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**THE RESUMPTION OF PROTESTANTISM UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH**

**A Thesis presented to the  
Faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of**

**Bachelor of Divinity**

**by**

**A. O. Gebauer**

**Concordia Seminary,**

**1936**

**Approved by**

**Theo. Hoyer**

**W. G. Polack**

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E R R A T A

- P. 25, line 15, omit the word "same."
- P. 27, Summary, line 3, "steadily" for "steady."
- P. 64, line 12, "But they were framed," instead of,  
"it was framed."
- P. 66, line 6 from bottom, omit the word "more."
- P. 72, line 6, should read, "exiles from England."

\* \* \* P R E F A C E \* \* \*

The subject which we are about to discuss is of vital interest to the student of English Church History. If it is important for him to know the early phases and developments of that history reaching down into the Roman period of English History; if it is necessary for him to observe the tendencies, persuasions, and movements during the subsequent centuries; then it is truly essential for him to be acquainted with the lace-work of causes, events, and personalities out of which grew the pattern known to us as the Anglican Church.

It is the focal point in all English Church History. Many of the centuries-old tendencies matured at that time, and, perhaps, all the important developments since find their cause in that period. We are referring to that century, the Sixteenth, which has been made unique by the acts and personalities of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary Tudor, and Elizabeth.

Out of this century we shall single out that period which saw Protestantism definitely established within and as part of the Church of England. It is frequently called the "Settlement of Elizabeth." But to understand the events of the Elizabethan reign, we must take into account the Preparation for the introduction of Protestantism into the Church under Henry VIII and Edward VI as well as the Counteraction against the same under Mary.

Thus this paper will fall into two parts:

Part I: Preparation and Counteraction

Part II: Resumption

In thus stating the scope of the paper, it will be recognized that Part II is to receive more consideration than Part I. For convenience sake, Part I will be divided into three Sections: Sec. I, the Reign of

Henry VIII; Sec. II, Reign of Edward VI; Sec. III, Reign of Mary Tudor.

Part II is divided into two Sections. Section I: 1558 to 1570, which may be called the "mild" years of her reign during which Protestantism became firmly established; and Section II: 1570 to 1603, from her ex-communication to her death, which years were marked by harsher measures. Nor shall we be in position to trace every cause and circumstance, perhaps, centuries back to its original source. The mere mention of some of the more important must suffice for our purpose.

In giving sources the author and title will be stated in full the first time they are quoted. If the same author and book are referred to thereafter, only the author will be given.

All footnotes are numbered successively, but, lest these become too large, a new series is started with each section.

Appended to the paper are documents, mostly primary sources, which are to serve as supplementary material. They have been chosen for the most part to give a more complete picture of the time, of the mode of thought, of popular opinion, of governmental policies, etc.

*A.C. Gebauer*

\* \* \* I N T R O D U C T I O N \* \* \*

The Church of England occupies a unique position among the Churches of Christendom. There are some who would maintain stoutly that it is Catholic, there are others who are no less convinced it is Protestant. Some hold that it is an irrational political compromise, a form of Christianity which has not the courage to call itself one thing or the other; to some again it represents, more accurately than any other religious body, the true tradition of primitive Christianity.

Hand in hand with this goes the further difficulty to define or describe its doctrinal stand and characteristics. We know what Calvinism, Lutheranism and Catholicism stand for, but what is the teaching of the Church of England? "There is no great theologian to whom we can appeal, and say, 'Here you can find what we teach.'" (1)

How did this state of affairs arise? What are its causes? In a general way it may be said that the answer to these questions lies in the times and rulers of England who in their own peculiar way, influenced by conditions within and without the realm, tried to solve the problems which were then arising throughout the Catholic Church. We are now speaking of the turn of the Fifteenth to the Sixteenth Century.

At that time the Church throughout Europe, due to the Renaissance and other causes, was losing its hold upon the consciences of princes and the rich and able people; it was also losing the faith and confidence of common people. The effect of its decline of spiritual power upon the former class was to make them resent its interference in temporal matters, its moral restrictions, its claims to overlordship, to tax and to dissolve

1. Headlam: Church of Engl. p. 1



allegiance. The revolt of the princes was essentially an irreligious revolt against the world rule of the Pope. The revolt of the people against the Church, on the other hand, was essentially religious. They objected, not to the Church's power, but, to its weaknesses. They wanted a deeply righteous and fearless Church to help them. They did not want less religious control, but more -- but they wanted to be assured that it was religious. (2)

All this was particularly true in England. And we recognize the development of such a frame of mind quite some time before the German Reformation. We hear of men like Occam, denying the infallibility of the Pope and stoutly maintaining that Holy Scripture was the infallible source of faith and life, and that in secular affairs the Church was subordinate to the state. (3) There is John Wycliff called "the morning star of the Reformation," whose traveling preachers brought and expounded the Bible in the vernacular to the people. In addition humanism, "the new learning," with its attending advance in research in Hebrew and Greek, with its liberating influence upon men's minds and conceptions, was being introduced almost universally into the country's highest schools. (4)

That briefly was the groundwork. The soil was thus, to some extent, prepared for Luther's writings. These writings proved influential, especially at Oxford and Cambridge Universities. As a result "the Oxford Reformers" as some of them were called, Colet and Erasmus among them, began in the name of scholarship, religion and morality, a series of bitter attacks on the monks as absurdities, on the worship of images and relics, on the extortion of the ecclesiastical courts, and the worldliness of the clergy. (5) At Cambridge students met at the White Horse Tavern to discuss Luther's works. The tavern was nicknamed "Germany" and the scholars were called

2. H. G. Wells: Outline of Hist. III, 843f

3. Qualben p. 306

4. During the time of Henry VII many grammar schools were established and education was greatly encouraged. University of Caen, Eton College, King's College at Cambridge were founded. (Dearmer: Everyman's Hist. of Eng. Ch. 95f)

5. Trevelyan: Hist. of Europe p. 291

"Germans." In spite of these aspersions, these men contributed no little to the Reformation -- Tyndale and Coverdale, who first gave her the Bible in Tudor English, Cranmer, who gave her the Prayer Book, and others. (6) The sincerity and conviction of some of these men may be sensed out of Tyndale's words, "If God spare my life, I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of Scriptures than thou dost." This remark he addressed to a divine. (7)

There was then during the early part of the Sixteenth century a great deal of heretical feeling throughout the country. And yet, we must be careful not to misjudge the situation. Comparatively few men were guilty of overt heresy, and even these were probably not willing to die for it. True the morning light is approaching, but it is only so far noticeable by the gray of dawn, the sun of the Reformation has not yet appeared in its full morning glory. Indeed, if we take the term "Reformation" in the sense with which the Lutheran Church has clothed it, the full glory of that Reformation never did appear in England.

It dare not be forgotten that the Pope is still supreme head of the Church of England; that Catholic doctrines are the doctrines of the Church; the rites and ceremonies are still those of Rome and, as it were, part of the air which they and countless generations before them had been breathing from birth. Though abuses and wrongs are fiercely denounced, yet the Catholic Church is recognized as the one true Church of England.

But at the same time it dare not be forgotten, that, though Catholicism in its chief doctrines and ceremonies was strongly entrenched in the heart of the nation, yet the English Church was never imbued with the same slavish loyalty to the See of Rome as, for example, the Spanish or Italian Church. The Englishmen, due to their geographic isolation upon

6. Ibid: p. 300

7. G. P. Fisher: Hist. of the Chr. Church p. 346.

their island kingdom, from earliest times had strong national feelings and often even antipapal inclinations, which diminished by no means as time passed on and they advanced from a second or even third rate nation to a recognized power. Now since in the Medieval mind Church and State were two, closely, if not inseparately, allied institutions, therefore, the English people would selfevidently also foist their nationalistic tendencies upon the Church. This means that England began to object ever more vehemently to the "foreign power", the Pope, not on religious grounds as much as on political. (8)

If we then observe that Henry VII had succeeded in advancing nationalism more than ever, we begin to see the spirit of the nation (9) at the turn of the Fifteenth to the Sixteenth Century. Renaissance learning had done much to widen the intellectual horizon; there was fertile soil in England for new and even radical ideas in the fields of education, politics, as well as religion. The abuses and deficiencies of the English Church were therefore bound to become more evident to the cobbler as well as the students at Oxford. All these movements, trends and new horizons helped greatly to advance the already very pronounced nationalism of this island nation as well as antipapal sentiments.

The time was ripe for a Re-Formation of the Church, i.e., an adaptation of the Church to English national thought and progress. The Church was out of step. England's rulers seeing visions of being monarchs of a great nation, if not a world power, realized the necessity of a united

8. At the end of the Thirteenth Century already the nobles of England had united and forced the Pope to relinquish his "right" of "providing" the bishops for vacancies. It was called the statute of praemunire. Severe punishment was to be exacted from anyone who would accept such an office from the Pope except by permission of the King or submit to the jurisdiction of Rome or its legate.
9. Henry VII had done much towards centralizing the government by taking judicial and other rights away from the barons, granting them only the land. Henry VIII finished the job. Yet even then 1/3 of the land was in the hands of the Church, over which the government had no jurisdiction whatever.

people. Thus the Church could not be permitted to continue as a discordant,  
an uncontrolled element. (Cf. Supplement III)

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PART I

THE PREPARATION

And

REACTION

(1509 - 1558)

## S E C T I O N I

### P R O T E S T A N T I S M D U R I N G T h e R E I G N

O f

### K I N G H E N R Y T h e E I G H T H

(1509 - 1547)

When Henry VIII acceded to the throne of England he was a Catholic; and when he breathed his last he was still a Catholic by faith, yet, he was not a good son of the Church in the estimation of the Pope. At his coronation he became ruler of a Catholic nation, although a nation very alert to the heretical teachings and quite ready to adopt some of them; and when the churchbells of London announced the death of Henry, Protestantism (1) had not gained as firm a hold on the country as one might imagine; yet vital changes had taken place in the external government of the Church.

King Henry was a Catholic monarch and proved it by trying to stamp out signs of heresy. There were a considerable number of "burnings" from 1510 - 1527 in which heretics paid the penalty for giving too much attention to "Wycliff's Wicket," certain Bible translations and Luther's writings. Some were charged with eating meat in Lent, some with speaking against purgatory and prayers for the dead, some with possessing the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in English. Seldom did these heresies affect the authority of

1. We shall use this term "Protestantism", for want of a better, in attempting to designate the movements of these times. They were not called Protestantism in those days, nor were they essentially Protestant in character. Yet, in as far as these movements tended to separate the Church from Rome and thus protest against her authority, the term applies.

the Pope. (2)

It is difficult to get accurate statements on this matter, but it seems safe to say that if 50 were burned, it was many. (3) The vast majority of them abjured, showing that their convictions were far from firm. However, after some time heresy of this type had spread to such an extent in London and vicinity, that it was impossible to convict any one by jury.

Indeed, before long (1520 - 30) men like Tyndale, Barnes, Thomas Garret made it their object to spread heresies. Tyndale consulted with Luther and prepared an English translation "with copious marginal glasses." (4) The notes were to a large extent an attack upon Church polity and abuses. Many copies reached the people, although Archbishop Warham tried to buy the whole shipment and burn them.

Dr. Barnes openly attacked special feast days when preaching on the text: "Rejoice in the Lord alway" (Dec. 24, 1525). He was duly and quickly charged with heresy. The young fiery doctor, he was but thirty, disputed, argued, countercharged, but in the end abjured.

