kenrick's book. Of this chapter we hesitate not to say, that we have never seen a piece of writing, of no greater length, which involved so many contradictions, and indeed refutations, of itself. We shall, however, adopt from its pages a principle, as the substratum of our argument.

"It is a settled principle with Catholics, that no error about the nature or efficacy of a Sacrament, no positive disbelief of its Divine institution, or any other personal unworthiness on the part of him who administers it, can deprive such a sacrament of its effect.—provided sufficient matter, valid form, and the due intention, concur in its *administration*." p. 175.

Upon this principle we agree to discuss the question. There are, then, but two requisites to constitute a valid office of ordination; for with the *office*, intention has nothing to do; that belongs to the officiator. The only two requisites in the office are matter and form. By matter, we are to understand the appropriate action, something like what our catechism, in speaking of the Sacraments, calls an outward and visible sign. In the strict sense of our catechism, indeed, the word sign includes the material visible thing used in the action, as the water, the bread, and the wine, as well as the action itself. But we believe Romanists use the expression for the action itself, as indeed do our own Homilies. But at all events, the matter is action, not words, which is all that is important to our present purpose. Concerning the matter, there is in this case no dispute, and it is therefore needless to

be over-precise in explaining the meaning of the term. Mr. Kenrick is agreed with us, that the matter of ordination is the imposition of hands. But what is the form? The matter is action, the form is words. What words? Let us hear Chardon, a Romanist, as quoted with approbation by Mr. Kenrick:

"There are few among intelligent theologians who do not teach that the matter and form of ordination consists in the imposition of the bishop's hands, and in the invocation of the HOLY GHOST." p. 180.

This is exactly the doctrine of our Church. Accordingly, in the ordinal of Edward VI. we find "imposition of the bishop's hands and the invocation of the HOLY GHOST." There is another signification of the word form, in which it is equivalent to order or office, and includes all the prayers and ceremonies which may occur in the course of the administration of a rite. In this sense we say, "The Form of Consecration of a Church or Chapel," "The Form and Manner of Making Priests." A confusion between these two senses of the word form, runs through the whole of our author's remarks, and is not a little useful to him in the management of his cause. When he is to assail our form, he uses the word in its narrower and more technical sense, and refuses to allow us to aid the alleged defects of what he pleases to consider the form, in that sense, by expressions used in other parts of the office. When he is to defend the Romish office, he considers every part of the office as form. Without this artifice, he must either have admitted our office to be good or his own to be bad. But it is in the narrower and technical sense, that he has asserted, and we have admitted, a sound form to be necessary to a valid ordination. That he uses the word form in this stricter sense when he speaks of a valid form, in connexion with sufficient matter, in the passage which we have quoted above, we have a right to conclude from another passage upon the same page.

"If an insufficient *form* of baptism were employed in the administration of that sacrament, it would be of no avail; although it might have

been frequently intimated in the preceding and subsequent parts of the *ceremony*, that the child or other person was presented for baptism." p. 175.

Here he clearly distinguishes between two things, to each of which the word form is sometimes applied; calling one the form, the other the ceremony. To the narrower sense of the word form we desire, and we have the right to hold him. In this sense, then, he tells us :

"If she [the Romish Church] deems the English ordinations invalid, it must be, either because she denies the fact of their having been performed by an ordained minister, or because she judges that the form used is insufficient." p. 157.

The question as to the fact of the ordained minister, is not now before us. If our form is insufficient, he who asserts the insufficiency is bound to shew us in what it consists. For that purpose, it is necessary that he tell us precisely what the sufficient form is. But this it seems that he is unable to do. Although not contented with the passage just cited, he says in another place :

"The rejection of English ordinations by the [Romish] Church, is grounded *solely on the insufficiency of the form*, and not upon any historical fact, such as whether Matthew Parker was, or was not, consecrated by Barlow, or whether Barlow himself was, or was not, a regularly consecrated bishop. Whatever opinion may be formed on each of these disputed facts,—and every [Roman] Catholic is at perfect liberty to affirm or deny them—still the judgment and practice of the [Romish] Church is *exclusively* founded on the nature of the form, which being insufficient of itself, suffices to invalidate the act of which it is so essential a part, no matter by whom performed." p. 159.

Let him, then, we again say, point out to us what the form is, and then shew us wherein ours is deficient. He tells us plainly he cannot do this.

"In what, then, it may be asked, does the Catholic form consist? I might, in reply, say that this question is irrelevant; as from what has been said, it is evident that the supposed identity between the forms of Edward VI. and those in the Roman Pontifical, cannot be established; and, consequently, that the argument in support of the former, which is,

built on such a supposition, falls at once to the ground. I will, however, observe, that as the Church has not defined what part of the ceremony of ordination is that called the form, theologians have enjoyed on this subject a speculative freedom of opinion, which does not at all interfere with their observance of the laws of the Church, by which they are bound to use the form at present prescribed in the Roman Pontifical. The Church not having defined the exact words that constitute the form of ordination, a certain latitude of opinions necessarily arose; and some theologians, arguing from the principle, that the form of ordination was not specifically determined by CHRIST, as were the forms of baptism and the eucharist, were easily led to consider these words, 'Accipe,' etc. as the form, although they may have been aware that they had not been always in use." p. 181.

The Romish Church, then, has not defined where or what the form is. Of course the Catholic Church has not; since the Romish Church affects to receive all the definitions of the Catholic Church. Mr. Kenrick only attempts to shew that our form is insufficient, by shewing that we "interfere with" the "observance of the laws of the" [Romish] "Church, by which" every body "is bound to use the form at present prescribed in the Roman Pontifical." He then starts away from the technical meaning of the word form, and resorts to the popular. Let us ask him a question or two. If the validity of an ordination depends upon the use of the form—meaning ceremony, office, order,—"*at present* prescribed in the Roman Pontifical," what is to become of ordinations performed before that office or form was prescribed? His very form of speech implies that there was such a time. We suppose he will answer, that if they were performed according to the former office *then* prescribed, they would be valid. Again; suppose the Roman Pontifical should be changed, as it appears it has been changed, would the ordinations by the new office be valid? We suppose he would say; Yes. The validity of ordinations, then, depends on conformity in all things to the Roman Pontifical for the time being; in other words, on obedience to the see of Rome. This merges our special controversy, as most controversies

with the Romanists are apt to be merged, in the grand one, whether Rome is the mother and mistress of Churches. Mr. Kenrick, like most of his brethren, takes this for granted; but till he proves it, his present argument is good for nothing.

But let us suppose that he uses the word form in its technical and restricted sense, he then means to say that we are "bound to use the form *at present* prescribed in the Roman Pontifical." Using the word form in its narrower sense, for the form of words by which the power of order is actually conveyed. Then let him tell us what that form of words is. But he tells us that he cannot, and moreover that "the Church has not defined the exact words that constitute the *form* of ordination." Then there is no form in that sense prescribed in the Roman Pontifical. It follows, that in this passage he uses the word form for office.

He stands, then, on this ground, that the form of every office for ordination, which differs by an hair's breadth from that in the Roman Pontifical, is invalid. It would seem that the "observance of the law of the [Romish] Church," by which "they are bound to use the form at present prescribed in the Roman Pontifical," need not go quite so far. We have heard of a maxim, "*fieri non debet, factum valet.*" It may not be necessary to a valid ordination to use every word and syllable, although the omission may be a violation of law. Mr. Kenrick tells us elsewhere, of a very reasonable distinction between *unlawful* and invalid.

"It is here necessary to point out the distinction between a *valid* and a *lawful* ordination. The one is an act, to which nothing is wanting that is necessary to give it effect; whereas, the other is one, not only complete in itself, but conformable to the laws that have been made to direct and govern the power that produced it. Thus, for example, a clergyman who has been suspended from the exercise of his ministry, may, if he be so regardless of his duty, continue to officiate, and his official acts would, in most instances, be *valid*. They would not, indeed, be *lawful* acts, but, on the contrary, a sacrilegious abuse of the powers of the ministry. Hence, were a Catholic bishop to apostatize from the

faith, and confer the order of priesthood on one of his partizans in error, his apostacy or heresy would not invalidate the act, although it would render it plainly *unlawful*. And hence it is that the Catholic Church regards all ordinations, that are made in the sects separated from her communion, as *unlawful*; but she only considers those *invalid*, in which either the ordaining prelate was not himself consecrated, or in which he employed a defective form, or in which he had no serious intention of performing a sacred rite." p. 15.

But "the later end of his commonwealth seems to forget the beginning." It now appears that the Church, "not having defined the exact words that constitute the form of ordination," nobody can tell what they are, or are not,—they may lurk in the newest as well as the oldest part of the office, and therefore, the whole office must be used. *Qui cadit a litera, cadit ab ordinatione*. Truly a rigid rule. How does it agree with the fact: "that the [Romish] Church recognises the orders of the Greek and other schismatic Churches, which have been for ages separated from her communion?"—*Kenrick*, p. 14. Do these "*schismatic*" Churches preserve their "observance of the laws of the [Romish] Church by which they are bound to use the form at present prescribed in the Roman Pontifical?" Do they not hurl defiance at Rome and her authority? Do they not ordain by rites of their own? If then, as we are told by our author, their orders are valid, we must seek further for the cause of the invalidity of our own, than the fact that our ordinal differs from that of Rome, or that our ordinations are held in disregard of her pretended authority.

He is not content with telling us once that the orders of the Greek Church are valid; but in another place he says:

"The [Romish] Church has, accordingly, always admitted the validity of the ordinations of the Greek schismatical Church, because conferred by persons who themselves had been ordained, and who, in conferring orders, used the ancient form of ordination." p. 157.

The *ancient* form is not identical with "the form at present prescribed in the Roman Pontifical." It is notorious that the Greeks do not use that office. The "*ancient form*," which they preserve, must be the form in the technical sense,

the form which has been always used, and which is analogous to the Divinely appointed form in baptism. What that form is, Mr. Kenrick tells us, on page 181, he does not know. In his quotation from Chardon, on page 180, we learn that it consists in the invocation of the HOLY GHOST. Putting the two together, it seems that it does not consist in the invocation of the HOLY GHOST in any precise set of words, but in such invocation, in any suitable set of words. In this, the form in ordination differs from the Divinely appointed form in baptism, which does consist in a precise set of words. Ask, with what words was Cornelius baptised? Every Christian can reply,—“in the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST.” Ask, with what words Paul and Barnabas “ordained elders in every Church?” No one can answer. We are not, then, tied to any precise set of words; but only to such words as sufficiently express a proper meaning. We are, in other words, only bound to an invocation of the HOLY GHOST, adapted to the occasion.

There is another question, which will be found of some importance in this discussion. Is the form, using the word technically, of ordination, confined to the words spoken, while the hands of the bishop are on the head of the candidate? We presume we may answer this in the negative. Firstly, because if it were, it could not be said “that as the Church has not defined what part of the ceremony of ordination is that called the form, theologians have enjoyed on that subject a speculative freedom of opinion.” *p.* 181. Secondly, because the words which in “the form at present prescribed in the Roman Pontifical,” *p.* 181, to be said while the hands of the bishop are on the head of the candidate, are these, “Receive the HOLY GHOST, whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven, whose sins thou dost retain they are retained;” and nothing more.—See page 178. Now this set of words, Mr. Kenrick informs us, “was not observed for many ages in the Primitive Church.” *p.* 179. He also tells

us, on the same page, that although Bellarmine seems to regard the words "Receive the HOLY GHOST, as part of the form he does not regard it as the whole form." Bellarmine must be mistaken, supposing them to be even "part of the form," if "they were not observed for many ages in the Primitive Church." But if he is right in regarding them as even part of the form, or if they are no part of the form; in either case the principle is established for which we contend, that the form is not confined to the words which the bishop speaks, with his hand on the head of the candidate. Mr. Kenrick is so anxious that there shall be no mistake, as to the fact that those words are not the form, that he tells us twice, in the compass of a duodecimo page, that this supposed form "was not used for many ages;" and then says :

"I shall quote from an unexceptionable writer, the authorities by which it is sustained. 'These words,' says Chardon, 'which are found in the Roman Pontifical, Accipe SPIRITUM SANCTUM, etc.—(Receive the HOLY GHOST, etc.) in which many scholastics imagined they found the form of ordination, are not ancient; for even the earliest scholastics such as Hugh of St. Victor, Alexander Hales, William of Auxerre, St. Bonaventura, and St. Thomas, make no mention of them, although they treat minutely of the rites of ordination.—Neither is it found in Latin rituals of more than four hundred years antiquity, nor even in many modern rituals, as Father Morinus remarks.^d The Greeks and Syrians, to

"^d Nulli rituales antiqui hæc habent verba, nusquam comparent: etiam in recentioribus multis nulla eorum mentio. Apud Latinos cæpta sunt usurpari vix ab annis quadringentis, apud Græcos autem et Syros nec est, nec unquam fuit, illorum usus. Itaque nulla ratione dici possunt ad ordinis substantiam pertinere.' Morinus, De Sacris Ordinationibus pars. 3. exercit. 2. Cap. 2. p. 22.

"Verba illa, Accipe SPIRITUM SANCTUM, quæ ante prædictam præfationem, cum manus impositione, ab ipso consecrator proferuntur, in quibus formam episcopatus reponunt scholastici recentiores, toto antiquitati ignota fuerunt: adeo ut vix in ullo Pontificali annos quadringentos attingente reperiantur.' Martene, De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus, lib. I. cap. 8. Art. 10. p. 330."

this day, have no such form. Many scholastics, however, believed them to be essential; because they imagined that the forms of the sacraments ought to be imperative. But now-a-days this opinion no longer prevails, no more than other sentiments of the schools regarding the sacraments. There are few among intelligent theologians who do not teach that the matter and form of ordination consists in the imposition of the bishop's hands, and in the invocation of the HOLY GHOST, although all agree with the Council of Trent, that the bishop who ordains, does not in vain say:—*Accipe SPIRITUM SANCTUM, etc.*"* pp. 179, 180.

We have now, as we conceive, established upon Mr. Kenrick's own authority the following propositions:

1. The controversy is exclusively about the form of ordination.
2. The word "form" is used in a technical sense, for something in some respect analogous to the Divinely appointed form of baptism, and not for the whole office or rite.
3. This form has not been, like that in baptism, Divinely appointed in any precise set of words, nor has it been precisely defined either by the Catholic or the Romish Church.
4. This form consists in the invocation of the HOLY GHOST.
5. The form does not consist exclusively in the words spoken while the hands of the ordainer are on the head of the ordained.
6. The matter of ordination consists in the imposition of hands.

To these propositions we intend to hold Mr. Kenrick, and to shew, that consistently with them, his argument against the ordinal of Edward VI. cannot be sustained.

We now proceed to consider his argument. He has, in commencing it, ostentatiously drawn up his objections under six heads. This arrangement has the appearance of being very precise and formal, but is really only cumbrous and confused. The real objections which he takes to the form in the ordinal are only three.

1. That the Church of Rome has pronounced it void.

* "Chardon, Histoire des Sacremens. Liv. I. De L'Ordre. c. 8."

2. That it contains no words, conveying to the ordained the power of offering sacrifice.

3. That it contains no words referring distinctly to the two orders of bishops and priests.

The first objection occupies his three first heads, which are intended to form a syllogism; remarkable as being used to establish a matter of fact. The syllogism is this; "the [Roman] Catholic Church does not believe, that the effect of a valid form can be frustrated by the errors and disbelief of those who use it, or of the society in which it is used." "Hence if she deems the English ordinations invalid, it must be either because she denies the fact of their having been performed by a regularly ordained minister, or because she judges that the form used on the occasion is insufficient." *p.* 157. But "the rejection of English ordinations by the Church, [of Rome,] is grounded not upon any historical fact." *p.* 159. And "the Church [of Rome] has uniformly rejected the English ordinations as invalid," *p.* 157,—therefore the Church of Rome has decided that the form is invalid. If so, we cannot help thinking that the shortest way of proving it, would have been to have produced the decision. But suppose that it is so; we have a very short answer to the whole argument. If the Church of Rome has decided that the form is invalid, the Churches of England, of Ireland, of Scotland, and of the United States of America, have decided that it is valid. The affair being within the peculiar jurisdiction of those Churches, their decision must stand in preference to that of the Church of Rome, until the latter is proved to be the mother and mistress of Churches.

But has the Church of Rome decided that the form is invalid? We say she has made no such decision. It is true, that the policy and practice of re-ordination prevail within her pale; but it is upon grounds not at all affecting the validity of the *form*, using that word in its limited and technical sense. Let us hear Mr. Kenrick himself upon this subject.

"The Church [of Rome] has uniformly rejected the English ordinations as invalid. All the [Roman] Catholic bishops of England, in the time of Queen Mary, unanimously condemned the form which had been introduced under Edward VI. and their decision was confirmed by the judgment of the [Roman] Catholic world. We accordingly find that those bishops who had been consecrated according to that form, were regarded as invalidly consecrated; and even their civil acts were annulled by the courts of law, during the reign of that queen. The [Roman] Catholic doctors of those times regarded that form as invalid. This was publicly declared by Richard Bristow, in a book written in the year 1567, to which reference has already been made; and it has ever since been the sentiment of the [Roman] Church, which has uniformly considered as mere laymen, whatever bishops, ministers, etc. of the English clergy, have returned to her communion, and confers on them, as such, the orders of priesthood, etc. should they be disposed to embrace the ecclesiastical state. This was at length solemnly ordered by a decree of the Roman Inquisition, made in the presence of Clement VI. on the 27th of April, 1704." pp. 157, 158.

There was, then, no formal decision of the question before 1704, and then not by the Roman Church, but by the *Roman Inquisition*. We have understood that some American Romanists have recently discovered, that the Inquisition is a mere civil tribunal; with which the Church of Rome has never had any thing to do. Should this great discovery turn out to be a truth, we fear Mr. Kenrick will lose his authority. But as we apprehend that there may be some mistake, we shall not rely upon the discovery; but treat the question as if it had not been made. The Inquisition, although a Church tribunal, is not the Church of Rome; far less is it the Catholic Church. Its judgments are not the act either of the Catholic Church or of its corrupted branch of Rome, and we apprehend, therefore, that Rome is not committed, even, to the general invalidity of the English orders; although we know that her present practice is to disregard them. But was the decision of the Inquisition grounded on a defect in the form? Far from it.

This decision was made in the case of John Clement Gordon, a Scottish bishop, who apostatised to the Romish

sect. The petition for re-ordination which he presented, has been printed by Elrington, Appendix, lxxvii. et. seq. who cites it from Le Quien, a Romanist,—*Pieces Justificatives*, p. lxxix.^f It is full of false assertions, into which no inquiry was made, but the decision proceeded upon the statements of the petition. It tells the Nag's-head fable according to the version of Fitzsimon,—the refusal of Kitchen the refusal of the imaginary Irish archbishop, the subsequent assembling at the Nag's-head and the ordination, there. The ordination is represented as defective, in *matter*, form, and *intention*. No other imposition of hands was used, according to this petition, than taking Parker by the right hand and telling him to rise Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.—Its falsehoods do not stop here; it says expressly, that Scory was an apostate monk, and *no bishop*; that Parker was a layman, that Neale, whom it calls Keale, told this tale when in exile for the Romish religion. Neale, in truth, being a sort of Vicar of Bray, who could be chaplain to the persecuting Bishop of London, the bloody Boner, under Mary, and Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, under Elizabeth. This we learn from Wood, in a part of his life, which Mr. Kenrick has re-published, p. 205, and we further learn from another part of the same life, which Mr. Kenrick has judged it prudent to omit, that in 1566, he made a complimentary oration to Queen Elizabeth, and was in high favor with her. Such a man was not likely to be in exile for any religion. But the falsehoods of Gordon's petition do not even stop here. He goes on to assert that Mason pretended to find a register, of which he could produce no proof, in which it was stated, that Parker was ordained by Catholics, meaning, of course, Romanists. Upon this mass of gross and impudent falsehoods, the Inquisition acted, assuming them all to be true. Upon that hypothesis, the question of the form in Edward's ordinal could not come up. There had been no ordination at all. Yet it is upon this

^f *Post*, App. No. xlvi.

statement that the Inquisition, in 1704, declared the English orders invalid. Nothing is more manifest, than that the decision was not made upon account of any defect in the ordinal of Edward VI. Mr. Kenrick may, however, be right, in saying that the decision was not grounded "upon any historical *fact*," because it was grounded upon a mass of historical falsehoods.

But besides the inquisition, we have "the [Roman] Catholic bishops" in Mary's time "the [Roman] Catholic world," and "the [Roman] Catholic doctors in Elizabeth's time." Of these, the opinion of the second is of very little value, being taken up, on trust, from the others, without any examination;—that of the first is by no means certain;‡ and that of the third, the Romish controversialists of Elizabeth's time, (the opprobrium of the Roman obedience,) whom Mr. Kenrick, strangely enough, thinks proper to dignify with the honorable title of Catholic doctors, is of very little consequence. Mr. Kenrick, throughout his whole book, has been endeavoring to shew that these same Catholic doctors (!) denied the *fact* of Parker's consecration. Now it seems that they only denied the validity of the ordinal of Edward VI. Now the last is the truth,—they did deny the validity of the ordinal of Edward VI. But on what grounds? Let us learn from Mr. Kenrick.

"The nature of the changes made in the form of ordination, and the grounds of the exceptions taken to it, by the [Roman] Catholics of Queen Mary's time, are thus detailed by Dodd:—

"'When this ordinal' (that of Edward VI.) 'was examined, in the next ensuing reign of Queen Mary, it was declared to be insufficient and invalid, as to the purposes of consecrating a true ministry, both the bishops and parliament being of that opinion. The reasons, in general, of its insufficiency, were an essential defect, both as to the matter and form of the episcopal and sacerdotal orders. There was no anointing—a ceremony always made use of from the earliest times, without which the ordination was doubted, and, according to the common opinion, invalid. There was no porrection of instruments, another significative ceremony, generally esteemed to be essential. But, what was still of the greatest

‡ See Note A, at the end of this Essay.

moment, there was no form of words, specifying the order that was conferred; and particularly, no words or ceremony made use of to express the power of absolving and offering sacrifice. For these, and several other reasons, which I have distinctly mentioned in another place, all the orders conferred, according to this new ordinal, were looked upon by the [Roman] Catholics in Queen Mary's reign, to be null and invalid.'^h p. 158.

The objections, then, were not confined to the *form*, they extended to the *matter*. Anointing and porrection of instruments, were erroneously supposed by those bishops and doctors, to be parts of the matter of ordination; but in that, Mr. Kenrick's Romish authority, Chardon, shews that they were mistaken. "But what was still of greatest moment, there was no form of words specifying the order which was conferred; and particularly, no form of words or ceremony, made use of to express the power of absolving and offering sacrifice." Now as to the power of absolving, it is notorious and admitted, that the ordinal contains the very words, in which our SAVIOUR conferred the power, and that they are directed to be uttered while the hand of the bishop is on the head of the candidate. Upon every principle, this objection is a mere mistake. A cavil unfounded in fact. The other two objections are precisely those of our author. If he is right in them now, the bishops and doctors were right then; and if he is wrong now, they were wrong then. We shall proceed to examine this point; for as to the "several other reasons," which Mr. Dodd had "distinctly mentioned in other places," we know nothing of them, except that if they had been of the slightest value, we should have heard of them in this place, or at least somewhere in Mr. Kenrick's book.

The fourth head of Mr. Kenrick's chapter xi. relates to the alleged defect of King Edward's ordinal, in not specifying the particular order intended to be conferred. This objection is presented in two shapes. First; that the convocation

^h "Dodd's Church History, quoted by the editor of Collier's Ecclesiastical History." Vol. 5, p. 301. Kenrick.

of 1662 admitted the defect. Second; that it actually exists. About the alleged admission of the convocation of 1662, it may be as well to observe, that though we utterly deny the admission; yet there is no difference between Mr. Kenrick and us as to the facts from which he infers the admission. It will be necessary to state these facts.

“The bishop, with the priests present, shall lay their hands severally upon the head of every one that receiveth orders,—the receivers humbly kneeling upon their knees, and the bishop saying:

“Receive the HOLY GHOST,—whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of GOD, and of His holy Sacraments: In the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST. Amen.”—*Ord. of Ed. VI. Cardwell's edition, p. 416.—Kenrick, p. 160.*

The convocation of 1662 altered the words to be spoken by the bishop into the following form, which is still continued and may be seen in any American Common Prayer Book.

“Receive the HOLY GHOST *for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of GOD, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands*: whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained: And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of GOD, and of His holy Sacraments: In the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST. Amen.”

In the office of Edward for the consecration of bishops, we find the following:

“Take the HOLY GHOST,* and remember that thou stir up the grace of GOD which is in thee, by imposition of hands; for GOD hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and of soberness.”—*Cardwell, 421.*

In 1662, this sentence was changed into two, as may be seen in the ordinary Prayer Books. The second sentence is the same as we have given above, beginning at the asterisk. The first is as follows:

“Receive the HOLY GHOST for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of GOD, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands: In the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST. Amen.”

The reader observes, that the material part of the alteration consists in the introduction of the words "office and work of a bishop," or "priest." The introduction of those words certainly removes the objection to the ordinal—that it does not specify the order intended to be conferred. Mr. Kenrick is, however, too chary of admissions to admit even this. He is conscious that his cause cannot afford to lose any thing. But the truth is clear enough for us without his admission. He is, however, very triumphant in telling us, that "If the forms of Edward VI. were not sufficient, the change came one hundred and three years TOO LATE." Mr. Kenrick sees that we take his doctrine, capitals and all; and not only so; we maintain that it is so indisputably true, that no man of common sense can ever have had a doubt of it. But then we draw our own inferences. We suppose that Archbishop Sheldon, and the other members of the convocation of 1662, knew all that as well as ourselves or Mr. Kenrick. Our inference, then, is that they did not regard the alteration as an admission that the old form was insufficient. Had they been convinced of its insufficiency, they had two courses of action open. If honest men, they would have looked about for some source, from which they might have obtained the succession anew; if dishonest, they would have gone on with the old form, and maintained that it was sufficient. In neither case would they have attempted to cure a defect, by a measure, which if the defect existed, could only expose it. Their course, instead of amounting to an admission that the old form was invalid, shews that they believed its validity so clear, that they could afford to venture on an alteration, which would furnish the semblance of an argument against it. We conclude, then, that the convocation of 1662 have not admitted the alleged invalidity of the ordinal of Edward VI.

Does Mr. Kenrick mean to assert, or to insinuate, that no change has ever taken place in the Roman offices for ordination? What then does he mean, at page 181, by "the form

at present prescribed in the Roman Pontifical?" Was the old Roman form insufficient? We apprehend not. Yet of the words, which in the office "*at present* prescribed in the Roman Pontifical," are uttered by the bishop, with his hand on the head of the candidate, we are told, *pp.* 179, 180:

"These words, in which many scholastics imagined that they found the words of ordination, *are not ancient*; for even the earliest scholastics, such as Hugh of St. Victor, Alexander Hales, William of Auxerre, St. Bonaventura, and St. Thomas, make no mention of them, although they treat minutely of the rites of ordination. *Neither is it to be found in Latin rituals of more than four hundred years antiquity*; nor even in many modern rituals, as Father Morinus remarks."

If the Church of Rome can alter her ritual of ordination, without admitting the invalidity of the old one, the Church of England, may surely do so likewise. It amounts to nothing more than this, that one form may be sufficient and available, and yet another may be preferable.

But was the ordinal of Edward VI. defective in not specifying the order intended to be conferred? The candidates are presented to the bishop, "to be admitted to the order of priesthood."—*Cardwell*, 412. The bishop is then to say, "Good people, these be they whom we purpose, God willing, to receive this day into the holy office of priesthood." *Idem.* They are presented in prayer to "ALMIGHTY God," as "these Thy servants, now called to the office of priesthood."—*Idem.* They are asked, "whether they believe themselves to be truly called"—"to the ministry of the priesthood." Surely here are specifications enough of the order about to be conferred. Let us hear what Mr. Kenrick says to this:

"In reply to these arguments, it is said, that with regard to the form of consecrating priests, although the word 'priest' be not found in Edward's form, it occurs no less than four times in the ordination ceremony; that this must be taken, as *one* act, and that the meaning of the form is to be determined by all that precedes and follows it, and by the general and avowed tendency of the whole ceremony. But this does not appear to be a safe principle, or, indeed, one that can be admitted. It

would follow from it, that the wording of the form is a matter of perfect indifference; or, at least, that in such circumstances as those supposed, it is not necessary that it should signify the spiritual effect it is intended to produce. This certainly cannot be admitted; as is evident from the fact, that if an insufficient form of Baptism were employed in the administration of that Sacrament, it would be of no avail; although it might have been frequently intimated in the preceding and subsequent part of the ceremony, that the child, or other person, was presented for baptism." pp. 174, 175.

It is, then, necessary to specify the order, in the form of ordination, technically so called. What part of the office contains that form? Mr. Kenrick, page 181, informs us that he does not know. How, then, does he know that the specification of the order is in the right place in the Roman, or in the wrong place in the English office? May not this prayer be a part of the form of ordination?

"ALMIGHTY GOD, Giver of all good things, which by Thy HOLY SPIRIT hast appointed diverse orders of ministers in Thy Church; mercifully behold these Thy servants, now called to the office of *Priesthood*, and so replenish them with the truth of Thy doctrine, and innocency of life, that both by word and good example, they may faithfully serve Thee in this office, to the glory of Thy name, and profit of the congregation, through the merits of our SAVIOUR, JESUS CHRIST; Who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the HOLY GHOST, world without end. Amen." *Cardwell*, 412.

But will he contend, that the *form* consists exclusively in the words repeated while the hands of the bishop are on the head of the candidate? Then there is not a single priest in the whole Roman obedience, or it is not necessary that the order should be specified in the form. If those two principles; that the order must be specified in the form, and that the words spoken with the hands of the ordainer on the head of the ordained, are the form, are both to prevail; Mr. Kenrick himself is a layman. The ordinal of Edward VI. is in that part more full than the Roman office. The words which the bishops of the Roman obedience use, while

their hands are on the head of the ordained are only these :

“Receive the HOLY GHOST: whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained.”—*Kenrick*, p. 178.

Mr. Kenrick says that this is what Williams “calls the Romish form for priests.” But he does not assert that they have any other form. Instead of so doing, he gets up a discussion whether these words are the necessary form. He takes the negative proposition, which he successfully maintains, and concludes, by admitting that he does not know where in the Roman Pontifical, the true *form* of ordination is to be found. He, however, no where denies that the actual form of words, accompanying the imposition of hands, in the Roman Pontifical, is that which we have given above. He no where asserts that any other words are joined to them. He says, indeed, that this sentence, which he calls “the supposed form,” “was not observed for many ages in the primitive Church.” And he tells us, moreover, that “this point of itself destroys the identity sought to be established between the form of Edward VI. and those prescribed in the Roman Pontifical.” The logic of the argument is not perceived. The plain question is, not about identity, which no one supposes to exist; but whether the Roman office, at the time of the imposition of hands, prescribes any words which designate the order of priesthood as that conferred on the candidate. Mr. Kenrick does not say that it does. Then, although it may not be *identical* with the office of Edward, it contains the *identical defect* which Mr. Kenrick objects to that office. Nay, it is more defective, for it contains nothing answering to the words, “Be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and of His holy Sacraments.” Words which we apprehend are a very good periphrasis for “Be thou a faithful priest;” and that, whether the Sacrament of the LORD’S Supper be a sacrifice or not. It is a Sacrament, and if it cannot be dispensed without a

sacrifice, then he, who is appointed to dispense it, is appointed a sacrificer.

As regards the Episcopal office, the argument is so similar to that which we have offered upon the priesthood, that it is unnecessary to repeat it in detail. The bishop elect is presented to the archbishop to be consecrated a bishop,—he is repeatedly mentioned as bishop elect, and the “ALMIGHTY” is prayed; “Mercifully behold this Thy servant, now called to the work and ministry of a bishop.”—*Cardwell*, 419. Now we say, as we said in the case of priests, that this is a sufficient designation of the order about to be conferred. If it is not in the right place, it is for our adversaries to shew us which is the right place. This, by their own confession, they cannot do. We further say, that the authority of the Church of Rome, in her office for the ordination of priests, proves that the place which Mr. Kenrick insinuates is the proper place, is not the only proper place. We have no wish to deny that it is *a* proper place.

But Mr. Kenrick (*p.* 175) tells us, that “if the matter be omitted or curtailed of any essential part,—if the form be vitiated, or if ambiguity be introduced for the purpose of introducing error, it is no longer a valid means of producing sacramental effects.” In the next page, he says: “That it is undeniable that the ancient form of Episcopal consecration was set aside, and a new one of the most vague character introduced, for the purpose of bringing down the Episcopal body to a level with the second order of the clergy.” Here are two undeniable propositions; both of which we are bold enough unequivocally to deny.

The first is, that the form of Episcopal consecration introduced in the time of Edward VI. is vague. This we have already disproved. The other, that the new form was introduced, for “the purpose of bringing down the Episcopal body to the level of the second order of the clergy.” This is equally untrue. Every one conversant with Ecclesiastical History knows that it is, and has been for ages, the policy of the court

and Church of Rome, "to bring down the Episcopal body to the level of the second order of the clergy," in order that there may be room for a greater distance between the bishops and the pope. The Church of England, in the ordinal of Edward, required priests to promise obedience to their bishops. Every bishop was required to promise, "that such as be unquiet, disobedient, and criminous within his diocese," he would correct and punish according to such authority as "he had by God's Word," and as "to him should be committed by the ordinance of the realm." Of priests, no such promise was required. Here, then, was a distinct recognition of the authority of one over the other. A strange mode of bringing them to a level! The preface to this ordinal, too, declares, "that from the Apostles' time, there hath been these orders of ministers in CHRIST'S Church,—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."—*Cardwell*, 398. The office for the consecration of bishops itself, contains a prayer, beginning: "ALMIGHTY GOD, Giver of all good things, which by thy Holy Spirit hast appointed *divers orders of ministers* in thy Church; mercifully behold this Thy servant, now called to the work and ministry of a bishop."—*Ib.* 419. Thus distinctly does it recognise, in the most solemn manner, in an address to the ALMIGHTY, that there are *divers orders of ministers* appointed by the HOLY SPIRIT, that is of Divine right, and that one of these orders is that of a bishop. Take this in connexion with the preface, and with the fact, that throughout the whole ordinal, the power of ordination is jealously reserved to the bishop, and with the relation of authority so distinctly recognised in him, and it will require an unenviable amount of certain qualifications, in the man who shall assert, that the ordinal was composed "for the purpose of bringing down the Episcopal body to the level of the second order of the clergy."

We believe that we have now answered all that Mr. Kenrick has advanced against the office for the consecration of bishops, and nothing remains, but to consider the objection

which he takes to the office for ordaining priests, in connexion with the doctrine of sacrifice. In approaching this subject, Mr. Kenrick, with his usual tactics, endeavors to excite a prejudice on his own side, and twice attacks, what he calls, "three different editions of the Bible, in 1562, 1577, and 1579." He accuses the translators and publishers of these editions, of corrupting the sacred text to the exclusion of the doctrines of sacrifice, altar, and priesthood. At page 156, we are told, "The substitution of the word 'elder' instead of 'priest,' in Acts, c. xv. 2; Ep. Titus, c. i. 5; 1 Tim. c. iv. 16, c. v. 17-19; St. James, c. v. 14, in three different editions of the Bible—in 1562, 1577, and 1579, shews that not only was the idea of priesthood studiously kept out of view, but that these translations of the Word were nothing more than the vehicle for the errors of men." Mr. Kenrick is singularly forbearing, in not extending his accusation to other editions of the Bible. We believe the same offence has been committed in all not published under Romish auspices.—*And even in them, if they happen to be in learned languages.* In our present authorised version, in five out of his six texts, the word is "elder" or "elders." In 1 Tim, iv. 16, the word does not occur at all,—we suppose the citation is a mistake for 1 Tim. iv. 14, in which, in the authorised version, the word "presbytery" occurs. In the Geneva Bible, the word is "eldership," and it may have been so in other early versions. In the Romish, it is "priesthood," and in the other texts, the word, which in Protestant translations is "elder" or "elders," is undoubtedly "priest" and "priests." But this does not, as we conceive, fix the charge of falsification upon the Protestants. The truth is, that the falsification was made by the Romanists, in their English version, to meet a popular, but worthless, argument against the doctrine of sacrifice; which is founded on the absence of a certain Greek word signifying a priest or sacrificer, in the New Testament.

The word in the original Greek, is one, the primary signification of which is "elder;" and which is the root of the English word, "presbyter," through that in the Latin of the same form. The Romanists, in one of the same chapters, for which fault is found with the Protestant translation, translate the word in the singular, "an ancient man," "An ancient man rebuke not, but entreat him as a father," 1 Tim. v. 1. See an edition of the new Testament, &c. translated from the Vulgate, 32mo. Baltimore, published by Fielding Lucas, Jr. and recommended by James, Archbishop of Baltimore. The English version here is "elder," and is understood to mean a presbyter or Christian priest. The Romanists make him a mere old man. Was this because the implied power of rebuke elevated the bishop too much above "the level of the second order of the clergy?"

Another passage is still more remarkable. In Acts xv. 2, Paul and Barnabas are sent by the Church at Antioch, that they "should go up to the apostles and priests to Jerusalem," according to the Romish version. In the fourth verse, they were received by the "apostles and ancients." We suppose that they were received by those to whom they were sent, and therefore, that a priest may, without sin, be called an ancient, if not an elder. In the sixth verse, "the apostles and ancients came together to consider of this matter." In the twenty-second verse, "it pleased the apostles and ancients;" and in the twenty-third, the synodical epistle commences: "The apostles and ancient brethren." Now we suppose that Mr. Kenrick will not deny that, in all these places, the "ancients" are the same persons who are called priests in the second verse, nor that the Greek word is precisely the same in all the passages in which it is translated, "an ancient man," "ancients," and "priests," making only the variation in number and case required by the rules of grammar and the sense of the passage. Our authorised translation renders it, in all the places, by the same word, "elder" or "elders," and so, we doubt not, did all former

translations into English. But we have not done with the Romish translation. It professes to have been made from the Vulgate.

We have before us, "Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. Pont. Max. jussu recognita atque edita versiculis distincta. Lugduni. 1680." In this edition, in Acts xv. 2, we find "Apostolos et *presbyteros*;" in the fourth verse, "Apostolis et *senioribus*;" in the sixth verse, "Apostoli et *seniores*;" in the second verse, "Apostolis et *senioribus*;" in the twenty-third, "Apostoli et *seniores fratres*." In 1 Tim. iv. 14, "impositione manuum *presbyterii*." In 1 Tim. v. 1, "*seniorem*;" in verse 17, "*presbyterii*;" in 19, "*presbyterum*." In Titus, i. 5, "*presbyteros*." In James, v. 14, "*presbyteros*." In no one of the places, does "sacerdos" or any of its derivatives appear. On which side does the perversion lie?

But suppose we admit, for the sake of the argument, that "priest" is the right translation, and that "elders" is as gross a mistranslation as possible, and that it was made for the purpose which Mr. Kenrick suggests. How does all this affect the ordinal of Edward VI? That ritual never once mentions the words "elders" or "eldership," but always "priests" and "priesthood."

But on page 164, we are again told:

"The Scriptures themselves were shamelessly perverted, to remove every thing-like a sanction of the idea of a Christian sacrifice. Thus, to give but two instances; St. Paul says, in the 1 Cor. ix. 13, (King James's version,) 'they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar;' and 1 Cor. x. 13—'are not they which eat of the sacrifice, partakers of the altar.' In both these instances, the three Protestant Bibles, published in 1562, 1577, and 1579, put the word 'temple' instead of 'altar;' a manifest corruption, as the present authorised version sufficiently shows."

Now we have pretty strong evidence, that these last accusations of corruption are entirely without foundation. We have not access to any the editions of the Bible mentioned by

Mr. Kenrick ; but we suppose them to have been editions of the Geneva Bible, which, in Elizabeth's reign, was popular among the Puritans. We have seen a copy of this Bible, printed in Elizabeth's time, which does not translate the passages as Mr. Kenrick asserts that they are translated in the editions of which he speaks. And moreover, it agrees very closely with King James's version, to which he refers, and also with the Romish version.

GENEVA BIBLE.

"Do ye not know, that they which minister about the Holy things, eate of the things of the Temple; and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar. So also hath the LORD ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel."—1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.ⁱ

KING JAMES'S VERSION.

Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the LORD ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel.—1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.

ROMISH VERSION.

Know ye not that they who work in the holy place, eat the things that are of the holy place: and they who serve the altar, partake with the altar? So, also, hath the LORD ordained, that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel.—1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.

GENEVA BIBLE.

Behold Israel after the flesh; are not they which eate of the sacrifices, partakers of the altar?—1 Cor. x. 18.

KING JAMES'S VERSION.

Behold Israel after the flesh. Are not they which eat of the sacrifices, partakers of the altar?—1 Cor. x. 18.

ⁱ In Bagster's "English Hexapla," the Genevan text (from the New Testament of 1557,) is; "Do ye not understand, how that they which minister about the sacrifice, eat of things of the temple? and they which wayt at the aulter, are partakers with the aulter?"

ROMISH VERSION.

Behold Israel according to the flesh: are not they who eat of the sacrifices, partakers of the altar?—1 Cor. x. 18.^k

Upon these texts we desire to make two remarks. First, that if the Puritan exiles who translated the Bible at Geneva, did not pervert their translation in the manner and for the purpose suggested by Mr. Kenrick, it is not probable that any other translators would. The second is, that Mr. Kenrick, in supposing that any body would have thought such a perversion of these texts worth while, suggests a painful doubt whether he is familiar with the Bible. Nothing can be more clear, on the face of the texts themselves, than that the "altar" meant in both, is the Jewish altar, and that the texts have no direct bearing upon any question relating to the Christian priesthood. But admitting, for argument's sake, that 1 Cor ix. 13; has a relation to any but the Jewish sacrifices, it is singular that Mr. Kenrick should employ himself in searching for editions and mistranslations in the the reign of Elizabeth, when a translation of the text is virtually embodied in the ordinal of Edward itself. The passage was in Edward's time, as now, a part of the offertory; which is read in the Communion Service, and the ordinal makes the Communion Office a part of itself. In both the Communion books of Edward, the translation is stronger than in the Romish version. It is this:

Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things, eat of the SACRIFICE? They which wait of the altar, are partakers of the altar? Even so hath the LORD ordained, that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel.—*Cardwell*, 279.

Mr. Kenrick's strong ground, however, is that the Church of England does not hold the doctrine of sacrifice. This he spends several pages in proving. We do not intend to fol-

^k In Bagster's "Hexapla," (from the edition of Rheims, 1582,) the latter clause runs: "they that eat the hostes, are they not partakers of the altar?"

low him in detail, but shall shortly state what we conceive him to have proved.

1st. Then he has proved, or if not, we will admit it, that the Church of England, as a Church, and all her great divines, as individuals, reject the notion of such a sacrifice as is received by the modern Church of Rome.

2d. That there is another doctrine of sacrifice, alluded to in his quotations from Overall and Buckeridge; and that a numerous and respectable body of divines, members of the Church of England, hold this doctrine.

3d. That there is another class of divines, in communion with the Church of England, who reject any doctrine of a Christian sacrifice whatever.

4th. That the late venerable Bishop White ranked himself with the last mentioned class of divines.

5th. That these divines claim Hooker on their side, and cite a certain passage in his great work.—E. P. book v. sec. 78, which they conscientiously believe, proves that he is with them. We think, by the way, that this same passage, closely examined, will shew that Hooker's differences with the other class of divines, were more verbal than real.

6th. That in the Scottish liturgy, compiled by Archbishop Laud, the word "presbyter" was substituted for "priest." We do not exactly see the bearing of this on the ordinal of Edward VI. which was published before Laud was born; and which uniformly uses the word "priest." We suppose, moreover, that it will not be seriously contended, that Laud did not believe in the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice.

But we deny that all these things taken together, and made as strong as Mr. Kenrick pleases, prove that the Church of England, in the reign of Edward VI. did not believe in the Eucharistic sacrifice. The Scottish Church, it is well known, does hold it. The American Church, has in her liturgy, expressions which it is not easy to make mean any thing else. And if the venerable name of White, be opposed to the plain words of the Communion Service, we can meet it with

the equally venerable name of Seabury.—See his “Discourse of the Holy Eucharist.”—Sermons, Discourse vi. vol. i. p. 163, et. seq. Edit. New York, 1793.

Still all this is digression; neither the Scottish nor the American Church, neither Archbishop Land, nor Bishop White, nor Bishop Seabury, have any thing to do with the question. That relates to the Church of England at the time of “the adoption of the ordinal of Edward VI.” Mr. Kenrick, page 163, uses as an argument to prove that the Church of England does not hold the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice, the title which she gives to her present office of “The order for the administration of the LORD’S Supper or Holy Communion;” as if in the title to the office, it were necessary to set out all the doctrine of the sacrament. But at the time of the publication of the ordinal, the title was “The Supper of the LORD and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass.”—*Cardwell*, p. 266. And in the prayer of consecration, the priest used these words, “we, Thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy SON hath willed us to make.”—*Cardwell*, p. 298. And a little after, “And although we be unworthy (through our manifold sins,) to offer unto Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service.”—*Cardwell*, p. 299. And the words “priest” and “altar” are continually used through the whole service. This first Communion Service continued in force until 1552, and the ordinal was established in 1549 or 1550.

But it is even immaterial what the Church of England held upon the subject, for our author tells us:

“It is a settled principle with Catholics, that no error about the nature or efficacy of a sacrament, no positive disbelief of its Divine institution, or any other personal unworthiness on the part of him who administers it, can deprive such a sacrament of its effect,—provided sufficient matter, valid form, and the due intention, concur in its *administration*.”—p. 175.

But then we are immediately told :

“ But if the matter be omitted or curtailed of any essential part,—if the form be vitiated, or if ambiguity be introduced for the purpose of introducing error, it is no longer a valid means of producing sacramental effects. Now, it is beyond all controversy, that the form of priestly ordination was changed under Edward and couched in the vague manner above explained, for the purpose of introducing the error, that the Eucharist is no sacrifice,—that presbyters were not priests—sacerdotes—in the proper signification of the term,—and that the doctrines which had for so many ages prevailed in the English Church, on these subjects were blasphemous fables.”—*pp.* 175, 176.

The first sentence of the last quotation shews great skill.

The first and last members contain an undeniable truth, which has nothing to do with the question ; that “ if the matter be omitted or curtailed of any essential part,”—“ it is no longer a valid means of producing sacramental effects.” But between these two members there is another, in which considerable “ ambiguity is introduced.” “ If the form be vitiated ;” we suppose that means, if it be so altered as to render it invalid ; the sacrament is invalid. Doubtless ; it is an identical proposition, and in connexion with the word “ vitiated,” the words “ for the purpose of introducing error,” are mere surplusage. But this proposition is coupled with the other about ambiguity, that the false may be swallowed with the true. The mere ambiguity will not suffice to invalidate the sacrament, unless it be so great as to render the *form* unintelligible,—then the object of introducing it will be of no consequence. But to assert that an ambiguity, which will not of itself vitiate the *form*, will do so because it is introduced to introduce error, is to contradict the Catholic principle laid down in the first quotation.

But we deny his undeniable proposition. We deny that there is any ambiguity in the form of the English ordinal. We have proved that if the form mean the words uttered during the imposition of hands, the English *form* is less ambiguous than the Romish. But if the *form* be as Mr.

Kenrick, p. 181, says it is, undiscoverable, then in the whole office there is the greatest possible clearness, and nobody can prove that the very clearest parts are not the form. We deny that the alterations were made for the purpose he alleges,—we have shown that the Church of England then regarded the Eucharist as a sacrifice,—we believe she does so still, although she now speaks in a less decided tone than of old. We deny that presbyters were not regarded as priests, —*sacerdotes*,—for in the Latin articles, of equal authority with the English, they are so called. We do not deny that the Church of England held “the sacrifice of *Masses*, in which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer *CHRIST* for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.”—Art. 30. But we deny that that was an error, and we deny that the alterations in the ordinal had any connexion with that doctrine. And now, in conclusion, we will ask Mr. Kenrick a few questions. Is or is not the sacrifice, in whatever sense that word may import a true doctrine, an essential part of the Eucharist? We know that he must say Yes. Can, then, any person be a dispenser of the holy sacraments, unless he have power to offer sacrifice? Can any person minister the holy sacraments, without the power of offering sacrifice? If he cannot, do not the words of the ordinal of Edward, page 416, convey the power of sacrifice? Mr. Kenrick will probably answer, No; but truth and logic will answer, Yes.

The words to which we allude are these :

“Receive the HOLY GHOST : whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of GOD, and of His Sacraments; in the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST. Amen.”

“Take thou authority to preach the Word of GOD, and to minister the holy sacraments, in the congregation, where thou shalt be so appointed.”

NOTE A.

ON THE CONFIRMATION OF THE ENGLISH ORDINATIONS
BY CARDINAL POLE AND PAUL IV.

In support of the assertion, that the opinion of the Romish bishops, in Queen Mary's time, was by no means certain, we offer the following evidence:—"Their next reason to prove the nullity of our holy orders, is taken from 'the constant practice of the Roman Catholics to re-ordain Protestant ministers, not conditionally but absolutely,' which they call 'an evident argument of our mere laity.' A doughty argument indeed, drawn from their own authority. Can any man doubt, that they which make no scruple of taking away our lives, will make conscience of taking away our orders? This is that which we accuse them of and they do fairly beg the question. If re-ordination be sacrilege, (as they say it is,) we are ready to convince them of gross sacrilege, or iterating all the essentials of ordination, the same matter and the same form, (that is for Episcopacy, the same imposition of hands by three bishops, and the same words, 'Receive the HOLY GHOST,' &c.) Some were of the same mind with these father's in Queen Mary's time: but Paul the Fourth and Cardinal Pole were wiser, who confirmed all ordinations in Edward the Sixth's time indifferently, so the persons professed but their conformity to the Roman religion."—*Abp. Bramhall's Works, N. E. vol. iii. pp. 114, 115, 116.*

To this passage Mr. Haddan appends the following valuable note:

"Re-ordination of Anglican clergymen has undoubtedly been the unvarying practice of the Roman Churches since the year 1704, when the rule was so determined by Clement XI. in the case of one John Gordon, some time Bishop (not of Glasgow, but) of Galloway, (see Keith, *Hist. Catal. of Scottish Bps.* p. 284, ed. Russell,) and then a convert to the Romish Church, who upon his petition (setting forth the Nag's-head story, and the alleged invalidity of Edw. VI.'s ordinal) was re-ordained 'ad omnes ordines,' (Le Quien, *Null. des Ordin. Angl.* tom. ii. pp. 313, &c. and *Pr. Just.* num. v. Elrington, pp. 145—152.)—Gordon's own application, followed by what professed (although with very little ground) to be a formal examination of the question, proves that it had not been the invariable practice before that time." See the document, *Post, Appendix, No. xlvi.* Mr. Haddan's note goes on, without closing the sentence: "and this view is confirmed by the facts. First, in the beginning

of Queen Mary's reign, the existing clergy, by whatever ordinal ordained, were confirmed in their orders, a distinction which did not amount to re-ordination, being taken by Boner, in compliance with Queen Mary's directions, between those ordained by the old and those ordained by the new form, and no distinction at all by Cardinal Pole. This is proved—1. by the admission of Sanders, *De Schism. Angl. lib. ii. pp. 293, 306*; 2. by Boner's rehabilitation of Scory, [see *Post, Append. No. xlv.*] in July, 1554; 3. by Art. 15 of a 'Letter with Articles' sent by Queen Mary to Boner, March 4, 1553—4; directing with reference to 'such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new sort and fashion of orders, considering they were not ordered in very deed,' that 'the bishop of the diocese' . . . 'may supply that thing which was wanting in them before, and then, according to his discretion, admit them to minister;' compare with Art. 29 of Boner's Visitation Articles in 1554, which directs enquiry, 'whether any such as were ordered schismatically and contrary to the old order and custom of the Catholic Church, . . . being not yet reconciled nor admitted by the ordinary, have celebrated or said mass,' &c. (apud Burnet, Pt. II, bk. ii. num. 10, 15;) 4. by the Breve of Julius III. to Cardinal Pole, March 8, 1554, compared with the commissions issued accordingly to the Chapter of Canterbury, and to the several bishops, wherein they are authorised to confirm all clergy in their respective orders, *etiam ab hæreticis et schismaticis Episcopis, etiam minus rite, dummodo in eorum,* (*ordinum*) '*collatione Ecclesiæ forma et intentio sit servata, per eos susceptis, and with the fact that no record whatever of re-ordination at this time remains in the Registers hitherto searched for that purpose—viz. those of the (principal) sees of Canterbury, London, and Norwich, (Tanner ap. Courayer, Def. de la Diss. liv. iv. c. 9.)* On the other hand, in 1555, when Ridley was degraded, his Episcopal orders were not recognised, and by one of the commissioners (Brooks, Bp. of Gloucester) were denied, although another (White, Bp. of Lincoln) acknowledged him to have been consecrated by the *old* ordinal,—and Cardinal Pole's commission, including both Latimer and him under the description of 'pretended bishops,' directed the degradation of both *as bishops*, (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. pp. 416, 417, 427. Farrer, Bp. of St. David's, in the same year, (Foxe, *ibid.*, p. 178,—consecrated Sept. 9, 1548, by the old ordinal,) and Hooper of Gloucester, in 1554, (Foxe, *ibid.*, p. 125;—consecrated by the new ordinal, March 8, 1550—1,) were likewise degraded from priests' orders only; and Taylor of Lincoln, in 1553, (consecrated by the new ordinal, June 6, 1552,) was dis-

placed from his see on the ground of the 'nullity of his consecration,' (Collier, Ch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 365.) Secondly, after the time of Qu. Mary, and subsequently to the alleged consecration at the Nag's-head, among instances of re-ordination, whether at the party's own request, (as in the case of Harding,—Detection, &c. fol. 230, b,) or not, (see Le Quien, tom. ii. pp. 306, &c.) and with a very general denial of English orders by English Romanists; there occur on the other side,—1. the offer of Pius V. to acknowledge the Engl. 'Liturgy,' (which would include the ordinal;) see above, Replic. &c. c. iii. sect. 6, vol. ii. p. 85, note i; Twysden, Hist. Vindic., c. ix; and other authorities quoted by Courayer, Def. de la Diss., liv. v. c. 3;—2. The case of Dr. Carrier, on whose application to the Pope, in 1613, an offer of reconciliation was allowed to be made, not involving re-ordination; see Carrier's Letter to Kg. James, § 46, p. 51, ed. 1649, quoted by Courayer, *ibid*, and another letter of Carrier's to the Abp. of Canterbury, in Dodd, Ch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 517, Pt. V. bk. iii. art. 7;—3. The case of Dr. Gough, in the time of the rebellion, whose (English) orders were acknowledged by the Sorbonne, although denied by the Pope; see Pricieux, Valid. of Orders of Ch. of England, p. 78,—Le Quien, tom. ii. pp. 316, 317; 4. The authority of Cudsemius (De Desper. Calvin, Cassa Tract., c. xi. p. 122, Mogunt. 1609,) and of Bossuet and others, in 1696 and 1699, (ap. Courayer, Dissert., Pr. Just. art. i. and Def. de la Diss., Pr. Just. art. i.) affirming in general the validity of Engl. orders; and of S. Clara in 1634, (Expos. Paraph. Artic., art 36,) and Walsh (Hist. of Irish Remonstr., Advert. p. xlii. n. 13, in 1674; and Letters to Persons of Quality, &c., Pref. pp. 26—30, § 6 in 1686,) affirming the validity of the English ordinal."

On the subject of the ratification of English orders by Cardinal Pole and Paul the Fourth, we make the following extract from the text of Bramhall:

"King Edward's form of ordination was judged valid in Queen Mary's days by all Catholics, and particularly by Cardinal Pole, then Apostolical legate in England, and by the then Pope Paul the Fourth, and by all the clergy and parliament of England. The case was this:

"In the act for repealing all statutes made against the see of Rome in the first and second years of Philip and Mary, the Lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, representing the whole body of the realm of England, presented their common request to the King and Queen, that they would be a means to the legate to obtain some settlements by authority of the Pope's Holiness, for peace' sake in some arti-

cles, whereof this is one; 'that institutions of benefices and other promotions ecclesiastical, and dispensations made according to the form of the act of parliament might be confirmed.' Institutions could not be confirmed, except ordinations were confirmed; for the greatest part of the English clergy had received both their benefices and their holy orders after the casting out of the Pope's usurped authority out of England; and both benefices and holy orders are comprehended under the name of 'ecclesiastical promotions.' This will appear much more clearly by the very words of the Cardinal's dispensation;—'*Ac omnes ecclesiasticas seculares seu quorumvis ordinum regulares personas, quas aliquas impetrationes, dispensationes, concessiones, gratias et indulta, tam ordines quam beneficia Ecclesiastica, seu alias spirituales materias, pretenso autoritate suprematis Ecclesie Anglicane, licet nulliter et de facto obtinuerint, et ad eor reversa Ecclesie unitati restituta fuerint, in suis ordinibus et beneficiis, per nos ipsos seu a nobis ad id deputatas misericorditer recipiemus, prout jam multa recepta fuerunt, secumque super his opportune in DOMINO dispensabimus.*'—'And we will graciously receive (or entertain) by ourselves or by others deputed by us for that purpose, (as many have already been received,) in their ORDERS and in their benefices, all ecclesiastical persons, as well secular as regular, of whatsoever orders, which have obtained any suits, dispensations, grants, graces, and indulgences, as well in their ecclesiastical orders, as benefices and spiritual matters, by the pretended authority of the supremacy of the Church of England, though ineffectually and only *de facto*, so they be penitent, and be returned to the unity of the Church; and we will in due season dispense with them in the LORD for these things.'

"Here we see evidently, that upon the request of the Lord's Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons being the representative body of the Church and kingdom of England, by the intercession of the King and Queen, the Pope's legate did receive all persons, which had been ordained or beneficed, either in the time of King Henry or King Edward, in their respective orders and benefices, which they were actually possessed of at the time of the making of this dispensation or confirmation, without any exception or condition, but only this, that they were returned to the Unity of the Catholic Church. Neither was there ever any one of them who were then returned, either deprived of their benefices or compelled to be re-ordained. From whence I argue thus;—either King Henry the Eighth's bishops and priests, and likewise the bishops and priests ordained in King Edward the Sixth's time, had all the cases

tials of Episcopal and priestly ordination, which were required by the institution of CHRIST; and then they ought not to be re-ordained, then (in the judgment of these fathers themselves) it is a grievous sacrilege to re-ordain them; or they wanted some essential of their respective ordinations, which was required by the institution of CHRIST; and then it was not in the power of all the popes and legates that ever were in the world, to confirm their respective orders, or dispense with them to execute their functions in the Church. But the legate did dispense with them to hold their orders, and exercise their several functions in the Church, and the Pope did confirm that dispensation. This doth clearly destroy all the pretensions of the Romanists against the validity of our orders.

“It may perhaps be objected, that the dispensative word is ‘*recipimus*,’—‘we will receive,’ not we do receive. I answer the case is all one; if it were unlawful to receive them in the present, it was as unlawful to receive them in the future. All that was done after, was to take a particular absolution or confirmation from the Pope or his legate, which many of the principal clergy did, but not all; no, not all the bishops, not the Bishop of Llandaff, as Sanders witnesseth, [Sanders, *De Schism. Anglic.*, lib. ii. p. 305. p. 307, ed. 1610,] yet he enjoyed his bishopric; so did all the rest of the clergy, who never had any particular confirmation. It is not material at all, whether they were confirmed by a general or by a special dispensation, so they were confirmed or dispensed with at all, to hold all their benefices, and to exercise their respective functions in the Church, which no man can deny.

“Secondly, it may be objected, that it is said in the dispensation, ‘*Licet nulliter et de facto obtinuerint*’—‘Although they had obtained’ their benefices and promotion ‘ineffectually and only in fact,’ without right, which doth intimate that their orders were void and null, before they had obtained this dispensation. I answer, that he styled them void and null, not absolutely but respectively; ‘*quoad exercitium*,’ because by the Roman law they might not be lawfully exercised without a dispensation; but not ‘*quoad characterem*’—‘as to the character.’ If they had wanted any thing necessary to the imprinting of the character, or any thing essentially the institution of CHRIST, the Pope’s dispensation and confirmation had been but like a seal put to a blank piece of paper. And so the Cardinal’s dispensation in general, and particularly for benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, dispensations, and graces, given by such order as the laws of the realm allowed and prescribed in King

Henry's time and King Edward's time, was then and there ratified by act of parliament.

"Lastly, that this dispensation was afterwards confirmed, by the Pope, I prove by the confession of Sanders himself, though a malicious enemy.—'He,' (that is Cardinal Pole, in a public instrument set forth in the name and by the authority of the Pope) 'confirmed all bishops which had been made in the former schism, so they were Catholic in their judgment of religion, and the six new bishoprics which King Henry had erected in the time of the schism. And this writing being affixed to the statute, was published with the rest of the decrees of that parliament, and their minds were pacified. All which things were established and confirmed afterwards by the letters of Pope Paul the Fourth.'—*Works, N. E. vol. iii. pp. 60, 61, 62, 63.* For the last quotation from Sanders, see "*De Schism, &c. lib. ii. p. 380, p. 306, ed. 1610.*—See also the powers received by Pole from Julius III. and the commission accordingly issued by him, Burnet, *Hist. of Reform., Records to Pt. i. bk. v. numm. 17, 33.*"—*Ibid, p. 63, note A.*

ESSAY X.

MISSION.

WE have now passed through the examination of the questions stated by Mr. Kenrick, in the beginning of his book, as those upon which the validity of our orders depends. There is, however, another objection; not exactly to the validity of our orders, but to the right of our clergy to exercise them; which other Romanist writers are in the habit of urging. They allege that the Anglican clergy have no *mission*. By this, they mean that they have no right to execute their office in the places for which they are ordained; and consequently, no right to execute them any where. Hooker has stated the distinction with equal force and brevity, in these words; "there are but two main things, observed in every ecclesiastical function, *power* to exercise the duty itself, and *some charge of people* whereon to exercise the same." *E. P. VII. xiv. 10. Keble, vol. iii. p. 229. Oxf. vol. ii. p. 174; N. Y.*¹

¹ Field gives a fuller, and therefore better account of the distinction between Orders and Mission; which he calls Jurisdiction, in these words: "The schoolmen note that there is a two-fold power found in the ministers of the Church of God,—the one of Order, the other of Jurisdiction. The power of Order is that, whereby they are sanctified and enabled to the performance of such sacraments as other men neither may nor can do, as is the preaching of the word and the ministration of the holy Sacraments. This power is to be exercised orderly, and the acts of it to be performed in such sort that they disturb not one another. Whereupon the Apostles, the first ministers of CHRIST JESUS, though equal in the power of Order and Jurisdiction, yet for the better and more orderly despatch of the great work of converting the world, which they had in hand, and that they might not hinder one another, divided among themselves the parts and provinces of the world; but when for the assisting of them while they lived, and succeeding them dying, they were to pass

The "power to exercise the duty itself," is what Hooker calls the "power of order," and other writers, "orders," "ordination," "succession." The right to "exercise the same" over "some charge of people," is called *mission* or jurisdiction. The Bishop of Aberdeen is a validly ordained bishop—has succession from the Apostles, and in his own diocese, mission, or jurisdiction,—but he has no mission or jurisdiction

over part of their power to others, they so gave authority to such as they made choice of for this work, to preach, baptise, and do other acts of sacred ministry, (which are to be performed by virtue of the power of order,) that before they invested them with that power, they divided the parts of the world converted to Christianity into several Churches, and when they ordained them, assigned each of them to that particular Church wherein he should preach and minister Sacraments. So that these Successors of the Apostles had not illimited [*unlimited*] commission, but were confined within certain bounds; that they were not to preach nor minister Sacraments, but only within the limits and compass of those places which were assigned unto them, unless it were with the consent, desire, and liking of others willing to draw them at some times for special causes, to perform such sacred acts within the limits and bounds of their charge.

"This assigning to men, having the power of order, the persons to whom they were to minister holy things, and of whom they were to take the care, and the subjecting of such persons unto them gave them the power of Jurisdiction, which they had not before.

"And thus was the use of the power of Order, which is not included within any certain bounds, limited in those the Apostles ordained, and their power of Jurisdiction included within certain bounds: so that the one of these kinds of power they have not at all, without the extent of their own limits, nor the lawful use of the other. Hence is that resolution of the divines, that if a bishop adventure to do any act of Jurisdiction out of his own diocese,—as to excommunicate, absolve, or the like, all such acts are utterly void, and of no force; but if he shall do any act of the power of Order in another man's charge, as preach or minister Sacraments; though he cannot be excused as not offending, if he do these things without his consent, yet are the Sacraments thus ministered truly Sacraments, and of force."—*Field, Of the Church, Book v. ch. 27, London, 1610.*

in Maryland. This distinction is thus illustrated by Mr. Palmer of Worcester college, one of the living ornaments of the Church.

“It certainly is essential that the true ministers of God should be able to prove that they have not only the *power*, but the *right*, of performing sacred offices. There is an evident difference between these things, as may seen by the following cases.—If a regularly ordained priest should celebrate the Eucharist in the church of another, contrary to the will of that person and of the bishop, he would have the power of consecrating the Eucharist, it actually would be consecrated, but he would not have the right of consecration: or in other words, he would not have *mission* for that act. If a bishop should enter the diocese of another bishop, and contrary to his will, ordain one of his deacons to the priesthood, the intruding bishop would have the *power*, but not the *right*, of ordaining,—he would have no mission for such an act.”—*Ant. of Engl. Ritual, vol. ii. p. 247, Oxford, 1839.*

That is to say, the want of mission does not invalidate an act. The case of a bishop or clergyman performing an act for which he has no mission, is like any other case, in which an agent, acting within the scope of his authority, violates the instructions of his principal. The act which he does is valid, but irregular,—*fieri non debet, factum valet*. Thus, in the case last supposed by Mr. Palmer, the deacon would be ordained; just as in the first, the Eucharist would be consecrated. He who had been a deacon would be a priest; but a priest without mission. He would have no mission in his proper diocese, because the ordaining bishop had none to give him—none in the diocese of his ordainer, because he had designed to give him none, and because he, not having been permitted by his former bishop to change his diocese, could not, without schism, accept it. But if the bishop of the diocese should, by institution, license, or any other official act, recognise the new priest as a priest of his diocese, he would acquire mission,—so if he were, by letters dimissory, to

dismiss him, as a priest, to the diocese of the intruding ordainer, or of any other bishop, who received him, he would have mission in his new diocese. "Should the ordination be valid, and yet uncanonical," says Mr. Palmer, "mission does not *take effect* until the suspension imposed by the canons on the person ordained, is in some lawful manner removed."—*A. E. R. ii.* 248. These principles are fully admitted by the Romanists, in their conduct towards the ecclesiastics of the Eastern Churches, which they regard as schismatical; but still consider their clergy, though without mission, as clergy, requiring no new ordination, and acquiring mission the moment they are reconciled to the pope.