Garret had defied the authorities by secretly selling Lutheran books. When arrested sympathizers liberated him, and then went to the length of perjuring themselves in order to hide the guilty parties. Garret was nevertheless captured. Whereupon he made confession of his errors and meekly

2. We have a good deal of evidence as to the type of heresy punished. The following is a sample. Case of Elizabeth Sampson (1508): She declared, "...our Lady of Willesden was but a burnt-tailed elf, and a burnt-tailed stock, and if she might have holpen men and women who go to her on pilgrimage, she could not have suffered her tail to have been burnt; for the one is but a burnt-tailed stock and the other is but a puppet; and better it were for the people to give their alms at home to poor people, than to go on pilgrimage. Also she called the image of St. Savior 'Sim Savior with kit lips'; and that she said she could make as good bread as that which the priest occupied; and it was not the body of Christ but bread, for that Christ could not be both in heaven and in earth at one time." J. Gairdner: A Hist. of the Engl. Church. IV, 52.
3. J. Gairdner: op. cit. p. 53.
4. Quarto edition - 3000 copies - 1524.

inquired from Wolsey, whether he might be released from excommunication.

In 1521 the King showed all Christendom that he was a Catholic prince and fully in sympathy with the steps taken to suppress heresy. He wrote a book called *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, dedicated to the Holy Father and attacking in far from gentle terms Luther and his writings. Whereupon the Pontiff, though it cannot be proved that he read the entire book, conferred upon the "learnedest prince of Christendom" the title "Defensor Fidei." Apparently Henry and the Pope were basking in each others' good will. Yet only a few years later relations began to assume different aspects.

Henry found it necessary, so he said, to seek an annulment of his marriage with his first wife, Catharine of Aragon. The Pope being a tool of Charles V (5) had to refuse. (1525). This procedure greatly incensed Henry. The Emperor was dictating to him through the Pope. It was another glaring proof that the Pope was but a temporal prince. If that was the case, what right had he to be the highest authority in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters? Thus asked Henry and England. Several years were spent in negotiations which exhausted the King's patience. Henry decided to break with Rome in order to be able to rule without any foreign restraint. He did this only after realizing the Pope would not comply. But he moved warily. He first of all questioned the Pope's right to be the sole judge in this question by submitting it to the universities of Europe and England. By various means of questionable character some of them supported Henry. However, before these opinions had been obtained events in England were proof of the King's intention to break with Rome. It was Thomas Cromwell, perhaps, who had originally suggested to the King that, by abrogating the jurisdiction of the Pope in the English Church, Henry would be free to deal as he liked in this

5. Catharine is the aunt of Emperor Charles V. He had sacked Rome shortly before and had virtually made a prisoner of the Pope.



matter. If this step was taken what would be more natural than to have the King declared Supreme Head of the Church?

The logic of this seems to have greatly appealed to the King. Parliament of 1529, with the House of Commons, conscientiously packed by nominees of the crown, shows in its transactions that the King was guiding them with this great goal in mind - separation from jurisdiction of Rome. The Commons at once preferred for consideration a list of unheard of charges against the clergy. (6)

If the clergy received these charges with bad grace, they had reason to be dismayed because of Henry's next thrust against them. He indicted the entire clergy of England under the statute of praemunire. Wolsey, though, by now disgraced Archbishop, had negotiated for Henry at Rome and then carried certain answers of the Pope to England. Henry unjustly claimed Wolsey had, without the King's consent and contrary to law, entered England as a papal legate; and the English clergy had submitted to it. Technically they had thus become guilty of praemunire. The clergy declared itself willing to pay a large monetary fine, but the King was not even satisfied with that. He desired that convocation acknowledge him officially "Protector and Supreme Head of the English Church and Clergy." But convocation simply could not be persuaded to accept this most vital change in the outward government of the Church, at least not in that way. Finally Archbishop Warham, on Feb. 11, 1531, suggested the wording: "of the Church and Clergy of England, whose especial Protector, single and supreme lord, and, as far as the law of Christ allows, even Supreme Head we acknowledge his Majesty to be." The proposal was greeted with total silence, which was then taken to be an assent.

6. Bishop Fisher is reported to have complained to the House of Lords: "My Lords, you see daily what bills come hither from the Common House, and all is to the destruction of the Church. For God's sake, see what a realm the Kingdom of Boheme was, and when the Church went down, then fell the glory of the kingdom. Now with the Commons is nothing but 'Down with the Church'; and all this meseemeth is for lack of faith only." Gairdner: op. cit. p. 104.

It was palpably Henry's intention either to force the Pope into granting him the annulment, or to make himself Head of the English Church and thus be free to deal with this question himself. For that reason also he forced the Commons to pass a measure against the paying of annates to Rome, (7) yet he made it clear to the nuncio that he could barely restrain parliament from enacting much more severe measure. In truth, if the nuncio had believed Henry in the first instance, he must have been convinced, more than ever, of parliament's evil temper when a month later by their complaints and proposals they forced the clergy to deliver to the King the historic document, "The Submission of the Clergy" in which it relinquished some of its chief rights and privileges. (8)

We have ample proof also, that in order to have even more cause for complaint against the clergy the King encouraged heresy secretly.

Hereupon events began to move swiftly. Jan. 25, 1533 Henry married Anne Boleyn secretly. He continued to treat the Pope, however, with respect because he needed the bulls which should confirm Crammer's appointment to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. In March the bulls arrived. Convocation was called immediately, to be guided by Crammer. The divorce was placed before them. They were forced to declare that all appeals to Rome were illegal. Thus the Church of England had the right to decide on the marriage. Crammer gave sentence on May 23: The King's marriage with Catherine was illegal. He also declared, on May 25, that the marriage with Anne Boleyn was legal. The Pope excommunicated Henry on July 11. On September 7 Anne Boleyn gave birth to the future Queen Elizabeth.

The year 1533 and '34 witnessed the severing of the tie after the tie which still bound them to the Holy See. The Act of Annates was put into effect; no bishops were to be presented to Rome; Peter's pence and all other payments were

7. April 10, 1532, Act not to go into effect until one year later.
8. Some of the provisions were: 1. No new canons, constitutions, or ordinances are to be enacted without the King's license; 2. All the old Church laws were to be submitted for examination to the King and a Commission of 32;

abolished; Archbishop of Canterbury received power to grant all licenses and dispensations formerly granted by Rome; the Commission of Thirty-Two for examination of canons was made legal; it was declared that nothing done against the Pope was heresy. (9) The clergy had to sign a declaration, that "the Bishop of Rome has no greater jurisdiction conferred upon him by God in this kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop." (10) November 3 parliament passed a short act declaring the King the "only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England" (11) and added this title to the imperial crown. At the same time first fruits and tenths of benefices were given to the crown. Lastly it was made high treason to deny the King this new title. This was Henry's answer to the Pope's bulls of excommunication.

"Thus the edifice of royal supremacy which had been five years in building was completed by legislation." (12) It was the first great stage in the English Reformation. The jurisdiction of Rome no longer existed in the English Church.

Was England now one united nation, free from every kind of foreign rule, having one ruler who was supreme in Church and State? It was not. There were still the large sections of land belonging to the Church, having their own jurisdiction, harboring great wealth, and its incumbents, strict Catholics, antagonistic to the crown.

Consequently the smaller monasteries were abolished in 1535. In 1540 all monasteries were declared dissolved. Altogether 645 shared this fate. Ostensibly it was done because they were "cesspools of wickedness and corruption"; in reality it was to obtain control of these large territories and their funds. Some of them were used for educational and charitable institutions, the majority for the purpose of rewarding or bribing barons. It is these

(Note 8 continued) 3. All laws found consistent with God's and the realm's laws should remain in force after the King's approval.

9. Gairdner: op. cit. p. 146

10. Ibid: p. 149

11. Qualben: op. cit. p. 310. See also Supplement I

12. Gairdner: op. cit. p. 153

barons who formed the effective block in almost all succeeding parliaments against a return to Rome. They became the political mainstay of the Reformation.—The chantries were dissolved in like manner for the same reason in 1547.

1547, however, marks the last year of Henry's reign, and wonderingly we ask ourselves, "Was Henry's entire Reformation only concerned with an abrogation of the Pope's temporal power and a subjugation of the clergy? Was it carried on only out of political reasons and not at all for religious purposes as many had hoped?" The answer is a disheartening affirmative. The fact of the matter is that Henry was not even greatly interested in removing the abuses from the Church. That some of them were removed was more incidental than intentional; the removal of such abuses happened to coincide with his political plans and schemes. Nor dare we be illusioned by his seemingly sincere efforts ca. 1536 to introduce new doctrines, i.e., Lutheran doctrines. It was done purely out of political reasons. He feared the Emperor and the King of France might declare war on him. Therefore he sought an alliance with the Protestant princes of Germany. They, however, asked him to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession. Henry answered their request with the Ten Articles, largely based upon the Augsburg Confession, but still far different, published in 1536. Crammer wrote an English catechism "Institutions of a Christian Man" based on Luther's catechism. (13) Coverdale's Bible appeared in 1535. In 1539 Crammer's Bible (14) was published and widely distributed, the government even ordering every congregation to buy Bibles, while the priests were to encourage the people to read the Holy Writ.

Henry definitely desired no change in doctrine. "What he wanted was a reformed Roman Catholic Church, national in character, strictly under royal

13. It contained an exposition of the Apostles' Creed; the Seven Sacraments, Ten Commandments, Paternoster and Ave. Also one article on justification and one on purgatory.
14. He wrote the preface to it. Also called the Great Bible. It passed through seven editions in two years. Qualben: p. 310

This was not always as evident then as it is today, when we view his reign in perspective. His action against Rome and his negotiations with the German Lutherans had inspired in many who were leaning towards Lutheran doctrines the hope that Henry would also change the doctrines of the Church. But in this they were disappointed. For the King, after he knew that an alliance with the German princes was no longer necessary, dropped every pretense towards reforming the Church in this respect. In fact, Lutheranism was distasteful to him. But he had "let in the flood" by encouraging heresy, permitting Bible reading and showing a friendly hand towards Lutheranism. He now decided to check its flow. As Henry looked upon England in his last years, he saw that this reading of the Bible and controversial writings had produced a great ferment which evidenced itself by a host of controversial opinions and even iconoclastic reactions in many sections of the country.

(16) Henry sensed, probably realized, that since the one article of faith, the Supreme Headship of the Pope in the Church, had been abrogated the whole structure of faith might be attacked. Just what assurance was there that other articles of the Catholic faith were not to be questioned in the same manner? Perhaps Henry realized that eventually this movement would probably have to either revert to Catholicism or embrace Protestantism more fully. He felt that England was not ready for the latter nor would it be wise to bring about the former. He tried to solve the vexing question by causing parliament to pass the Six Articles in 1539. These established that the doctrines of the English Church were to be, almost without exception, the doctrines of Catholicism (Supplement II). The Act of Six Articles was not

15. Qualben: op. cit. p. 310

16. All over the country relics and images were being destroyed, miracle-working images taken down and their crude machinery exhibited to the people on whose credulity it had imposed. 'Dagon is everywhere falling,' said the reformers; 'Bel of Babylon is broken in pieces.' Thomas a. Becket was spoken of as the 'holy blissful martyr'... a rebel who fled the realm to France and the Bish. of Rome to procure the abrogation of wholesome laws. Trevelyan: op. cit. 309

unpopular for the majority of the people were neither true Protestants nor convinced Catholics. Neither were they offended at the severe punishments ordered for those breaking the Articles. No one in those days believed in toleration.