Let us pursue the case put by Mr. Palmer a little farther. His newly ordained priest has no mission, no right to consecrate the Eucharist any where; but still, if he does consecrate it, it is consecrated, just as much as the Eucharist in Mr. Palmer's first case. That was consecrated by a man who had no mission for the particular act. This by a man who has no mission for any act. But as to the particular act, this can make no difference. Again, suppose several bishops were to unite and consecrate this missionless priest a bishop, without assigning him a diocese, or assigning him one which was full, or which they had no canonical right to fill. He would be a validly ordained bishop, but he would have no mission. Suppose him to ordain deacons and priests,—they would be validly ordained, notwithstanding his want of mission in general; just as he was validly ordained, notwithstanding the want of mission, in the particular case, of his ordainers. But they would have no mission; because he had none to give them. So if he were to join with other bishops, similarly situated, in the consecration of a new bishop, such new bishop would be validly consecrated, although without mission. These principles are also acceded to by the Romanists, when they acknowledge, as Mr. Kenrick tells us they do: "the validity of the ordinations of the Greek *schismatical* Church, because conferred by persons, who themselves

had been ordained, and who in conferring orders, preserve the ancient form of ordination." p. 157. Yet if the Geeek Church be what it is here called, and what all consistent Romanists believe it to be, "schismatical," its bishops and clergy have no mission. Chaloner, a Romish writer, already quoted tells us that :

"As to the most essential branch of *Apostolical succession*, viz: that of *mission*, or *commission*, and *authority*, given by CHRIST to His Apostles, and derived in an uninterrupted channel from them, for preaching the word, administering the sacraments, &c.,—it is what all sectaries (even supposing they had holy orders amongst them,) have most certainly forfeited, from the moment they separated themselves from the great body of Christians, which descends in one communion from the Apostles; with which alone the Apostles deposited their commission; and whose pastors alone are the undoubted heirs of the Apostles. For what claim can sectaries have to any *mission*, or Spiritual power, derived from the Apostles, through the channel of the Church, who at their very first setting out, broke off from this channel, that is, from the communion of the same Church, to which they pretend to appeal for their commission and succession, and were excommunicated by her chief pastors."—*Grounds of Old Religion*, p. 168.

We quote this passage, to shew what the Romish doctrine is on the subject of schismatical ordinations, and that it agrees with the true Catholic doctrine in the substance; although the assertion of the papal supremacy very much modifies it in the application. The Catholic doctrine is thus stated by Mr. Palmer, with much force and clearness :

"In fact, mission fails in all schismatical, heretical, and uncanonical acts, because GOD cannot have given any man a right to act in opposition to those laws, which He Himself has enacted, or to those which the Apostles and their successors have instituted, for the orderly and peaceable regulation of the Church; He is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints; and yet, were He to commission His ministers to exercise their offices in whatever places and circumstances they pleased, confusion and division without end must be the inevitable result."—*Ant. of Engl. Ritual*, vol. ii. p. 248.

Mission is conferred, according to Mr. Palmer, by valid ordination. It is never possessed before ordination, and

therefore cannot be conferred by any previous act. The "confirmation" of the pope always *pre-supposes* "orders." It is to take effect when orders shall have been given—i. e. when it is given in a bull before ordination as is sometimes, but not always, the case. It may, however, perhaps be said, that it is only conferred by ordination or consecration, performed with the assent of the pope. This doctrine, as well as the other, would bring the question exactly to that stated by Jewel, in a passage already quoted; "The matter which lieth between us is this; Whether through the whole Church of CHRIST, no man may be allowed for a bishop without the confirmation of the pope." But we may be asked, if mission be conferred by valid ordination, how is it that it does not always co-exist with orders? This question will be answered by attending to the nature of mission. It is a jurisdiction or right to exercise the authority which Hooker calls the "power of order" upon "some charge of people." Hence it follows, that if the consecrators of a bishop assign him no charge, or a charge which they have no right to assign him, he acquires no mission until he canonically acquires a charge. There may be several reasons why the consecrating bishops may have no right to assign to the new bishop a particular charge; it may be full of a bishop,—it may, although vacant, be one that they have no right to fill,—the new bishop may, by schism or other causes, be disqualified from accepting it. Where none of these impediments exist, mission takes place immediately upon consecration. The Romanists contend that no bishop but the pope has the right of filling vacant sees, at least in England and America, and consequently that our bishops upon our own principles, want mission; because consecrated by bishops who have no right to fill the vacant sees,—and also, because our bishops elect, rejecting the supremacy of the pope and the creed of Pius IV. are schismatics and heretics, and so incapable of receiving mission. Such are the

questions between the Romanists and us, on the subject of mission.

Having stated the points which are disputed between the Romanists and us, connected with the doctrine of mission, we shall not discuss them in the abstract, but proceed to the enquiry, whether the bishops of the English and American Churches have mission. In the progress of this enquiry, it will, of course, be necessary to settle the disputed questions.

We enquire, then, whether the bishops of the Anglican Church have mission. At the very outset of our inquiry, we meet certain undisputed facts, which we must carry with us through the discussion. It is certain that at some former period, say in the reign of Henry VIII., there were bishops in England who had both orders and mission. Who are their successors? The Anglican bishops are possessed of their sees, and can prove, as we have shewn, that they derive their orders from them. They claim to be their successors, to succeed them in their mission. It is remarkable, that they are the only persons who make that claim. The bishops in communion with the Church of Rome, who reside in England, not only are not, but do not pretend to be, the successors of the ancient English bishops. They trace their orders through other channels. They are not only not in possession of the ancient English sees, but they do not claim them; they do not even bear their titles. They are consecrated for sees in other parts of the world remote from England, where only they have mission. The jurisdiction which they exercise in England is not in their own right, but as vicars or delegates of the Pope. It is founded on one of two suppositions, or perhaps on both: that the pope is the universal bishop, and may supersede all others in their own dioceses, or that the English sees are vacant. If the latter proposition be true, why are not they filled? Why must the Bishop of Melipotamus leave his own diocese, to exercise the functions of a bishop of Litchfield, or any

other English diocese? If the first supposition is the true one, why are there any bishops at all? Why did not the ancient popes sweep from their path all opposition, by sending vicars apostolic into the sees in which it arose? Why, for instance, did Stephen not put an end to the opposition of *Saint* Cyprian, by sending a vicar apostolic to Carthage? The truth is, that either the Anglican bishops have mission, or nobody has mission in England. Have they then mission?

We have shewn that they have orders derived from the ancient occupants of their sees. We have shewn that Parker had valid consecration. Why then had he not mission? Mission is conveyed by valid consecration, according to the Catholic doctrine, except where a canonical impediment intervenes. The canonical impediments are chiefly three;—that the see is full; that the consecrators had no right to fill it, being vacant; that the bishop elect was a schismatic or heretic, and so incapable of mission.

In this case, the first impediment does not arise; the see of Canterbury was vacant. All the persons who had ever filled or claimed it, whether rightfully or wrongfully, were dead. The Romanists say that Parker was a heretic, and so incapable of orders. This is to merge the particular question into the general controversy. It is sufficient to say, that Parker was not a heretic, that he held the Nicene creed, that his differences with the Church of Rome, whether he were right or wrong, did not amount to heresy. That he is not to be presumed a heretic, and cannot be proved to be one, without shewing in what his heresies consist. This cannot be done, without going over the whole ground of the controversy which we think at present unnecessary. If we shew that Parker had mission unless he were a heretic, we shew that he had mission until he is proved an heretic, which we think cannot be done. At any rate, it is reasoning in a circle, for our adversaries to contend that he had no mission, because he was a heretic, and use his want of mission to

prove his heresy. If the doctrines of the Church of England can be shewn to be heretical, it will be of little of consequence whether she has mission or not, she must abandon them. Till that is shewn, it is vain to allege it as a ground to prove her want of mission.

Parker's alleged schism consisted in his revolt from the authority of the pope; and the want of right in his ordainers to fill the vacant see of Canterbury, arose from the fact that the pope had that right. All the objections to Parker's mission, then, so far as it is necessary for us to consider them, resolve themselves into the question of the pope's authority. The Romanists say that Parker was a schismatic, and that his ordainers had no right to fill the vacant see of Canterbury; because the pope had ecclesiastical authority in England, either as the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST, or as the head of the patriarchate in which England is situated. Such are their principles; but they take, also, a third ground, in the nature of an *argumentum ad hominem*, that upon our own principle, that the ordination of the Archbishop of Canterbury belongs to the bishops of the province, Parker was not consecrated by those bishops. We shall attend to each of these questions in its turn.

The authority of the pope to consecrate the Archbishop of Canterbury, or to authorise his consecration, has of late been rested upon his alleged superiority over the Archbishop, as patriarch of the Roman patriarchate, within which it has been contended that England lies. In the days of Parker, however, it was rested upon the primacy of the pope, as the successor of St. Peter. It is on this view that it must be first considered. Had St. Peter any such primacy as rendered his authority necessary for the consecration of all bishops? This question seems to be conclusively answered by the silence of the New Testament. There is no instance on record of any connexion of St. Peter with the ordination of any person but St. Matthias. The account of that event in the first chapter of Acts, does not represent St. Peter him-

self as claiming in that matter any superiority over the other Apostles. But if St. Peter had such a prerogative, was it transmitted to the bishops of Rome as his successors? We pass the question, whether the Bishop of Rome be more the successor of St. Peter than any other bishop. But where is the evidence that St. Peter's primacy or superiority among the Apostles, whatever might have been its extent, was not purely personal? Which of the texts upon which the Romanists rely to prove the primacy, speaks of successors? The college of Apostles have successors,—“Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world,”—but where is there an appointment, or a promise of a perpetual succession of primates? Where the grant of the primacy to any particular see, to any line of successors of St. Peter?

That neither the Bishop of Rome, nor any other bishop, had any authority to confirm the election of all the bishops in the world, is sufficiently evinced by the sixth canon of the Council of Nice.

“Let the ancient customs be maintained, which are in Egypt, and Libya, and Pentapolis, according to which the Bishop of Alexandria has authority over all those places. For this is also customary to the Bishop of Rome. In like manner in Antioch, and in the other Provinces, the privileges are to be preserved to the Churches. But this is clearly to be understood, that if any one be made a bishop without the consent of the metropolitan, the great synod declares that he shall not be a bishop. If, however, two or three bishops shall, from private contention, oppose the common choice of all the others, it being a reasonable one, and made according to the ecclesiastical canons, let the choice of the majority hold good.”—*The Definitions of Faith and Canons of Discipline of the Six Œcumenical Councils. Hammond's Translation, 8vo. Oxford, 1843, p. 17. New York, 12mo. p. 34.*

We are indebted to the same work for the following explanation of this canon :

“The object and intention of this canon seems clearly to have been, not to introduce any new powers or regulations into the Church, but to confirm and establish ancient customs already existing. This indeed is evident from the very first words of it: ‘Let the ancient customs be

maintained.' It appears to have been made with particular reference to the case of the Church of Alexandria, which had been troubled by the irregular proceedings of Meletius, and to confirm the ancient privileges of the bishops of that see, which he had invaded. The latter part of it, however, applies to all metropolitans, and confirms all their ancient privileges; one of which, viz: the ratifying of all matters relating to the ordination of the bishops of their respective provinces, had been particularly noticed and confirmed by the fourth canon. The paraphrase or interpretation of Aristenus gives the clear sense of the first part of the canon, which is somewhat obscurely expressed. 'Let the Bishop of Alexandria have the authority over Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; and the Bishop of Rome over those places which belong to Rome; and the Bishop of Antioch and the others over those which belong to them respectively.' It may be proper to mention, that the legates of Leo, the Bishop of Rome, at the Council of Chalcedon, in attempting to prevent the ratification of the twenty-eighth canon of that Council, asserted that it was contrary to this canon of the Council of Nice, which they quoted as beginning thus; 'The Church of Rome has always had the primacy, therefore also Egypt has it, so that the Bishop of Alexandria has authority over all; for this also has been customary to the Bishop of Rome.' Aetius, the Archdeacon of Constantinople, however, in replying to them, quoted the canon as it is usually read, and as it indeed appears in all the Greek copies, and in all the versions, with the exception of an old Latin one, in which the title and the beginning of it are as follows: 'Of the primacy of the Roman Church, or of the bishops of other cities. It is of ancient custom that the Bishop of Rome should have the primacy, that he should govern the suburbicarian district, (suburbicaria loca,) and all the province by his own care. But as regards the parts of Egypt, that the Bishop of Alexandria should have the care of all of them,' &c. Beveridge supposes this ancient version to have been used at Rome, at the time of the Council of Chalcedon, and that the Roman legates perverted it to their purpose. Certain it is that there are no other traces of the reading which they proposed."—*pp.* 24, 25, *Oxf. pp.* 41, 42, *N. Y.*

"*This is customary to the Bishop of Rome.*] It is clear from this expression, that the privileges of jurisdiction proper to the Bishop of Rome, which are recognised by the Nicene Council, are no more than those of any other metropolitan. The extent of this jurisdiction is stated, in the old Latin version quoted in the preceding note, to be 'the subur-

bicarian districts and all the province.' It is probable that at the time of the Nicene Council these terms were of the same extent, and that the province of Rome contained only the suburbicarian districts. The utmost extent, however, that can be assigned to the word 'province,' cannot make it reach beyond the limits of the different provinces, which are stated to be subject to the most glorious Eparch of Rome, in the ancient account of the cities of the different provinces, which is printed by Beveridge, amongst his Annotations on the Canons of the Council in Trullo, from the MS. in the Bodleian Library. According to this account the different provinces under the jurisdiction of Rome are as follows: 'The province under the most glorious Eparch of Rome, or of Italy. 1. The province of Rome called Urbicaria; 2. the province of Campania; 3. the island of Sicily; 4. the province of Calabria; 5. the province called Annonaria; 6. the province of Æmia, or Æmia.'—*pp.* 25, 26, *Oxf. p.* 43, *N. Y.*

The canon of Nice has, however, received a more authoritative exposition in the twenty-eighth canon of the Council of Chalcedon.

"We, following in all things the decisions of the holy Fathers, and acknowledging the canon of the one hundred and fifty most religious bishops which has just been read, do also determine and decree the same things respecting the privileges of the most holy city of Constantinople, New Rome. For the Fathers properly gave the primacy to the throne of the elder Rome, because that was the imperial city. And the one hundred and fifty most religious bishops, being moved with the same intention, gave equal privileges to the most holy throne of new Rome, judging with reason, that the city which was honored with the sovereignty and senate, and which enjoyed equal privileges with the elder royal Rome, should also be magnified like her in ecclesiastical matters, being the second after her. And [we also decree,] that the metropolitans only of the Pontic, and Asian and Thracian dioceses, and moreover, the bishops of the aforesaid dioceses, who are amongst the barbarians, shall be ordained by the above-mentioned most holy throne of the most holy Church of Constantinople; each metropolitan of the aforesaid dioceses ordaining the Bishops of the Province, as has been declared by the Divine canons; but the metropolitans themselves of the said dioceses shall, as has been said, be ordained by the Bishop of Constantinople, the proper elections being made according to custom, and reported to him."—*pp.* 99, 100, *Oxf. p.* 113, *N. Y.*

Some Romanists of late have claimed for the patriarch of Rome a patriarchal authority in Great Britain, and have rested their argument against the mission of the Anglican clergy upon that ground. But in truth this is a novel hypothesis; all the authority which the pope exercised in England for many ages, he claimed not as patriarch, an office in which he had equals, but in his assumed character of Vicar of CHRIST. The advantage gained by thus shifting the ground of claim from the popedom to the patriarchate, is, in our judgment, very little. Soon after the Reformation, some claims appear to have been set up, founded on the original conversion of Britain, but they seem now to be given up, and Britain is regarded as a part of the Roman patriarchate, upon the ground of the mission of Augustine. Thus at once conceding, that at the time of the Council of Nice, Britain was not a part of the Roman patriarchate. This renders all claims to patriarchal authority uncanonical; because contrary to the canon we have quoted from that Council. That there were bishops in Britain at the time of Augustine's mission, and that they did not acknowledge the authority of the Bishop of Rome, are historical facts, of which nobody has any doubt. They render the mission of Augustine of a somewhat doubtful character,—but if it be regarded, as we think it ought,—as justified by the circumstances of the case, it can afford no ground upon which to found a claim of jurisdiction. The moment such a claim is attempted to be founded upon it, it becomes a violation of the Nicene canon. The principle of that canon was not new in the Church. It is to be found in the thirty-fifth of the canons called Apostolical; which, although not supposed to be the work of the Apostles, are of great antiquity.

“Let not a bishop dare to ordain beyond his own limits, in cities and places not subject to him. But if he be convicted of doing so, without the consent of those persons who have authority over such cities and places, let him be deposed, and those also whom he has ordained.”—*Hammond, pp. 181, 182, Oxf. p. 191.*

The same principle is found in the thirteenth canon of the Council of Antioch, a Provincial Council of the date 346, whose acts are entitled to great respect.

“Let no bishop dare to pass from one province to another, and ordain any persons in the Churches to the dignity of officiating, not even if he bring others with him, unless he has come upon a written invitation from the metropolitan, and the other bishops of the country into which he is come. If, however, no one inviting him, he shall proceed disorderly to the ordination of any persons, and to the regulation of ecclesiastical matters which do not belong to him, the things which are done by him shall be annulled, and he himself suffer the punishment proper for his insubordination and unreasonable attempts, being deposed forthwith by the holy synod.”—*Hammond, p. 160, Oxford, pp. 172, 173, N. Y.*

The principle was again enforced in the twenty-eighth canon of the General Council of Chalcedon, which we have already cited. And again in the eighth canon of the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus.

“The most beloved of God, and our fellow bishop Reginus, and Zeno, and Euagrius, the most religious bishops of the province of Cyprus, who were with him, have declared unto us an innovation which has been introduced contrary to the laws of the Church, and the canons of the holy Fathers, and which affects the liberty of all. Wherefore since evils which affect the community require more attention, inasmuch as they cause greater hurt; and especially, since the Bishop of Antioch has not so much as followed ancient custom, in performing ordination in Cyprus, as those most religious persons who have come to the holy synod have informed us, by writing and by word of mouth, we declare, that they who preside over the holy churches which are in Cyprus, shall preserve, without gainsaying or opposition, their right of performing by themselves the ordinations of the most religious bishops, according to the canons of the holy Fathers, and the ancient custom. The same rule shall be observed in all the other dioceses, and in the provinces every where, so that none of the most religious bishops shall invade any other province, which has not heretofore from the beginning been under the hand of himself or his predecessors. But if any one has so invaded a province, and brought it by force under himself, he shall restore it, that the canons of the Fathers may not be transgressed, nor the pride of secular dominion be privily introduced under the appearance of a

sacred office, nor we lose by little, the freedom which our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the deliverer of all men, has given us by His own Blood. The holy and Ecumenical synod has therefore decreed, that the rights which have heretofore and from the beginning belonged to each province, shall be preserved to it pure and without restraint, according to the custom which has prevailed of old. Each metropolitan having permission to take a copy of the things now transacted for his own security. But if any one shall introduce any regulation contrary to what has been now defined, the whole holy and Ecumenical synod has decreed that it shall be of no effect."—*Hammond*, pp. 69-71, *Oxf.* p. 84, *N. Y.*

We give Mr. Hammond's note upon this canon, that the reader may the better understand it:

"This canon, like the preceding one, was in the first instance passed in the form of a decree, but afterwards numbered amongst the canons. The occasion of it was this.—Rheginus, Bishop of Constantia, the metropolis of Cyprus, and Zeno, Bishop of Curium, and Euagrius, Bishop of Soli, in the same island, presented a memorial to the Council, in which they complained of the attempts which had been made by the Bishops of Antioch to usurp authority over the Bishops of Cyprus, 'contrary to the Apostolical canons, (Can. Apost. 35,) and the decisions of the most holy synod of Nice.' They further stated that Dionysius, the imperial governor of Antioch, had, at the suggestion of the bishop of that city, written to the commander of the troops at Cyprus, as well as to the clergy of Constantia, requiring the former to prevent the ordination of a Bishop of Constantia, in the room of Troilus, who had lately died, till the question as to the right of ordination had been settled by the Council at Ephesus, and cautioning the latter not to receive any person as their bishop, who should in the meantime be ordained by any one. The bishops produced these letters before the Council, and prayed that the privileges which they had always enjoyed, even from the times of the Apostles, might be preserved,—and that the Council would pronounce a sentence in their favor, which might prevent their being again invaded. The Council had the letters read before them; and having, by the examination of the bishops, ascertained that there was no instance to be produced from the times of the Apostles, of the Bishop of Antioch ordaining the metropolitan of Constantia, or any other bishop in Cyprus, and that Troilus, the late metropolitan, and his predecessors, Sabinus and Epiphanius, had been ordained by the bishops of their province,—they passed this decree in favor of the pro-

vince of Cyprus, and extended it to all similar cases which might occur in other provinces and dioceses. The authority, therefore, which the Bishops of Rome in after ages claimed and usurped over the British and other Western Churches, is clearly contrary to this canon, as well as to those of the Council of Nice. The account of this transaction is contained at length in the Acts of the Council, Part ii. Act 7."—*Hammond, pp. 73, 74, Oxf. pp. 88, 89, N. Y.*

From these canons it would appear that the consecrations of Augustine and of those whom he consecrated were scarcely such as to give mission; and that the jurisdiction of the pope, attempted to be founded upon those consecrations, was utterly uncanonical, and a mere usurpation.

But the Romanists assert, that upon our principles, the English bishops have no mission; because those who were consecrated in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, were not consecrated with the assent of the bishops of the province. In considering this part of our subject, it is necessary to bear in mind the facts already mentioned; that in the time of Henry VIII. there were bishops in England who undoubtedly had mission, and that if the bishops of the established Church are not their successors, they have no successors. The contest is not between two sets of bishops, each pretending to have mission, to be the true successors of the ancient bishops; but whether the only set of bishops who claim mission in England, have it or not. We repeat, that the Romanist bishops in England do not claim mission there as *bishops*; but only as the representatives of him whom they regard as the universal bishop. This state of things alters the state of the question very much. We must now turn our attention to the historical facts of the case.

At the time of Archbishop Parker's consecration there were living fifteen persons, who were or had been in possession of diocesan bishoprics in the Province of Canterbury, and two suffragan bishops. Of these, five diocesan bishops and the two suffragans had been consecrated in the reign of Henry VIII., two in that of Edward VI., eight in that of

Queen Mary. Heath, one of the number, had, whether rightfully or wrongfully we need not for this purpose inquire, been translated to the Archbishopric of York, and so no longer belonged to the province of Canterbury. Five of the bishops consecrated in Queen Mary's time had no mission, having been irregularly consecrated, by the usurped authority, it is supposed of the pope and his legate, without the consent of the metropolitan, Archbishop Cranmer. These were Bourne, of Bath and Wells; Turberville, of Exeter; Baines, of Litchfield; Pates, of Worcester; Goldwell, of St. Asaph. The two first were also liable to the objection of being intruders into sees whose lawful bishops, Barlow and Coverdale, were alive. Deducting these five, and Heath, we shall find that the whole number of bishops having mission within the province of Canterbury at the time of the consecration of Parker was at most eleven. Salisbury, suffragan Bishop of Thetford; Barlow, the canonical Bishop of Bath and Wells, but who was out of possession; Hodgeskin, suffragan Bishop of Bedford; Boner, the recently deprived Bishop of London; Thirlby, of Ely; Kitchen, canonical bishop of Llandaff in possession; Coverdale, canonical bishop of Exeter; Scory, who had been canonically consecrated for Rochester, and had been in possession, *dubio jure*, of Hereford; White, recently in possession, of Winchester, but of whose mission there is much doubt, since he had been uncanonically consecrated for Lincoln, in the life-time of Cranmer, but without his consent; and his translation to Winchester is not free from objections; Watson, just deprived from Lincoln; and Poole from Peterborough. These were the only bishops who had any pretence to a voice in the consecration. Four of them, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgeskin performed the rite; and two others, Kitchen and Salisbury, gave at least a subsequent assent, by continuing in communion with the new primate. Thus it appears that a majority of the true bishops of the province of Canterbury, did concur in filling the metropoli-

tan see. This is the most unfavorable statement for the mission of the Protestant bishops; for there is more or less room for doubting the mission of several others of the dissenting bishops.

But the circumstances of the case might very well have justified a minority in acting. The bishops who refused to act were the confederates of the pope, combined with him to revive and extend his usurped power within the realm of England. They abandoned, with this view, their rights, and refused to join in the consecration of any primate who would not submit to receive his see at the hands of the pope. If the pope had no right to dispose of the see of Canterbury, the minority of the bishops of that province were under no obligation to receive a primate at his hands. Was the primacy for ever to remain vacant? There was, then, no alternative but for those who resisted the papal usurpations to consecrate, be they many or few. Otherwise the succession might have been lost in the province. The Romanists have no right to use the claims of a majority of the comprovincials in the attack upon the mission of the English bishops; any more than they can use, for the same purpose, the rights of the patriarch of Rome. The same reason applies in both cases. Those rights were not then supposed to exist. The patriarch of Rome and the recusant English bishops, both acted on the ground of the supremacy of the pope. The question was, shall that supremacy, be submitted to or not? If the supremacy of the pope were well grounded, there is an end of all question in one way; if it were not, in another; for it could not be necessary to wait for an assent which would be for ever withheld, as the means of enforcing an unfounded claim.

With respect to the province of York, there are questions relating to the translation of Heath to that archbishopric, and to his deposition. The Protestants maintain that his translation was not canonical, and that his deprivation was sufficient. The Romanists, on the other hand, assert that

his translation was canonical, and his deprivation a nullity. Even should they be right, the only consequence would be that mission would have been wanting in that province for a time. Heath died in 1579, and if all the archbishops and bishops of the province up to that time, were usurpers, and without mission, it would not follow that the sees might not be filled by the friendly aid of the neighboring province of Canterbury. If York had no canonical bishops, it was perfectly canonical for the neighboring bishops to send her a metropolitan; who might consecrate bishops for the vacant sees, and might, if he saw fit, wait until the actual occupants were dead. At the time of Heath's death, Sandys was in possession of the see of York; his successor, Peers, was translated from Salisbury, and was, beyond all doubt, a legitimate archbishop of York. If the suffragan sees were then canonically full, the bishops in possession acknowledged him for their metropolitan; if they were canonically vacant, there was no impediment to his becoming a new root to a new succession in the province of York, the old one being, upon that supposition extinct.

Thomas Young was consecrated Bishop of St. David's on the 21st of January, 1559-60, and in the course of the year 1560, translated to York. At the time of his translation there was but one canonical bishop in that province. The see of Durham was vacant by death. Three other bishoprics of York, Carlisle, and Chester were void by the expulsion of Heath, Oglethorpe and Scot. Of these none had been canonically introduced into their respective sees. Bishop Stanley of Sodor and Man, the only legitimate bishop in the province, after Tunstall's death, conformed.^m Robert

^m In the former edition we stated erroneously that Sodor and Man was vacant by death, misled by what we now believe to be a mis-print in the American Edition of Percival on the Apostolic Succession, Appendix page 99, in the account of the consecration of Bishop Salisbury, who is there said to have been translated to Sodor and Man in 1559, by a typographical error for 1569.

Holgate had been consecrated to Llandaff in 1537, and translated in 1544 to York, of which province he was undoubtedly the canonical metropolitan. On the accession of Queen Mary, he was accused of being married, and for that offence deposed by a commission from the queen, composed of bishops, with a single exception, belonging to the province of Canterbury. Nicholas Heath was intruded into his place by the queen, who procured him a confirmation by the pope. But the see was still canonically full of Holgate, and Heath, therefore, a mere usurper. Scot and Oglethorpe had no confirmation or consecration, but at the hands of Heath, who could not give them mission in a province in which he was himself merely an usurper. Heath having been removed, the see of York became vacant legally and actually, as it had been canonically, from the death of Holgate. Young was translated to it, and with his assent, the sees were filled; Durham, by the consecration of Pilkington, the unworthy puritan; Carlisle, by that of Best, and Chester by that of Downham. There were conflicting claims to none of these sees, except Chester and York. Tunstall, of Durham, died soon after his deprivation, and before the consecration of his successor; Oglethorpe, of Carlisle, died in 1560, probably before the consecration of his successor; Scot, of Chester, went beyond the seas, and both he and Heath were, as we have seen, usurpers.

There is still another ground upon which the mission of the English prelates may be sustained. The Elizabethan bishops were, at the least, bishops without mission, and as such at liberty to perform episcopal acts in vacant dioceses not subject to any archbishop, and countries not organised into dioceses. This principle, alone, would long since have removed all objections to the mission of the Church of England. Before the end of the sixteenth century, all the deprived bishops must have been dead; indeed it is probable that Watson, who is recorded to have survived his deprivation

^a Burnet ii. 429—American Edition.

twenty-four years, survived them all. He was the youngest bishop among them except Poole, of Peterborough, who was consecrated at the same time with him. However these things may be, it is certain that a time came, when all the deprived bishops were dead. At that period, if the Romanists are right, all the archbishoprics and bishoprics in England were vacant. This was a state of things not to be tolerated. The sees must be filled by bishops, and any bishop might consecrate such, whether he had mission or not. For mission is only the right of exercising the episcopal office in a particular place, and a bishop may exercise his office in any place, where he can do so without intruding upon another bishop. It is only upon this principle that the Romanists can maintain the validity of their consecrations *in partibus infidelium*.

All the Apostles received the commission to "teach all nations, baptizing them," &c., and all their successors participate in that commission. They have the world, therefore, as it were, in a joint jurisdiction; every one having authority to act every where; except where the joint jurisdiction has been severed by giving a separate jurisdiction to one of their number.

But if all the archbishops and bishops of England were dead, any bishop was at liberty to consecrate; because none could, by so doing, infringe on the rights of any living prelate. The kings proceeded to nominate bishops, from time to time; the chapters elected them, and they procured themselves to be consecrated by some of the bishops in possession of sees. If that possession was rightful, as we say, there is no difficulty. If, as the Romanists say, those bishops were usurpers, still they were bishops, without mission in their own dioceses, but authorised to transmit succession to persons capable of receiving it; who with the succession would acquire mission; since there was no obstacle to their receiving it, while those who ordained, did not in ordaining, violate the rights of metropolitans and comprovincial bishops; who, upon the supposition, did not exist.

The idea entertained by the Romanists, that the mission of a church once lost, cannot be restored without the aid of the pope, proceeds entirely upon the ground of the notion, that Rome is the mother and mistress of churches, and that the confirmation of her bishop is necessary to mission. That claim having been shown to be inadmissible, it will be obvious that, provided the succession be retained, mission must be restored in a generation; unless an opposing succession is kept up, which has not been done in England. Let it be supposed that in 1604, all the Marian bishops were dead, and all the sees in England vacant. Richard Bancroft was then living in England, a duly consecrated bishop consecrated by John Whitgift, who had been consecrated, by Edmund Grindal, who had been consecrated by Matthew Parker, who had been consecrated by William Barlow, Thomas Scory, and Miles Coverdale, who had all been consecrated by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop, without doubt, of Canterbury, and by John Hodgeskin, who had been consecrated by John Stokesly, who had been consecrated by William Warham, equally with Cranmer, an undoubted archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Bancroft is then in the line of the Apostolic Succession; but upon the Romish theory, upon which we are at present proceeding, he has no mission. He is, however, a vacant bishop, and all the sees in England want bishops. Why may he not be called to fill any of them? In fact, he was in possession of London, but the Romanists say he was an usurper. Still he was a consecrated bishop, and capable of being called to any other see, and was, in fact, called to Canterbury. Why, then, was he not archbishop of Canterbury? Because he was not confirmed as such, will be the reply. By whom ought he to have been confirmed? By the pope, say the Romanists. But that claim we deny and disprove. Admit it, say the Romanists; but even by your own principles, he ought to have been confirmed by the bishops of the province. We say that in fact he was; but the Romanists deny that there were any canon-

ical bishops of the province; then there was nobody who had a right to confirm, and no confirmation was necessary. The best confirmation which he could have, that of the *de facto* bishops of the province, he had; and moreover, the Irish bishops of the next adjoining province, which, upon the Romish principle, had bishops, held communion with him. Why, then, was he not a canonical metropolitan of Canterbury? Having once found a canonical metropolitan, the inferior sees will soon be supplied with bishops by the process of consecration and translation, which the removal of the *de facto* bishops by death, will render necessary.

Hitherto we have been engaged about the mission of the prelates of our ancestral church; we now come to that of our own. But much of the way has been cleared by what has been already done, and there remains, in truth, but little to be said in connexion with the subject of the mission of our American bishops. When we have said that little, we shall gladly close the series of essays with which we have been occupying the attention of our readers. So far as the objection to the mission of our bishops rests upon the claim of supremacy in the bishop of Rome, it stands upon precisely the same footing here as in England. So far as it is founded upon patriarchal claims, it stands upon a worse. It cannot be pretended, either that the United States are within the ancient limits of the Roman patriarchate, or that they, were converted to Christianity by missionaries from Rome. Either of these assertions would be too notoriously false to be hazarded by any man. Nor has the question of the mission of the Elizabethan bishops a direct bearing upon this matter. The English bishops may or may not have mission in England: if they have the succession, they have, in either case, power to consecrate for places, where there are no provincial bishops. This right does not depend upon mission. Mission is jurisdiction; but *in partibus infidelium*, or in nations in which there has never been a bishop, no bishop has special jurisdiction; and if, under such circumstances,

mission or jurisdiction were necessary in the consecrating bishops, no consecration could ever take place. The boundaries of the Church could never be extended. It is the duty, and therefore the right of every bishop to see that all nations are disciplined. This duty only ceases, and with it the right, when special provision is made for the performance of the duty in any particular nation.

Previous to the revolution of 1776, there were no bishops resident in the territory now occupied by the United States, and never had been any, except two of the succession of the English non-jurors; who neither claimed nor exercised any Episcopal jurisdiction, and were soon compelled to withdraw by the jealousy of the British government. They were not, and did not pretend to be, bishops of any American diocese; but were simply bishops without sees, accidentally in America. Had they been permitted to remain, and had agreed to erect dioceses for themselves, and been accepted by the clergy and people of such dioceses as their bishops, there does not appear to have been, upon Catholic principles, any reason,—except those to which we shall presently advert,—why they might not have been the first legitimate bishops of this country; although, like their brethren in England and Scotland, they might have been discountenanced, or even persecuted by the State. This is said upon the supposition that their consecration was valid; which has been doubted, because one of them had been consecrated by a single bishop, and had afterwards united with that bishop in consecrating the other, without the aid of any other bishop. Upon the validity of such consecrations we must not be understood as giving any opinion either way. The other non-jurors did not acknowledge these gentlemen as bishops; because they had been consecrated without the assent of those whom they regarded as the comprovincial bishops. But that is a question of mission; and while nothing seems to us clearer than that none of the non-jurors after Hickee had any claim to

mission ; we do not regard want of mission in Europe as any bar to the obtaining it in a country where there were no bishops.

Another difficulty in the way of these non-juring bishops acquiring mission in America, was that they were within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. The English colonies were regarded by the government as being within the diocese of London and province of Canterbury ; so far, at least, as relates to strictly spiritual authority. The temporal jurisdiction, which in England belongs to the bishops, was in part exercised here by tribunals of a civil character, just as it is now ; the remainder was, as now, not exercised at all. What was the legal foundation of the spiritual jurisdiction of the see of London in the colonies, and whether it would have stood the test of Westminster Hall, are questions into which it would not be profitable to enter. Sufficient for us that it existed *de facto*, and was acknowledged by all that part of the population who acknowledged any Episcopal authority at all. It may, at first sight, seem that this assertion is too sweeping, because there was always a small band of Romanists in the country. But in truth, those persons did not acknowledge themselves to be under any Episcopal authority. They were under the immediate authority of the pope, not of the Bishop of Rome. The pope, it is true, governed them through his vicar apostolic of the district of London. But the authority which the vicar exercised was not his episcopal authority, if he had any,—it was the authority which he derived from the pope as his vicar, not that which he derived from CHRIST, as a successor of the Apostles. The authority of the pope's vicar apostolic would have been the same had he been a layman,—it was not then Episcopal authority. Whatever authority the Roman prelate exercised over them was not that of a diocesan bishop, but of the alleged vicar of CHRIST. In truth they repudiated the authority of the Bishop of London, solely because he was not in communion with the supposed visible head of the Church. Once con-

vinced that Rome was not the mother and mistress of Churches, they would have regarded the Bishop of London as their bishop. It is then true that he was acknowledged by all the population who acknowledged any Episcopal authority.

The American Revolution rendered it expedient, probably necessary, that the connexion between the Bishop of London and the American Church should be dissolved. Indeed the contemporary opinion on both sides of the water was that it had the effect of actually dissolving it. This opinion was perhaps a mistake. It had its origin partly in the connexion of the Church of England with the State, and the Erastian opinions to which that connexion has given rise,—which were never more rife than at the period of which we are speaking;—partly in the national feelings of both parties, combined with the recollection of the stress laid, at the Reformation in England, on the fact of the pope being a foreign bishop. Whatever was its origin, and whether well founded or not, its effect was that the connexion, the continuance of which would have been an insupportable evil, was very easily dissolved. Bishop Terrick, the Bishop of London at the time of the declaration of independence, died before the treaty of peace. Bishop Lowth, his successor, never attempted to exercise any jurisdiction within the United States,—was one of those prelates who signed a letter, assenting, on certain conditions, to the consecration of American bishops,^o and not long before his death, acquiesced in the actual consecration of two, Bishops White and Provoost.^p Dr. Porteus, who succeeded Dr. Lowth, actually joined in the consecration of Bishop Madison.^q The jurisdiction of the Bishop of London was then at an end,—either withdrawn voluntarily, or abrogated by the Revolution.

The United States were then in the condition of a Christian country, without bishops either *de jure* or *de facto*. It

^o Bishop White's Memoirs of the Prot. Epis. Church, first Edit. p. 356.

^p Ibid. p. 144.

^q Percival on the Apostolic Succession, N. Y. Edit. p. 121.

was an act of charity which any bishops, whether they had mission or jurisdiction at home or not, might well perform, to consecrate bishops for it. The first bishops who came to our relief were those of Scotland, who, in 1784, consecrated Dr. Seabury, Bishop of Connecticut. In 1787, some English bishops consecrated Dr. White, Bishop of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Provoost, Bishop of New York. The fact that these consecrations were by bishops of two different Churches, which, from political causes, were not on good terms with each other, and some other circumstances, led to a temporary division of the United States into what may be called two Provinces; holding, it is true, communion with each other, but not a very close or cordial communion. This unpleasant state of things was put an end to on October 2, 1789, by an union of the two bodies in one General Convention. From that time the United States may be regarded in the light of one Province, not recognizing the necessity of a metropolitan, and having no such officer; but having a sufficient number of comprovincial bishops to keep up the succession and give orders and mission to those elected to the other dioceses. From that time all interference with the Church of the United States, on the part of foreigners, became unjustifiable, unless with the consent of the comprovincial bishops. Bishop Madison was afterwards consecrated in England; but with the full consent of all the comprovincials. On his return he united with them, in the consecration of Bishop Claggett, for Maryland; and from these five, who possessed both succession and mission, all our bishops derive both. The claim of our bishops to mission in the United States, rests on these plain and simple facts. Our first bishops, Seabury, White, and Provoost, were the first Christian bishops who came into a country destitute of the order,—having been first validly consecrated. They were received, in that character, by the members of the true Church of CHRIST, living here destitute of any bishops whatever, but desirous of lawful bishops. Of the mission of

such bishops it is impossible to doubt, by whomsoever they were consecrated; and whether the consecrators had jurisdiction over the sees of which they were possessed or not. To doubt the mission of such bishops, is to doubt the right of the Church to extend herself over the world,—to doubt the right of the successors of the Apostles to “teach all nations.”

They were the first bishops who came into the country; for the superintendents of the Methodist connexion were not bishops, except in name. They derived their consecration from a presbyter of the Church of England, who differed in nothing from the other presbyters of that Church, except in this: that he had dared to give imposition of hands to another presbyter of equal authority with himself, for purposes and with intentions by no means clearly defined.

It was not until 1790, after the complete settlement and organization of our Church, which, as we have seen, took place in 1789, that the pope undertook to erect the whole United States into an Episcopal see. A bishop of Baltimore, consecrated by a single Romish bishop in England,¹ where the consecrator was utterly without mission, then,² came into the United States; where the consecrated could acquire none, without the assent of the existing comprovincial bishops, whose communion he refused, and whose dioceses he included in his own. The only justification he could find or would seek, was, that those bishops were heretics and schismatics; because they denied that Rome was the mother and mistress of churches and her bishop the vicar of CHRIST. “The question,” then, in the words of Jewel, “the question between us is, whether, throughout the whole Church of CHRIST, no man may be allowed for a lawful bishop without the confirmation of the bishop of Rome.” In the words of the same great divine, we conclude, saying:

¹ 15 August, 1790. Brent’s “Biographical Sketch of the Most Reverend John Carroll,” Baltimore, 1843, p. 113.

² December 7, 1790, *Ibid.* 121.

“That there neither is, nor can be, any one man which may have the whole superiority in this universal state; for that CHRIST is ever present to assist His Church, and needeth not any man to supply His room, as His only heir to all His substance; and that there can be no one mortal creature which is able to comprehend, or conceive in his mind, the Universal Church—that is, to wit, all the parts of the world; much less able rightly and duly to put them in order, and to govern them.

“For ‘all the apostles,’ as St. Cyprian saith ‘were of like power among themselves, and the rest were the same that Peter was.’ And that it was said indifferently to them all, ‘Feed ye;’ indifferently to them all, ‘Go into the whole world;’ indifferently to them all, ‘Preach ye the gospel.’ And as St. Jerome saith, ‘All bishops, wheresoever they be, be they at Rome, be they at Eugubium, be they at Constantinople, be they at Rhegium, be all of like pre-eminence, and of like priesthood.’ And as Cyprian saith, ‘there is but one bishopric, and a piece thereof is perfectly and wholly holden of every particular bishop.’

“And, according to the judgment of the Nicene Council, we say, that the Bishop of Rome hath no more jurisdiction over the Church of God than the rest of the Patriarchs, either of Alexandria, or of Antioch have.”
 —*The Apology of the Church of England, ch. vi. § 7, pp. 34, 35.*
 12mo. N. Y. 1831.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

An Act concerning the Consecration of a Bishop, made the twenty-fifth of Hen. VIII.

CAP. 20. SECT. 5.

BE it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that whensoever any such presentment or nomination shall be made by the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, by virtue and authority of this act, and according to the tenor of the same: That then every Archbishop and Bishop, into whose hands any such presentment and nomination shall be directed, shall with all speed and celerity, invest and consecrate the person nominate and presented by the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, to the office and dignity that such person shall be so presented unto, and give and use to him pall, and all other benedictions; ceremonies and things requisite for the same, without suing, procuring or obtaining hereafter any bulls, or other things at the see of *Rome*, for any such office or dignity in that behalf.—And then after he hath made such oath and fealty duly to the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors, as shall be limited for the same, the King's Highness, by his Letters Patents under his great seal, shall signify the said election to one Archbishop, and two other Bishops, or else to four Bishops within this realm, or within any other the King's dominions, to be assigned by the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, requiring and commanding the said Archbishop and Bishops with all speed and celerity, to confirm the said election, and to invest and consecrate the said person so elected to the office and dignity that he is elected unto, and to give and use to him such pall, benedictions, ceremonies, and all other things requisite for the same, without suing, procuring or obtaining any bulls, briefs, or other things at the said see of *Rome*, or by the authority thereof in any behalf.

And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every person and persons being hereafter chosen, elected, nominate, presented, invested, and consecrated to the dignity or office of any Archbishop or Bishop within this realm, or within any other the King's dominions, according to the form, tenor, and effect of this present act, and suing their temporalties, out of the King's hands, his heirs or successors, as hath been accustomed, and making a corporal oath to the King's Highness, and to none other, in form as is afore rehearsed, shall and may from henceforth be trononised or installed, as the case shall require, and shall have and take their only restitution out of the King's hands of all the possessions and profits spiritual and temporal belonging to the said Archbishoprick or Bishoprick whereunto they shall be so elected or presented, and shall be obeyed in all manner of things, according to the name, title, degree, and dignity that they shall be so chosen or presented unto, and do and execute in every thing and things touching the same, as any Archbishop or Bishop of this realm without offending of the prerogative royal of the Crown and the laws and customs of this realm might at any time heretofore do.

And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the Prior and Covent of any Monastery, or Dean and Chapter of any cathedral Church where the see of an Archbishop or Bishop is within any the King's dominions, after such licence, as is afore rehearsed, shall be delivered to them, proceed not to election, and signifie the same according to the tenor of this Act within the space of twenty days next after such licence shall come to their hands: Or else if any Archbishop or Bishop within any the King's dominions, after any such election, nomination or presentation shall be signified unto them by the King's Letters Patents, shall refuse, and do not confirm, invest and consecrate with all due circumstance, as is aforesaid, every such person as shall be so elected, nominated, or presented, and to them signified, as is above mentioned, within twenty days next after the King's Letters Patents of such signification or presentation shall come to their hands, Or else if any of them, or any other person or persons, admit, maintain, allow, obey, do, or execute any censures, excommunications, interdictions, inhibitions, or any other process or act of what nature, name, or quality soever it be to the contrary, or let of due execution of this act, That then every—person—so offending and doing contrary to this Act—shall run in the dangers, pains and penalties of the estatute of Provision and *Præmunire*, made in the five and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III, and in the sixteenth year of King Richard II.

No. II.

Statutes relating to the Consecration of Bishops under Edward the Sixth, in the Parliaments of 1547, 1549 and 1552.

1. EDWARD THE SIXTH, c. 2.

FORASMUCH as the election of Archbishops and Bishops by the Deans and Chapters—be as well to the long delay as to the great costs and charges, &c. Be it enacted that the King may, by his Letters Patent, at all times, when any Archbishoprick or Bishoprick is void, confer the same to any person whom the King shall think meet, the which collation so by the King's Letters Patent made—shall stand, to all intents, constructions, and purposes to as much and the same effect as though *Congé d'Elire* had been given, the election duly made, and the same confirmed. And thereupon the said person to whom the said Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, or Suffraganship is so conferred, collated, or given, may be Consecrated, and sue his livery, or ouster les mains, and do other things as well as if the said Ceremonies and Elections had been done and made.

No. III.

An Act in the Year 1549, to order the drawing up a new Form of Ordination.

3. EDW. 6, c. 2.

SUCH form and manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other Ministers of the Church, as by six Prelates, and six other men of this Realm learned in God's law, by the King to be appointed and assigned, or by the most number of them shall be devised for that purpose, and set forth under the Great Seal before the first of April next coming, shall be lawfully exercised and used, and none other.

No. IV.

An Act in 1552, to annex the Ordinal to the Book of Common Prayer.

BECAUSE there hath risen in the use and exercise of the aforesaid common service in the Church, heretofore set forth, divers doubts for the fashion and manner of the ministration of the same, rather by the curiosity of the minister and mistakers, than of any other worthy cause: Therefore as well for the more plain and manifest explanation thereof, as for the more perfection of the said order or common service, in some places where it is necessary to make the same Prayer and fashion of service more earnest and fit to stir christian people to the true honouring of Almighty God, The King's most excellent Majesty, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same hath caused the aforesaid order of common service, entituled, *The Book of Common-Prayer*, to be faithfully and godly perused, explained and made fully perfect, and by the aforesaid authority hath annexed and joyned it, so explained and perfected, to this present Statute; Adding also a form and manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests and Deacons to be of like force, authority and value, as the same like aforesaid Book, entituled, *The Book of Common-Prayer* was before, and to be accepted, received, used, and esteemed in like sort and manner, and with the same clauses of provisions and exceptions to all intents, constructions and purposes, as by the Act of Parliament made in the second year of the King's Majesty's Reign, was ordained, limited, expressed, and appointed for the uniformity of service, and administration of the Sacraments throughout the realm, upon such several pains, as in the said Act of Parliament is expressed: And the said former Act to stand in full force and strength, to all intents and constructions, and to be applied, practised, and put in ure, to and for the establishing of the *Book of Common-Prayer*, now explained and hereunto annexed, and also the said form of making Archbishops, Bishops, or Priests and Deacons hereunto annexed, as it was for the former Book.

No. V.

An Act of Parliament in the first of Mary in 1553, to repeal the two preceding Acts made under Edward VI.

A * Repeal of the Stat. of Ed. VI. 12. made for the ordering of ecclesiastical Ministers, and of the Stat. of 5 Ed. VI. 1. made for the uniformity of Common-Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments—All such divine service and administration of Sacraments as were most commonly used in *England* in the last year of King *Henry VIII.* shall be used thorow the realm after the twentieth day of *December An. Dom. 1553.* and no other kind of service, nor administrations of Sacraments.

No. VI.

An Act made in 1559 under Queen Elizabeth, to re-establish The Book of Common Prayer drawn up under Edw. VI.

WHEREAS at the death of our late Sovereign Lord King *Edward VI.* there remained one uniform order of common service and prayer, and

* The Statute is not given entire, but only abridg'd in these words.

of the administration of Sacraments, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, which was set forth in one book, entituled, *The Book of Common-Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of England*, authorized by Act of Parliament holden in the fifth and sixth years of our said late Sovereign Lord King *Edward VI*, entituled, *An Act for the Uniformity of Common-Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments*; the which was repealed and taken away by Act of Parliament in the first year of the reign of our late Sovereign Lady Queen *Mary*, to the great decay of the due honour of God, and discomfort to the professors of the truth of Christ's Religion.

Be it therefore enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, That the said estatute of repeal, and every thing therein contained, only concerning the said book, and the service and administration of the Sacraments, Rites and Ceremonies contained or appointed in, or by the said book, shall be void and of none effect, from and after the Feast of the Nativity of Saint *John Baptist*, next coming, And that the said book with the order of service, and of the administration of Sacraments, Rites, and Ceremonies, with the alterations and additions therein added and appointed by this estatute, shall stand and be from and after the said Feast of the Nativity of Saint *John Baptist*, in full force and effect, according to the tenor and effect of this estatute, any thing in the foresaid estatute of repeal to the contrary notwithstanding.

And further be it enacted by the Queen's Highness, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and singular Ministers—shall from and after the Feast of the Nativity of Saint *John Baptist* next coming, be bounden to say and use the Mattens, Even-song, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the Sacraments, and all the common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book so authorized by Parliament, in the said fifth and sixth years of the reign of King *Edward VI*, with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every *Sunday* in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and none other, or otherwise.

No. VII.

An Act of Parliament in 1566, declaring the Validity of the Ordinations made since 1559.

FORASMUCH as divers questions by overmuch boldness of speech and talk amongst many of the common sort of people being unlearned, hath lately grown upon the making and consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops within this realm, whether the same were, and be duly and orderly done according to the law or not, which is much tending to the slander of all the state of the Clergy, being of the greatest states of this realm; Therefore for the avoiding of such slanderous speech, and to the intent that every man that is willing to know the truth, may plainly understand that the same evil speech and talk is not grounded upon any just matter or cause, it is thought convenient hereby partly to touch such authorities as do allow and approve the making and consecrating of the same Archbishops and Bishops to be duly and orderly done according to the Laws of this realm, and thereupon further to provide for the more surety thereof, as hereafter shall be expressed.—

First, it is very well known to all degrees of this realm, that the late King of the most famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, as well as by all the Clergy then of this realm, in their several convocations, as also by all the Lords, spiritual and temporal, and Commons assembled in divers of his Parliaments, was justly and rightfully recognised and acknowledged to have the supreme power, jurisdiction, order, rule and authority over all the estate Ecclesiastical of the same, and the same power, jurisdiction and authority did use accordingly—and that at the Parliament holden at Westminster, in the first year of our sovereign Lady, the Queen's Majesty that now is, by one other Act and Statute there made, all such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and preeminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been or may be lawfully used over the ecclesiastical state of this realm, and the order, reformation and correction of the same, is fully and absolutely, by the authority of the same Parliament, united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this realm; and by the same Act and Statute there is also given to the Queen's Highness, her heirs and successors, Kings and Queens of this realm, full power and authority, by letters patents under the great Seal of England, from time to time, to assign, name and authorise such person or persons as he or she shall think meet and convenient to exercise, use, occupy and execute, under her Highness, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, preeminences and authorities, in any wise touching or concerning any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or jurisdiction within this realm.

Whereupon our said sovereign Lady, the Queen's most excellent Majesty, hath by her supreme authority, at divers times since the beginning of her Majesty's Reign, caused divers and sundry grave and well learned men to be duly elected, made and consecrated Archbishops and Bishops of divers Archbishopricks and Bishopricks within this realm, and other Her Majesty's Dominions and Countries according to such order and form, with such ceremonies in and about their consecrations as were allowed and set forth by the said Acts, Statutes and Orders annexed to the said book of Common-Prayer before mentioned. And furthermore for the avoiding of all ambiguities and questions that might be objected against the lawful confirmations, investing, and consecrations of the said Archbishops and Bishops, Her Highness, in her Letters Patent under the great Seal of England, directed to any Archbishop, Bishop, or others, for the confirming, investing, and consecrating of any person elected to the office or dignity of any Archbishop or Bishop, hath not only used such words and sentences as were accustomed to be used by the Late King Henry and King Edward, Her Majesty's Father and Brother, in their like Letters Patent, made for such causes; but also hath used and put in Her Majesty's said Letters Patent divers other general words and sentences, whereby Her Highness, by her supreme power and authority, hath dispensed with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disability that can or may in any wise be objected against the same, as by her Majesty's said Letters Patent remaining of Record, more plainly may appear. So that to all those that will well consider of the effect and true intent of the said Laws and Statutes, and of the supreme and absolute authority of the Queen's Highness, and which she, by her Majesty's said Letters Patent, hath used and put in use in and about the making and consecrating of the said Archbishops and Bishops, it is and may be very evident, that no cause of scruple, ambiguity or doubt, can or may justly be objected

against the said elections, confirmations, or consecrations, or any other material thing meet to be had or used about the same.

Wherefore for the plain declaration of all the premisses, and to the intent that the same may the better be known to every of the Queen's Majesties subjects, whereby such evil speech as heretofore hath been used against the high state of Prelacy may hereafter cease, Be it now declared and enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, That the said Act and Statute made in the first year of the reign of our said Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty, whereby the said Book of Common Prayer and the Administration of Sacraments, with other Rites and Ceremonies is authorized and allowed to be used, shall stand and remain good and perfect to all respects and purposes; And that such order and form for the consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops, and for the making of Priests, Deacons, and Ministers, as was set forth in the time of the said late King *Edward VI.* and added to the said Book of Common-Prayer, and authorized by Parliament in the fifth and sixth years of the said late King, shall stand and be in full force and effect, and shall from henceforth be used and observed in all places within this realm, and other the Queen's Majesties dominions and countries.

And that all acts and things heretofore had, made or done by any person or persons, in or about any Consecration, Confirmation, or investing of any person or persons elected to the office or dignity of any Archbishop or Bishop within this realm, or within any other the Queen's Majesties dominions or countries, by virtue of the Queen's Majesties Letters Patents or Commission sithence the beginning of her Majesties reign, be and shall be by authority of this present Parliament, declared, judged, and deemed at and from every of the several times of the doing thereof, good and perfect to all respects and purposes; any matter or thing that can, or may be objected to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

And that all persons that have been, or shall be made, ordered or consecrate Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Ministers of God's holy Word and Sacraments, or Deacons after the form and order prescribed in the said order and form how Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Ministers should be consecrated, made and ordered, be in very deed, and also by authority hereof, declared and enacted to be, and shall be Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Ministers and Deacons, and rightly made, ordered and consecrated; any statute, law, canon or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

No. VIII.

Queen Elizabeth's first Letters Patents for the Confirmation and Consecration of Parker.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, &c. Reverendis in Christo patribus, Cuthberto episcopo Dunelmensi, Gilberto Bathoniensi episcopo. David episcopo Burgi S. Petri, Antonio Landavensi episcopo, Will. Barloo episcopo, & Johan. Seory episcopo, salutem.

CUM vacante nuper Sede archiepiscopali Cantuariensi per mortem naturalem D. Reginaldi Pole Cardinalis, ultimi & immediati archiepiscopi & pastoris ejusdem, ad humilem petitionem decani & capituli ecclesie nostræ cathedralis & metropolitane Christi Cantuariensis, eidem per literas nostras patentes licentiam concessimus alium sibi eligendi in archiepiscopum & pastorem Sedis prædictæ, ac eidem deca-

nus & capitulum vigore & obtentu licentiæ nostræ prædictæ, dilectum nobis in Christo Magistrum Math. Parker S. Theologiæ professorem sibi & ecclesiæ prædictæ elegerint in archiepiscopum & pastorem, prout per literas suas patentes sigillo eorum communi sigillatas, nobis inde directas plenius liquet & apparet.

Nos, electi omnem illam acceptantes, eidem electioni regium nostrum assensum adhibuimus pariter & favorem, & hoc vobis tenore præsentium significamus.

ROGANTES, ac in fide & dilectione, quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter, præcipiendo mandantes, quatenus eundem Mag. Math. Parker in archiepiscopum & pastorem ecclesiæ cathedralis & metropolitice Christi Cantuariensis prædictæ, sic, ut præfertur, electum, electionemque prædictam confirmare, & eundem Mag. Matheum in archiepiscopum & pastorem ecclesiæ prædictæ consecrare, cæteraque omnia & singula peragere, quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt officio pastorali, juxta formam statutorum in ea parte editorum & provisorum, velitis cum effectu. In cujus rei testimonium, &c. Teste reginâ apud Redgrave, nono die Septembris. Per breve de privato sigillo.

No. IX.

Queen Elizabeth's second Letters Patents to proceed to the Confirmation and Consecration of Parker.

As the first Letters Patents were not executed, the Queen granted others the sixth of *December*, as follows:

RÆGINA, &c. Reverendis in Christo patribus, Antonio Landav. episcopo, Willielmo Barloo quondam Bathon. episcopo, nunc. Cicest. electo, Johanni Scorye quondam Cicestr. episcopo, nunc Herefordensi, Mil. Coverdall quondam Exoniensi episcopo, Ricardo Bedfordensi, Johanni Thetfordensi episcopis suffraganeis, Johanni Bale Osserensi episcopo, salutem.

CUM, vacante nuper sede archiepiscopali Cantuariensi per mortem naturalem D. Reginaldi Pole Cardinalis, ultimi & immediati archiepiscopi & pastorem ejusdem, ad humilem petitionem decani & capituli ecclesiæ nostræ cathedralis & metropolitice Christi Cantuariensis, eidem per literas nostras patentes licentiam concessimus alium sibi eligendi in archiepiscopum & pastorem sedis prædictæ, ac iidem decanus & capitulum vigore & obtentu licentiæ nostræ prædictæ, dilectum nobis in Christo Mag. Matheum Parker S. Theologiæ professorem, sibi & ecclesiæ prædictæ elegerint in archiepiscopum & pastorem, prout per literas suas patentes sigillo eorum communi sigillatas, nobis inde directas, plenius liquet & apparet.

Nos, electionem illam acceptantes, eidem electioni regium nostrum assensum adhibuimus pariter & favorem, & hoc vobis tenore præsentium significamus.

ROGANTES, ac in fide & dilectione, quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter præcipiendo mandantes, quatenus vos aut ad minus quatuor vestrum, eundem Math. Parker in archiepiscopum & pastorem ecclesiæ cathedralis & metropolitice Christi Cantuariensis prædictæ, sic, ut præfertur, electum, electionemque prædictam confirmare, & eundem Mag. Math. Parker in archiepiscopum & pastorem ecclesiæ prædictæ consecrare, cæteraque omnia & singula peragere, quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt officio pastorali, juxta formam statutorum in ea parte editorum & provisorum, velitis cum effectu.

SUFFLENTES nihilominus supremâ auctoritate nostrâ Regiâ, ex mero motu ac certa scientia nostris, si quid aut in hiis quæ juxta mandatum nostrum prædictam per vos fient, aut in vobis, aut in vestrum aliquo, conditione, statu, facultate vestris ad præmissa perficienda desit aut deerit eorum, quæ per statuta hujus regni, aut per leges ecclesiasticas in hac parte requiruntur, aut necessaria sunt, temporis ratione, & rerum necessitate id postulante. In cujus rei, &c. Teste Regina apud Westmonasterium vi die Decembris.

No. X.

Approbation of the preceding Form.

Wz whose Names that are here under subscribed, think in our Judgments, that by this Commission in this Form penned as well the Queen's Majesty may lawfully authorise the Persons within named to the effect specified, as that the said Persons may exercise the Act of confirming and consecrating, in the same to them committed.

*William May,
Rob. Weston,
Edward Leeds,*

*Henry Harvey,
Thomas Yule,
Nicholas Bullingham.*

No. XI.

The Confirmation () of Parker's Election by the consecrating Bishops.*

In Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Willielmus quondam Bathon. & Wellen. episcopus, nunc electus Cicestrensis, Johan. Seory quondam Cioestr. episcopus, nunc Herefordensis electus, Milo Coverdale quondam Exon. episcopus, & Johannes Bedfordensis episcopus, Seren. in Christo Principis & Domine nostræ D. Elizabethæ Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Reginæ, fidei defensatrix, &c. mediantibus literis suis regiis commissionalibus patent. ad infra scripta commissarii, cum hac clausula, videlicet (una cum DD. Johan. Thetfordensi suffraganeo, & Joh. Bale Osserensi episcopo) & etiam hac clausula (quatenus vos aut ad minus quatuor vestrum, &c.) neonon & hac adjectione (supplentes nihilominus, &c.) specialiter & legitime deputati in negotio confirmationis electionis de persona venerabilis & eximii viri Mag. Math. Parker, S. Theolog. professoris, in archiepiscopum Cantuariensem electi, factæ & celebrate rite & legitime procedentes, omnes & singulos oppositores qui contra dictam electionem seu formam ejusdem, aut personam electam dicere, excipere, vel opponere voluerint, ad comparandum eorum nobis, istis die, horis, & loco, (si sua putaverint interesse) contra dictam electionem, formam ejusdem, aut personam electam in debita juris forma dictar' exceptur' & propositur' legitime' & peremptorie citatos assipius, publice præconizatos, diuque & sufficienter expectatos, & nullo modo comparentes, nec contra dictam electionem, formam ejusdem, aut personam electam aliquid dicentes, excipientes, vel opposentes, ad petitionem procuratoris, decani & capituli Cantuariensis, pronunciamus contumaces & in pœnam contumaciarum suarum hujusmodi decernimus procedendum fore ad prolationem sententiæ sive decreti finalis in hac causa ferendi ipsorum sic citatorum & non comparentium contumac' in aliquo non obstante—

* Parker was confirm'd by Prazey which he appointed the 7th of December. His Prazey were Nicholas Bullingham and William May, Dean of St. Paul's.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Auditis, visis & intellectis, ac plenariè & maturè discussis per nos Will. quondam Bath & Well. episcopum nunc Cioestrensem electum, Joh. Seorye quondam Cioestr. episcopum, nunc electum Hereford. Milonem Coverdale quondam Exoniens. episcopum, & Johan. Bedford. episcopum, Seren. in Christo Principis & Dom. nostræ D. Elizabethæ Dei Gratiâ Angl. Franc. & Hibern. Reginæ, fidei defens. &c. mediantibus literis suis regis commissionalibus patentibus ad infra scripta commissarios, cum hac clausula, videlicet (quâ cum DD. Joh. Thetfordensi suffraganeo, & Joh. Bale Osserensi episc.) & etiam hac clausula (Quatenus vos, aut ad minus quatuor vestrum, &c.) necnon & hac adiectione (Supplentes nihilominus, &c.) specialiter & legitimè deputatos, meritis & circumstantiis cujusdam causæ sive negotii confirmationis electionis de persona vener. & eximii viri Mag. Math. Parker, S. Theologiæ professoris in Archiepisc. & pastorem ecclesiæ cathedralis & metropolitice Christi Cantuariensis, per obitum bonæ memoriæ D. Regin. Pole ultimi archiepiscopi ibidem, vacantis, electi, factæ & celebratæ, quod coram nobis aliquandiu vertebatur, & in presentî vertitur & pendet indeciss', rimato primitus per nos toto & integro processu coram nobis in dicto negotio habito & facto, atque diligenter recensito, servatisque per nos de jure & statutis hujus regni servandis ad nostri decreti finalis sive sententiæ diffinitivæ confirmationis in hujusmodi negotio ferendæ prolationem, sic duximus procedendum, & procedimus in hunc qui sequitur modum: Quia per acta exhibita, producta & probata coram nobis in hujusmodi confirmationis negotio, comperimus, & luculenter invenimus electionem ipsam per decanum & capitulum ecclesiæ cathedralis & metropolitice Christi Cantuar. prædictæ de præfato vener. & eximio viro Mag. Math. Parker electo hujusmodi, viro utique provido & disereto, vitâ & moribus meritò commendato, libero & de legitimo matrimonio procreato, atque in ætate legitima & ordine sacerdotali constituto, ritè & legitimè fuisse & esse factam & celebratam, nihilque eidem ven. viro Mag. Math. Parker electo hujusmodi, de ecclesiasticis institutis obvinasse, seu obviare, quo minus in archiep. Cantuar. autoritate dictæ Ill. D. N. Regin. meritò debeat confirmari. Ideirò nos Will. nuper Bath. & Well. episcopus, nunc Cioestrensis electus, Johannes Seory quondam Cioestrensis episcopus, nunc electus Herefordensis, Milo Coverdale quondam Exoniensis episc. & Johan. Bedford. episcopus, commissarii regii antedicti, attentis præmissis, & aliis virtut' merit', super quibus præfatus electus Cantuariensis fide digno commendatur testimonio, Christi nomine primitus invocato, ac ipsum solum Deum oculis nostris præponendo, de & cum consilio jurisperitorum, cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus, prædictam electionem de eodem vener. viro Mag. Math. Parker (ut præfertur) factam & celebratam, suprema autoritate dictæ Ser. D. N. Reginæ nobis in hac parte commissa, confirmamus; suppletis ex suprema autoritate regis, ex mero principis motu, ac certa scientia nobis delegata, quidquid in hac electione fuerit defectum, tam in hiis quæ juxta mandatum nobis creditum à nobis factum & processum est, aut in nobis, aut aliquorum nostrorum conditione, statu, facultate ad hæc perficienda deest aut deerit; tam etiam eorum quæ per statuta hujus Regni Angliæ, aut per leges ecclesiasticas, in hac parte requisita sunt vel necessaria, prout temporis ratio & rerum presentium necessitas id postulant, per hanc nostram sententiam diffinitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam, sive quod, ad petitionem partium ita petentium fecimus, & promulgamus in his scriptis.

No. XII.

The Record of Parker's Consecration taken out of the Registers of the Church of Canterbury, and out of Corpus Christi College Library at Cambridge.

Rituum atque cœremoniarum ordo in consecrando R. R. in Chr. patre Matth. Parker, archiepisc. Cant. in Sacello suo apud manerium suum de Lambeth, die Dominico, 17, viz. die mensis Decembris, Ann. Dom. 1559, habit'.

PRINCIPIO sacellum tapetibus ad orientem adornabatur, solum verò panno rubro insternebatur; mensa quoque sacris peragendis necessaria, tapeto pulvinarique ornata ad orientem sita erat.

QUATUOR præterea cathedræ, quatuor episcopis quibus munus consecrandi archiepiscopi delegabatur, ad Austrum Orientalis sacelli partis erant positæ.

SCAMNUM præterea tapeto pulvinaribusque instratum, cui episcopi genibus flexis inniterentur, ante cathedras ponebatur.

PANI quoque modo cathedra scamnumque tapeto pulvinarique ornatum archiepiscopo, ad Borealem orientalis ejusdem sacelli partis plagam posita erant.

HIS rebus ita ordine suo instructis, manè circiter quintam aut sextam per occidentalem portam ingreditur sacellum archiepiscopus toga talari coccinea caputioque indutus, quatuor præcedentibus funalibus, & quatuor comitatus episcopis, qui ejus consecrationi inservient (verbi gratia) Guill. Barlow olim Bath. & Well. episcopo, nunc * verò ad Cicestr. episcopatum electo, Joh. Scory olim Cicestr. episcopo, & nunc † ad Hereford. vocato, Milone Coverdallo olim Exon. episcopo, & Joh. ‡ Hodgskinne Bedfordiæ suffraganeo. Qui omnes postquam sedes sibi paratas ordine singuli suo occupassent, preces continuò matutinae per Andream Pierson archiepiscopi capellanum clara voce recitabantur; quibus peractis, Joh. Scory (de quo supra diximus) suggestum conscendit, atque inde assumpto sibi in thema, *Seniores ergo qui in vobis sunt obsecro convenior, &c.* non ineleganter concionabatur.