All that Protestantism had gained under Henry therefore was a Church free from the temporal power of Rome and a somewhat more thorough understanding by both parties, Protestant and Catholic, of the issues involved. For "Sacramentalism and Sacerdotalism still remained. Salvation was still bound <sup>to</sup> by the seven sacraments as the channels through which grace was infused into the Christian heart, enabling him through penance to work his way toward justification. The mass remained in all its idolatrous glory. The Christian was still bound to seek his God through the ordained priesthood in confession and without them he had no access to God and heaven. Externally, of course, there was some difference; some of the glaring excrescences of Popery had been lopped off; but the evil tree still remained." (17)

That was the condition of the English Church when Henry "was called before the only spiritual authority that was any longer competent to summon a King of England," as his lips were murmuring faith in God and his hand was resting in that of the "gentle and perplexed founder of Anglicanism", Crammer.

## SECTION II

### PROTESTANTISM DURING THE REIGN

Of

### KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

(1547 - 1553)

Henry VIII had failed to satisfy the hopes of the Protestant element in England, that also some of the doctrines of the Church might be changed. This was not to be the case under the boy King, Edward VI. (1) It was during his reign that Protestantism was permitted to be of profound influence within the Church. So deep was the impression of Protestantism upon England, that not even the fanaticism of Mary was able to erase it.

Henry VIII had chosen sixteen men who were to govern the nation during Edward's minority. These in turn appointed the Earl of Hertford, later Duke of Somerset, as Lord Protector. It is significant that Hertford, the King's uncle, was known even before his appointment as a great promoter of the Reformation. This choice was in agreement with the then current opinion that it would be to the best interest of the nation to continue the break with Rome. And many as we know were disposed to push the Reformation much farther than that.

It was during the two and one half years of Somerset's power that convocation and parliament carried out and enforced the revision of the devotional system of the Church. Towards the close of his rule, 1559, the First Prayer Book of Edward VI was brought into use under the authority of the Act of Uniformity. Yet, while he was favorably inclined towards the Reformation, it was really Archbishop Cramer who must be designated as the moving spirit behind these first reforms. (2)

1. Edward VI was crowned Feb. 20, 1547 at the age of nine.
2. Blunt: Ref. of the Ch. of Engl. II, 27.

Tracing some of these reform measures, we learn that as their first move Somerset and Cranmer ordered a visitation. The visitors were provided with thirty-nine injunctions. Some of them were:

"The Pope's power to be preached down once a quarter; all noncomplying clergymen were to provide others that would conform; Gospel and Epistle to be read in English, when mass was celebrated; several ornaments were to be removed from the churches, viz. pictures, images, etc.; custom of praying for the dead to be continued." (3)

These "visitors" would upon entering a diocese examine the clergy, deliver the injunctions and administer the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Thus the entire clergy was forced to recognize the King as Supreme Head of the Church.

In November 1547 parliament met for the first time. It upheld the royal Supremacy, guarding it, by declaring its denial treason. The Six Articles and many other Acts against heresy were repealed. Of importance is the Act on communion which forbade irreverent disputes on the subject and ordered the celebration under both kinds. Furthermore all colleges, free chapels and chantries existing within the last five years were delivered to the crown with the express purpose of enriching the royal treasury, which Act was, of course, severely opposed by the bishops, even by Cranmer. (4) It is evident that the intentions of the Reformers at the helm of the Government were being carried out: The breach between England and Rome was steadily being widened. (5)

That, however, was but one part of their program. The other was to reform the Church, also along doctrinal lines, and to give it a set form of worship

3. Dodd's: Church Hist. of Engl. II, 5

4. Gairdner: op. cit. p. 251

5. The popular attitude towards papacy is described in the following verse:

"The Pope, his compassion for sinners to prove,  
Sends Bulls without mercy to bore 'em,  
Our Phillpotts to shew his more fatherly love,  
Refuses permission to Gore 'em."

D. W. Duthie: The Church in the Pages of "Punch" p. 49



in agreement with the new doctrines. This was necessary particularly at this time, for the greatest confusion existed everywhere on all these points. Especially the Lord's Supper was a very vexatious part of the liturgy. It was not only celebrated in a great variety of ways but also made the subject of much discussion by high and low alike. The visitation had only helped to make matters worse by attempting to force one specific mode of celebration upon clergy and people. Burnet in his "Reformation" writes: "The people were wonderfully distracted by this variety among their teachers." By Dec. 1547 things had come to such a pass that it was necessary to issue a proclamation in which it was stated that neither party should preach about the sacrament anything not contained expressly in Scripture. (6; vide: Suppl. IV: Edict Against Religious Innovation)

Some of these problems, it was hoped, would be settled by the First Book of Common Prayer. (6a) It had been prepared by a number of bishops under the direction of Crammer. When presented to parliament it became evident, though it was not expressly said, that transubstantiation had been given up and that it was the intention to introduce communion under both kinds. Curiously, perhaps to curb lengthy discussion, the authors had claimed in the preamble: "The book was drawn by the aid of the Holy Ghost." (7) But discussion did arise and objections were made which seem to us plain quibbling, but loomed in their minds as monstrous innovations, e.g., the use of Psalms in English was objected to.

6. There were other causes for confusion and dispute: Since cathedrals and chantries had been turned over to the crown, the Church's officials were at a loss what Service Book to use. Was the old Service Book to remain in use? Was it to be in Latin or English? Were innovations permitted or not? Many felt that the old Service was totally obsolete. The young clergy began to introduce all kinds of novel forms -- Concerning the Eucharist: The "Presence" was discussed in ale-houses; rhymes, ballads, and every form of vulgarity were used to degrade the sacred rite. There was actual fighting at St. Paul's, whether there should be mass or not. -- Concerning clergy: It was rapidly becoming the object of much ridicule. "The London 'prentice' boys hustled priests in the city and Westminster Hall, and plucked from them their caps and tippetts." Gairdner: op. cit. p. 254.
- 6a. The word, "Common" already is noteworthy showing that the laity was now for the first time officially permitted to take an active part in the worship.
7. Burnet: History of the Reformation (Nares Edition): II, p. 149.

The book set forth the full authority of Church and State as embodied in the Supreme Head, the King. It was largely based upon the ancient Missal, Breviary, and Manual, the objectional "Romish" features having been removed. Yet upon examination it will be observed that nine-tenths of its contents is taken from the old Latin Service Books of the Church of England. They merely "castigated ... feigned legends, superstitions, orations, collects, versicles, and responses." And yet we can notice Lutheran influence in the new liturgy. It bore a remarkable resemblance to the liturgies which Luther advocated in 1523 and 1526. (8) Formulas for baptism, communion, marriage, etc. also seem to have been modeled upon Lutheran and Calvinistic patterns. (9) This book was presented to parliament and established as the law of the Church and State, July 9, 1549.

Before proceeding to list other reform measures it is necessary to attempt an estimate of the extent of Protestant forces in England at this time. To hold that Protestants were waving banners of victory over the vanquished Papists would be as untrue as to claim that the Pope had resigned himself to the loss of England. Nothing of the kind had happened. Papists were still very strong. And yet their voice was heard less and less when it came to shaping the course of the nation. The fact is that Bible reading, the spread of Lutheran literature, and of late also the introduction of Calvinistic teachers was bound to bring results harmful to the Catholic cause. Moreover, both King and the Protector were confessed champions of the Protestant cause,

8. It must not be forgotten that even Luther had kept as much of the Catholic Services as was practical. The order of Morning and Evening Service in the First Book of Common Prayer is given here to show its similarity to the Lutheran services: O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall show, etc. O God make speed to save me, O Lord make haste to help me; Gloria Patri; Hallelujah; Venite, Ps. XCV; Gloria Patri; Certain psalms; Gloria Patri at end of each; Old Testament Lesson; Te Deum or Benedicti; New Testament Lesson; Benedictus; Kyrie; Creed; Lord's Prayer; Versicles and Response; Collect of day, followed by collect for peace and for grace. Jacobs: The Lutheran Movement in England, p. 247.
9. Ib.: p. 254ff.

while Archbishop Crammer was continually in touch with continental Reformers, especially Calvin. (10) Both Crammer and the King invited former exiles and foreign Reformers into England. Hooper, "infected with Lutheranism by books brought from Germany (11) had been forced to leave the country under Henry. There he, like many others, came in contact with (Zwingli or) Calvin, saturated himself with their views, and now returned to England to "work mightily for the God-sent awakening of the Church from the evil drugs of the Romish Church." Just then also the Interim was making work on the continent difficult for many Reformers and they were happy to find a refuge in England. Among them were Peter Martyr, Paul Fagius, Martin Bucer, John a Lasco, Ochime, Peter Alexander of Arles. Many of them received positions of great influence and even occupied chairs at the universities of Cambridge and Oxford. Others became trusted advisers of the King and Somerset.

It must also be observed that, while at first Lutheran doctrines were predominant, during the latter part of Edward's reign Calvinism became the keynote in the Reformation. This is admirably demonstrated in the case of Crammer. To a certain extent he typifies the English frame and change of mind during these perplexing struggles convulsing the English Church. Upon the new King's accession to the throne, Fox, Barnes and others influenced him to join the Lutheran camp. But when only a few years later Calvinism with its doctrine of the Lord's Supper and Predestination opposed Lutheranism, and when the Calvinistic doctrines gained much ground in the realm, Crammer yielded to the pressure. In all this he probably entertained but few scruples of conscience. For these doctrinal matters in his and many another man's mind were vague. It was not hard for domineering personalities, such as Hooper

10. Calvin was in correspondence with the Lord Protector, exchanged five letters with the King, and tried hard to influence Crammer. We know definitely of 170 letters written by Englishmen to Bullinger, Zwingli's successor. (Original Letters: Vol. I, 1)

11. Jacobs: op. cit. p. 207

(12), and powerful preachers, as Bucer, to influence men. But to make matters worse, these foreign teachers were by no means agreed among each other as to the correctness of the various doctrines, rather each had his own favorite views and expected everyone to accept them as divine truth.

Thus a picture characterized by great divergencies in doctrinal matters, by endless controversies and disputations, by a perplexing confusion in liturgies: is the picture of the English Church.

It will take little study to perceive the political consequences. The nation was greatly dissatisfied. The Englishman loves order. Somerset had not been able to produce it. When parliament tried to mend matters by passing the Act of Uniformity, demanding the use of the First Book of Common Prayer by all (13) there were frequent uprisings and serious disturbances everywhere. (14) It was in consequence of this that Warwick found it an easy matter to seize the reigns of government (Oct. 7, 1549).

A religious reaction towards Catholicism was feared by some and hoped by others. (15) But it did not come. Warwick persuaded the course which Somerset had taken, only he was more ruthless about it. As we shall see he literally tried to force Protestantism upon the nation; to be sure, not out of a fervent religious conviction, but because it suited his political machinations.

The first act passed by parliament in 1552, which was to have far-reaching results, was the Second Act of Uniformity to which was affixed the

12. Hooper to Bullinger in a letter: "The Archbishop of Canterbury entertains right views as to the nature of Christ's presence in the Supper, and is now very friendly towards myself." (Original Letters: I p. 73) Crammer admitted: "I was in that error of the real presence (Lutheran view) as I was many years past in divers other errors, as transubstantiation." Fisher: op. cit. p. 359
13. It was even attempted to press its use upon the Catholic Princess Mary.
14. Economic causes such as enclosures likewise contributed to these. Some of the rebellions were purely religious and others of mixed motives: economic and religious.
15. Hooper wrote: "The papists are hoping and earnestly struggling for their kingdom. Should he (Bishop Bonner, a Catholic) again be returned to his episcopal function, I shall, I doubt not, be returned to my country and my Father which is in Heaven." Gairdner: op. cit. p. 275.

Second Book of Common Prayer. (16) The First Book had been a compromise, worded so that Lutherans and Catholics alike might subscribe to it. But Calvinism had largely displaced Lutheranism by 1552. (17) Therefore a new book was needed which would express more accurately the views of part of the nation and the ruling powers in particular.