FINITA concione, egrediuntur simul archiepiscopus reliquique quatuor episcopi sacellum, se ad sacram communionem paraturi: Neque mora, confestim per borealem portam in vestiarium, ad hunc modum vestiti redeunt; archiepiscopus nimirum linteo superpelliceo (quod vocant) induebatur, Cicestrensis electus capâ sericâ ad sacra peragenda paratus utebatur: Cui ministrabant operamque suam præbebant duo archiepiscopi Capellani viz. Nicholas Bullingham Lincolnis& archidiaconus, & Edmundus Gest Cantuariensis ¶ quoque archidiaconus, capis sericis similiter vestiti. Hereford. electus, & Bedfordiensis suffraganeus linteis superpelliceis induebantur.

MILO verò Coverdallus non nisi togâ laneâ talari utebatur.

ATQUE hunc in modum vestiti & instructi ad communionem celebrandam perrexerunt, archiepiscopo genibus flexis ad infimum sacelli in gradum sedente.

FINITO tandem evangelio, Hereford. electus Bedfordiæ suffraganeus, & Milo Coverdallus (de quibus supra) archiepiscopum coram Cicestrensi. electo apud mensam in cathedra** sedenti, his verbis adduxerunt.

* Exemplar Cantuariense, nunc electo Cicestrensi. † Cant. nunc Hereford. electo.

‡ In Cant. deest Hodgskinne.

¶ Forè ingressi in vestiarium. In exempl. eec. Cant. deest. in vestiarium.

** In Ex. Cant. deest. archidiaconus.

†† In Cant. deest. archidiaconus. ‡ In Cant. respectivè archidiaconus.

** Ex. Cant. sedente.

“Rev. in Deo Pater, hunc virum pium pariter atque doctum tibi offerimus atque presentamus, ut archiepiscopus consecratur.” Postquam hæc dixissent proferebatur illiæ reginæ diploma sive mandatum pro consecratione archiepiscopi, quo per rev. Thomam Yale legum doctorem perlecto, sacramentum de regio primatu sive suprema ejus autoritate tuenda juxta statuta primo anno regni Seren. Reginæ nostræ Elizabethæ † promulgata, ab eodem archiepiscopo exigebatur, quod cum ille solenniter tactis corporaliter sacris evangelis, conceptis verbis præstitisset, Cicestræ electus ‡ quædam præstans, atque populum ad orationem hortatus, ad litanias decantandas choro respondente se accinxit. Quibus finitis, post quæstiones aliquot archiepiscopo per Cicestræ electum propositas, & post orationes & suffragia quædam juxta formam libri antedicti parlamenti editi apud Deum habita, Cicestriensis, Herefordiensis, suffraganeus Bedfordiensis, & Milo Coverdallus, manibus archiepiscopo impositis: “Accipe (inquit Anglicæ) Spiritum Sanctum, & gratiam Dei quæ jam per ¶ impositionem manuum in te est, excitare memento. Non enim timoris sed virtutis, dilectionis & sobrietatis spiritum dedit nobis Deus.” His ita dictis, biblia sacra illi in manibus tradiderunt, hujusmodi apud eum verba habentes: “** In legendo, hortando et docendo vide diligens sis, atque ea meditare assidue quæ in hisce libris scripta sunt: noli in his segnis esse, quo incrementum, inde proveniens omnibus innotescat, & palam fiat. Cura quæ ad te ad docendi munus spectant diligenter: hoc enim modo non te ipsum solum, sed & relictos auditores tuos per Jesum Christ. Dom. nostrum salvabis.” Postquam hæc dixissent, ad reliqua communionis solemnia pergit Cicestræ, nullum archiepiscopo tradens pastorale baculum: eum quo communicabant ¶ unâ archiepiscopus, et illi episcopi supra nominati; cum aliis etiam nonnullis.

Finitis tandem peractisque sacris, egreditur per borealem †† Orientis sacelli partem archiepiscopus, quatuor illis comitatus episcopis, qui eum consecraverant, & confestim iidem ipsis stipatus episcopis, per eandem revertitur portam albo episcopali superpellitio chimeræque (ut vocant) ex nigro serico indutus circa collum verò collare quoddam ex pretiosis pellibus Sabellinis (vulgo *Sables* vocant) consuetum gestabat. Pari quoque modo Cicestræ & Hereford. suis episcopalibus amictibus, superpellitio §§ scilicet et chimera uterque induebatur. D. Coverdallus vero et Bedfordiæ suffraganeus togis solummodò talariibus utebantur. Pergens deinde occidentalem portam versus archiepiscopus, Thomæ Doyle œconomo, Johanni Baker thesaurario, et Johanne Marche computo rotulario, singulis singulos albos dedit baculos; hoc scilicet modo ¶¶ eis muneribus et officiis suis ornans.

His itaque hunc ad modum ordine suo, ut jam ante dictum est, peractis, per occidentalem portam sacelli egreditur archiepiscopus generosioribus quibusque sanguine ¶¶ ex ejus familia eum præcedentibus, reliquis verò eum à tergo sequentibus.

ACTA gestaque hæc erant omnia in presentia reverend.*** episcoporum Edmundi Gryndall Lond. episcopi electi, Richardi Cokes Eliensis electi, Edwini Sandes Wigorn. electi, Anthonii Huse armigeri principalis & primarii registrarrii dicti archiepiscopoi Thomæ Argall armigeri

* Cant. dixisset.

† Cant. edita & prom.

‡ In Cant. desunt hæc verba quædam præfatus aliquo.

§ Medius Cant. auctoritate Part.

¶ In Ex. Cant. hæc formula Anglicæ legitur.

¶ Malè leg. impositionis.

** In Ex. Cant. hæc formula Anglicæ legitur.

†† In Cant. desunt unâ.

‡‡ Medius Cant. orientalis.

§§ In Cant. desunt scilicet.

¶¶ Medius Cant. cœu.

*** Cant. in Christo patrum. desunt episcoporum.

¶¶ Cant. &c.

registrarij* Ciestriæ prærogativæ Cantuariensis, Thomæ Willet & Joh:
Incent notariorum publicorum, & aliorum † quoque nonnullorum.

Concordat eum originali in bibliotheca Collegii Corporis Christi apud
Cantabrigienses.

Jan. 8.
1674.

Ita testor Matth. Whinn, Notarius
Publico & Aead. Cant. Registra-
rius Principalis.
Certificate.

Camb. Jan. 11. 1674.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, having seen the original,
whereof this Writing is a perfect Copy, and considered the Hand, and
other Circumstances thereof, are fully persuaded, that it is a true and
genuine Record of the Rites and Ceremonies of Archbishop *Parker's*
Consecration, and as ancient as the Date it bears. In Witness whereof
we have hereunto set our Hands, the Day and Year above written.

Hen. Paman, Orat. Publ.

Hen. Move, D. D.

Ra. Widbrington, S. T. D. & D. Marg. P.

C. C. C. C.

We, the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, in the
University of Cambridge, do hereby declare and certify, that this
writing, being a narrative of Archbishop Parker's Consecration in
Lambeth Chapel, is faithfully transcribed from the original Record in
our College Library: and that we are fully satisfied that the said
Record is as ancient as the Date it bears, and the occasion to which it
doth refer. Nor can we doubt but the plain and evident tokens of
antiquity which it carries, will as much satisfy any ingenious persons
who shall have a sight thereof; which therefore we shall readily afford
to those who shall repair to the College for that purpose.

John Spencer, D. D. Master of the College.

John Peckover, B. D.

Erasmus Lane, B. D.

Ri. Sheldrake, B. D.

Sam. Beck, B. D.

Hen. Gosling, B. D.

Will. Briggs, M. A.

John Risher, M. A.

No. XIII.

In C. C. C. Cambridge, a Parchment Roll is preserved containing the
principal events of *Parker's* Life, all written in his own hand. The
following is an extract:

1559. 17, Decembr. Ann. 1559. Consecratus sum in Archiepisco-
pum Cantuarien.

Heu! Heu! Domine Deus in quæ tempora servasti me? Jam veni in
profundum aquarum, & tempestas demersit me.

O! Domine, vim patior, responde pro me, & spiritu tuo principali
Confirma me. Homo enim sum, & exigui temporis & minor, &c.

Da mihi fidium tuarum, &c.

No. XIV.

*Extracted from the Register of the Metropolitan of Canterbury during
the Vacancy of that see by the Death of Cardinal Pool.*

REGISTRUM Venerabilium virorum Decani & Capituli Ecclesie Cathedra-
lis & Metropolitanæ Christi Cantuar. Custod. spiritualitatis Archie-

* Melius Cant. curice.

† In Cant. deest quoque

episcopatus Cantuariensis, Sede Archiepiscopali ibidem per mortem Domini Reginaldi Cardinalis Pole ultimi Archiepiscopi ejusdem vacante incipiens mense Novembri, Anno Domini 1558. Magistro Antonio Huse, tunc Registrario principali dicti Archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis.

Incipiunt Commissiones factæ Officiarijs Provinciæ et Diocesos Cantuar. fol. 1, 2, 3.

Fol. 4. Inhibitiones Commissar. Regiæ Majestatis, ratione visitationis per eos faciendæ, &c. cum relaxatione earundem, fol. 5.

Fol. 9. Commissio Magistrorum Cole et Harpsfield, Vicariorum in spiritualibus generalium Sede Archiepiscopali Cantuar. vacante : Dat. 25. Novemb. 1558.

Fol. 11. b. Testamentum Rauffe (Radulphi) Royers probat 13. Nov. 1559.

Fol. 13. Nicolai Baker, ab intestato defuncti, commissa fuit administratio Bonorum Richardo Baker, 30. die mens. Oct. anno Domini 1559.

Ibid. Xtophori Dagnet : administratio commissa Margaritæ Dagnet, 24 die mensis Novembris 1559.

Fol. 26. *Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis Glocestrensis per obitum bone memoriæ Domini Jacobi Brooks ultimi Episcopi ibidem, tempore vacationis Sedis Archiepiscopalis Cantuar. anno Domini 1558.*

Commissio Decani et Capituli Cantuar. Magistro Jo. Williams Legum Doctori, " Vicarium, Delegatum et Commissarium nostrum in spiritualibus Generalem præficimus, constituimus et deputamus. Dat. 3. die mensis Decemb. 1558 fol. 27.

Fol. 27. b. XI. die mens. Novemb. an. Dom. 1559. Dominus admisit Jo. Wood Clericum ad Ecclesiam Parochialem de Welforde Glocestrensis Diocesis.

Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis Bangor. fol. 28.

Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis Hereford. fol. 30.

Commissio Decani et Capituli Cant Custod. spiritualitatis. Sede Archiepiscopali Cantuar. jam vacante Wmo Dalbye L.L. B. Dat. 3. die Decemb. an Dom. 1558.

Fol. 34. Sexto die mensis Decembris 1559. Dominus admisit Thomam Taylour Clericum ad Ecclesiam Parochialem de Kingsland.

Fol. 33. b. Septimo die mensis Decemb. Anno Domini 1559. Dominus admisit Richardum Aldridge Clericum ad Canonicatum et Præbendam de Whittington in Ecclesia Cathedrali Hereford, &c.

Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis Oxon fol. 39. b.

Commissio Decani et Capit. Cant. Magistro Waltero Wright Legum Doct. Archidiacon. Oxon Sede Arch. Cant. jam vacante, Dat. 3 die mens. Decemb. Anno Domini 1558.

Fol. 40. b. Vicesimo quarto die mensis Novemb. anno Domini 1559. Dominus admisit Augustinum Hatton Clericum ad Ecclesiam Paroch. de Chyrmot. &c.

Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis Cicestrensis.

Commissio, &c. Magistro Roberto Taylour L. L. B. Dat. 2. Januarij 1558. fol. 41. b. 42.

Secundo die mensis Decembris anno Domini 1559. Dominus admisit Robertum Brown Clericum ad Vicariam perpetuam Ecclesiæ Parochialis de Hartfeld, fol. 46. a.

Quarto die mensis Decembris prædicti Dominus admisit Christophorum Green, Clericum, ad Ecclesiam Parochialem de Hamsey, ibid.

Quinto die mensis Decembris anno Dom. 1559, probatum fuit Testamentum Richardi Swaynson, fol. 55. a.

Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis Sarum, fol. 71 a.

Fol. 74, b. Breve Reg. Dat. 9. Octob. Regni primo pro admissione ad Præbendam de Grantham Boreal. in Eccles. Cathed.—Sarum.

Nono die mensis Novembris. 1559. Dominus vigore Brevis Regij admisit Magistrum Walterum Wright L. L. D. ad Canonicatum et Præbendam de Grantham Boreali in Ecclesia Cathedr. Sarum, &c.

Fol. 75. a. Septimo die mensis Decembris anno Domini 1559. Dominus admisit Jo. Dysloye Clericum ad Rectoriam sive Ecclesiam Præbendalem de Bysbopstone Sarum, Dioecæ.

Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis London. fol. 78. b.

Tertio die Novembris 1559, commissa fuit administratio bonorum Wmi Woddison nuper Parochiæ S. Andreæ in Holbourne Margarete Torset prox. consanguinæ, fol. 90. a.

Secundo die mensis Decembris, anno Domini 1559. Dominus admisit Gabrielem Goodman Clericum. A. M. ad Canonicatum et Præbendam de Cheswick in Eccles. Cathedr. D. Pauli London fol. 80. a.

Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis Winton. fol. 90. a.

Fol. 92. a. Primo die mensis Decemb. anno Domini 1559. Dominus admisit Walterum Wright utriusque juris Doctorem ad Canonicatum et Præbendam in Ecclesia Cathed. sanotæ & individue Trinitatis Winton, quos Thomas Harding Clericus nuper obtinuit.

Ibid. b. Secundo die mensis Decembris, anno Domini prædict. Dominus admisit David Griffith Clericum ad Vicariam perpetuam Ecclesie Paroch. de Prestoh Candover Winton. Dioecæ.

Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis Lincoln, fol. 94. b.

Sexto die mensis Decembris anno Domini 1559. Dominus admisit Humfridum Naturel ad Rectoriam de Winteringham Lincoln. Dioecæ. fol. 98. b.

Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis Menevensis, fol. 94. b.

Ibid. b. Honorabilibus et spectabilibus viris Dominis Baronibus et The-saurario Schaccarij Illustrissimæ in Christo Principis & Domine nostre Dominæ Elizabethæ Dei gratiâ, &c. Nicolaus Wootten utriusque Juris Doctor Decanus Ecclesie Cath. et Metropolitanæ Christi Cantuariensis et ejusdem Ecclesie Capitulum, Custodes spiritualitatis, Sede Archiepiscopali Cantuar. jam vacante, ad quos omnis et omni-moda jurisdictio spiritualis et Ecclesiastica, quæ ad Episcopum Menevensem Sede plenâ pertinuit, ipsâ Sede jam vacante notoriè dignoscitur pertinere, salutem in Domino sempiternam, &c. Datum 17. die mensis Nov. anno Domini 1559.

Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis Assaphensis.

Primo die mensis Decemb. anno Domini 1559. Dominus admisit Robertum Whettel Clericum ad Canonicatum et Præbendam de Llanywyth in Eccles. Cathedr. Assaphensi. fol. 100. b.

Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis Petriburgensis, fol. 102.

Undecimo die mensis Novembris, anno Domini 1559. Dominus admisit Johan. Deybanke, Clericum ad Rectoriam sive Ecclesiam Parochialem de Eston supra montem juxta villam Stamfordiæ Petriburgensis Dioecesis, &c.

Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis Eliensis.

Fol. 102. b. Testamentum Jo. Cowpar probatum fuit quinto die Decemb. 1559.

Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis Exon.

Fol. 106. Secundo die mensis Decemb. Dominus admisit Jo. Tucker Clericum ad Eccles. Paroch. de Southley Exon. Dioecæ.

Ibid. Octavio die mensis Decembris anno Domini prædicto Dominus

admisit Thomam Kent Clericum ad Rectoriã sive Eccles. Paroch. de Tetburne, Exon. Diocoes.

Concordat cum Originali,
Ita testor
RICARDUS CHICHELEY, Not. Pub.

No. XV.

Extracts from the Registers of the Prerogative Court during the same time.

E Registro Curie Prerogative Cantuariensis extractum.

LIBER secundus Testamentorum, decedentium per Provinciam Cantuariensem habentium, &c. quorum Testamenta autoritate Venerabilium virorum Decani et Capituli Ecclesie Metropolitanæ Christi Cantuariensis, ad quos omnis et omnimoda Jurisdictio spiritualis et Ecclesiastica quæ ad Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem Sede plenâ pertinuit, ipsâ Sede per mortem bonæ memoriæ Domini Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, &c. jam vacante notorie spectat et pertinet, approbat. et inauat. à primo die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini 1558 usque _____ diem mensis Decembris, ex tunc proxime sequentem Magistro Gualtero Haddon Curie Prerogative dictorum Decani et Capituli Custode et Commissario, ac Thoma Argall Registratio.

In Libro prædicto vocat.

CHAYNAY.

* In the name of God, *Amen.* The 24. day of *August*, in the yere of our Lord God a Thousand five hundred fitye and eight, and in the fyfte and syxte yeres of the Reignes of our soveraigne Lord and Ladye King *Philipp* and Queene *Marye*, I. *Edward Spycer*, of *Stokkesley* in the parysh of *Luton* in the Countye of *Bed. Yoman*, &c.

Probatum fuit suprascriptum Testamentum coram Magistro Waltero Haddon Legum Doctore Curie Prerogative Cantuariensis Custode sive Commissario Sede Archiepiscopali jam vacante quinto decimo mensis Septembris anno Domini 1559. juramento Richardi Byg Executoris in hujusmodi Testamento nominati, cui, &c. ac de pleno et fideli inventario, &c. neonon de plano et vero compute, &c. reddend. jurat Joh. Spycer alis Hellder executore demortuo.

Probatum fuit hujusmodi Testamentum coram Magistro Waltero Haddon Legum Doctore Curie Prerogative Cantuariensis Custode sive Commissario ibidem jam vacante apud London. decimo octavo die mensis Septembris Anno Domini 1559. juramento Mathæi Ffeilde et Thomæ Eaton Executorum in hujusmodi Testamento nominatorum, quibus commissa fuit Administratio, &c. de bene, &c. ac de pleno Inventario, nec non de vero & plano computo reddend, ad saneta Dei Evangelia jurat.

T. Johannis *Similis actus probationis.* 19. Septemb. 1559
Benet.

T. Johannis *Similis actus probationis.* 19. Septemb. 1559
Thurgood.

† Probatum fuit suprâ scriptum Testamentum coram Magistro Waltero Haddon, Legum Doctore, Curie Prerogative Cantuariensis Custode

* T. Edward Spycer.

† T. Johannis Blacknall.

tode sive Commissionis Sede Archiepiscopali ibidem tunc vacante secundo die mensis Octobris Anno Domini 1559. ac approbatum, &c. juramento Roberti Temple, Procuratoris Elizabethæ relicte & executricis in hujusmodi Testamento nominat. cui commissa fuit administratio, &c. de bene & fideliter administrand. eadem, &c. ac de pleno & fideli inventario, &c. exhibend. &c. nec non de plano & vero computo reddend, &c. ad sancta Dei Evangelia jurat.

T. Willelmi Rosse.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	4. Octob. 1559
T. Edwardi Hodgekins.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	4. Octob. 1559
T. Johannis Blunte.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	5. Octob. 1559
T. Johannis Fuller.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	14. Octob. 1559
T. Roberti Adann.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	15. Octob. 1559
T. Richardi Lawrencee.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	20. Octob. 1559
T. Johannis Milles.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	20. Octob. 1559
T. Johannis Swynborne.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	20. Octob. 1559
T. Johannis Chapman.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	23. Octob. 1559
T. Thomæ Bluse.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	23. Octob. 1559
T. Anthonii Kaggells.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	24. Octob. 1559
T. Johannis Poynte.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	25. Octob. 1559
T. Aymetis Watson.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	25. Octob. 1559
T. Margaret Geffroy.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	25. Octob. 1559
T. Johannis Caste.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	2. Novemb. 1559.
T. Willelmi Gybson.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	2. Novemb. 1559
T. Elizabeth Walker.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	3. Novemb. 1559
T. Johannis Drylande.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	3. Novemb. 1559
T. Johannis Dewee.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	5. Novemb. 1559
T. Willelmi Hobson.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	5. Novemb. 1559
T. Thomæ Boraston.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	6. Novemb. 1559
T. Johannis Galhampton.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	— Novemb. 1559.
T. Georgii Alyn.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	— Novemb. 1559.
T. Thomæ Raynold, Cler.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	1. Decemb. 1559.

T. Elenæ Abbott.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	2. Decemb. 1559
T. Thomæ Slythuerst.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	2. Decemb. 1559
T. Thomæ Godman.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	4. Decemb. 1559
T. Richardi Standysh.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	4. Decemb. 1559
T. Willelmi Culpeper.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	6. Decemb. 1559
T. Johannis Ovenden.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	6. Decemb. 1559
T. Willelmi Chamber.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	7. Decemb. 1559
T. Hugonis Marydall.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	9. Decemb. 1559
T. Johannis Nele.	<i>Similis actus probationis.</i>	9. Decemb. 1559

Sententia Super Testamentum Willelmi Chersound.

In Dei nomine. Amen. Auditis, visis et intellectis, ac plenariè et mature discussis per nos Walterum Haddon, Legum Doctorem Curie Prærogativæ. Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis Custodem sive Comroisiarum auctoritate Reverendissimi in Christo Patris ac D. D. Mathæi, permissione Divinâ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ Primatis et Metropolitanis, electum et confirmatum, sufficienter et legitimè deputatum, meritis et circumstantiis ejusdam causæ testamentariæ sive probationis testamenti sive ultimæ voluntatis Guillelmi Chersound, nuper de Yallinge Roff. Diocesis defuncti, habitis, &c.

Lecta & lata fuit hujusmodi sententia definitiva, per Magistrum Walterum Haddon, Legum Doctorem, Commissarium, &c. Curie Prærogativæ; autoritate R. in Christo Patris et Domini Mathæi, permissione Divinâ Cantuar. Archiepiscopi, electi et confirmati undecimo die mensis Decembris anno Domini 1559. in loco consueto London. judicialiter sedentis in præsentia mei Thomæ Argall, Registrarij, &c. ad petitionem Allen, Procuratoris Thomazynæ Chersounde; in præsentia Johannis Incent, Procuratoris Georgij Chersounde; præsentibus tunc ibidem Magistris David Lewes, Valentino Dale, et Henrico Jones, Legum Doctoribus, testibus, &c. super quibus dictus Allen requisivit me præfatum Registrarium ad conficiendum sibi instrumentum Publicum, &c.

Sententia supra Codicillo Roberti Leche.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Auditis, visis et intellectis ac plenariè et mature discussis per Walterum Haddon, Legum Doctorem, Curie Prærogativæ Cantuariensis Custodem, Magistrum sive Commissarium ritè et legitimè deputatum, meritis et circumstantiis ejusdam causæ testamentariæ sive codicillaris ejusdam Roberti Leche, dum vixit de Coleestria London. Diocesis. habitis, &c.

Lecta et hujusmodi sententia definitiva per venerabilem virum Magistrum Walterum Haddon, Legum Doctorem, Curie prærogativæ Cantuariensis Custodem sive Commissarium; autoritate R. in Christo Patris et D. D. Mathæi, permissione Divinâ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi electi et confirmati undecimo die mensis Decembris 1559. in loco consueto London. judicialiter sedentis, in præsentia mei Thomæ Argall, Registrarij, et ad petitionem Johannis Lewes, Procuratoris Willelmi

Brown in præsentia Christofori Smyth, Procuratoris Eleonoræ et Edmundi Leche, præsentibus tunc ibidem Magistris Davide Lewes, Valentino Dale, et Henrico Jones, testibus, &c. super quibus Lewes requisivit me præfatum Thomam Argall ad conficiendum sibi instrumentum publicum.

In Libro vocati Mellershe.

*PROBatum fuit hujusmodi testamentum coram Magistro Waltero Haddon, Legum Doctore, Curie Prærogativæ Cantuariensis Custode sive Commissario apud London undecimo die mensis Decembris anno Domini 1559. juramento Roberti Allen Procuratoris Thomazinæ Chersoude relicte, et executricis in hujusmodi testamento nominatæ, cui commissa fuit Administratio, &c. de bene, &c. ac de pleno inventario nec non de vero et plano computo reddendo ad sancta Dei Evangelia jurat.

Sententia definitiva ex parte Willalmi Browne cum Eleonora Et Edmund. Leche.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Auditis, visis et intellectis ac plenariè et maturè discussis per nos Walterum Haddon, Legum Doctorem, Curie Prærogativæ Cantuariensis Custodem, Magistrum sive Commissarium ritè et legitimè deputatum meritis et circumstantiis ejusdam causæ testamentariæ sive codicillaris ejusdam Roberti Leche defuncti, &c.

Acta et lata fuit hujusmodi sententia definitiva per venerabilem Magistrum Walterum Haddon, Legum Doctorem, Curie Prærogativæ Cantuariensis Custodem sive Commissarium; autoritate Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et D. D. Mathæi, permissione Divinâ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi electi et confirmati undecimo die mensis Decembris 1559. in loco consueto judicialiter sedentis: in præsentia mei Thomæ Argall Registrarij, &c. ad petitionem Johannis Lewes, Procuratoris Guillelmi Browne, in præsentia Christophori Smyth, Procuratoris Eleonoræ et Edmundi Leche, præsentibus tunc ibidem Magistris Davide Lewes, Valentino Dale et Henrico Jones, testibus, &c. super quibus Lewes requisivit me præfatum Thomam Argall ad conficiendum sibi instrumentum Publicum, &c.

† Probatum fuit hujusmodi Testamentum coram Magistro Waltero Haddon, Legum Doctore, Curie Prærogativæ Cantuariensis Custode sive Commissario, apud London decimo tertio die mensis Decembris 1559. juramento Johannis Ffarnam, executoris in hujusmodi Testamento nominati, cui commissa fuit administratio, &c. de bene, &c. ac de pleno inventario necnon de vero & plano computo reddendo ad sancta Dei Evangelia jurat.

T. Augustini *Similis actus probationis.* 13. Decemb. 1559

Harris.

T. Roberti *Similis actus probationis.* 14. Decemb. 1559

Mayeole.

T. Margeritæ *Similis actus probationis.* 14. Decemb. 1559

Wynter.

T. Thomæ *Similis actus probationis.* 15. Decemb. 1559

Dyer.

HENR. FARRANT,
Registrarius deputatus.

† T. Guillelmi Chersoude.

† T. Thomæ Matteson.

Examinatum per nos,
 GUILLELMUM LEGARD,
 Notarium Publicum.
 GUILLELMUM STUBBS,
 Notarium Publicum.

E Registro Curie Prærogative Cantuariensis Extractum.

Liber Actorum administrationum bonorum ab intestato decedentium autoritate Reverendissimi Patris D. D. Mathie, permissione Divinâ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ Primatis et Metropolitanæ Commissarum à nono viz. die mensis Decembris 1559. Magistro Waltero Haddon, Legum Doctore, ejusdem Curie Prærogativæ Cantuariensis Custode sive Commissario, et Thoma Argall Registrario.

E Libro predicto.

December anno Domini 1559.

Anno Secundo Elizabeth. Regine. 1559.

Elizabeth.

* Decimo tertio Decembris emanavit Commissio Ffranciscæ Brydges alias Fitz-Hugh ad administranda bona, jura et credita Elizabeth Fitz-Hugh defunctæ, dum vixit filie naturalis et legitimæ ac legatarie in Testamento Richardi Fitz-Hugh † Goodwick defuncti habentis, &c. in personâ Christophori Robinson Notarij Publici Procuratoris, &c. jurat.

Johannes Sympson Clericus.

Decimo nono Decembris emanavit Commissio Guillelmo Sympson et Eduardo Sympson fratribus naturalibus et legitimis Johannis Sympson Clerici, Rectoris Ecclesiæ Parochialis Thurraston in Comitatu Leit-Beeseby, in Comitatu Lincoln. et in Comitatu Devon, defuncti habentis, &c. ad administrandum bona, jura et credita de bene, &c. in personâ Justiniani Hydd Procuratoris, &c. jurat.

HENR. FARRANT,
 Registrarius deputatus.

Examinatum per nos
 GUILLELMUM LEGARD, Notarium Publicum, et
 GUILLELMUM STUBBS, Notarium Publicum.

No. XVI.

Extract ex. Registro Parkeri.

VACATIO Sedis Episcopalis London per deprivationem Domini Edmundi Bonner. An. Dom. 1559. Reg. 1. fol. 146.

Decimo nono die mensis Decembris A. D. 1559. apud Lambehithe, Reverendissimus admisit Richardum Coton ad Vicariam perpetuam Ecclesiæ Parochialis de Braughyn, London. Dioecæ.

Scriptum fuit Archidiaconi Middlesex. seu ejus Officiali, &c. ad inducendum, &c.

Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis Eliensis per deprivationem Domini Thomæ Thirleby, A. D. 1559. 1. Parker. fol. 146. b.

Decimo nono die mensis Decembris, A. D. 1559. apud Lambehithe, Reverendissimus admisit Johannem Ebdem Clericum S. T. B. ad Canoniatum et Præbendam septimi stalli ex parte Australi in Ecclesiâ

* Lincoln.

† Gregorij.

Cathedrali Eliensi, ipsumque Canonicum et Præbendarium ibidem instituit.

Scriptum fuit Decano et Capitulo Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Eliensis prædict. seu eorum Vicegerent. ad inducendum, &c.

Vicesimo primo die Decembris prædict. apud Lambethæ, Reverendissimus, admisit Jo. Povy S. T. P. ad Canonicatum, &c. ut supra.

Scriptum fuit Decano et Capitulo Eliensi, ut antea.

Vacatio Sedis Episcopalis Sarum, per mortem Domini Jo. Capon, ultimi Episcopi ibidem, A. D. 1559. l. Parker. fol. 148.

Vicesimo primo die mensis Decembris. A. D. 1559. apud Lambethæ, Reverendissimus admisit Jacobum Make Clericum, ad Vicariam perpetuam Ecclesiæ Parochialis de Broughale-Berge, Sarum Diocæ.

Decimo sexto die Januarij, Reverendissimus admisit Jacobum Coode Clericum, ad Ecclesiam Paroch. S. Edmundi civitatis novæ Sarum.

Decimo sexto die Januarij, Reverendissimus admisit Griffinum Williams Clericum, ad Ecclesiam Paroch. de Wroughton Sarum. Diocæ.

Decimo septimo die mensis Januarij. 1559-60. Reverendissimus admisit Wilhelmum Hemmerford Clericum S. T. B. ad Canonicatum et Præbendam de Slape, alias Slepe, in Ecclesiâ Cathedrali Sarum. &c.

No. XVII.

Attestations against the Fable of Parker's Consecration at the Nags-head.

I. The Attestation of the Bishop of DURHAM.

WHEREAS I am most injuriously and slanderously traduced by a nameless Author, calling himself *N. N.* in a Book said to be printed at Rouen, 1657, entitled, (*A Treatise of the Nature of Catholick Faith and Heresy*) as if upon the presenting of a certain Book in the Upper House, in the Beginning of the late Parliament, proving as he saith, the Protestant Bishops had no Succession, nor Consecration, and therefore no Bishops, and by Consequence ought not to sit in Parliament, I should make a Speech against the said Book in my own and all the Bishops' Behalf, endeavouring to prove Succession from the late Catholick Bishops (as he there styles them) who by Imposition of Hands ordained the first Protestant Bishops at the *Nagshead* in *Cheapside*, as was notorious to all the World, &c.

I do hereby in the Presence of Almighty God solemnly protest and declare to all the World, that what this Author there affirms concerning me is a most notorious Untruth, and a gross Slander: for to the best of my Knowledge and Remembrance, no such Book, as he there mentions, was ever presented to the Upper House in that or any other Parliament that I ever sat in; and if there had, could never have made such a Speech as is there pretended, seeing I have ever spoken according to my Thoughts, and always believed that Fable of the *Nags-head* Consecration to have proceeded from the Father of Lyes, as the authentick Records of the Church still extant, which were so faithfully transcribed, and published by Mr. *Mason*, do evidently testify. And whereas the same impudent Libeller doth moreover say, that what he there affirms was told to many, by one of the ancientest Peers of *England* present in Parliament, when I made this pretended Speech, and that he is ready to depose the same upon his Oath, and that he cannot believe any will be so impudent to deny a thing so notorious, whereof there are as many Witnesses living, as there are Lords and Bishops

that were that Day in the Upper House of Parliament, &c. I answer, that I am very unwilling to believe any Peer of *England* should have so little Sense of his Conscience and Honour, as either to swear, or so much as affirm such a notorious Untruth. And therefore for the Justification of my self, and Manifestation of the Truth in this particular, I do freely and willingly appeal (as he directs me) to those many honorable Persons, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal yet alive, who sate in the House of Peers in that Parliament, or to as many of them as this my Protestation shall come to, for a true Certificate of what they know or believe concerning this Matter; humbly desiring them, and charging it upon their Souls, as they will answer it to God at the Day of Judgment, that they will be pleased to testify the Truth, and nothing but the Truth herein, to the best of their Knowledge and Remembrance, without any Favour or Affection to me at all. I cannot reasonably be suspected by any indifferent Man, of denying any thing that I know or believe to be true, seeing I am so shortly, in all Probability, to render an Account to the Searcher of Hearts, of all my Words and Actions, being now (at the least) upon the ninety-fifth Year of my Age. And I acknowledge it a great Mercy and Favour of God, that he hath reserved me thus long, to clear the Church of *England* and my self of this most notorious Slander, before he takes me to himself. For I cannot imagine any Reason why this shameless Writer might not have cast the same upon any of my reverend Brethren as well as me, but only that I being the eldest, it was probable I might be in my Grave before this untruth could be taken notice of in the World. And now I thank God I can cheerfully sing my *Nunc Dimittis*, unless it please Him to reserve me for the like Service hereafter; for I desire not to live any longer upon Earth, than he shall be pleased to make me his Instrument to defend the Truth, and promote his Glory. And for the more solemn and full Confirmation of this my free and voluntary Protestation and Declaration, I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this seventeenth Day of July, *Ann. Dom. 1658.*

Thomas Duresme.

Signed, sealed, published, and declared in the Presence of

Tho. Saunders, sen.

R. Gray.

Tho. Saunders, jun.

Evam Davies.

John Barwick, Clerk.

I *Tobias Holder*, Publick Notary, being requested by the Right Reverend Father in God *Thomas* Lord Bishop of *Duresme*, at the House of *Thomas Saunders, Esq;* in the Parish of *Flamstead* in the County of *Hartford*, in the Year of our Lord, Month and Day above specified, was then and there personally present, where and when the said reverend Bishop did sign, publish and declare this his Protestation and Declaration above written to be his Act and Deed, and did cause his authentick Episcopal Seal to be thereto affixed in the presence of the Witnesses, whose Names are thereto subscribed: And did there and then likewise sign, publish and declare as his Act and Deed, another of the same Tenor written in Paper, which he signed with his manual Seal, in the Presence of the same Witnesses. All this I heard, saw and therefore know to be done. In Testimony whereof I have subscribed, and thereto put my usual and accustomed Notaries sign.

Tobias Holder, Publick Notary.

No. XVIII.

The Certificate of some other Bishops.

WHEREAS we the surviving Bishops of the Church of *England*, who sat in the Parliament, begun at *Westminster* the third of *November*, 1640, were required by our reverend Brother the Lord Bishop of *Durham*, to declare and attest the Truth, concerning an Imputation cast upon him in the Pamphlet of that nameless Author mentioned in his Protestation and Declaration here prefixed. And whereas we are obliged to perform what he requesteth, both for the Justification of the Truth, and for the clearing of our selves of another slanderous Aspersion, which the same Author casteth upon us, as if we had heard our said reverend Brother make such a Speech, as is there pretended and by our Silence had approv'd what that Libeller falsely affirmeth was delivered in it. We do hereby solemnly protest and declare before God and all the World, that we never knew of any such Book presented to the House of Peers, as he there pretendeth, nor believe any such was ever presented; and therefore could never hear any such Speech made against it, as he mentioneth, by our said reverend Brother or any other, much less approve of it by our Silence. And if any such Book had been presented, or any such Speech had been made there is none among us so ignorant or negligent of his Duty in defending the Truth, but would have been both able and ready to have confuted so groundless a Fable, as the pretended Consecration of Bishops, at the *Nugs-head*, out of the authentick and known Registers of the Church still extant, mentioned and faithfully transcribed and published by Mr. *Mason* so long before. For the Confirmation of which Truth, and Attestation of what our said reverend Brother hath herewith protested and declared, we have hereunto set our hands. Dated the nineteenth Day of *July*, *An. Dom.* 1658.

London M. Ely, Jo. Roffens.
Br. Sarum Oxford.
Bath and Wells.

No. XIX.

Another Certificate of some Peers.

WE of the Lords Temporal, whose Names are here underwritten, who sat in the Parliament begun at *Westminster* the third Day of *November*, 1640, being desired by the Bishop of *Durham* to testify our Knowledge concerning an Imputation cast upon him, about a Speech pretended to be made by him in that Parliament, more particularly mentioned and disavowed in his prefixed Protestation, do hereby testify and declare, that to the best of our Knowledge and Remembrance, no such Book against Bishops, as is there mention'd was presented to the House of Peers in that Parliament, And consequently, that no such Speech, as is there pretended, was or could be made by him or any other against it. In Testimony whereof, we have signed this our Attestation with our own Hands. Dated the nineteenth Day of *July*, *An. Dom.* 1658.

Dorchester,
Rutland,
Lincoln,
Cleveland,
Dever.

Lindsey,
Southampton,
Devonshire,
Monmouth.

These Certificates were also signed by the Bishop of Bangor, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Manchester, Berkshire and Newport, and Lords Willoughby of Parham and Lovelace. See *Courayer's Defence*, vol. I. p. 247.

No. XX.

Another Certificate of the Clerk of the Parliament.

UPON Search made in the Book of the Lords House, I do not find any such Book presented, nor any Entry of any such Speech made by Bishop *Morton*.

Henry Scobel Clerk of the Parliament.

WE whose Names are hereunto subscribed being Clerks in the honorable House of Peers during the Parliament begun at *West* the third day of *November*, 1640, who according to our several Places and Offices did give continual Attendance in the said House, and, as our Duty required, did respectively and particularly observe whatsoever was debated and concluded in it: Do hereby testify and declare that to the best of our Knowledge and Remembrance, no such book was presented to that honorable House, nor any such Speech made in it, by the Rev. Bishop of *Durame*, or any other, as are mentioned and disavowed in his Lordship's Protestation and Declaration here prefixed. And therefore we have freely and voluntarily given this our Attestation for the Confirmation of the Truth of what is affirmed and declared by the said Bishop in his said Protestation. In witness whereof we have thereunto set our Hands. Dated the twenty-seventh day of *December*, A. D. 1658.

Cleric. Parliamentorum.

Jo. Browne,

Jo. Throckmorton,

Su. Smith

No. XXI.

The Chapter of Winchester's Act, certifying to the Queen their Election of Horn.

E Registro Decani et Capituli Winton Extractum.

EXCELLENTISSIMÆ et Illustrissimæ in Christo Principi et Dominæ nostræ Dominæ Elizabethæ Dei gratiâ Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Reginæ, fidei defens. &c. Vestri Humiles et devoti subditi Decanus Ecclesiæ vestræ sanctæ Trinitatis Winton. et ejusdem Ecclesiæ Capitulum omnimodam reverentiam et obedientiam tam Illustrissimæ Principi debitas cum omni felicitatis successu. Regiæ vestræ Celsitudini tenore præsentium intimamus et significamus, quod die Mercurij videlicet quarto die mensis Decembris Literas vestras Regias de *Congé d'Elire*, vestro magno sigillo Angliæ ac etiam Literas commendatitias privato sigillo Illustrissimæ Majestatis vestræ sigillatas et consignatas, ac nobis directas in domo nostrâ Capitulari cum eâ quæ fideles decet subditos reverentiâ recepimus, ac tunc ibidem juxta dietarum vestrarum Celsitudinis Literarum tenorem ad electionem futuri Episcopi et Pastoris in dictâ Ecclesiâ vestrâ Cathedrali, quæ jamdudum per legitimam deprivationem ultimi Episcopi ejusdem viduata et Pastoris solatio destituta fuit, proetendendum fore decrevimus, omnesque ejusdem Ecclesiæ Canonicos

et Præbendarios ac alios in eâ parte interesse habentes citandos et vocandos ad diem decimum ejusdem mensis Decembris sua suffragia et voces daturos curavimus. Quo quidem die decimo adveniente, invocato prius divino auxilio, et precibus Deo optimo Maximo suppliciter ante omnia per nos fusis, in domo nostrâ Capitulari congregati et plenum Capitulum facientes, ad electionem prædictam Canonice juxta Leges Ecclesiasticas ac statuta hujus Regni Angliæ faciendam processimus, ac post tractatum diligentem inter nos habitum quâ viâ de futuro Episcopo providere deberemus: tandem unanimi consensu et assensu omnes et singuli nullo prorsus disorepante subito et repente quasi Spiritûs sancti gratiâ cooperante, ac eo, ut credimus, inspirante direximus oculos nostræ intentionis, sive voces nostras in venerabilem et egregium virum Magistrum Robertum Horne sacre Theologiæ Professorem, virum utique providum et discretum, ac penes nos, Clerum et populum suis meritis exigentibus merito commendatum, in spiritualibus et temporalibus plurimum circumspectum, scientem et valentem jura, libertates et privilegia Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Winton. et Episcopatus ejusdem laudabiliter defendere et tueri, in nostrum et dictæ Ecclesiæ vestræ Cathedralis Winton. Pastorem et Episcopum nominavimus et elegimus. Quam electionem sic factam Clero et populo statim in loco publico et usitato publicandam curavimus. Cæteraque in hâc parte de jure quovismodo necessaria fecimus in præsentia Tabellionum et Notariorum publicorum ac aliorum fide dignorum, prout ex serie et tenore instrumenti publici quod super totâ dictâ electione faciendum curavimus plenius liquet et apparet. Quæ omnia et singula juxta Statuta hujus Regni vestri Angliæ edita et promulgata, habita et facta, vestræ Serenissimæ Reginæ Majestati significamus, humiliter supplicando quatenus hujusmodi electioni Regium vestrum consensum, atque assensum impertiri, necnon Archiepiscopo cuicumque sive alijs Episcopis pro hujusmodi Electi confirmatione cum omni favore canonice faciendâ scribere dignemini. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum commune præsentibus apposuimus. Datum in domo nostrâ Capitulari undecimo die mensis Decembris, anno Domini 1560. et Regni vestri tertio.

EXAM. per CAROLUM BARTON, Cler. Cap.

No. XXII.

Queen Elizabeth's Commission to Parker for consecrating Horn.

* ELIZABETHA Dei gratiâ Angliæ, Franciæ et Hybernæ Regina, fidei defens. &c. Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et fideli (Consiliario) nostro, Domino Matthæo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, ac alijs quibuscumque Episcopis, quorum in hâc parte intererit, salutem.

Cum vacante nuper Sede Episcopali Winton. per legitimam deprivationem ultimi Episcopi ejusdem ad humilem petitionem Decani et Capituli Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis prædictæ, per Literas nostras Patentes licentiam concesserimus alium sibi eligendi in Episcopum et Pastorem Sedis prædictæ, dilectum nobis in Christo Robertum Horne, S. T. P. sibi et Ecclesiæ prædictæ elegerunt in Episcopum et Pastorem, prout per Literas suas sigillo eorum communi sigillatas, nobis inde directas, plenius liquet et apparet.

Nos electionem illam acceptantes, eidem electioni Regium nostrum assensum adhibuimus pariter et favorem, et hoc vobis tenore præsentium significamus: rogantes ac in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tene-

* Ex. Reg. Park. vol. 1.

mini firmiter præcipiendo mandantes, quatenus vos eundem Robertum Horne in Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Winton prædictæ sit, ut præfertur, electum, electionemque prædictam confirmare, et eundem Robertum Horne in Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ prædictæ consecrare, cæteraque omnia et singula peragere quæ vestro in hæc parte insumunt officio Pastoralis, juxta formam Statutorum, in eâ parte editorum et provisorum velitis cum effectu. In cujus rei testimonium has Litteras nostras fieri fecimus Patentes. Teste me ipsâ apud Westmon. duodecimo die mensis Februarij, anno Regni nostri tertio.

No. XXIII.

The Act of Horn's Consecration taken from the same Register.

* Die Dominico videlicet decimo sexto die mensis Februarij anno Domini juxta Cursum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ 1560. In Capellâ Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini Domini Matthæi permissione divinâ Cantuar. Archiepiscopi totius Angliæ Primatis et Metropolitanani, infra manerium suum de Lambeth, dictus Reverendissimus Pater vigore et autoritate Litterarum commissionalium Patentium Illustrissimæ in Christo Principis et Domine nostræ Domine Elizabethæ, &c. sibi in hæc parte factarum et directarum, assistentibus sibi Reverendis Patribus Dominis Thomâ Young Menevensi Episcopo, electo Eboracensi, necnon Dominis Edmundo London. et Thomâ Coven. et Lich. respectivè Episcopis, munus Consecrationis Venerabili viro Magistro Roberto Horne, S. Theologiæ Professore, in Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Winton. electo, impendebat; adhibitis ceremonijs de more Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ usitatis: præsentibus tunc et ibidem unâ mecum Johanne Incent Notario Publico Registrario Principali dieti Reverendissimi Patris, Magistri Thomâ Yale Legum Doctore, Edwardo Leeds, in Legibus Licentiato, Andrea Picrson et Ricardo Beseley S. Theologis Baccalariis, et alijs testibus, &c.

Concordat cum Originali,
Ita testor

RICARDUS CHICHELEY, Not. Pub.

No. XXIV.

A Certificate of Horn's Consecration, sent by Parker to the Archdeacon of Canterbury.

E Registro Domini Episcopi Winton. Extract.

MATTHÆUS permissione divinâ Cantuar. Archiepiscopus totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus Venerabili Confratri nostro Domino Edmundo eâdem permissione divinâ Roffen. Episcopo, Commendatario Archidiaconatûs Cantuar. Salutem et Fraternali in Domino charitatem. Cum vacante nuper Sede Episcopali Winton. Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis sanctæ et individue Trinitatis Winton. prædictæ (licentiâ Regis primitus in eâ parte petitâ et obtentâ) Venerabilem Confratrem nostrum Dominum Robertum Horne Sacræ Theologiæ Professore in eorum, et dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Episcopum et Pastorem elegerunt, et Ecclesiæ Cathedrali prædictæ providerunt de eodem. Quam quidem electionem et personam sic electam, servatis de jure et statutis hujus Regni Angliæ in hæc parte servandis, Nos Matthæus Archiepiscopus Cantuar. antedictus autoritate Littera-

*Ex. Reg. Park. v. 1, fol. 82.

rum Commissionarium Potentissimum in Christo Principis et Domine nostrae Dominae Elizabethae Dei gratia Angliae, Franciae et Hiberniae Reginae, fidei defensor, &c. nobis in hac parte directarum rite et legitime mandavimus et fecimus confirmari, eidemque confirmato eorum, regimen et administrationem dicti Episcopatus Winton. commisimus, necnon consequenter manus Consecrationis eidem adhibitis de ritu et more Ecclesiae Anglicanae suffragijs et insignijs adhibendis impendimus, juxta statuta hujus inelyti Regni Angliae in hac parte pie et sancte edita et sancita, ipsamque Confratrem nostrum sic confirmatum et consecratum in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem dicti Episcopatus, juriumque et pertinentium suorum universorum, inducendum, investiendum, et intronizandum fore decrevimus, et mandavimus. Tibi igitur firmiter praescripiendo rogamus quatenus praesatam Venerabilem Confratrem nostrum seu Procuratorem suum legitimum, ejus nomine, in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem dicti Episcopatus Winton. juriumque et honorum et dignitatum et pertinentium suorum universorum inducas, installes et intronizes, seu sic induci, instalari et intronizari facias cum effectu, Cathedralam Episcopalem in eadem Ecclesia ei uti moris est, assignes, et eum in nomine Domini nostri imponas, juribus et consuetudinibus nostris Archiepiscopaliibus et Ecclesiae nostrae Metropolitanicae Christi Cantuar. necnon Ecclesiae Cathedralis sanctae et individuae Trinitatis Winton. praedictae Dignitatibus et Honoribus in omnibus semper salvis. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum praesentibus apponi fecimus. Datum in Manerio nostro de Lambeth decimo septimo die mensis Februarij, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo, et nostrae Consecrationis anno secundo.

Concordat eum Registro facta diligenti collatione et examinatione per САЗОДУЖ ВАРТОН, Notarium Publicum, Dapini Episcopi Winton. Regist. deputatum.

Et

ТРОМАН НАММОНД, Not. Pub.

No. XXV.

The Arch-deacon of Canterbury's Commission for installing him.

E Registro Domini Episcopi Winton. Extractum.

EDMUNDUS permissione divinae Roffensis Episcopus, Commendatarius Archidiaconus Cantuar. ad quem inductio, installatio, et intronizatio omnium et singulorum Episcoporum Cantuar. Provinciae de laudabili, longavaque et legitime praescripta consuetudine notorie dignoscuntur pertinere; venerabilibus viris Magistris Johanni Warner Decano Ecclesiae Cathedralis sanctae Trinitatis Winton. Willelmo Atkins Art. Mag. et Rob. Watton. Minori. Canonico Ecclesiae Cathedr. praedictae salutem in Domino sempiternam. Quoniam ex parte Venerabilis Confratris nostri Domini, Roberti Horne sacrae Theologiae Professoris, in Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiae Cathedralis sanctae Trinitatis Winton. rite et legitime electi, confirmati et consecrati, fuimus debita cum instantia requisiti, quatenus eundem Venerabilem Confratrem nostrum in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem dicti Episcopatus Winton juriumque et pertinentium suorum universorum juxta morem et consuetudinem ipsius Ecclesiae haecenus in hac parte usitat. et observat. induceremus, installaremus et intronizaremus. Nos vero antefati Confratris nostri requisitioni et voto annuere volentes vobis (eo quod

nos in præsentiarum quibusdam arduis et urgentibus negotijs adeo sumus impliciti et remorati, quod executioni officij nostri hujusmodi vacare non valemus, uti optamus,) et vestrum cuilibet de quorum circumspeditione et industria, specialem in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, ad induendam prælibatum Reverendum Patrum seu Procuratorem suum legitimum ejus nomine in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem auctoritate Ecclesiæ Cathedralis juriumque et pertinentiarum suorum universorum, eundemque Confatrem nostrum seu Procuratorem suum legitimum hujusmodi cum plenitudine juris Episcopalis installandum, inthronizandum, cæteraque omnia facienda, exercenda, et expedienda quæ in hæc parte necessaria fuerint, seu quomodolibet requisita conjunctim et divisim vices nostras committimus, et plenam tenore præsentium concedimus potestatem. Rogantes uti totum id quod in præmissis feceritis aut aliquis vestrum fecerit, dicto inductionis negotio expedito nobis pro loco et tempore opportunis debitè certificare velitis. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum Reverendissimi Domini Matthæi Archiepiscopi, eo quod nostrum ad manus impræsentiarum non habemus, præsentibus apponi fecimus. Datum decimo nono die mensis Februarij, anno Domini juxta computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo, et nostræ Consecrationis anno primo.

Concordat cum Registro factâ diligenti collatione et examinatione per CAROLUM BARTON, Notarium Publicum Domini Episcopi Winton. Regist. deput.

Et

THOMAS HAMMOND, Not. Pub.

No. XXVI.

A Commission given by Horn for being installed by his Attorney.

E Registro Domini Episcopi Winton. Extractum.

UNIVERSIS et singulis has procuracionis Litteras inspexituris, visuris, audituris, et lecturis innotescat et palam significetur, quod Nos Robertus permissione divinâ Winton. Episc. electus, confirmatus et consecratus dilectos nobis in Christo Willelmum Overton et Michaëlem Renniger Artium Magistros Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Winton. prædictæ. Canonicos conjunctim et divisim, veros, certos et legitimos ac indubitatos procuratores, actores, factores, negotiorumque nostrorum gestores et nuntios speciales ad infra scripta nominamus, ordinamus, facimus et constituimus per præsentem, damus et concedimus eisdem procuratoribus nostris conjunctim, et eorum, cuilibet ut præsertur per se divisim, et in solidum potestatem generalem et mandatum speciale pro nobis, ac vice loco, et nomine nostris coram dilectis nobis in Christo Decani et Capitulo Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis Winton eorumve in hæc parte vicegerentibus aut alijs quibuscumque comparandi, nosque à personali comparatione excusandi, justasque causas absentis nostræ hujusmodi allegandi et proponendi, ac de veritate earumdem fidem de jure requisitam faciendi, ac nos et personam nostram in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem, installationem et inthronizationem dicti Episcopatus nostri Winton. vice et nomine nostris nanciscendi et adipiscendi, ac illas sic nactas et adeptas ad usum ac commodum nostrum custodiendi et conservandi, ac per legitima juris remedia tuendi et defendendi; quodcumque insuper juramentum licitum et honestum ac de jure consuetudinibus et statutis dictæ Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis Winton. in

has parte quomodolibet acquisitum (quatenus consuetudines, ordinationes, et statuta hujusmodi juri divino ac legibus et statutis hujus Regni Angliæ non sunt contraria vel repugnancia) in animam nostram et pro nobis præstandi, subeundi et jurandi, necnon juramentum obedientiæ et quodcumque aliud Sacramentum licitum et honestum modo præmisso qualificatum Decano et Capitulo, Canonicisque et cæteris Ministris ejusdem Ecclesiæ, Episcopo ibidem exhiberi et præstari solitum et consuetum ab eisdem et eorum quolibet pro nobis ac vice et nominibus nostris recipiendi et admittendi, et generaliter omnem et singula alia facienti, exercendi et expediendi, quæ in præmissis *Et certa* ea necessaria fuerint seu quomodolibet opportuna, etiam si mandatum de se magis exigant speciale quam superius est expressum promittimusque nos ratum, gratum, et firmum perpetuo habituros totum et quicquid dicti Procuratores nostri seu eorum aliter fecerint, vel fecerit in præmissis, vel eorum aliquo sub hypothecâ et obligatione omnium et singulorum bonorum nostrorum, tam præsentium quam futurorum, et in ea parte cautionem exponimus per præsentia. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum Venerabilis viri Archidiaconi Cæstrænsis (eo quod nostrum ad manus in præsentiarum non habemus) præsentibus apponi fecimus et procuravimus. Et nos Archidiaconus antedictus ad speciale rogatus dicti Reverendi Patris Domini Roberti Winton Episcopi constituentis hujusmodi, sigillum nostrum hujusmodi præsentibus apposuimus. Datum decimo nono die mensis Februarij anno Domini juxta computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo.

Concordat cum Registro factâ diligenti collatione et examinatione per CAROLUM HARTON, Notarium Publicum, Domini Episcopi Winton Registr. deputatum.

Et

THOMAS HAMMOND, Not. Pub.

No. XXVII

Several Acts which prove that he was not consecrated till the Year 1561, and consequently eighteen Months later than the Date of the Tavern Story.

E Registro Dom. Episcopi Winton. Extractum.

In libro Registri Domini Roberti Horne, olim Winton. Episcopi, in folio tertio ejusdem libri continentur quondam instrumentum Confirmationis dicti Episcopi cujusdam Ordinationis factæ inter Parochianos de Newton Valence et inhabitantes de Hawkely in Comitatu Southampton Winton. Diocesis. sic incipiens.

Nos Robertus, permissione divinâ Winton Episcopus, &c. Datum 12 die mensis Martij anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo primo, (156½) Et nostræ Consecrationis anno secundo.

In folio quinto ejusdem Registri, est quoddam aliud instrumentum continens interpretationem dicti Domini Episcopi Statutorum Collegii Corporis Christi Oxoniensis, sic incipiens.

Robertus permissione divinâ Winton. Episcopus, dilectis nobis in Christo Magistris Thomæ Greenway Præsidenti, Socijsque Et Scholaribus Collegij nostri Corporis Christi in Universitate Oxon. Salutem, &c. Datum sexto die mensis Julij anno Domini millesimo sexagesimo secundo, et nostræ Consecrationis anno secundo.

In eodem folio quinto ejusdem libri, registratur quoddam aliud instrumentum sive mandatum dieti Domini Episcopi Archidiaconi Surriae, ad levandos denarios concessos erga reedificationem Ecclesie Divi Pauli London. sic incipiens.

Robertus, permissione divina Winton. Episcopus, dilecto nobis in Christo Magistro Johanni Watson, Archidiacono nostro Surriae, salutem, &c. Datum octavo die mensis Julij anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo secundo, et nostra Consecrationis anno secundo.

In eodem libro folio sexagesimo sexto, continetur Commissio dieti Domini Episcopi, pro visitatione Insularum Jersey, Guernsey, &c. sic incipiens.

Robertus, permissione divina Winton. Episcopus, dilecto nobis in Christo Magistro Johanni Aste Clerico Decano, Decanatus Insularum Jersey, Guernsey, Chunsey, Aourney, Ervic & Fferke, nostra Winton. Dioecesis & jurisdictionis, salutem, &c. Datum Decimo quarto die mensis Junij anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo nono, & nostra Consecrationis anno nono.

Et in eodem libro in diversis alijs folijs ejusdem continentur diversa alia acta et instrumenta mentionata esse data in separabilibus alijs annis Consecrationis dieti Roberti Horne Episcopi Winton, usque ad decimum septimum annum ejus Consecrationis et ad finem libri.

Ita testor CAROLUS BARTON, Notarius Publicus, Dom. Episcopi Winton. Registrarius deputatus.

No. XXVIII.

Proofs of Jewell's Consecration, taken from his Register, from Parker's, and from that of the Chapter of Salisbury.

Extract. ex Regist. Parker. vol. 1. fol. 43. a.

FOL. 45. Sedes Sarum. vacavit per obitum Jo. Capon ultimi Episcopi, ibid.

Licentia Regine ad eligend. dat. 27. Jul. 1559. Rym. Tom. 15. p. 537.

Licentia recepta à Capitulo die 10. mensis Augusti fol. 46. Capit. Sarum. certum diem et locum, scilicet 16. August. in domo Capitulari ad electionem faciendam assignat. ibid.

Dieto die et loco eligunt Jo. Jewel, ibid.

Certificatorium Regine de electione facta sigillatim in domo Capitulari 21 die ejusdem mensis, ibid.

Confirmatio facta 18. die mensis Januarij seq. in Eccles. B. Mariæ de Arcubus London. per Mag. Tho. Yale L.L.D. ibid. fol. 45. 46. vigore Regij assensûs cum significavit. Datum 27. Decembr. 1559. Rym. tom. 15. fol. 555.

Consecrat. die Dominico 21. mensis Januarij 1559--60. in Capellâ de Lambethe per Dominum Archiepiscopum assistentibus Edmundo London. et Richardo Eliensi Episcopo, neonon Jo. Episcopo Suffraganeo Bedford, consione habitâ per Mag. Andream Pierson, accept. pro themate *Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, &c.* in præsentiâ Jo. Incent. Notarij Publici, præsentibus tunc et ibidem Alexandro Nowell S. T. P. Thoma Doiley, Jo. Baker et Roberto Willet generosis, eum multis alijs.

Procuratorium Edmundi Geste Archidiaconi Cantuar. eum mandato pro installatione Jo. Jewel. Ex Registr. Decani et Capituli Sarum. inscript. *Holt and Blacker fol. 59.*

Installatus per procuratorem suum Thomam Lancaster, sexto Martij anno 1569—60. Regist. Sarum. loc. citat.

At the End of this Bishop's Register is a List of the Ordinations conferred per Reverendum in Christo Patrem Dominum Dominum Johannem permissione Divina Sarum. Episcopum a nono die mensis Junij Anno Domini 1560 ad 17 Decembris Anno Dom. 1570, with the several Years of his Consecration, which all run from the 21 Jan. 1569—60.

No. XXIX.

§ I. *The Arch-deacon of Canterbury's Commission for installing Bands in the See of Worcester upon the Certificate of his Consecration, the Act whereof is in Parker's Register.*

ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ Geste Archidiaconus Cantuariensis ad quem inductio, installatio et inthronizatio omnium et singulorum Episcoporum Cantuari. Provinciae de laudabili, longævâque et legitimè præscriptâ consuetudine notorie dignoscuntur pertinere, Venerabilibus viris Mag. Ricardo Hall, Leonardo Ffringham, Edmundo Demiel, Thomæ Bastaid, Roberto Shone, Guillelmo Turnbull, Willmo Northfolke, Ecclesie Wigorn. Canonis et Præbendarijs salutem in Domino sempiternam. Quoniam pro parte Reverend. in Christo Patris, et Domini Domini Edwini Sandes Sacræ Theologie Professoris in Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesie Cathedralis Wigorn. prædictæ ritè et legitimè electi, confirmati et consecrati, fuimus debitâ cum instantiâ requisiti, quatenus eundem Reverendum Patrem in realem actualem, et corporalem possessionem dicti Episcopatus Wigorn. juriumque et pertinentium suorum universorum juxta consuetudinem ipsius Ecclesie Cathedralis hætenus in hac partè usitat. et observat. induceremus, installaremus et inthronizaremus. Nos verò antefati Reverendi Patris requisitioni et voto annuere volentes, vobis (eo quod in præsentiarum quibusdam arduis et urgentibus negotijs adeo sumus impliciti et remorati quod executioni Officij nostri hujusmodi in præsentiarum vacare non valemus, ut optamus) et vestrum cuilibet, de quorum circumspeditione et industria specialem in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, ad inducendum prædictum Reverendum Patrem seu Procuratorem suum legitimum ejus nomine in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem antedictæ Ecclesie Cathedralis Wigorn. juriumque et pertinentium suorum universorum, eundemque Reverendum Patrem seu ejus Procuratorem legitimum cum plenitudine juris Episcopalis installandum et inthronizandum, cæteraque omnia et singula faciend. exercend. et expediend. quæ in hæc parte necessaria fuerint, seu quomodolibet requisita conjunctim et divisim committimus vices nostras et plenam tenore præsentium concedimus potestatem : rogantes, ut totum id quod in præmissis feceritis aut vestrum aliquis fecerit, dicto inductionis negotio expedito, nobis pro loco et tempore congruis et opportunis debitè significare velitis, seu sic significet ille vestrum, qui hujusmodi negotium fuerit executus. In ejus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. 22. die mensis Decembris anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo nono.

Concordat cum Chartâ Originali in Archivis Domini Episcopi Wigorn remanente.

GU. BYRCK L. L. D. Reverendi in Christo Patris Johannis Episcopi Wigorn. Vicarius in spiritualibus generalis.

THOM. OLIVER, N. P.

Ex instrumento Originali in Archivis Domini Episcopi Wigorn. remanenti.

EDWINGUS permissione divinâ Wigorn. Episcopus, universis et singulis Rectoribus, Vicarijs, Capellanis, Curatisque Clericis et Literatis quibuscumque per Civitatem et Dioecesim nostras Wigorn. ubilibet constitutis salutem, gratiam et benedictionem; Quum nos alias ritè et legitimè procedent. Vicariam perpetuam Ecclesiæ Parochialis de Aston Cantlowe nostræ Wigorn. Dioecesis per sessionem Thomæ Courte Clerici ultimi Vicarij sive incumbentis ibidem vacantem, et ad nostram collationem per lapsum semestris temporis, &c.

Et inferius.

Datum apud Castrum nostrum de Hartlebury, sub sigillo nostro decimo-quinto die mensis Octobris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo, et nostræ Consecrationis anno primo.

Concordat cum Originali

GUL. BYRCHÉ L. L. D.

JA. STILLINGFLEET, Registrarius.

No. XXX.

A Commission to consecrate Barlow of the 22d of Feb. 1536.

REX⁶ reverendissimo in Christo patri Thomæ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primati, salutem. Sciatis quod electioni nuper factæ in ecclesiâ cathedrali Assavensi per mortem bonæ memoriæ Dom. Henrici Standishæ ultimi episcopi ibidem, vacante, de venerabili et religioso viro Dom. Willielmo Barlowe priore domûs sive prioratûs de Bisham ordinis S. Augustini Sarum diocesis in Episcopum loci illius et pastorem, regium assensum adhibuimus et favorem: Et hoc vobis tenore præsentium significamus, ut quod vestrum est in hac parte exequamini. In cujus, &c. Teste rege, apud Westmonasterium 22 die Februarii.

No XXXI.

§ 1. *The Act of Barlow's Confirmation in the See of St. David's, the 21 April 1536, himself being present.*

Literæ Patentes Regiæ super Assensu suo Regio.

HENRICUS Octavus Dei gratiâ, &c. Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Thomæ Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, &c. Sciatis quod Electioni nuper factæ in Ecclesiâ Cathedrali Menevensi, per mortem bonæ memoriæ Dom. Ricardi Rawlins, ultimi Episcopi ibidem vacante, de Reverendo in Christo Patre Domino Willielmo Barlowe S. T. P. tunc Episcopo Assavensi in Episcopum loci illius (&) Pastorem, Regium Assensum adhibuimus et favorem. Et hoc vobis tenore præsentium significamus, ut quod vestrum est in hac parte exequamini. Teste meipso apud Westm. 20. die April, anno Regni nostri 27.

† ACTA habita et facta coram Venerabili viro Magistro Johanne Coeks Legum Dostore, Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et D. Domini Thomæ permissione divinâ Cantuar. Archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ Primatis et Metropolitanani Vicario in spiritualibus Generali, et ad infra scripta Com-

* Rymer, t. 14, pag. 569.

† Ex Reg. Cramer, fol. 205.

missario specialiter deputato, in negotio confirmationis electionis Reverendi in Christo Patris Dom. Willielmi Barlowe, nuper Episcopi Assaphensis, ac Monasterij de Bisham Sarum Dioecese. commendatarij perpetui, in Episcopum Menevensem electi, die veneris 21. Aprilis. anno Dom. Millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo sexto, in Capella sancti Thomæ martyris, in Australi parte Ecclesie Parochialis Beate Maris de Arcubus Londoniensis notoriè situatâ, in præsentiâ mei Thomæ Argall Notarij Publici in Aetorum scribam, propter Absentiam Magistri Willielmi Potkin Registrarij, in eâ parte assumpti.

Quibus die et loco Magister Johannes Hughes Legum Doctor, Domino judicialiter pro Tribunali sedente, personaliter constitutus, exhibuit Litteras Regias de et super Assensu suo Regio adhibito electioni prædicti Reverendi Patris in Episcopum Menevensem electi, et etiam exhibuit Litteras commissionales dieti Reverendissimi Patris et ex parte ejusdem Reverendissimi Patris petijt et requisivit Dominum, quatenus ille dignaretur acceptare in se onus executionis earundem, et procedere juxta omnem vim, formam et effectum earundem. Ad cujus petitionem Dominus acceptavit in se onus earundem et decrevit sic procedendum fore. Ac tunc dictus Magister Johannes Hughes, exhibuit procuratorium Litteratorè in processu electionis de eodem Domino electo, inscript. pro Præcentore et Capitulo Ecclesie Cathedralis Menevensis, et faciens se partem pro eisdem, petijt quod Dominus procedat in dicto electionis negotio summarie et de plano, ad cujus petitionem Dominus sic decrevit. Deinde idem Magister Johannes Hughes Procurator antedictus, præsentavit prædictum Reverendum Patrem electum, et exhibuit mandatum originale, una cum Certificatorio in dorso ejusdem, et petijt omnes et singulos oppositores sive volentes opponere contra dietam electionem, personamve electam aut formam ejusdem citandos, præconizandos, factâque præconizatione Dominus ad petitionem ipsius Procuratoris accusantis eorum contumaciam in præsentia prædicti Domini electi pronuntiavit eos contumaces et in poenam contumaciarum suarum ipsis et eorum cuilibet viam ulterius opponendi contra dietam electionem, &c. præcludebat in scriptis et ulterius decrevit procedendum fore ad ulteriora in dicto negotio juxta juris exigentiam.