The leader in the attack upon the Prayer Book was John Hooper, who may also be called the first nonconformist. (18) We have already taken cognizance of the primate's shift in doctrinal matters. (Cf. note 12 in this Section.) Warwick was anxious, not out of religious conviction but because there remained no other course for him, to introduce ever new, more thoroughgoing Protestant measures. Things had come to such a pass that his political success or fall was inseparably bound up with the success or fall of Protestantism in England. Finally the King, also raised Protestant, "with an utter aversion to the old religion," and influenced by Geneva, was convinced that Catholicism must be cast out of the Church to make room for the "pure teachings of the Gospel." (19)

Thus the revisions of the Prayer Book were dictated by those in power and not requested by the convictions of the people. It did not come from within the Church; it was forced upon her. (20) In those days the chief difference between Lutheran and Swiss Reformers, if we are to take

16. Issued Sept. 1552.

17. Trevelyan has this enlightening comment: Since Lutheranism had gone to sleep in the arms of the German princes, Strassburg and Switzerland were the hearth of the Protestant flame, and the gathering places for English religious exiles, whence many now returned to speed the work at home." Ibid: 316.

18. Blunt: op. cit. II p. 95

19. Strype reports in his book on Crammer (II, 663) that the King was very insistent upon these revisions, stating "that if the convocation refused to make these changes, the King would make them himself, using his royal authority in parliament for the purpose."

20. This is not to be misunderstood: Convocation had this revision made by its own committee. In that sense the change was from "within." At the same time convocation would have opposed it, if it had had the power.

the subjects of their frequent debates as a gauge, was the Lord's Supper. It is therefore natural that the greatest changes in the new Prayer Book should center about this article. The sacrificial character of communion was removed (21), the communicants were still to receive it kneeling to show their reverence, not adoration. (22) In confession the thoughts were stressed that not mere recital of words but true penitence of heart must be there. Absolution was pronounced in such a fashion that it would not lead the sinner into carnal security. Also before receiving communion they were to hear the Ten Commandments.

The rite of using oil at confirmation and extreme unction, the prayers for souls departed, both in the communion service and in the office of burial were removed. Passages which seemed to favor the corporal presence in the Lord's Supper were omitted. The cross was no longer to be used at confirmation. Outside of a few changes and variations the Book of Common Prayer received, due to this revision in 1552, the ~~same~~ form which it has today. (23)

It will not be necessary to show in detail how Protestantism was permeating the Church in liturgy and doctrine. Yet we have still further evidence of this, when we consider the Forty-Two Articles of Religion framed in the same year. Cramer had previously drawn up some articles of religion to which the bishops were required to affix their signatures. A year later (1552) the Council asked him to submit them and to state on what authority they had been published. Cramer now revised (24) and submitted them to the authorities. They were accepted in 1553. It is important to note that many of these articles were literally based upon the Augsburg Confession, but in

21. Blunt: op. cit. II, 107

22. Burnet: op. cit. II, 271

23. Ibid: II, 271.-- Cf. Supplement V for pertinent paragraphs from the Second Act of Uniformity.

24. There were originally 45 Articles. After revisions they were reduced to 42.

the article on communion the document repudiated the doctrine of the local presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. (25) These articles are furthermore important, because only a few years later they were revised and became the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Church (26), which in turn have become the chief confessional statement of this Church.

There were other innovations which had been crowded into these few short years of Edward's reign. There is an Edwardine Catechism, an Act permitting the marriage of priests, acts dissolving Church institutions, acts against Nonconformists. There was considerable persecution of all who dared to denounce the policy of the government and oppose its rapid introduction of Protestantism. All these items show with what feverish haste the Reformers tried to force their measures upon the nation. There was need for such haste. It had of late become evident that the King's health was failing. The Reformer's trembled at the eventualities of this calamity. Mary Tudor was next in line to the throne. She was a most ardent Catholic and had gone to no pains to hide it. She had consistently refused to bow to the Boy King's decrees. Warwick, his career and life being at stake, had chosen Protestantism as the tool with which to realize his ambitions. He must win or lose all! Thus he even attempted to change the succession and put a Protestant Queen on the throne, Lady Jane Grey. But his plot, yes, his entire work failed. Why? Because England was not ready for such a vehement, rapid, and unreasonable Reformation.

England was as good as Catholic at the death of Henry VIII. It would have been asking too much of any nation to turn Protestant in six short years. It was certainly asking the impossible in England, for the Englishman frowns in his complacency and love for law and order upon any act that would ask him to change his mode of life and thought almost over night. England without a

25. Fisher: op. cit. 359

26. We may use this term from the time of Edward, thereby pointing to its separation from Rome and its assumption of national as well as Protestant characteristics.

question was strongly inclined towards the Reformation, but it was made distasteful, yes, hateful to them by these utterly inconsiderate, rash and violent measures adopted by the leaders during Edward's Reign.

King Edward the Sixth died July 6, 1553 at the age of sixteen, and men now asked themselves, some with hope, many with trembling: Of what significance for the new Church of England will be the fact that Mary, the first Queen to occupy the throne of England alone, is a Catholic?

#### SUMMARY OF THE YEARS OF PREPARATION

(1509 - 1553)

New horizons in many fields including religion, abuses in the Church, nationalism, and Tudor ambition to centralize the government had made it possible for Protestantism to gain steady ground in England and had encouraged Henry VIII to break with Rome by declaring himself Supreme Head of the Church. At his death Catholicism was the religion of the Church. But already there was much confusion and controversy within the same. This condition reached an insufferable state under Edward. It is said that Henry separated the Church from Rome and Edward made it Protestant. With certain modifications that is true. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that Edward permitted Lutheran and later Calvinistic influence to overrun the country without being able to guide it into the proper channels. Even such important enactments as the Act of Uniformity legalizing the Book of Common Prayer, also the Forty-Two Articles were not able to give England that unity in religious matters for which it longed. The failure of these measures must be ascribed, first to the injudicious, hasty and forced manner in which they were introduced; secondly, to the attitude of the clergy which was to a large percentage Catholic, either simulating Protestant predilections, or openly opposing these reforms, when it could be done with some degree of safety.



Likewise we note that the "English Reformation had gone on its course gathering fruit off of many trees, old and new." The mother soil was Catholic. Lutheranism had added fertility to this soil in which slumbered age old anti-papal and nationalistic feelings. Calvinism having aggressive leaders had caused much vegetation, which some were inclined to call weeds of Satan, but others, the fruits of the Gospel.

### S E C T I O N    I I I

#### T H E   R E A C T I O N    U N D E R

#### M A R Y    T U D O R

(1553 - 1558)

The term reaction has more than one significance when used to characterize the conditions in the English Church under Mary Tudor. There were two reactions. The first was a reaction against the Reformation, made obnoxious by King Edward's and Warwick's rule, causing England to turn to Mary, and permitting her to lead the country back into the Catholic fold. But events showed that "from her chapel she had as little vision of the real England as her brother from his sick bed." (1) She misinterpreted the nation's hearty acclaim at her accession, thinking that it showed desire on the part of the nation to return to the Church of Rome. She did not realize, ~~and~~<sup>or</sup> if she did, she ignored it, that the nation was not yearning for mass, papal bulls, Peter's pence, and somber clad monks and priests; but that it was simply tired of and disgusted with the form of Protestantism which had been pushed upon it. If Mary had been able and willing to acknowledge this feeling of her subjects, the Church of England might have, not only returned to Rome, but stayed with it up to the present day. Instead Mary only succeeded in making Catholicism extremely distasteful to her people. This was the second reaction.

This revolt against the policy of Mary is of vital importance to the cause of the Reformation. It will be necessary to trace its development.

Mary came to the throne (2) as a woman disappointed in life, full of bitterness and thoughts of revenge, having suffered hardships and disgrace. She hated Protestantism which had been the cause of many of her hardships,

1. Trevelyan: op. cit. p. 318

2. She entered London July 31, 1553 at the age of 38. She was crowned Oct. 1, 1553. Dodd claims she entered London Aug. 3, 1553.

but espoused Catholicism with bigoted zeal. (3)

Her first and second parliament was significantly opened with a high mass in Latin. (4) In rapid succession all acts were repealed which had in the previous reign been passed in favor of the Reformation. But the Supremacy was not referred to at all. Convocation also met, chiefly to discuss doctrines. Their work may be summarized by saying that theology in all points, except on the articles referring to the Pope, was brought back to the old standard. (Cf. Supplement VI for preamble to Act passed in 1555) In 1554 Cardinal Pole was received as a special emissary of the Holy Father. Pole in pointed fashion compared England to the Prodigal Son and urged a complete return to Rome. He pronounced absolution upon both houses of parliament, whereupon "many of them were seen to embrace and congratulate with one another, with tears in their eyes for joy/<sup>at</sup>so happy a deliverance." (5) The same year certain stringent heresy laws were revived. Also parliament in spite of several uprisings in protest of the proposed marriage between the Queen and Philipp II of Spain, gave its sanctions to this marriage. (6) It was this unpopular marriage and the ensuing persecution and burnings of Protestants which began to arouse resentment, open opposition against Mary's government. The crowds who watched the burnings of yesterday's national leaders such as Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer (7) and the exhumed bodies of Bucer and Fajius upon Smithfield, did so with mixed feelings. There was disgust at the burnings, admiration for these men who had the courage to die for their convictions, fear that the Queen would go too far and not only reunite them

3. Becker: Weltgeschichte V, 243. Hume characterized her with seven nouns: "obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny."
4. Dodd op. cit. II, 57 The first parliament sat from Oct. 5 to Dec. 6.
5. Foxe: III, 91 as quoted by Dodd. It is somewhat doubtful whether these were tears of sincerity or crocodile's tears. The Venetian envoy wrote home that "with the exception of a few most pious Catholics, none of whom are under 35 years of age, all the rest make this show of recantation, yet do not effectually resume the Cath. faith." Trevelyan: p. 321.
6. The marriage was consummated July 25, 1554. Wyatt's rebellion Jan. 1554.
7. Others were John Rogers, John Bradford, Ferrar, Hooper.

with Rome but force them to return the property to the Church, the apprehension that these persecutions were signs of the encroaching power of Spain, doubts whether the teachings of Rome were more correct than the doctrines of the Reformers. Ridley is supposed to have called to his colleague before his death: "Be of good cheer, we shall light a torch today in England, which, I hope to God, shall not be extinguished." (8)

Philipp's indifference towards the Queen and the loss of Calais, which she considered a punishment of God for permitting heresy, caused her to redouble her efforts in the next few years. Thus she hoped to regain the good will of both, her husband and God. The victims of her persecutions are variously estimated as from 300 to 400. Most of them were men of prominence. The news of their fate, therefore, aroused much attention and earned her, even during her lifetime, the name of "Bloody Mary."

As it so often is in times of religious persecution, men are strengthened by seeing those of like faith put to death, and will steel themselves against all danger. This was the case in England now. Not only did Catholicism become very unpopular but they who formerly had been for the Reformation, again became firm and resolute in their stand. (9)

Thus Mary failed utterly in bringing the English Church back to Rome. The heart of the nation was not with her but against her. Even more bitter and disappointed than when she ascended the throne, Mary Tudor, Queen of England died on Nov. 17, 1558 to be succeeded by her Protestant sister, Elizabeth.

The Reaction against Protestantism had turned out to be a Reaction against Catholicism. (10)

8. Dittmar: op. cit. I Vol. 4 p. 426.

9. Cranmer is to have held his hand which had signed the recantation into the flames until it had burned. Trevelyan writes: "In that magnificent gesture the Church of England revived."