Quibus sic gestis dictus Magister Johannes Hughes, Procurator Præcentoris et Capituli prædicti, in præsentia dieti Domini electi, dedit quandam summariam petitionem, quam Dominus, ad ejus petitionem in præsentia dieti Domini electi, admisit et assignavit sibi ad probandam eandem Summariam petitionem ad statim et in partem termini dictus Magister Johannes Hughes procurator antedictus exhibuit Decretum electionis de dicto Domino electo factum, sigillo communi. Sigillatam, et proluxit Magistrum Johannem Barlowe Clericum et Arthurum Berkeley Laicum, in Testes, quos Dominus admisit et jurare fecit, in præsentia memorati Domini electi, et insuper Dominus ad petitionem Procuratoris prædicti Præcentoris et Capituli assignavit ad proponendum omnia ad statim, in præsentia præfati Domini electi. Ac tunc dictus Procurator in præsentia Domini electi, exhibuit omnia acta, actitata, exhibita, &c. quatenus faciunt, &c. ac Dominus ad petitionem ipsius Procuratoris petentis terminum sibi assignari ad concludendum ad statim: et Dominus concludebat eum dicto Procuratore secum in eâ parte concludente. Ac ad petitionem dieti Procuratoris in præsentia dieti Domini electi, assignavit ad audendum finale Decretum ad statim, et insuper Dominus ad petitionem Procuratoris accusantis contumaciam omnium et singulorum interesse in dicto electionis negotio habentium, citatorum, præconizatorum et nullo modo com-

parantiam, nec causam aliquam allegantium, quare sententia definitiva in dicto negotio (*deest* non) promulgetur, pronuntiavit eosdem contumaces in scriptis, et in poenam contumaciarum suarum hujusmodi, deerevit procedendum fore ad Lecturam, et prolationem sententiæ sive Decreti finalis in dicto negotio. Et tandem Dominus ad petitionem ipsius Procuratoris in præsentia prædicti Domini electi tulit et promulgavit sententiam diffinitivam in scriptis, per quam electionem de dicto Domino electo factam confirmavit, super quibus præfatus Magister Johannes Hughes Procurator antedictus me præfatum Thomam Argall unum vel plura, &c. Præsentibus tunc ibidem Magistris Georgio Wemesly et Mauricio Griffin Clericis, Richardo Marche, Olivero Hill et Petro Lilye.

Sequuntur instrumenta in negotio hujusmodi Confirmationis prolata et lecta: Succedit Sententia finalis sub hujusmodi tenore verborum.

Sententia finalis.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Auditis, visis et intellectis ac plenariè discussis per nos Johannem Cokes Legum Doctorem Reverendissimi in Christo Patris Domini Domini Thomæ permissione divinâ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ primatis et Metropolitanis, Illustrissimi in Christo Principis et Domini nostri Domini Henrici octavi Dei gratiâ Angliæ et Franciæ Regis Fidei defensoris et Domini Hiberniæ, ac in terris supremi Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo Capitis, sufficienter et legitimè deputat. Vicarium in spiritualibus Generalem et Commissarium in hæc parte sufficienter et legitimè deputatum, meritis et circumstantiis ejusdem causæ sive negotij confirmationis electionis de Te Reverendo in Christo Patre Domino Willielmo Barlowe nuper Episcopo Assavensi et Monasterij de Bisham Sarum Dioecesi, Cantuariensis Provinciæ Commendatario perpetuo, in Episcopum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Menevensis diocesis Cantuariensis Provinciæ, per mortem naturalem bonæ memoriæ Domini Richardi Rawlins ultimi Episcopi ibidem vacantis, per Præcentorem et Capitulum diocesis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis electo, celebratæ, quæ causa sive negotium coram nobis aliquandiu vertebatur, ac in præsentia vertitur et pendet indecisa, Rimato per nos primitus toto et integro processu in hujusmodi electionis negotio habito et facto atque diligenter recensito, servatisque per nos in hæc parte de jure servandis, ad nostri Decreti finalis sive sententiæ Confirmationis prolationem in hujusmodi negotio ferendam, sic duximus procedendum et procedimus in hunc modum, Quia per exhibita, producta et probata coram nobis in ipsius electionis negotio, comperimus et invenimus evidentem electionem ipsam per Præcentorem et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Menevensis prædictæ de Te Reverendo Patre Domino Willielmo Barlowe, viro utique provido et discreto, in spiritualibus et temporalibus plurimum circumspecto, vitæque et moribus commendato, de legitimo matrimonio procreato, ac in ætate legitimâ, et ordine sacerdotali constituto, ritè et legitimè fuisse et esse celebratam atque factam nihilque Tibi Domino Willielmo electo prædicto de Canonis institutis obviassè, seu obviare quo minus in Episcopum diocesis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis eligi debeas, et electio ejusmodi sic de Te facta atque celebrata debeat per nos autoritate dicti Reverendissimi Patris merito confirmari; ideo nos Johannes Cokes Legum Doctor, Vicarius in spiritualibus Generalis et Commissionarius antedictus, attentis præmissis, et alijs virtutum meritis, super quibus fide digno commend. testimonio, Christi nomine primitus invocato ac ipsum solum Deum oculis nostris præponentes, de et cum consilio jurisperitorum eum quibus communicavimus in hæc parte, prædictam electionem de Te Domino Willielmo,

ut præfertur factam et celebratam auctoritate Metropolitanâ dieti Reverendissimi Patris nobis in hæc parte commissâ, confirmamus, defectus si qui in hæc parte fuerint, quantum ad nos attinet, et de jure poterimus supplentes, et supplemus per hoc nostrum Decretum finale sive sententiam definitivam quod sive quam ferimus et promulgamus in his scriptis.

Concordat eum Originali

Ita testor

RICARDUS CHICHELEY, Not. Pub.

EXCELLENTISSIMO in Christo Principi, et Domino nostro, Domino Henrico Octavo Dei gratiâ Angliæ et Franciæ Regi, Fidei defensori, et Domino Hiberniæ, ac in terrâ supremo Capiti sub Christo Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ: Thomas permissione divinâ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus, ad infra scripta sufficienter per vos et Parliamentum vestrum autorizatus, salutem in eo per quem Reges regnant et Principes dominantur.

Quia nos electionem de Reverendo Patre Domino Willielmo Barlowe, nuper Episcopo Assavensi, et Monasterij de Bisham Sarum Diocesis, nostræ Cantuariensis Provinciæ, Commendatario perpetuo, in Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Menevensis dictæ nostræ Cantuariensis Provinciæ, nuper factam, cui assensum vestrum Regium adhibuistis et favorem in debitâ juris formâ, justitiâ id poscente, confirmavimus, cæteraque peregrimus, quæ in dictæ confirmationis negotio de jure requiruntur, eandem igitur confirmationem sic ut præmittitur, per nos factum fuisse et esse, Celsitudini vestræ Regiæ, tenore præsentium, significamus: supplicantes quatenus in præmissis favores benevolos exhibere, cæteraque peragere, facere et jubere ulterius dignetur vestra Majestas gratosè, quæ ad Regiam vestram dignitatem pariter et prærogativam attinent in hæc parte.

In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Datum in Manerio nostro de Lambelithe vigesimo primo mensis Aprilis, anno Dom. 1536, et nostræ consecrationis anno quarto.

Concordat eum Originali

Ita testor

RICARDUS CHICHELEY, Not. Pub.

No. XXXII.

The Restitution of the Temporalities of the Bishopric of St. David's, of the 26th of April 1536.

HENRICUS* VIII, &c. Scitis quòd, cum cathedralis ecclesiæ Menevensis per mortem Richardi Rawlins nuper episcopi Menev. nuper viduata ac pastoralis solatio fuerit destituta, et vacaverit, eo prætextu omnes exitus. et proficua, firmæ, redditus, reversiones, cum commoditatibus et emolumentis temporalium episcopatus illius à tempore mortis prædicti nuper episcopi durante tempore vacationis episcopatus illius, nobis jure prærogativæ nostræ regiæ pertinuerunt et spectaverunt, ac pertinere et spectare dignoscuntur; quumque præceptor et capitulum dictæ cathedralis ecclesiæ post mortem, prædicti episcopi, licentiâ nostrâ inde priùs obtentâ, dilectum et fidelem nostrum Willielmum Barlow, nunc dictæ ecclesiæ cathedralis Menevensis per nos nominatum, episcopum, in suum elegerunt episcopum et pastorem, reverendiss. in Chr. pater Thomas archiep. Cantuar. electionem illam acceptaverit et

* *Mason de Minist. Anglic. lib. 3. cap. 10. pag. 365.*

confirmaverit, ipsumque sic electum episcopum prædictæ ecclesiæ Me-
nevensis præfecit et pastorem, sicut per literas patentes ipsius archi-
episcopi inde directas nobis constat. Nos nunc certis de causis et consi-
derationibus nos specialiter moventibus, et ob sinceram dilectionem
quam penes præfatum nunc episcopum gerimus et habemus, de gratia
nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, dedimus et
concessimus, ac per præsentem damus et concedimus pro nobis, hæredi-
bus et successoribus nostris, quantum in nobis est, eidem nunc episcopo
omnia et singula, exitus, firmas, redditus, proficua, reversiones, advan-
tagia, commoditates, feoda et alia emolumenta quæcumque, cum omni-
bus et singulis suis pertinentiis et dependentiis omnium et singulorum
honorum, castroꝝ, &c. In cujus rei testimonium, &c. Teste rege,
26 die Aprilis, &c.

No. XXXIII.

*A Conge d' Eslire for a Bishop to the See of St. Asaph, after the
Translation of Bishop Barlow, dated May 29, 1536.*

REX* &c. Dilectis sibi in Christo Decano et capitulo ecclesiæ nostræ
cathedralis Assavensis, salutem.

Ex parte vestra nobis est humiliter supplicatum, ut cum ecclesia
nostra prædicta per liberam transmutationem Willielmi Barlowe ultimi
episcopi ibidem electi, sit pastoris solatio destituta, alium vobis eligendi
in episcopum et pastorem licentiam concedere dignæmur. Nos pre-
cibus vestris in hac parte favorabiliter inclinati, licentiam illam vobis
tenore præsentium duximus concedendam; mandantes quòd talem vo-
bis eligatis in episcopum et pastorem qui Deo devotus ecclesiæ vestræ
necessarius, nobisque et regno nostro utilis et fidelis existat. In cujus,
&c. Teste rege, apud Westmonasterium 29th die Maii. Per Breve
de privato sigillo.

No. XXXIV.

*A Commission to consecrate Robert Warton Bishop of St. Asaph, dated
the 24th of June, 1536.*

REX† reverendissimo in Chr. patri Thomæ eadem gratia archiepiscopo
Cantuariensi, totius Angliæ primati et metropolitani, salutem.

Cum, nuper vacante sede episcopali Assavensi per liberam transmu-
tationem Willielmi Barlowe, ultimi episcopi ibidem electi, ad humilem
supplicationem dilectorum nobis in Chr. decani et capituli ecclesiæ nos-
træ cathedralis Assavensis, eisdem per literas nostras patentes licentiam
concesserimus alium sibi eligendi in episcopum loci prædicti et pasto-
rem: ac iidem decanus et capitulum prætextu licentiæ nostræ prædictæ
dilectum nobis in Christo Rob. Warton abbatem exempti monasterii S.
Salvatoris de Bermondeseye sibi eligerint in episcopum et pastorem
. . . . Nos electionem illam acceptantes, eidem electioni regium assen-
sum nostrum adhibuimus et favorem . . . Rogantes, &c. Teste rege,
apud Westmonasterium, 24 die Junii. Per breve de privato sigillo.

* Rymer, t. 14. pag. 570.

† Ibid.

No. XXXV.

A Writ of Nomination to the Bishoprick of Bath, the 26th^o of February, 1544.

EXI omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Cum per quendam actum in parlamento nostro inchoato apud Westmonasterium 4 die Novembris anno regni nostri primo, ac ibidem tento, inter alia statuta pro republica nostra edita ordinatum, enactum et stabilitum fuerit quod nullum breve de licentia eligendi (vulgariter vocatum *Congé d'Eslire*) deinceps concessum foret, nec electio alicujus archiepiscopi seu episcopi per decanum et capitulum fieret; sed quod nos per literas nostras patentes, quolibet tempore, cum aliquis archiepiscopus seu episcopus vacaret, alicui personæ quam nos idoneam existimarem, eundem conferre possemus et valeamus, et eadem collatio sic per literas nostras patentes hujusmodi personæ factas et deliberatas, cui nos in eundem conferremus archiepiscopatum seu episcopatum, seu ejus sufficienti procuratori vel attorney, staret et foret ad omnia intentiones, constructiones et propositiones, tanti et consimilis effectus quanti et qualis foret sive breve de licentia eligendi concessum, electio rite facta et eadem confirmata fuissent; et quod post hujusmodi collationem, eadem persona, cui hujusmodi archiepiscopatus seu episcopatus foret collatus seu datus, posset consecrari, et habere liberationem suam, seu breve de Amoveas manum, ac omnia alia agere prout eadem ceremoniæ et electiones fuissent factæ et actæ, prout in eodem statuto plenius liquet.

Ac cum episcopatus Bath. et Well. hoc tempore sit vacuus, suoque idoneo pastore destitutus, morte rev. patris piæ memoriæ Willielmi nuper illius loci episcopi, et ob id ad munus nostrum regium pertinere dignoscatur alium in ejus locum surrogandum, qui ob eximias animi dotes populum nostrum illius diocesis latè patentis, juxta D. Pauli normam dignè pascat.

SCIENTIS quod nos existimantes rev. patrem Willielmum Menev. episcopum ad episcopatum prædictum modò vacantem idoneum tam propter singularem sacrarum literarum doctrinam, moresque probatissimos, quibus idem rev. pater modò episcopus Menevensis præditus est, quam propter hoc quod juxta Salvatoris nostri elogium judicamus illum virum imprimis dignum esse, ut super multa constituitur, qui super pauca fuerat fidelis; ex gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, necnon de avasamento et consensu præclarissimi avunculi et consiliarii nostri Edwardi ducis Somersetiæ, personæ nostræ gubernatoris, ac regnorum, dominiorum subditorumque nostrorum quorumcumque protectoris, cæterorumque consiliorum nostrorum: contulimus, dedimus, et concessimus, ac per præsentem conferimus, damus, et concedimus præfato rev. patri Willielmo nunc Menev. episcopo prædictum episcopatum Bathon et Wellens, ac eundem Willielmum in episcopatum Bath. et Well. transferimus per præsentem, ac ipsum Willielmum episcopum Bath. et Wellens. ac diocæs. Bathon. et Well. prædictæ nominamus, facimus, ordinamus, creamus, et constituimus per præsentem.

HABENDUM, tenendum, occupandum, et gaudendum prædictum episcopatum Bathon. et Well. eidem Willielmo, durante vita sua naturali, unà cum omnibus dominiis, maneriis, terris, tenementis, hæreditamentis, possessionibus, et juribus, tam spiritualibus, quàm temporalibus, ac cum omnibus aliis proficiis, commoditatibus, emolumentis auctoritatibus, jurisdictionibus et præeminentibus quibuscumque, eidem episcopa-

* This should be 3d.

† Rymer, t. 15. pag. 160.

tui Bath. et Well. quoquo modo spectantibus, pertinentibus sive incumben-
tibus. Eò quòd expressa mentio, &c. In cuius rei, &c. Teste
rege apud Westmonasterium tertio die Februarii. Per breve de pri-
vato sigillo.

No. XXXVI.

*A Conge d'Eslire to the Bishoprick of Bath, vacans by the Resignation
of Barlow, the 13th of March, 1554.*

REGINA,* dilectis nobis in Christo decano et capitulo ecclesiæ cathedra-
lis Wellens. salutem. Cum ecclesiæ nostræ cathedralis prædictæ, per
liberam et spontaneam resignationem in manus nostras ultimi episcopi
ibidem, jam sit pastoris solatio destituta; nos alium vobis eligendi in
episcopum et pastorem duximus concedendum: Mandantes quòd talem
vobis eligatis in episcopum et pastorem, qui sacrarum literarum cogni-
tione ad id manus aptus, Deo devotus, nobis et regno nostro utilis et
fidelis, ecclesiæque nostræ prædictæ necessarius existat. In cuius rei,
&c. Teste regina apud Westmonasterium, 13 die Martii. Per breve
de privato sigillo.

No. XXXVII.

*A Commission of Queen Mary's to consecrate the successor of Barlow
in the Bishoprick of Bath, the 28th of March, 1554.*

REGINA,† &c. Omnibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, vel aliis quibuscunque,
quorum in hac parte intererit, salutem.

VACANTE nuper sede episcopali infra ecclesiæ nostram cathedralem
Wellensem per deprivationem et amotionem ultimi episcopi ibidem
decanus et capitulum ejusdem ecclesiæ (licentiâ priùs à nobis per eos
alium eligendi in eorum episcopum et pastorem petita pariter et ob-
tentâ) discretum virum Magistrum Gilbertum Bourne, S. Theologiæ
Bachalaurum in eorum episcopum et pastorem canonice elegerunt et
nominaverunt, sicuti per eorum literas, quas vobis mitimus præsentibus
inclusas pleniùs liquet; vobis significamus, &c. Teste regina apud
Westmonasterium, 28 die Martii. Per ipsam reginam.

A Proof that no Consequence can be drawn against *Barlow's* Conse-
cration from the Words met with in the preceding Commission, *per de-
privationem Et amotionem ultimi episcopi*. is, that in the Writ for the
Temporalities of *Bath* given his Successor, and after the Date of this
Commission, it is observed, that the See was vacant *per liberam resigna-
tionem of Barlow*. It is the same *Rymer* that gives that Act which we
have published.

No. XXXVIII.

*A Writ for the Temporalities of the Bishoprick of Bath, dated the 20th
of April, 1554.*

REGINA‡ escaetori suo in comitatu Somersetiæ salutem.

VACANTE nuper episcopatu Bathon. et Wellensi per liberam resig-
nationem ultimi episcopi ibidem, decanus et capitulum ecclesiæ cathedra-
lis Wellens. prædictæ (licentiâ nostrâ primitiùs petita pariter et ob-
tentâ) dilectum nobis Magistrum Gilbertum Bourne S. Theologiæ Bac-
halarium in eorum episcopum et pastorem elegerunt. Cui quidem elec-

* Rymer, t. 15. pag. 360. † Rymer, t. 15. pag. 376. ‡ Rymer, t. 15. pag. 384.
26°

tioni et personæ, sic electo regiæ assensum nostrum adhibuimus pariter et favorem, ipsiusque electi fidelitatem, nobis pro dicto episcopatu debitam, cepimus, ac temporalia episcopatus illius, prout moris est, restituissemus eidem, habenda et percipienda eidem electo, à temporis vacationis episcopatus illius.

Et idem tibi præcipimus, quòd eidem electo, temporalia prædicta, cum pertinentiis, in Ballivâ tua sine dilatione liberes, in forma prædicta, salvo jure cujuslibet.

TESTE reginâ, apud Westmonasterium 26 die Aprilis.

THIS Record evidently proves, that *Barlow* had freely resigned his Bishoprick, that he did not stay to be deposed, and that the Sentence of Deposition, if there was one, was a thing posterior, that happened only by way of afterelap, to deprive that Prelate of, all hopes of a return to his See.

No. XXXIX.

*A Commission given, to Parker to confirm Barlow in the See of
Chichester, dated December the 18th, 1558.*

RÆINA^o &c. Rev. in Christo P. Dom. Matheo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius Angliæ primati et metropolitano, salutem.

CUM vacante nuper sede episcopali Cicestrensi, per mortem Johannis Christopherson ultimi episcopi ejusdem, ad humilem petitionem decani et capituli ecclesiæ nostræ cathedralis Cicestrensis, eisdem per literas nostras patentes licentiam concesserimus alium sibi eligendi in episcopum et pastorem sedis prædictæ, idemque decanus et capitulum vigore et obtentu licentiæ nostræ prædictæ dilectum nobis in Christo Magistrum Willielmum Barloo S. Theologiæ Professorem, ac nuper episcopum Bathonien. et Wellen. sibi et ecclesiæ Cicestrensi prædictæ elegerunt in episcopum et pastorem, prout per literas suas patentes, sigillo eorum comuni sigillatas, nobis inde directas, pleniùs liquet et apparet.

Nos electionem illam acceptantea, eidem electioni regiæ nostrum assensum adhibuimus pariter et favorem, et hoc vobis tenere præsentium significamus: rogantes, ac in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter præcipiendo mandantes, quatenùs eundem Magistrum Will. Barloo in episcopum et pastorem ecclesiæ cathedralis Cicestrensis prædictæ (sicut præfertur) electum electionemque prædictam confirmare, cæteraque omnia et singula peragere, quæ vestra in hac parte incumbunt officio pastoralis, juxta formam et effectum statutorum in ea parte editorum et provisorum, velitis cum effectu. In ejus rei, &c.

TESTE reginâ, apud Westmonasterium 18 die Decembris.

Examinatur cum recordo.

Junii 19, A. D. 1521.

per me *Robertum Sauderson.*

In the foregoing Record as published by *Rymer*, after these Words, *electionem prædictam confirmare*, we find these Words, *Et eundem Magistrum Willielmum Barloo episcopum et pastorem ecclesiæ prædictæ consecrare*; but these last words are neither found in the Archives of the Rolls, nor in *Parker's Register*, and it is indisputable by the Proofs produced, that this Clause was not transcribed by that com-

pieces, but printed by Inalvertence and Surprise, as is attested above by Mr. Sanderson, and by others who have consulted the original of this Record.

No. XL.

The Act of *Barlow's* Installation in the House of Peers, June 30, 1536.
Extractum è libro diurnali Superioris Domus Parliamenti, An. 28, Henrici VIII.

DIE veneris 30 Junij decimo tertio die Parliamenti.

Hodie allatum est Regium breve Reverendo in Christo Patri W. Meneven. Episcopo directum, quo idem Episcopus in presenti Parlamento personaliter ad comparandum summonebatur: Qui præsens admissus est ad suum Eminentissimæ locum, salvo cuiuspiam jure.

Postea idem Episcopus Menevensis comparuit in eodem Parlamento diebus Julij sequentibus scilicet 1, 4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 14. et eodem die post meridiem, 15, 17, 18, sessione ante meridianam.

Concordat sum Originali,
EDMUND. FITZ-GERALD,
Jo. JENINGS.

JA. MERESY,
Clerk assistant.

No. XLI.

Ex Reg. Crumm. fol. 333; Consecratio D. D. Johannis Scory in Episcopum Roffens.

In Oratorio sive Capella Manerii sui de Croydon Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis Jurisdictionis immediatæ die Dominicæ videlicet tricesimo die mensis Augusti A. D. 1551. sub modo et formâ subsequentibus.

Idem Reverendissimus ad hoc tam sacrum munus obeundum, usitatis insignijs redimitus, et uno Epitogio sive Capâ holosericâ indutus, Oratorium suum prædictum, honestè et decenter ornatum, ingressus, ad celebrandum Saero-sanctam Domini Coenam, uti moris est, ex præscripto libri intitulati, *The Book of Common Service* (est) coram plebe ibidem congregatâ accinctus, inchoatis primitiis et publicè recitatis sanctis suffragijs in hæc parte deputatis, lectisque in vulgari Epistolâ et Evangelio ad hanc diem designatis; eisque finitis Reverendî Patres Domini Nicolaus London. et Jo. Episcopus Suffraganeus Bedford. eidem Reverendissimo in hujusmodi Consecratione assistentes, superpelliceis linteis et Capis induti, Baculos suos Pastorales in eorum manibus tenentes, dictum Dominum Jo. Scorye consimili habitu indutum, medium inter se ducentes, eum eidem Reverendissimo Patri, in decenti Cathedrâ sedenti, et ad hujusmodi sacrum Consecrationis munus (ut præmittitur) impartendum accincto præsentabant, et exhibebant sub hujusmodi verborum tenore.

Most Reverend Father in God, we present unto you this Godly and well learned Man to be consecrated Bishoppe.

Eodem Electo mox producente Regias Literas Patentes eidem Reverendissimo Patri directas, hunc complectentes tenorem

Edwardus sextus, &c. Teste meipso apud Westm.
27. die Aprilis, Anno Regni nostri quinto.

Quibus de Mandato Reverendissimo publicè per Griffinum Leyson L.L. D. Dieti Reverendissimi Patris Cancellarium lectis, ipse Electus tactis Saero-sanctis Dei Evangelijs juramentum præstitit corporale de

renuntiando, refutando, et recusando Romano Pontifice, ejusque Auctoritati et Jurisdictioni usurpatis sub hæc serie verborum

¶ JOHN SCORYE, &c.

Mox tactis denso eisdem Evangelijs, qui suprâ Electus et consecrandus Canonice obedientie jururandum Reverendissimo Archiepiscopo exhibendum sub hæc formâ sequente, præstitit

¶ JOHN SCORYE, &c.

Quibus sic in ordine expeditis, Reverendissimus habuit verba ad populum et plebem, hortando et excitando, omnem Coetum præsentem ad supplicationes fundendas Altissimo, juxta contentum et ordinem præscriptum in libro Ordinario emanato, sub dat. mensis Martij A. D. 1549. Pro cujus libri serie et tenore sæpè dictus Electus fuit ritè et rectè consecratus, et Episcopalibus insignijs indutus: præmissa tamen et publicè expositâ primitus per Reverendum Patrem London. Antistitem, in modum concionis Epist. S. Pauli ad Titum primo Capitulo, ijs omnibus ad amissionem peractis, participataque Communione Corporis et Sanguinis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi super quadam lænâ linteo albo coopertâ, tam per dictum Reverendissimum, quàm etiam per dictos assistentes, et dictum consecratum, cæterosque ibidem ministrantes, idem Reverendissimus decrevit scribendum fore venerabili viro Domino Archidiacono Cantuar. pro Investiturâ, Installatione et Inthronizatione dieti Episcopi Roffen. uti moris est. Acta sunt hæc in præsentibus Antonij Huse Registrarij principalis dieti Reverendissimi Patris, Petri Lyllj, Edwardj Bygga, Johannis Incent Notariorum publicorum, &c.

Concordat cum Originali

Ita testor

RICARDUS CHICHELEY, N. P.

Ex Registro Johannis Scorye, Lib. B.

* REGISTRUM Reverendi in Christo Patris ac Domini Domini Johannis divinâ permissione dudum Roffens. Episcopi, et nuper in Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ Cath. Cicestrensis. ritè et legitimè nominati et translati, &c.

Acta Installationis ejusdem, R. Patris.

VICESIMO nono die mensis Julij 1552. Venerab. vir Johannes Worthial utriusque juris Baccalaureus ac Archidiaconus Archidiaconatûs Cicestrensis in Ecclesiâ Cathedrali prædictâ. necnon Procurator prænominati Reverendi Patris pro installatione, et inthronizatione ejusdem Reverendi Patris in Ecclesiâ hujusmodi obtinendâ et expediendâ; ad ostium Occidentale Ecclesiæ Cathedralis prædictæ personaliter constitutus, coram venerabili viro Jacobo Turberville S. T. P. prælibatæ Ecclesiæ Cath. Capituli pro hæc vice Præsidente, et Capitulo ejusdem, ac cæteris Ministris Ecclesiæ hujusmodi: tunc ibidem existentibus exhibuit quoddam Procuratorium ejus Procuratorij tenor talis est.

Pateat universis per præsentem quod cum Nos Johannes Scorye nuper Roffens. Episcopus, ad Ecclesiam Cathedralem Cicestrensem ritè et legitimè nominati et translati, varijs tamen nonnullis et arduis negotijs sæpè præpediti sumus.... Itaque expeditioni infra scriptorum in personâ nostrâ commodè interesse non possumus.... Dilectum igitur nobis in Christo Magistrum Johannem Worthiall utriusque Juris Baccalaureum, Archidiaconum Cicestrensem, in Ecclesiâ nostrâ Cathedrali Cicestrensi, nostrum verum, legitimum, et indubitatum Procuratorem,

Aetorem, Factorem, negotiorum nostrorum infra scriptorum Gestorem et Ministrum specialem nominamus, ordinamus, facimus et constituimus per presentes; damus et concedimus eidem Procuratori nostro potestatem generalem et mandatum speciale pro nobis, ac vice et nominibus nostro coram Decano, ejusve deputato et Capitulo diœtræ nostræ Cathedralis Cicestrens. comparendi, nosque à personali comparatione in hæc parte excusandi, nosque in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem diœtræ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Cicestrens. et dignitatis Episcopalis ejusdem induci et installari et intronizari petendi et obtinendi, et generaliter omnia alia et singula faciendi, exereendi et expediendi quæ in præmissis, seu circa ea, necessaria sint vel fuerint, seu quomodolibet opportuna; in cujus rei testimonium, &c. Dat. in Manerio nostro de Aldingborne 28. die mensis Julii An. Dom. 1552.

Quo quidem Procuratorio exhibito, publicèque perlecto, ac per Præsidentem et Capitulum antedict. quatenus ad eos attinebat admissio, dictus M. Jo. Worthiall petijt se nomine quo supra in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem Ecclesiæ Cath. prædictæ admitti installari et intronizari.

Deinde præfatus Præsidentem et Capitulum, cum alijs Ministris, unâ cum dicto Magistro Jo. Worthiall Procuratore antedicto intrarunt Ecclesiam ibidem et à dieto ostio Occidentali usque ad ostium Chori ejusdem Ecclesiæ euntes, et abhinc per medium Chori usque ad primum gradum procedendo Psalmum *Deus misereatur* in vulgari devotè decantarunt, factâque ibidem genuflexione paulisper per dictum Procuratorem, precibusque et oratione per præfatum Præsidentem in tali Aetu solitè solemniter dictis, providus vir M. Laurentius Woodcocke Clericus publicè tunc ibidem exhibuit et legi fecit quasdam literas Commissionales per Ven. virum Edmundum Cranmer Archidiaconum Cantuar. ei directas tenoris sequentis.

Edmündus Cranmer Archidiaconus Cantuar. ad quem inductio, installatio et intronizatio omnium et singulorum Episcoporum Cantuar. Provinciæ tam de jure et laudabili longævaque et legitime præscripta consuetudine, quam . . . dignoscitur pertinere, venerabilibus viris Magistris Johanni Worthiall Archidiacono Cicestrensi et Laurentio Woodcocke Prebendario in eâdem Ecclesiâ salutem in Domino sempiternam, &c. Dudum pro parte Reverendi in Christo Patris et Domini Domini Johannis Scory nuper Roffensis Episcopi, ad Ecclesiam Cathed. Cicestrensem vacantem in Episcopum et Pastorem ejusdem Ecclesiæ ritè et legitime *nominati Et translati*, fuimus debita cum instantia requisiti, quatenus eundem Rev. Patrem, vel ejus Procuratorem legitimum, in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem Ecclesiæ Cath. Cicestrens. juriumque et pertinentium suorum universorum induceremus, et installarem, et intronizarem. Nos vero atefati Reverendi Patris requisitioni et voto annuere volentes vobis, et vestrum cuilibet, ad inducendum prælibatum Reverendum Patrem seu ejus Procuratorem legitimum, in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem antedictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Cicestrens. juriumque et pertinentium suorum universorum conjunctim et divisim committimus vires nostras, et plenam in hac parte tenore presentium, concedimus facultatem, &c. Datum Londini 28 die mensis Junii an. D. 1552.

Quarum insuper literarum autoritate et vigore præfatus M. Laurentius Woodcocke antedictum Magistrum Jo. Worthiall nomine Procuratorio dicti Reverendi Patris in Sedem Episcopalem Eccles. Cathedr. prædict. honorificè induxit, installavit et intronizavit, &c.

No. XLII.

An Authentick Certificate of the Fault committed by Rymer in the Commissions directed to Parker for confirming Barlow in the See of Chichester, and Scorye in that of Hereford.

De Episcopo Roffensi constituto Pat. 5. Edward 6. p. 1. m. 38.

Joannes Storye pro Scorye.

Significavit pro eodem Episcopo. *Ibidem.*

Significavit pro Cicestrensi Episcopo. *Pat. 2. Eliz. p. 14. m. 5.*

ROSANTES et in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini firmiter præci-
piendo mandantes quatenus eundem Magistrum Willielmum Barloo in
Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Cicestrensiæ prædictæ sic
ut præfertur, electum, electionemque prædictam confirmare, et eundem
Magistrum Willielmum Barloo Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ
prædictæ consecrare; cæteraque omnia et singula peragere quæ vestro
in hac parte incumbunt Officio Pastoralis, &c. velius cum effectu.

Significavit pro Episcopo Herefordensi Ibid. m. 6.

Quatenus eundem Magistrum Johannem Storye in Episcopum Ec-
clesiæ Cathedralis Herefordensis prædictæ, sic ut præfertur, electum,
electionemque prædictam confirmare, et eundem Magistrum Johannem
Storye Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ prædictæ consecrare; cæter-
aque omnia et singula peragere, &c.

Having carefully perused the above-mentioned Record of Year 5. Ed-
6. I find that *J. Storye* is all along through the Error of the Transcriber
mistaken for *Scorye*, as also in the *Significavit pro eodem Episcopo*.
And that this Mistake might easily have been made by one of a better
Judgment, the letters (*t*) and (*c*) so nearly resembling each other
in the hand wherein these Records are written, that the difference is
scarce any otherwise discernible than by a comparison with the other
Records relating to the Person concerned.

I have also compared the above-written Extracts with the Records of
the 2. *Eliz.* and find no such, as *eundem Magistrum (Willielmum Bar-
loë, Joannem Scorye) Episcopum et pastorem Ecclesiæ prædictæ conse-
crare*, in either of the Patents.