10. Dixon has this comment: "Her reign justified the Reformation. It proved that there was in the Reformation that for which men might dare

(Note 10 continued) to die: and that there were men of constancy and courage among those who upheld the Reformation. Before the beginning of the persecution the unbelief was prevalent that there were none such: that the reformers, gossellers, protestants, ... were a horde of hypocrites and timeservers, whose only desire was to keep the booty for the sake of which they had canted: and whom the threat of severity, or at most the mere exposure to danger, would be enough to drive the Queen's way.... In truth without the purgation of suffering, the English Reformation would have appeared as contemptible a revolution as ever alleged for itself the public good." Dixon: Hist. of Ch. of Engl. IV, 731f.

"Erst aus diesem Schmelztiegel der Truebsal ging, die Reformation in England gereinigter hervor." Dittmar: op. cit. I, Vol. 4, 426.

PART II

THE RESUMPTION

(1558 - 1603)

P R A Y E R   F O R   T H E   Q U E E N

Lorde, keepe Elizabeth our Queene,  
Defend her in her right;  
Shewe forth thyselve as thou hast beene,  
Her fortresse and her might.  
Preserve her Grace, confound her foes,  
And bringe them downe full lowe:  
Lorde turn thy hande against all those  
That would her overthrowe.

Mayntaine her scepter as thine owne,  
For thou hast plaste her here:  
And let this mightie worke be knowne,  
To nations farre and nere.  
A noble ancient Nurse, O Lorde,  
In England let her raigne:  
Her Grace among us do afforde,  
For ever to remaine.

Indue her, Lorde, with vertues store,  
Rule thou her royall Rod;  
Into her minde thy spirit powre,  
And shewe thyselve her God.  
In trueth upright, Lorde guide her still,  
Thy Gospell to defende:  
To say and do what thou doest will,  
And stay where thou doest ende.

Her counsell, Lorde, vouchsafe to guide,  
With wisdome let them shine,  
In godlines for to abide,  
As it becommeth thine.  
To seeke the glorie of thy name,  
Their countries wealth procure,  
And that they may perfourme the same,  
Lorde graunt thy Spirit pure.

SECTION I

ESTABLISHING

The

ANGLICAN CHURCH

And

FIRST YEARS OF REACTION

(1558 - 1570)



## CHAPTER I

### FIRST STAGE OF THE RESUMPTION OF PROTESTANTISM:

#### JURISDICTION AND WORSHIP.

- - - - -

#### FIRST PARLIAMENT

1559 - 1563

Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, at the age of twenty-five rode from her country estate at Hatfield to London to mount the throne of England, which throne had been secured to her by her father's will and tendered by the Council a few days before her carefully planned entry.

It was necessary to plan carefully, for there were troubled times in England. An epidemic had swept the land. The treasury was exhausted. Calais had been lost and terms of peace had not yet been concluded with France. Mary Queen of Scots had married the <sup>a</sup>Douphin. The nation was sick of Spanish interference and religious persecution. Five of the twenty-seven episcopal sees were vacant. Cardinal Archbishop Pole had died. Before the end of the year four other bishops passed away. (1)

<sup>above</sup> Beyond all the political and economic difficulties, and at the heart and root of them, lay the differences of religion. The alternate supremacy of the two extreme parties had taught the nation to loathe them equally. Yet men were in that strange state, still a remnant of the Medieval mind, that they believed it an unquestionable necessity to have a national creed, in spite of the fact that no third form of opinion was then known to them upon which they might seize and in which they might believe themselves secure. Happily there were two points on which most were united: 1. Dread and hatred of the papal jurisdiction; 2. good will towards the new Queen, in whom all had

1. W. H. Frere (Stephens and Hunt); The Engl. Church V, p. 1

centered their hopes. (2)

And who was this new Queen? When two and a half years of age, her mother was executed; she herself was declared illegitimate. She had been raised a Protestant and received a liberal education. It was known that secretly she had been very much opposed to her sister's policies, but had nevertheless conformed and repeatedly declared herself a good Catholic.

The nation in turn was hoping for a change and indeed expecting one. But they were greatly at a loss what the change might entail. This, contrary to popular opinion then and today, was not the case of the Queen. She and her closest counselors, chief among whom was her Secretary, William Cecil (3), had made plans and outlined a program which surprizes us for its accurateness and extremely practical method of meeting a very complex and dangerous situation.

Underlying the Queen's entire policy was the purpose of trying to antagonize neither those of the old religion nor the Reformers. For that reason she chose to "intermix papists and Protestants at the board (the Privy Council), that, by this means, neither party might despair of her favor, and the balance would be best kept in her own hands." (4) Yet out of these she selected a few Protestants who assisted her in shaping her policies. It was this group which decided to carry out the suggestions in the "Device for Alteration of Religion." (5)

Some of them were:

1. to discredit the leaders of the Catholic party;
2. to intimidate the clergy by persecutions, especially enforcing praemunire;

2. Froude: Hist. of Engl. VII, p. 8.
3. Feria, the Spanish Ambassador calls him a "heretic." He was an extremely able man of high administrative qualities and statesmanship. He was a powerful influence in Church and State until his death, 1598.
4. Collier II, 411.
5. Sir Thomas Smith is supposed to be its author. It is altogether possible that he had been secretly commissioned to draw up such a plan. It is of such vital interest and importance that we shall reproduce it in its entirety: Supplement VIII. (Frere holds that probably Cecil himself is the author.) There was another paper submitted by Goodrich, "Divers Points of Religion." But it was rejected as too radical.

3. to appoint a committee of divines to revise the Edwardine liturgy;
4. that the Queen should continue to go to mass while encouraging the Reformers to celebrate under both kinds;
5. to publish an order against innovation in matters of religion;
6. to keep all measures secret until the opening of Parliament; etc.

From this Device, from her first moves, and subsequent developments we see that Elizabeth was definitely committed to the cause of Protestantism. She had undertaken to resume the work of her father and brother. However, she decided that all reform measures must wait upon political expedience. Her brother was a zealot, her sister a bigot, but Elizabeth was politician above everything else.

Taking up again the catena of events, we soon notice that, though the Queen was quite certain, what course she would pursue, she would only occasionally, and then very cautiously, drop indications of the changes which she was planning.

(6) Thus when the bishops -- a number of them Catholics, forced "to betake themselves to secret groans, since they durst not vent them in public"(7) -- met the Queen upon her entry into London to do her honor, she was friendly to all of them except Bonner, who had been responsible for much of the persecution under her predecessor. It is reported that her hand shrank from him as he tried to kiss it.

Her next step was to inform all the princes of Christendom of her sister's death and her accession. The most important among these was the Pope.

(8) The Holy Father, however, was not at all gracious in receiving this news, for he declared, "that England was held in fee of the apostolic see; that she could not succeed, being illegitimate, nor could he contradict the declarations made in that matter by his predecessors, Clement the Seventh, and Paul the

6. This conduct seemed strange and inexplicable to those about her, so much so that the Spanish envoy once suggested she was an atheist. Cambridge Modern Hist.: II, 562.

7. Burnet: II, p. 578.

8. Paul IV soon to be succeeded by Paul V.

Third: he said, it was great boldness in her to assume the crown without his consent; for which reason she deserved no favor at his hands: yet, if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer herself wholly to him, he would show a fatherly affection to her, and do everything for her that could consist with the dignity of the apostolic see." (9)

Elizabeth was little perturbed at this haughty answer. She quietly recalled the powers of her ambassador at Rome. At this move we might expect the Pope to have answered even more roughly, perhaps with excommunication; but from this he was restrained by Philipp II of Spain, who had in the meantime proposed marriage to his sister-in-law and promised to secure the necessary dispensation from Rome. Elizabeth did not refuse; neither did she accept, her objective being to keep Philipp friendly as long as possible. Thus she hoped to stay off excommunication. In this policy she was altogether successful, for the bulls of excommunication were not published until twelve years later, when Philipp finally became convinced that Elizabeth was disgracefully leading him about by the nose.

While pursuing this policy in foreign matters she followed an equally prudent course at home. She secured for herself the able services of Matthew Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury. (Suppl. VII) "There were few men available, if any, who had so securely grasped the principles that were to be those of the reform of the English Church, or who were capable of carrying them through with so much gentleness, moral courage and patient pertinacity." (10) In addition some of the exiles, who had returned speedily, filled with zeal to reform the Church, preferably along the lines suggested by Calvin's achievements at Geneva, were being placed into responsible positions where their services could be used to greatest advantage. (11)

9. Burnet: II p. 579.

10. Frere: op. cit. p. 7.

11. Many of these men were of a factious type, and at once began to inaugurate disputes and public disturbances.

As far as the Queen herself was concerned, she had chosen Christmas Day for a more decisive stand against Rome. Bishop Oglethorp, who was to sing the mass on that day, had been instructed not to elevate the host. (12) Oglethorp refused, whereupon the Queen had her own chaplains the next day and thereafter carry this out as desired. This was followed (Dec. 27) by a proclamation which was "to restore universal charity and concord." To that end services and ceremonies already used and received by law were ordered to be maintained until the meeting of parliament, but the Gospel and Epistles, the Ten Commandments, the History, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed were allowed to be in English. One author calls this "the first note of the coming alteration." Certain it is that the ambassadors from Catholic countries were not pleased with the appearance of things as is attested by their reports, which showed no small amount of apprehension and misgiving. (13)

The Queen was crowned on January 15. Some decorations on the streets were to typify the change in religion. At Cornhill an arch had been erected to show the change from superstition to true religion. (14) Under joyful acclamation of the crowded streets a boy, representing Truth, tendered her a copy of the Bible. She received it graciously, pressed it to her bosom, declaring that "amidst all the costly testimonials which the city had that day given her of their attachment, this present was by far the most precious and most acceptable." (15) The coronation ceremony itself had been carefully planned so that no party would have much reason to condemn the Queen. Mass was said in Latin. The host

12. "The bishop answered that her Majesty was mistress of his body and life, but not of his conscience, and accordingly she heard the mass until after the gospel, when she arose and left, so as not to be present at the canon and adoration of the host which the bishop elevated as usual." Cheyney: Readings in Engl. Hist. p. 365 quoting from the Spanish ambassador's letter.
13. Dixon: Hist. of the Church of Engl.: V, 14n: Ven. Cal. p. 1 "The affairs of the religion continue as usual but I hear that at the court, when the Queen is present, a priest officiates who says certain prayers with the litanies in English after the fashion of King Edward. I pray God to grant that worse may not happen."
14. Frere: op. cit. 10.
15. Hume: op. cit. III, 217.

was not elevated, nor did the Queen commune. (16) The epistle and gospel were read both in Latin and English. She was anointed by the Bishop of Carlisle because Archbishop Heath and other dignitaries had refused to do it. (17)

On January 25 parliament met upon the Queen's bidding. It was opened with a mass sung at Westminster Abbey. When on that same day she was received by the abbot and candle-bearing monks she exclaimed with some lack of gentleness, "Away with these torches, for we can see well enough." Dr. Cox, one of the returned exiles, had the sermon which lasted one hour and thirty minutes; during which time the peers were obliged to stand. We are not told what impression the sermon made upon them, though it was delivered with much vehemence and treated the delicate subject of the existing system of worship, which in Dr. Cox's estimation was great impiety and idolatry.

This parliament was of momentous importance. The three items which Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord's Keeper, presented in the name of her Majesty as the program of the government, were 1. a uniform order of religion to be brought about, 2. penal laws to be mitigated, 3. and government supplies to be granted. We must pause and realize the significance of this. Not convocation had been asked to reform the Church but parliament. Indeed every step, every reform inaugurated under Elizabeth was first legalized by parliament. Convocation, it was understood by all, would oppose every single measure of this nature. At the same time, when Bacon announced her Majesty's program, there were sitting before him in the House of Lords some sixteen bishops, who were setting their jaws at the mere mention of reform and some sixty lay peers. (18) But even in the year 1559 these lay peers had an unaccountable respect for the clergy in their midst, so that Jewel anxiously complained, "We have none there on our side (lay peers) to expose their (the bishops') artifices and confute their falsehoods, they reign as sole monarchs in the midst of ignorant and

16. Cambridge M. Hist.: II, 565.

17. Frere: op. cit. p. 11.

18. Ibid: p. 15.

weak men." (19) As far as the house of Commons is concerned we have reason to believe it was packed in Tudor fashion. "Five candidates were nominated by the Court to each borough, and three to each county; and by the sheriff's authority the members were chosen from among these." (Hume)

We may be surprised then that the Queen placed religious reform uppermost in the list of items awaiting legislative action, though she was well aware that she must face abundant opposition in this matter. Yet this will not appear nearly as strange if we view the nation as she saw it then. Her throne was by no means secure. She must therefore gain popular support. But there were several powerful currents of popular opinion in matters of religion. There were those who obstinately demanded a return to the old religion; again there were many who desired most earnestly some reforms; and lastly those who had been fired by South German and Swiss Reformers to almost uncontrollable impatience, who were ready to cast out of the country almost everything except the Church buildings, the Bible and their particular doctrines. It was their voices just now which rang loud above the demand for sane and systematic reform. "It was they who implored the Queen to admit no carnal compromise with Satan, and to regard herself as a Deborah or Judith, raised up by Providence for the deliverance of the Church." (20) As set forth in the "Device", the Queen felt she must overcome the opposition of the Catholic party in order to hold the favor of the others.

For that reason Sir Bacon left no doubts in the minds of his audience that reform was desired. But he evidently expected opposition when he asked them to avoid "contumelious words, which are heretic, schismatic, papist, nurses of seditious factions and sects." He exhorted them to avoid "all sophisticated, captious, and frivolous arguments and quiddities, meeter for ostentation of wit than consultation of weighty matters." (21)

Business began: The Act of First Fruits was swept through the house

19. Ibid: p. 15.

20. Froude: Hist. of Engl. VII, 21.

21. Dixon: op. cit. V, 6.

amidst the loud protest of the bishops; the Queen was declared legitimate and her title to the throne was made secure; also large subsidies were granted to the crown. However the Supremacy Bill encountered great difficulties and delayed parliament to such an extent, that not much else was accomplished that session. When the bill was at last passed, it once more denied the Supreme Headship of the Pope, (22) while the Queen was to take this title, if she so desired. The entire clergy and all government officials were to assent to this by an oath, included in the act, or be deprived. (23) Attached to the Supremacy Act was the Uniformity Bill which authorized, with some specific modifications, the "Second Book of Common Prayer of Edward." One of these modifications was in the Communion. In the Edwardine edition there was an express denial of the corporal presence; this was left out "that none might be driven out of communion of the Church upon that account; therefore the matter was left undetermined, as a speculative point in which the people were at liberty." (24) Truly typical of Elizabethan policies!

After trying in vain to rush through several other bills parliament went into Easter recess.

22. Blunt: Ref. in the Ch. of Engl. II, 341: "That no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, Spiritual or Temporal shall at any time after the last day of this session of parliament use, enjoy, or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, preeminence, or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this Realm."
23. The oath as it appeared in the second bill of Supremacy after Easter is: "I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her highness' dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things, or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and, therefore, I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise, that, from henceforth, I shall bear faith, and true allegiance to the queen's highness, her heirs, and lawful successors; and, to my power, shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, privileges, preeminences, and authorities granted, or belonging to the queen's highness, her heirs, and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God, and by the contents of this book." Dodd: op. cit. II, App. 34.
24. Dodd: op. cit. II, 132.



To bring the nation more into harmony with "the tune that the government was striking up" a disputation between the Catholics and Protestants was to be held at Westminster. Points to be discussed were:

1. the use of vernacular services;
2. the authority of every Church to change rites and ceremonies;
3. the propitiatory character of the sacrifice of the mass.

But since from the very outset it was the unexpressed desire of the government that this must turn out to be a great victory for the Reformers, the "Marian opponents", as the adherents to the old religion were called, objected vociferously to several irregularities. The disputation broke up on the second day -- a complete fiasco as far as the Catholics were concerned, but, nevertheless, a victory for the Reformers in the eyes of the people. Jewel writes to P. Martyr, "It cannot be believed how much this conduct has lowered the bishops in the opinion of the people. They think that as they would not say anything, they had nothing to say." (25)

The Uniformity Act had not received the royal signature, yet a proclamation was issued on the same day it had passed in parliament, authorizing the celebration of communion under both kinds, because "great numbers not only of the nobility and gentlemen but also of the common people of this realm be persuaded in conscience that they cannot receive the holy sacrament otherwise." If a pastor or curate had no inclination to obey this proclamation the people were to go to another church where they might celebrate under both kinds.

When parliament reconvened, they were instructed by Cecil that a new Supremacy Bill must be passed, since the Queen had refused the title: Supreme Head of the Church. The new bill in consequence contained the famous title, Supreme Governor of the Church. (26) Another important feature of this bill was the provision for a commission to whom the Queen might delegate the government

25. The bishops had refused to present their side demanding that the Reformers be heard first. Dixon: op. cit. V 86p.
26. Vd. note 23 for Supremacy oath.

of the Church. The Act of Uniformity was also finally passed with some more changes. It provided heavy penalties for those not using the Book of Common Prayer and demanded that all go to Church on Sundays and holidays.

The first parliament of Queen Elizabeth had therewith completed its work. Her Majesty dissolved the same May 8. On that day she gave her assent to forty-two bills. About ten of these referred to matters of religion, but none were of such vital and far-reaching importance as the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. "They are the foundation stone and the keystone of the establishment of the Anglican Church." (27)

The importance of this parliament cannot be underestimated. The government had feared serious opposition on the part of the bishops and dreaded their influence over the House of Lords. The anticipated opposition did not fail. Several speeches of the bishops against the Act of Supremacy have been preserved. They are classics for Catholic learnedness and verbal bombardments by which they hoped to overawe their colleagues in the Lords. (Suppl. IX) But their power proved to be largely illusory. Against nearly every reform measure they voted "en masse." But "their opposition represented only the last remains of a spent reaction or the twilight of a day that was over." (28)

It may seem strange that convocation has not been mentioned, although enactments of the first magnitude in matters of religion were being written into the statutes of the realm. Convocation did meet. It did hurl one thunderbolt into parliament when that body was in the midst of the Supremacy Bill. They denied to parliament the right to deal in these matters and voted for the old religion in every respect. But outside of that it "was very small and silent; for as it is observed in nature, when one twin is of an unusual strength and bigness, the other, his partner born with him, is weak and dwindled away; so here, this parliament being very active in matters of religion, the convocation,

27. H. N. Birt: The Elizabethan Religious Settlement, p. 94.

28. Frere: op. cit. 29.

younger brother thereto, was little employed and less regarded." (29)

After dissolution of parliament steps were taken at once to put the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity into effect. Letters-patent (30) were issued to eighteen laymen who were to form a commission. Their duty was to administer the oath of supremacy. It appeared soon that the bishops were entertaining the false hope, that, by concerted effort in refusing to take this oath, they might force the Queen to abandon this scheme. At first ten refused and only one, Kitchen, took it (to the chagrin of the ten and the disgust of the Spanish ambassador, who had tried beyond the limits of his office to persuade the weak brother to stand his ground). Of the six remaining bishops two more succumbed to the pressure from above on a later date. Those being not inclined to conform, were deprived of their sees and imprisoned. We see slowly but systematically the government was undermining the Catholic party by removing its leaders. (31)

The next step was to order a visitation and to prepare injunctions which were to cause the remaining clergy to conform to these acts. But before taking up the work of the visitors, also called ambulatory commissioners, we must take into account the popular reaction to the legislation of parliament.

Even before parliament had accepted the Uniformity Act, large sections of London and the country were rapidly imitating the changes as they were being introduced at the Queen's chapel. After parliament, crucifixes and images were taken down, altars removed and even services disturbed. In the royal chapel mass was sung in English. The prayer book was to be used after June 24. But long before that it was again in wide circulation. Nevertheless, at the same time there were numerous instances where priests refused to bow to these new measures. (32)

29. W. C. Martyr: Hist. of Engl. Puritans, p. 141.

30. These were official notices authorizing those to whom they were entrusted to carry out certain injunctions or resolutions of parliament or the Privy Council. -- Issued May 23.

31. Frere: op. cit. p. 33.

32. Cf. Suppl. XII for complete list of deprivations of bishops.

To make the work of commissioners and visitors more acceptable to the nation the Queen felt it necessary to explain her new title, "Supreme Governor." To that end she issued a special proclamation in which she assured her subjects that such title meant no more than it had meant when her father and brother of famous memory bore it, that it was no novelty, but the ancient right of Kings, however much this had been allowed to lie dormant. (33)

This same thought appears in the fifty-three injunctions prepared with great care for the visitation. A second principle patently was, not only to avoid forms of expressions which might cause unnecessary offense to the Papal party, but also to word them so that Protestants might be partly satisfied. During these first years it was never the government's intention to stamp out any party but to win them all, provided their influence could be removed by unostentatious means.

It will be necessary to discuss these injunctions more fully, for they cover all points which parliament had neglected to act upon in specific terms, and they make clear the basic policies adopted for the government of the Church: The Pope is referred to in general terms: "all usurped and foreign power." The Queen's authority is called, "the ancient jurisdiction of the Crown over the State Ecclesiastical." There were no injunctions on pilgrimages for they had been abolished. But there was one against superstitious practices. (34) At

33. Excerpts from this proclamation: "The queen's majesty would...that all her loving subjects should understand that nothing was, is, or shall be meant or intended by the same oath to have any other duty, allegiance, or band required by the same oath, than was acknowledged to be due to the most noble kings of famous memory, king Henry the eighth, her majesty's father, or kind Edward the sixth, her majesty's brother...For certainly, her majesty neither doth, nor ever will, challenge any other authority, than that was challenged and lately used by the said noble kings...which is and was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm, that is, under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms...so that no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them." Dodd: op. cit. App. 36.
34. "That no persons shall use charms, sorceries, enchantments, witchcraft, soothsaying, or any suchlike devilish device, nor shall resort at any time to the same for counsel or help." Inp. 32 -- Blunt: op. cit. II, 355.

prayer, litany, etc. people were to kneel. (35) "Plain-songs" were to be continued in collegiate and in some parish churches. But no "prick-songs" (elaborately scored music) were to be used. At the beginning and end of common prayer, hymns or anthems might be sung. (36) Also a complete inventory of all vestments, manuals, hymnals, etc. was to be delivered by the churchwarden.

Such were the liturgical injunctions. Also the duties of the clergy were closely defined. It was no longer necessary for them to preach against pilgrimages and relics, for these had been abolished. No one "utterly unlearned" was to be permitted to officiate. But if they could read, they might hold mass. Bad readers were to read their materials beforehand, so that it might be done to the "better understanding of the people, the more encouragement to godliness." They were "to catechize the youth of the parish for one half hour at the least before Evening Prayer, and every other Sunday in the year." Clergymen must remain in their own parish. No one is to marry without permission of the bishop, of two justices, and of the parents of the girl.