Ita testor

RICARDUS CHICHELEY, L.L.B. Notarius
publicus, Dioceseos Cantuariensis
Commissarius, et Reverendissimo in
Christo Patri ac D. D. Guilielmo
Cantuar. Archiepiscopo a Secretis.

No. XLIII.

Consecratio Domini Milonis Coverdale in Episcopum Exoniensem.
Ex Reg. Cranm. fol. 334. b.

In Oratorio sive Capella manerij sui de Lambithe Winton. Dioceses.
die Dominicâ viz. tricesimo die mensis Augusti A. D. 1551, &c.

Cætera sequunter iisdem fere verbis, eodem omnino sensu ut in Actis
præcedentibus. Johan. Scorye.

In attestatione deest Johannis Incent nomen, qui ideo videtur huic
Consecrationi non interfuisse.

Ita testor,
RICARDUS CHICHELEY.
Not. Pub.

Further Proofs of Coverdale's Consecration, taken from the Register of the Chapter of Exon.

In a Register belonging to the Dean and Chapter of *Exeter*, fol. 294, 295. is entered the Mandate at large of *Edmund Cranmer*, Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, directed to the Canons of the Cathedral Church of *Exeter*, (the Deanery being then vacant,) empowering them to install and inthroned the R. *Miles Coverdale*, Bishop of *Exon*, into the Possession of the said Church, which Mandate recites his Consecration in these Words, viz. *Dudum pro parte Rev. in Christo Patris et D. D. Milonis Coverdale Exon. Episcopi moderni ad Ecclesiam Cathedraliorem Exon. per liberam resignationem Joannis Voysey ultimi Pastoris ibidem vacantem, in Episcopum et Pastorem ejusdem ritè et legitime à sua Regia Celsitudine nominati, et à Reverend. in Christo Patre et D. D. Thoma, permissione Divinâ Cantuar. Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primati et Metropolitano consecrati, fuimus debita cum instantia requisiti. Quatenus, &c.* The Date of the Mandate runs thus, viz. *Dat. Londini ultimo die mensis Augusti anno Dom. millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo primo, regniq[ue] metuendissimi supradicti Domini nostri Regis Edwardi sexti anno 5.*

The next Entry to this fol. 293. of the Register aforesaid, is of the Certificate returned by the Chapter of said Church to the Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, acquainting him that they had received his Mandate, and had in Pursuance of it installed and inthroned *Mil. Coverdale* Bishop of *Exon* the eleventh Day of *September* following

In fol. 296. of the same Register, is enter'd the Mandate of *Miles* Bishop of *Exon*, to the President of the Chapter of the same Church, empowering and requiring him to induce and install *James Haddon* into the Deanery of *Exon*, the Date of which runs thus, viz. *Datum sub sigillo nostro in Palatio nostro Exon. nono die mensis Julij an. D. 1553. regniq[ue] Regiæ Majestatis supradictæ anno septimo nostræque Consecrationis anno secundo.*

In the public Registry of the Bishop of *Exon*, there is a Register with this Title, viz. *Registrum Reverendissimi Milonis, permissione Divinâ Exon. Episcopi incaptum 12. die mensis Septembris anno D. 1551. et Consecrationis ipsius Dom. Milonis Episcopi primo.*

The first Entry in this Registry is fol. 1. 2. of a Commission granted by *Miles* Bishop of *Exon* to *Th. Herle* for the Exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, the Date of which runs thus, *Dat. Exon. in Palatio nostro 17. die mensis Septembris an. D. 1551. regniq[ue] Regiæ Majestatis supradictæ anno quinto, et nostræ Consecrationis anno primo.*

In fol. 5. 6. of the same Register, is enter'd the Institution of *Leon. Bilson* in the Prebend of *Teinton* and *Talinton*, the Date of which runs thus, viz. *Datum apud Exon. in domo nostra Episcopali ibid. 19. die mensis Julij anno 1552. regniq[ue] Regiæ Majestatis supradictæ anno sex o et nostræ Consecrationis anno primo.*

In fol. 6, 7. of the same Register is enter'd the Mandate of *Miles* Bishop of *Exon* for the Induction of *Leon. Bilson* to the aforesaid Prebend, which bears Date the same Day, and concludes with the same Words, *nostræ Consecrationis anno primo.*

In the same Book, 12, 13. is contain'd a Register of the Ordinations of *Miles* Bishop of *Exon*, the Title of which runs thus, viz. *Registrum de Ordinibus Reverend. in Christo Patris et D. D. Milonis permissione Divina Exon. Episcopi, celebratis in Diocæs. Exon. diebus, annis et locis prout inferius continetur.*

The number of Ordinations here enter'd are in all six, the Dates whereof are as follows, viz.

20 26	} Decembris anno Domini	1551.
1	} Januarii anno Domini	1551-2.
3 24	} Julii anno Domini	1552.
23	} Maii anno Domini	1553.

Some of these Ordinations were in the Bishop's own Chapel, other in the Cathedral Church of Exon; and excepting the different Places and Dates of each Ordination, the Entries run constantly in the same Style, viz. *Ordines celebrati; &c. per R. in Christo Patrem et D. D. Milon. Exon. Episcopum, Consecrationis sue anno primo, only the last Ordination in, Consecrationis sue anno secundo.*

*Concordat cum Archivis Decani
et Capituli Exon. necnon D.
Episcopi Exon.*

Ita testor
Nicol Webber. N. P. &
Decani et Capituli Exon.
Saccarij Clericus 14.
Augusti 1725.

No. XLIV.

*Acta Consecrationis Johannis Hodgkin. Extracta ex Registro Crum-
mer. fol. 234. a.*

Literæ Patentes Regis pro consecratione Johannis Hodgkin Episcopi Sedis Bedford. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium tertio die Decembris, anno Regni nostri vicesimo-nono. Per Breve de privato sigillo: et de dat. prædict. autoritate Parliamenti.

Ibid. b. Consecratio Domini Joannis Hodgkin Episcopi Suffragan. Bedford.

Die Dominico nono die mensis Decembris anno Domini et Regis prædict. In quodam Sacello infrà Vestibulum Ecclesiæ Cathedr. D. Pauli London. Reverendus Pater Dominus Johannes London. Episcopus, virtute Literarum Commissionarium Reverendissimi Patris Domini Thomæ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi ac Metropolitanæ, eidem Reverendo Patri per venerabilem virum Magistrum Johannem Cockes Legum Doctorem ipsius Reverendissimi Patris Vicarium in spiritualibus generalem, et Officiale principalem, presentatarum, Assistantibus sibi Reverendis Patribus Johanne Roffen. et Roberto Assaven. Episcopis debitâ cum solemnitate vigore quarundam Literarum Patentium à Regiâ Majestate nobis in eâ parte directarum, munus Consecrationis Religioso viro Johanni Hodgkin, sacræ Theologiæ Professori, ad Sedem Suffragan. Bedford. Lincoln. Diocesis, Cantuariensis Provinciæ in præfatis Literis Patentibus dieti Illustrissimi Principis specificè nominato, præstito primitus per eundem juramento corporali, tactisque per eundem Sacro-

sanctis Dei Evangelij, juxta tenorem juramenti specificati in quodam statuto Parlamento, in eâ parte editi, impendebat, eidemque benedixit, ac in Episcopatum Suffraganeum Sedis prædictæ consecravit, et eidem insignia Episcopalia, modo debite et consueto contulit : Præsentibus, &c.

Sequitur instrumentum Archiepiscopi de Consecratione prædictâ.

UNIVERSIS sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filijs ad quos præsentem Literæ pervenerint, Thomas permissione divinâ Cantuar. Archiepisc. totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus Salutem in Domino, et fidem indubiam præsentibus adhibere. Ad universitatis vestræ notitiam deducimus et deduci volumus per præsentem, quod die Dominico nono die mensis Decembris, anno millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo septimo, et Regni Illustrissimi in Christo Principis Domini nostri Domini Henrici Octavi Dei gratiâ Angliæ et Franciæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, et Domini Hybernæ, ac in terris sub Christo Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Capitis supremi, anno vicesimo nono; in quodam Sacello infra Vestibulum Ecclesiæ Cathedr. D. Pauli London. Reverendus Confrater noster Dom. Johannes London. Episcopus, virtute Literarum Commissionarium nostrarum, eidem Reverendo Patri, per Venerabilem virum Magistrum Jo. Cookes L.L. D. Vicarium nostrum in spiritualibus Generalem et Officiale principalem, præsentataram, assistentibus sibi Reverendis Confratribus nostris Jo. Roffen. et Roberto Assaven. Episcopis, debitâ cum solemnitate, vigore quarundam Literarum Patentium à Regiâ Majestate nobis in eâ parte directarum, Munus consecrationis Religioso viro Jo. Hodgkin S. T. P. ad Sedem Suffragan. Bedford. Lincoln. Diocæs. nostræ Cantuar. Provinciæ, in præfatis Literis Patentibus dicti Illustrissimi Principis specificè nominato, præstito primitus per eundem juramento corporali, tactisque per eundem Sacro-sanctis Dei Evangelij, juxta tenorem juramenti specificati in quodam statuto Parlamento in eâ parte edito, impendebat, eidemque benedixit, ac in Episcopatum Suffraganeum Sedis prædictæ consecravit, et eidem insignia Episcopalia modo debito et consueto contulit. Datum in Manerio nostro de Lambethæ prædict. nono die mensis Decemb. anno Dom. prædicto, et nostræ consecrationis anno quinto.

Concordat cum Originali,

Ita testor

RICARDUS CHICHELEY, N. P.

No. XLV.

Extract from Bonner's Registry.

EDMUNDUS permissione Divina London. Episcopus, Universis et singulis Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsentem literæ nostræ testimoniales pervenerint; ac eis præsertim quos infra scripta tangunt, seu tangere poterint quomodolibet in futurum, salutem in Auctore salutis et fidem indubiam præsentibus adhibere. Quia boni Pastoris officium tunc nos rite exequi arbitramur, cum ad exemplar Christi errantes oves ad caulam Domini Gregis reducimus, et Ecclesiæ Christi, quæ redeunt gremium non claudit, restituimus: et quia dilectus Confrater noster Joannes nuper Cicestrien. Episcopus in Dioc. et jurisdictione nostris London. ad præsens residentiam et moram faciens; qui olim laxatis pudicitiam et castitatis habentis, contra Sacros Canones et Sanctorum Patrum decreta ad illicitas et prohibitas convolvavit nuptias; se ea ratione non solum Ecclesiasticæ Sacrament. pertractand. omnino indignum; veram etiam a publica officii sui pastoralis functione privatam et suspensam reddens,

transactæ licentiosæ vitæ valde poenitentem et deplorantem, plurimis argumentis se declaravit, ac pro commissis poenitentiam aliam per nos sibi injunctam salutarem, aliquo temporis tractu in cordis sui amaritudine et animi dolore peregit, vitam hæcenus degens laudabilem spernque faciens id se in posterum facturum, atque ob id ad Ecclesiasticæ ac Pastoralis Functionis statum, saltem cum quodam temperamento, justitia exigente, reponend. hinc est quod nos præmissa ac humilem dieti confratris nostri petitionem pro reconciliatione sua habenda et obtinenda considerantes, ejus precibus favorabiliter inclinati, eundem confratrem nostrum ad publicum Ecclesiastici Ministerii et Officii sui Pastoralis Functionem et Executionem, infra Dioc. nostram London. exercend. quatenus de jure possumus et absque cujusque præjudicio restitui-mus, rehabilitavimus et redintegravimus, prout tenore præsentium sic restitui-mus, rehabilitamus et redintegramus; Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ clementia et Christiana Charitate id exegentibus. Vobis igitur universis et singulis suprascriptis præfatum confratrem nostrum, sic ut Præmittitur restitutum, rehabilitatum et reintegratum fuisse, et esse ad omnes effectus suprascriptos significamur et notificamur per presentes sigillo nostro sigillat. Dat. in Manerio nostro de Fulham die 14. mensis Julii Anno Dom. 1554, et nostræ Transla. Anno. 15.

No. XLVI.

Memorial presented to Pope Clement Xth by the Congregation of the Holy Office, on behalf of John Clement Gordon, who had been Bishop of Glasgow, and was desirous of being Re-ordained. as given by Le Quien. Pieces Justificatives, p. lxi.

Beatissime Pater.

JOANNES Clemens Gordon Scotus nuper Romæ ad fidem conversus ad pedes Sanctitatis vestræ humillime provolutus, exponit, quemadmodum Episcopatus gradum in patriâ obtinuerit, ritu hæreticorum utemque consecratus. Cum autem hujusmodi consecrationem opinetur esse nullam, ob rationem huic supplicii Libello annexam, et summopere desideret ex suo gradu dubio ac suspensio, ad certum statum Ecclesiasticum adscribi, Deoque et Ecclesiæ Catholicæ inservire, ideo.

Supplicat reverenter Orator, ut Sanctitas vestra declarare dignetur, hujusmodi ordinationem esse illegitimam et nullam; atque secum, ut ordines sacros Catholico ritu suscipere queat, dispensare. et Deus, &c.

Motivum, ob quod Anglicanorum Heterodoxorum ordinationes arbitratur Orator, cum parvâ Catholicorum, imo et heterodoxorum parte, nullo modo validas dici posse.

Ut enim validæ dici possent, non dubiè duntaxat, verum certo constare oporteret, apud prætensos Episcopos Anglos residere verum Episcopatus Characterem; legitimam illos accepisse ab Ecclesiâ Catholicâ per successorem aliquam ordinationem, consecrationemque, et denique ab illis Pseudo Episcopis adhibitum fuisse, ac etiamnum adhiberi essentialem in eorum consecrationibus, formam, materiam, intentionemque. Etenim, si quid ex tribus hisce, nimirum caractere, legitimâ consecratione, formæque, aut intentione desit, consecrationem dici nullam et invalidam cum Theologis omnibus fateri necesse est.

Quod autem primum spectat, fatentur hæretici, illius regionis doctissimi, (utpote lumine veritatis convicti) nullam apud se ordinandi potestatem esse, quæ ab Ecclesiâ Romano-Catholicâ derivata in eos non sit. Id confitetur ingenuè Bridgesius Pseudo-Episcopus Oxoniensis in Defensione Regiminis, &c. pag. 278. Ecce ejus verba: *Si fratres*

nostrî Papistas tantum Laicos esse velint; erimus nos, et omnes Ministri nostri, meri quoque Laici. Nam quis nos ordinavit Ministros, nisi qui de eorum Ministerio fuerunt? Nisi forsân a populo Ministros fieri velint. Quod ultimum negat Ministellus ille. At non est illi assentiendum pro illâ parte, quod Ministerium a Catholicis (ut præ se fert) habuerint, cum nullam successivæ ordinationis rationem afferat. Hâc autem sublatâ, nulla alia Consecrationis apud hæreticos istos extant vestigia, præter Ministerium a populo, vel Principe Laico acceptum. Itaque, si nulla legitima ordinatio Consecratioque Sacerdotalis aut Episcopalis in illos manarit, ab Orthodoxis Romano Catholicis Episcopis; igitur et nullum characterem, nullamque habent in se Consecrationem; atque adeo hanc in alios nequeunt valide conferre. Sed ne solis hâc in re (quod hujus dubii caput est) videatur Orator hæreticorum assertivibus inniti, invaliditatem Consecrationum his argumentis ex historiâ de-promptis invictè probat.

Constat, nullum Episcopum Catholicum in schismate et veræ Fidei Abjuratione Anglicanâ ad partes transiisse hæreticorum, præter unum Antonium, Kitchin nomine, Episcopum Landaffensem, doctrinâ et scientiâ inter cæteros infirmum, qui tamen nefando muneri ordinandi a Regina Elizabetha deputatus, tantum abfuit ut id exereretur, ut eum se, adeoque imposito muneri imparem simularit, facinusque detestatus, nullis minis ad id unquam adduci potuerit (ita Hardingus in Confutatione Apologetica, part. 2. c. 2.). Id ipsum Stous, Chronologista Anglus subinde agnovit, etsi suis id Annalibus inserere, metu regiminis, non sit ausus, uti testatur nobilis vir D. Constabilis in Manuscripto proprio, pag. 13.

Agebat quoque sub id tempus in Turri Londinensi Archiepiscopus quidam Hibernus, quem propositâ libertate et præmiis hæretici deprecabantur, ut misertus orbitalis suæ Ecclesiæ Ministros ordinaret. At vir bonus, inquit Sanderus de Schismate, pag. 400. *Nullo modo adduci potuit, ut hæreticis sacras manus imponeret, vel alieno peccato communicaret.* Cum autem hæretici sua se spe eecidisse viderent, inito consilio in *Tabernam* ad *Caput Equi* in plateâ Cheapside Londini, condicto die conveniunt anno 1559, et quid agendum statuunt. Ac tandem tumultuario opere ex præsentibus (aderant enim plures) Joannem Scorum Apostatam Religiosum, haud Episcopum, deligunt, qui ordinationis speciem perageret. Is legerat ex Reformatis Tunii cujusdam librum secundum de Ecclesiâ, cap. 4. impositionem in Ecclesiâ manuum nihil aliud olim fuisse, quam dexteræ in dexteram, amicitie ergo, injectionem. Jubet itaque adstantes in genua procumbere, et apprehensâ cujusdam Parkeri laici dextrâ, *Eia*, inquit, *Domine Episcope Cantuariensis, surge.*

Pari modo aliqui exiis qui aderant, hoc ritu ordinavit. Ita accidisse testatus oculatus testis Thomas Keal, Professor linguæ Hebraicæ Oxoniæ, cuiusdam suo amico Heberlei, cum uterque Religionis causâ exul ex patriâ in Belgio degeret. Prodiit quidem anno 1613. hoc est 54. annis post prædictum factum, liber Londini editus, cujusdam Formalistæ Angli, Francisci Masoni nomine: is præterdit, se in Archivo quodam invenisse Episcoporum successionem a Catholicis ordinatorum. Sed ab omnibus exploditur, quia nimirum sui dieti nullam probationem affert. Itaque illos constat, nullam ab Ecclesiâ verâ accepisse ordinationem validam, adeoque nec characterem ullum, ac proinde eorum ordinationes esse invalidas et nullas.

Adde, quod licet per successionem legitimam, aliquam hæreticus quispiam Ordinationem Consecrationemque Episcopalem accepisset (quod tamen nullo argumento probatur) etiamnum eorum Ordinationes

invalida dicenda essent ob defectum materiae, formae et intentionis debitis. Nulla enim materia utantur, nisi forte traditione Bibliorum, nulla forma legitima: imo formam Catholicorum addeere, et commutavere in hanc: *Accipe potestatem praedicandi verbum Dei, et administrandi sancta ejus Sacramenta*; quae essentialiter differt a formis Orthodoxis. Deinde, quae intentio ab illis formari poterit, qui negant Christum aut primam Ecclesiam ullum ineroentum instituisse Sacrificium? Sublato autem Sacrificio, tollitur Sacerdos, sublato Sacerdote, tollitur Episcopus, sublato alterutro *solvitur*, ut ait S. Hieron. dial. contra Luciferanos, *Ecclesia, Fides et Evangelium*.

Denique constans semper in Anglia fuit praxis, ut si haereticorum Ministrorum ad gremium revertatur Ecclesiae, secularis instar habeatur. Unde si ligatus sit Matrimonio, in eodem permanet; si liber, et ad statum Ecclesiasticum transire velit, aliorum Catholicorum more ordinetur, vel si libuerit, uxorem ducat. Ergo, &c. Feria 5. die 17. Aprilis 1704. in Congregatione generali S. R. et universalis Inquisitionis, habita in Palatio Apostolico apud S. Petrum coram Sanctissimo D. N. D. Clemente Divina Providentia Papa XI. ac Eminentiſſimis et Reverendissimis Dominis S. R. Ecclesiae Cardinalibus, in tota Republ. Christiana contra haereticam pravitatem generalibus Inquisitoribus, a S. Sede Apostolica specialiter deputatis.

Leeto supradicto Memoriali, Sanctissimus D. noster Papa praedictus auditis votis eorundem Eminentiſſimorum, decrevit quod praedictus *Joannes Clemens Gordon* Orator ex integro ad omnes ordines, etiam Sacros et Presbyteratus promoveatur, et quatenus non fuerit Sacramento Confirmationis munitus, Confirmetur.

JOSEPH BARTOLUS, S. R.
Et Universalis Inquisitionis Notarius.
Locus X SIGILLI.

No. XLVII.

Rotulus Parlamenti, &c. anno Regni Mariae Reginae Primo.

IN PARLIAMENTO pr. Prorogationum tento apud Westm. xiiij die *Octobris*, Anno Regni Excellentissimi ac Serenissimi Dne. nre. *Mariae Dei gratia Anglie Franchie et Hibernie Reginae, Fidei Defensoris ac in Terris Ecele. Anglicane et Hibernice Supremi Capitis* * primo et ibidem continuato usq.; in vj diem *Decembris*, anno deo. quo die dissolutum erat in secunda viz. Sessione ejusdem Parlamenti. Comuni oim. Procerum ac Populi consensu ac Regie Majestatis tum presentis assensu sancita inactata ordinata ac stabilita fuerunt, xxxj. Statuta subsequencia, viz.

5. *An Acte for the Repeele of certayne Statutes made in the time of the Raigne of Kinge Edwarde the Syxthe. Exhibita est Regie Mati. in Parlamento predicto Billia quedam formam Actus in se continens.*

5. FORASMUCHE as by dyvers and severall Actes hereafter mentioned, as well the Dyvine Service and goodde Administracon of the Sacramentes as dyvers other matters of Religion whiche we and our Forefathers founde in this Churehe of Englande, to us lefte by thauthoritie of the Catholyke Churohe, partly bee altered and in some parte taken from us, and in place thereof newe things imagined and set forthe by

* It is curious that in this Act to restore Popery, Mary should retain the Title of Head of the Church.

the sayd Actes, suche as a fewe of singularitie have of them selves devised, wherof hathe ensued amongst us in verie shorte time numbers of dyvers and straung opinions and diversitees of Sects, and thereby growen greate inquietnes and muche discorde, to the great disturbanoe of the Comon Wealthe of this Realme, and in very shorte time lyke to growe to extreame perill and utter confusion of the same, onles some remedye bee in that behalf provided; which thing all true, loving and obedient subjectes ought and are bounden to foresee and provide to thuttermost of their power.

IN CONSIDERACON WHEREOF, Be it enacted and establishedd by the Queene's Highnes, the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall, and the Commons in this same present Parliament assembled, and by thauthorittee of the same, That an Acte made in the Parliament begoane at *Westminster* the fourthe daye of *November* in the first yere of the Raigne of the late King *Edwarde* the Syxthe, and from thens continued till the xxiiij daye of *December* then next ensuing; that is to saye, in the first Session of the same Parliament, intituled, An Acte againste suche parsons as shoulde unreverentlye speake againste the Sacrament of the Bodye and Bloude of Christ, commonlye called The Sacrament of the Alter, and for the receyving thereof in bothe kindes; And also one other Acte in the same Session, which is intituled An Acte for thelecon of Bishoppes, and what Seales and Stiles they and other Spirituall parsons exercisinge jurisdiceon ecclesiasticall shoulde use. And also one other Acte made in one other Session of the said Parliament, holden upon prorogation at *Westminster*, the fourthe daye of *November*, in the seconde yere of the Raigne of the sayd late King *Edwarde* the Syxthe, and ther continued and kepte to the xiiij daye of *Marche*, in the thirde yere of the sayd late Kinge's Raigne, intituled, An Act for the Uniformitie of Service and administracon of the Sacraments throughout the Realme. And also one other Acte, made in the Session last before named, which is intituled, An Acte to take awaye all positive Lawes made against the Marriage of Priestes. And also one other Acte, made in one other Session of the sayd Parliament, holden upon prorogation at *Westminster*, the fourthe daye of *November*, in the third yere of the Raigne of the sayd late King *Edwarde* the Syxthe, and ther continued and kepte to the first daye of *Februarie*, in the fourthe yere of his Raigne, intituled, An Acte for thabolishing and putting awaye of dyvers Bookes and Images. And also one other Acte, made in the same Session last before mentioned, intituled, An Acte made for thordering of the ecclesiasticall Ministers. And also one other Acte, made in one other Session of the sayd Parliament, holden upon prorogation at *Westminster*, the xxiiij daye of *Januarie*, in the fiftie yere of the Raigne of sayd late King *Edwarde* the Syxthe, and ther continued and kepte till the xvth daye of *Aprill*, in the Syxthe yere of the Raigne of the sayd late King, intituled, An Acte for the Uniformitie of Common Prayour and thadministracon of the Sacramentes. And one other Acte, made in the same last Session, intituled, An Acte for the keeping of Holye Dayes and Fastings Dayes. And one other Acte, made in the Session last recited, intituled, An Acte made for the declaration of a Statute made for the Marriage of Priestes and for the legitimacon of their children. And everye clause, sentence, braunche, article and articles mentioned, expressed or contained in the sayd Estatutes, and in everye of them, shall bee fromhensforthe utterly repelled, voide, adnichilate and of none effecte, to all purposes, con-

struccons and intences, any thing or things contained or specified in the sayd Estatutes, or any of them, to the contrarie in any wise notwithstanding.

AND BE IT FURTHER enacted by thauethoritie aforesaid, That all suche Dyvine Service and Administration of Sacramenta as were most commonly used in the Realme of Englande in the last yere of the Raigne of our late Sovereine Lorde King *Henric* theight, shall bee, from and after the xxth daye of *December*, in this presente yere of our Lorde God One thousande five hundrethe fiftie and three, used and frequented through the hote Realme of Englande and all ether the Queen's Majestic's Dominions, and that no other kinde nor order of Dyvine Service nor Administratyon of Sacramentes bee, after the sayd xxth daye of *December*, used or ministredd in any other manner, fourme or degree within the sayd Realme of Englande or other Queene's Dominions, then was most commonly used, ministredd and frequented in the sayd last yere of the Raigae of the sayd late King *Henric* the Eight. And be it further enacted, by the authoritie aforesaid, That no person shall bee empeached or molested in bodye or gooddes for using heretofore or untill the sayd xxth daye of *December* the Dyvine Service mentioned in the sayd Actes or any of them, nor for the using of the Olde Dyvine Service and Administration of Sacramentes in suche manner and fourme as was used in the Chursh of Englande before the making of any of the sayd Actes.

CUI QUINQUE Bille perfecte et ad plenum intellectu per dicam Donam. Regnam, ex auctoritate Parlamenti predicti. Sic Responsum est

LA REIGNE LE VEULT.

This is a true Copy, from the original Record remaining in the Chapel of the Rolls, having been examined.

JOHN KIPLING.

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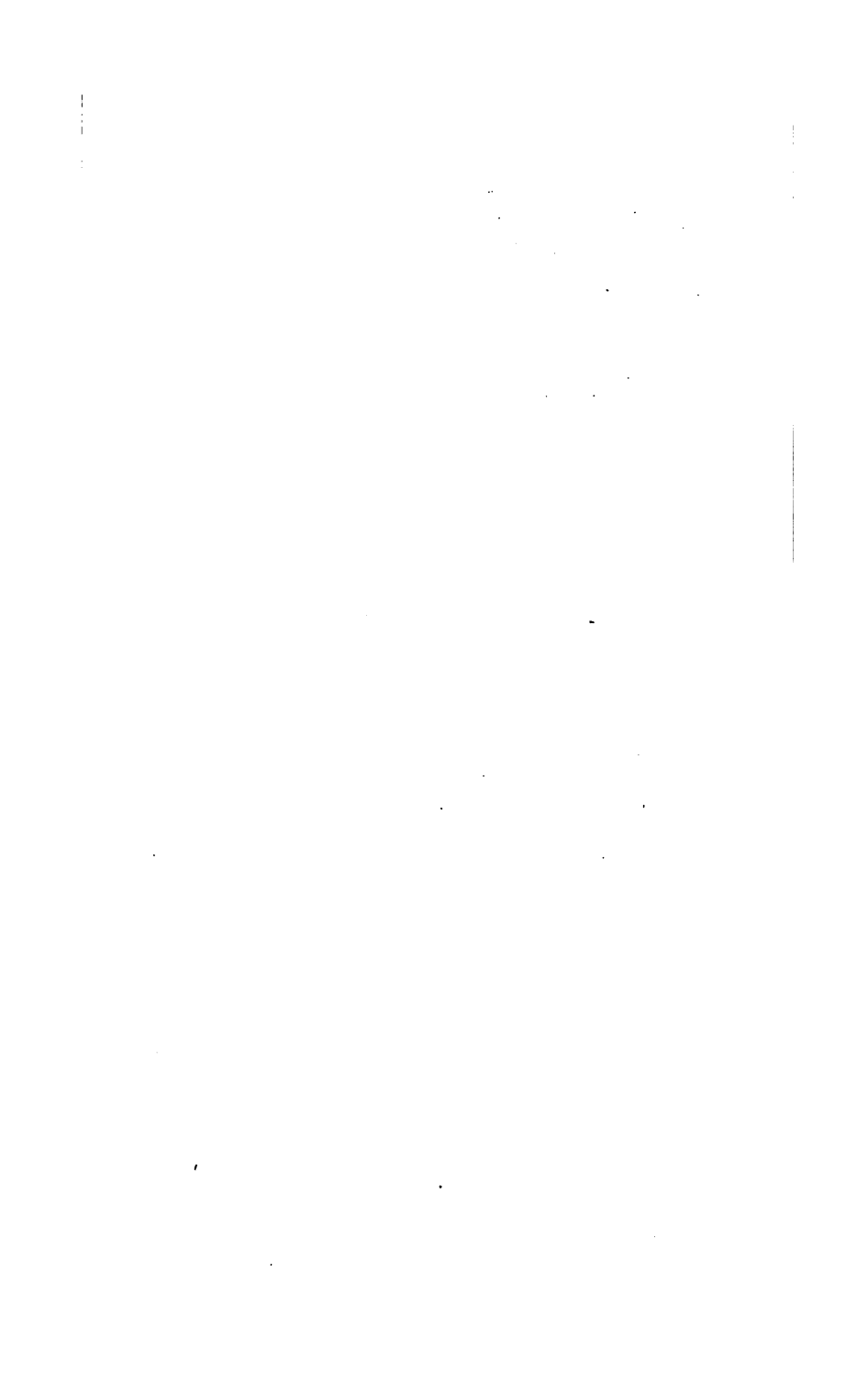
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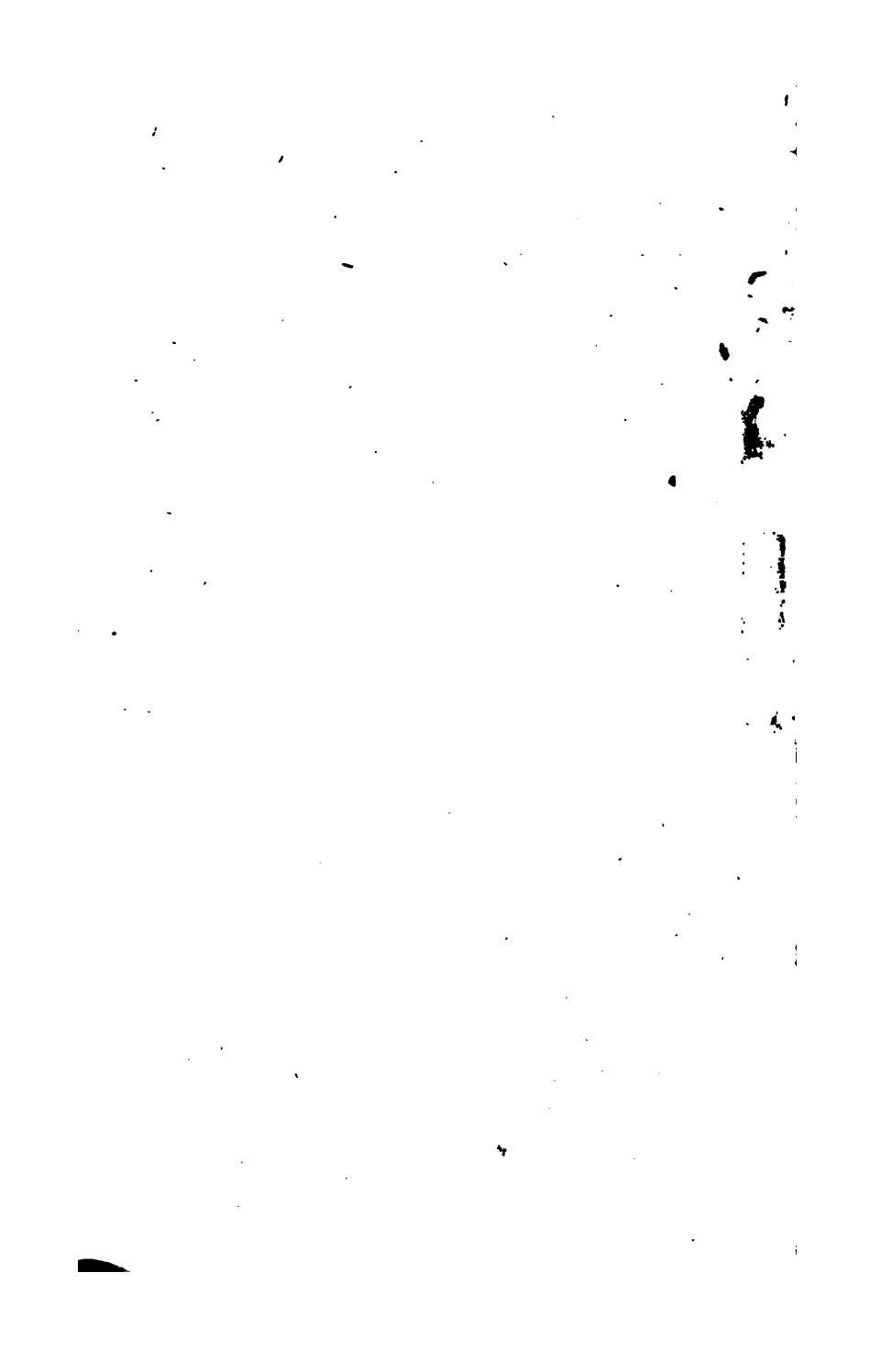
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