The laity was to study the Catechism included in the Prayer Book. None should "wilfully and obstinately defend or maintain any heresies, errors, or false doctrine contrary to the faith of Christ and His Holy Spirit." "Convicious words," such as "papist, papistical, heretic, schismatic, or sacramentary, or any suchlike word of reproach," is not to be used. Nothing may be published without license. Schoolmasters must be examined by the bishop. They are en-

35. Inj. 52 became one much attacked by Puritans. "In time of the Litany, and all other collects and common supplications to Almighty God, all manner of people shall devoutly and humbly kneel and give ear thereunto; and that whensoever the Name of Jesus shall be in any lesson, sermon, or otherwise in the Church pronounced, due reverence be made of all persons, young and old, with lowness of courtesy, and uncovering of heads of the men-kind, as thereunto does necessarily belong, and heretofore hath been accustomed." Ibid: II, 357.
36. Machyn's Diary 229: "Master Barlow, byshope of sant Davys, dyd pryche at the cowrtt, but the queen was not at yt;...and contenenntt her chapell whent to evyning song, and ther the crosse stood on the auter, and ii candlystykes and ii tapurs bornyng, and after done a goodly anteme song." Ibid: II, 358n.

couraged to memorize Scripture. A committee of four is to keep record of attendance in each Church. No "innholders or alehouse keepers were to sell meat or drink during church hours." (37)

To these injunctions were appended three documents. The first one was the Queen's proclamation explaining her supremacy. The second was about altars and tables in the Church, stating how former are to be removed and latter to be used. The third deals with the form of biddings which precede prayers, especially the prayer for the Queen. (38)

Finally there were added fifty-six questions for examination of the clergy. The visitors would, upon full examination and instruction, administer the oath. This was a combination of the oath of supremacy and other items covered by the injunction.

The government anxiously awaited the result of this visitation. Under former rulers such measures had been followed by violent disturbances. But this time the result was very favorable, showing that the people were with the government and quite willing to introduce the new Prayer Book. For out of 8000 or 9000 clergymen only about 400 were deprived; only half of these probably belonging to the old religion. Besides these deprivations were carried out very quietly and did not disturb the people to any appreciable extent. In some localities, e.g. in London, the injunctions were even carried too far by the people themselves; copes, vestments, were burned, which was contrary to law. "These first signs of nonconforming puritanism made their appearance under the evil and tumultuous omens of an outburst of sacrilege which raged unchecked for three weeks and more" in the larger centers of population. (39)

This ambulatory commission functioned until October. In the meantime

37. Ibid: II, 356ff.

38. "And herein I require you most specially to pray for the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Governor of this realm, as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal." Ibid: II, 365.

39. Frere: op. cit. p. 37-42.

letters-patent had been sent out to form a permanent commission. The members were Parker, Grindal, Dr. Bill (royal almoner), Richard Cox, eight lawyers, and eight laymen. They were empowered to complete the visitation and otherwise take charge of all judicial and corrective measures necessary in the Church. This is the birth of the famous High Commission, which existed for eighty years and was soon widely criticized for its methods. They had power to initiate their own business, try cases without jury, and knew no court of appeal above them.

There were two more pressing problems confronting the government in 1559. The first one was the necessity of filling the vacant sees and consecrate the Archbishop, the second was that, due to an epidemic and deprivation, great scarcity of pastors in all sees had arisen.

The latter problem was acute. In one diocese two thirds of the parishes were destitute; another had but two preachers in it. (40) The government tried to solve it, by ordering laymen to read in churches where there was no clergyman. They were to be "sober, discreet, and grave, removable by the bishop if unfit or disorderly." They had strict orders not to meddle with Baptism, Holy Communion, or marriage. But such laymen were rare and many refused to take such a position. Others accepted but were not at all fit. (Vd. Supp. X)

The problem concerning vacant sees and the archbishopric was equally embarrassing. In order to consecrate an archbishop there should according to ecclesiastical law be an archbishop and two bishops, or four bishops to perform this rite. There was no archbishop. But a warrant was sent to Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, Hodgkins and others. These were not all bishops possessed of sees, but some were suffragan (assistant) bishops. The four named performed the consecration of Parker on December 17. (41) This was an event of considerable moment in the course of Protestantism under Elizabeth. The work could not

40. Dixon: op. cit. V, 195.

41. Some of these bishops were not yet consecrated, only elect. This was possible according to a statute passed under Henry: "The king's highness by his letter-patent under the great seal shall signify the said election to one archbishop and two other bishops, or else to four bishops within

possibly have been carried farther without a consecrated archbishop. Secondly, he was the first archbishop of England who was consecrated without the pall. Thus it was definitely proved to the nation "that within the realm was contained everything to confer the highest ecclesiastical degree." (42)

Parker, being duly invested with this office, speedily filled the other bishoprics with new incumbents, so that by March, 1560 sixteen bishops had been consecrated. (43) These entered upon their duties at once and found a deplorable situation everywhere. Not only was there a great want of preachers, an abundance of disturbances, ignorance, and wickedness, but the clergy that did exist, was often unfit or Catholic at heart. Some of them still refused to take the oath and were from now on styled "Recusants." Bishops from the northern dioceses pleaded, "For the sake of God and Church send us workmen." To their further dismay these bishops discovered that, while the Queen seemed to be liked universally, the government's "compromise religion" was not. There were the Recusants and their rivals the disciples of Geneva. To neither of them the religious policy of Cecil and the Queen was agreeable. Rather the opposite was true; and in the course of the next few years their contempt was frequently stated in very decided, often bitter terms. The Recusants in particular seemed to launch upon activities which proved to be a source of endless irritation; for they "retaining the outward habits and the inward feeling of popery, so fascinated the ears and eyes of the multitude that they were unable to believe but that either the papish doctrine was still retained, or at least that it

(41 continued) this realm, commanded them with all speed to confirm the said election, and to invest and consecrate the said elect person and give use to him such pall, benedictions, ceremonies, and all other things requisite, without seeing any bulls, briefs, or other things at the see of Rome, or by authority thereof in any behalf." It is to be noted that the "four bishops" are not necessarily to be diocesan bishops, or possessed of sees, but merely "bishops within the realm." 25 H. VIII C. 20 5: Dixon: op. cit. V. 20ln.

42. Ibid: V. 205, Of course, the Catholics attack the validity of this consecration. Dixon devotes forty pages to a defense of the validity.
43. Cf. Suppl. XII for list of new bishops and time of their consecration.



would be shortly restored." (44) Another bishop describes them thus, "Wicked  
imps of Antichrist, and for the most part very ignorant and stubborn, past  
measure false, and soothly only fear maketh them obedient." (45) More yet:  
There seems to have been springing up everywhere "a large and inauspicious crop  
of Arians, Anabaptists, and other pests." But not even these were severely  
persecuted at first; only attempts were made to restrain them from excesses.

Moreover there were the disciples of Geneva, called Puritans by their  
opponents, because they desired to "purify" the Church from every Roman vestige.  
Such vestiges, in their opinion, were vestments, images, statutes, organs,  
ceremonies, etc. It seems according to letters and official documents, the  
authorities were inclined to deal very leniently with them, often not interfering  
at all, and at times even catering to their demands. In 1559 the bishops drew  
up a document called "Interpretations and Further Considerations." Its purpose  
was to have a set of rules by which the Reformers might be guided. Some of  
these dealt with vestments. It was thought advisable to have even greater  
uniformity in this matter. The cope was to be used at the communion service  
and the surplice on all other occasions. Without a question this was an inten-  
tional concession to the Puritans. Also in the matter of the communion table  
it was deemed wise to yield to them. The table was to be brought out of the  
chancel into the body of the Church. (46) This freedom of restraint was capital-  
ized upon by the Puritans who for several years, practically unhindered, spread  
their doctrines. It also gave them sufficient time to define their position  
to themselves and the whole country more clearly.

In the meantime the Reform party greatly felt the need for doctrinal  
statements. Nothing, except indirectly in the Prayer Book, had been stated  
concerning dogmas of the Church. The clergy desired some definite expressions

44. Frere: op. cit. p. 58

45. Ibid: p. 67.

46. Ibid: p. 59.

as to the leading principles of the "New Religion" which would bind and guide them in their instruction of the people. For that reason the bishops published (without the sanction of convocation) the "Declaration of certain principle Articles of Religion." (47) It consisted of eleven articles. They contained a declaration of faith in the Holy Trinity, in the Canonical Scriptures, and the three creeds; defined the Church as a body 'wherein the Word of God is truly taught, the Sacraments orderly administered according to Christ's institution, and the authority of the Keys duly used,' and in which rests the power to change ceremonies; stipulated that ministers must be properly called; declared the Queen supreme, and the Bishops of Rome of no authority in England; accepted the Book of Common Prayer as edifying to God's people; acknowledged Baptism to be perfect without exorcism and other ancient ceremonies; branded private masses without communicants as not agreeable to Christ's ordinance nor grounded upon doctrine Apostolic, and enjoined the communication under both kinds; lastly they disavowed all superstitions connected with images. (48) These articles probably prepared during the latter part of 1559 were published in April 1561. They were in a sense to prepare the way for a more comprehensive expression of Anglican faith, which was to follow but a few years later. Nevertheless, even this outline of doctrines indicates to us the then existing trend: Cut off from Rome and drop these doctrines which are directly the result of sacerdotalism and sacramentalism.

Another interesting incident which happens to display the Queen in her best behavior, viz., never to commit herself too thoroughly on any matter, belongs into the account of events of 1569. The old image of a league or religious concord between England the Continental Protestants, which had

47. "A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion set out...for the uniformity of doctrine, to be taught and holden of all parsons, vicars, and curates, as well in testification of their common consent in the said doctrine, to the stopping of the mouths of them that go about to slander the ministers of the Church for diversity of judgment as necessary for the instruction of their people..." Blunt: op. cit. p. 380.

48. Ibid: p. 380f.

amused Henry and fascinated Cramer was revived at this time with smiling attractiveness.

Who indeed can tell how things turned so wonderfully? But her Majesty was not at all loath to have the impression improved upon at the Diet of Augsburg in this selfsame year, that she might be willing to join hands with the Protestants across the Channel. Complimentary dispatches were exchanged. The gracious Queen desired "nothing more than the pure faith and discipline embodied in the Confession of Augsburg. Yes, she felt quite certain that it should be established in her realm." With many flourishes her ambassador reported to the Duke of Prussia and Landgrave of Hesse that his sovereign would value a union with them highly. Cecil, however, permitted the proverbial cat to slip out of the bag. He suggested tactfully that all the Protestants of Europe, including the Swiss, ought to unite first. At this suggestion not only the Germans but also the Swiss objected, the latter quite forcefully. The Germans pointed out that the Lord's Supper was the one great difference between them, and the Swiss Reformers. No union would be possible without doctrinal agreement. The Swiss sent letter after letter to England trying to keep out the influence of the Augsburg Confession. Querrulously Peter Martyn urged that no one would pay any attention to his letters if the Augsburg Confession would be embraced. (49) Feria the Spanish ambassador was scandalized when he reported this leaning towards Lutheranism on the part of the Queen. (50) These delightfully amusing negotiations continued for some time, though it seems they had no permanent effect upon the course of events. One cannot restrain himself

49. "Si, ut dicitur est vestratum, ut Augustanan Confessionem amplectantur, et foedus Protestantium ambient, ipse cogitare pates quo loco meae ac mei similium literae sint haberdae." 20 March, Zurich Lett. II, 29: Dixon: op. cit. V, 260ff.

50. "She has said three or four very bad things in conversation with me; one was that she wished the Augustan Confession to be maintained in her realm. When I was much scandalized, she said that it would not be the Augustan Confession, but something else like it: and that she differed very little from us, believing in the Divine Presence in the Eucharist, and only dissenting from three or four things in the mass." Span. Cal. 61, April: *ibid* p. 261.

from indulging in a bit of speculation: Could it be possible that this demure maiden Queen was playing a game of politics even more subtle than that of the veteran European diplomats?

Thus time moved on, ever deepening the impressions of the Reformation upon the nation, yet without bringing about any new changes in the English Church. -- Resucants, there were still a plenty. But they were watched closely and were frequently apprehended for holding mass in secret. -- When the Pope tried conciliatory measure by inviting Elizabeth to send delegates to the council of Trent (Cf. Supp. XI), papal emissaries were not even permitted to enter the country. -- The Queen herself would occasionally cause considerable discussion by changing part of the service or reinstating certain customs, e.g., having a cross in her chapel. -- In some churches psalm-singing with tunes from Geneva was introduced. Bishop Jewel greatly rejoiced over this, for he felt that the Reformation was by these means deeply pressed into the hearts of the people. (51) Jewel, incidentally, was by far the most aggressive of the bishops and on three occasions challenged the Catholics on purgatory and other doctrines. He drew a reply from Cole. Jewel, wielding a very eloquent pen, made his position and that of the Reformed English Church clear in his "Apology." (52) It is a classic, setting forth in masterful style, why the Anglican Church was justified by the abuses in the Catholic Church to do as it had done. It is his objective to "shew it plain that God's holy gospel, the ancient bishops, and the primitive Church do make on our side, and that we have not without just cause left these men, or rather have returned to the apostles and old Catholic fathers." (53) When Harding attacked him in his "Confutation" claiming to have found a thousand lies in the "Apology" Jewel wrote his "Defense." One of the most thoroughgoing

51. Sometimes as high as 6000 people were heard to sing in unison. "The mass-priests and the devil like it not; for they see that thereby holy sermons sink deeper, and at almost every note their kingdom is weakened and shaken." Dixon: op. cit. V, 315.

52. "Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae," is the full title.

53. Frere: op. cit. p. 91.

works explaining the differences between Rome and the Anglican Church. (54)

In looking back upon the first five years of the reign of Elizabeth we behold that much had been accomplished, but also that much remained to be done. Protestantism had been resumed. The jurisdiction of Rome had been abolished, the supremacy of the crown in the Church and State had been established, and a new higher clergy, favorably inclined towards Reform, had been created. In addition a form of worship, based upon Edward's Book of Common Prayer, had been introduced which was neither Protestant nor Catholic. For that reason both Recusants and Puritans denounced it and hoped for a change. The Catholics had been greatly hampered in their activities, but by no means silenced. The Puritans had been permitted to work more freely. Therefore by means of preaching, books and pamphlets written at home and abroad they attacked the Anglican worship as being altogether too Catholic. Rome, to them, was a vicious weed which must be removed, root and all, before anything else can possibly grow. (55)

Much had been accomplished. (56) Yet much remained to be done. The submission of the clergy was by no means perfect. There was much room for doubt whether they had accepted the Elizabethan Settlement with cordial feelings and conviction. The Anglican Church must win greater popular support. Above all there must be prepared a confession of faith, in which it must

54. At this juncture some notice should perhaps be taken of Elizabeth's support of Protestants in Scotland, France and Netherlands. But since these efforts were not for the sake of Protestantism but for political reasons and because these efforts had practically no effect upon Protestantism in England we may well omit such references.
55. Lord Sussex writes to Cecil (1562): "Our religion is so abused that the Papists rejoice; the neutrers do not mislike change, and the few zealous professors lament the lack of purity. The people without discipline, utterly devoid of religion, come to divine service as to a Maygame; the ministers for disability and greediness, be had in contempt; and the wise fear more the impiety of the licentious professors than the superstition of the erroneous Papists. God hold his hand over us, that our lack of religious hearts do not breed in the meantime his wrath and revenge upon us." Froude: op. cit. VII, 479.

declare whether its doctrines are those of Rome, or Geneva, or neither.

The question therefore is: Protestantism in external government and worship having been resumed by the Anglican Church: will it also resume Protestantism of Edward's reign in regard to doctrines?

56. "The Prayer Book under Edward and the Protestant martyrology under Mary raised the Engl. Ref. onto a new intellectual and moral plane and rendered it possible for Elizabeth in 1559 to make a permanent settlement of religion, a feat that no human wisdom could have achieved in the drifting chaos of opinion that still obscured the land a dozen years before." Trevelyan: op. cit. p. 312

SECOND STAGE OF RESUMPTION OF PROTESTANTISM:

DOCTRINE.

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SECOND AND THIRD PARLIAMENT

(1563 - 1567)

The second parliament was opened with magnificent splendor, January 12. "The Queen rode on horseback from Whitehall, apparelled in furs, crimson velvet, and ermines, a collar studded with jewels, and on her head a rich caul." It is significant, one is inclined to think, symbolical of the type of legislation to be asked of them: that there was no communion or offering of any kind before these dignitaries and legislators of the realm, but their whole attention was directed to the sermon by Dean Newell of St. Paul, who at various times "glanced fiercely towards the bishops imprisoned in the Tower." Moreover, he not only honored these unfortunate divines with ominous glances, but made them the subject of his discourse, his object evidently being to persuade his audience to "kill the caged wolves." (1)

The Lord Keeper, Bacon, an approved and by this time tried orator, had the honor of addressing the assembly in her Majesty's name. He struck the keynote by stating that religion ought to receive prime consideration. He commended the High Commission for its work and lamented the want of ministers. "God's cause being generously weighed and followed bringeth good success in all affairs; but neglected, how can anything prosper? The greater the personages who abuse, the greater the fault is to the damage of the whole commonwealth. I cannot excuse either the spirituality or the laity....There is great want of ministers, and insufficiency also. The discipline of the Church has not

1. Dixon: op. cit. V. 369. Commenting on this sermon Quadra wrote to Brussels: "Really it looks as if they will do something of the sort." (Sp. Cal. 291)

been good heretofore: whence have sprung two enormities: that every man lives as he will, without fear; and that many ceremonies agreed upon, but the right ornaments thereof, are either left undone or forgotten....The want of discipline causes obstinacy, contempt, and the growth of heresy...The chief care of which matters pertaineth to you, my lords of Spirituality. Go commons, go, nether house; go choose your mouth, your aider, your instructor, your opener, and your Speaker," thus spoke Sir Bacon.

A few days later Sir Thomas William, speaker of the lower house, answered Bacon in a very eloquent fashion. He compared the Elizabethan settlement to a fort over which the Queen had been appointed lieutenant.

(2) This address was a preparation of the acts shortly to be passed. For after they had been passed, it appeared that nearly all of them had these purposes: To secure the Supremacy to the crown, and to have more stringent laws to counteract laxity in church life.

Parliament seems of negligible importance, but convocation is that much more to be observed in its work. This is a complete reversal of importance in comparison to first parliament and convocation. It is this latter body, now almost completely made up of new prelates, known to be in sympathy with government policies, which prepared and passed the laws designed to finish the Resumption of Protestantism, begun under Henry and Edward.

2. The address is a gem of Elizabethan imaginative oratory. It is probable that there was great sincerity in these words: "We have thought good to move your Majesty to build a strong Fort, for the surety of this realm, to the repulsing of your enemies abroad. It must be set upon firm ground, having two gates, the one commonly open, the other as a postern, with two watchmen at either of them, and having one Governor, one Lieutenant, four soldiers, and no good thing wanting. Name it to the Fear of God: the Governor whereof to be God, the Lieutenant your Majesty, the stones the heart of faithful people, the two watchmen at the open gate Knowledge and Virtue, of the postern Merry and Truth, all being spiritual ministers. This Fort is invincible if every man will fear God, and if you, the Lieutenant, see Justice with Prudence, her sister, executed. For such as depart out of this Fort, let them be let out at the postern by Mercy and Truth. First of all, and continually vouchsafe to seek God's glory, and His true honor and then shall you have this Fort well built, and by you well governed." Dixon: op. cit. V, 373.



Cecil had prepared suggestions beforehand stating the principle needs:

- 1) articles of doctrine;
- 2) the reformation of the prayer-book;
- 3) disciplinary regulations for clergy and laity;
- 4) augmentation of benefices. (3)

Considerable time was spent on the first suggestion. The Forty-two Edwardine Articles were discussed, amended and finally approved. They had been reduced to thirty-nine and were submitted to the Queen in that form. But when they were published later, the article on the Eucharist was omitted and a phrase inserted to safeguard the Church's power in ordering rites and ceremonies. (4)

The "secret of the success" of these articles, as one author puts it, is to be attributed to the spirit in which they were framed, namely, to word them so, that they would not be "hard" on the conscience of anyone. (5) With these articles accepted the foundation of the Reformation was practically complete. Protestantism had been resumed in England only not in quite as radical a manner as it existed under Edward. The Anglican Church had been established by framing its dogmas. It is a remarkable coincidence that at this same time the Council of Trent was defining the dogmas of the Church of

3. Frere: op. cit. 97.

4. Ibid: 97, also Vd. Suppl. XIII giving comparison by Lingard of Thirty-Nine Articles and dogmas of the ancient Church.

5. Fuller has this interesting comment: "Some have unjustly taxed the composers for too much favor, extended in their large expressions, clean through the contexture of these articles....Children's clothes ought to be made of the biggest, because afterwards, their bodies will grow up to their garments. Thus the articles of this English protestant church, in the infancy thereof, they thought good to draw up in general terms, foreseeing that posterity would grow up, to fill the same. I mean, these holy men did prudently prediscover that differences in judgments would unavoidably happen in the church, and were loth to unchurch any, and drive them off from an ecclesiastical communion, for such petty differences; which made them pen the articles in comprehensive words, to take in all, who differing in the branches, meet in the root, of the same religion." Dodd: cit. II, 151.

Rome from which the Anglican Church had now separated itself in every respect, definitely and, as History has proved, irrevocably.

With regard to the other three suggestions, convocation did not accomplish much. In the matter of liturgics we find some very drastic proposals made. Since they were not accepted they are of interest to us only so far as they show the very profound influence of the Puritan party upon the legislative body. (6) No changes were effected in the Book of Common Prayer. A book of discipline for clergy and laity alike came to grief. But convocation and parliament did cooperate in framing certain civil laws concerning holidays to be observed, hours of business on holidays, the eating of fish, etc.

Although nearly all these laws had very severe penalties attached to them, yet due to Parker's kindness, much leniency was practiced. Parliament had opened with the cry, "kill the caged wolves" and many a one felt after most severe penalties had been attached to existing laws, that now much suffering would be heaped upon Recusants and other offenders. As a matter of fact, the bishops in the Tower were removed to more comfortable and less hazardous quarters because of an epidemic then sweeping the land.

As mentioned, Puritan influence made itself felt in convocation and parliament. The question now arises, just what are the principles at issue?

One of the basic ideas of Puritanism is that "there must be a scriptural warrant for everything done in the public worship. This involves a denial of the authority of the Church to decree rites and ceremonies. When it is pointed out that such a demand for scriptural warrant must not be pressed so as to include small matters of indifferent detail, then recourse is had to the second presupposition, viz. that the matters in dispute are not indifferent, being papish, and therefore superstitious, idolatrous, antichristian." (7)

6. Some of the proposed changes were to leave the posture of the communicants to the discretion of the bishops, to abolish the observance of Saints' days, sign of cross in baptism, and use of organs; to do away with the surplice. Cambridge M. Hist. II, 590.

7. Frere: op. cit. 114.

In this way the objections of the Puritans really begin to fall into the field of Church polity. In 1563 there were as yet no doctrinal issues involved, yet they are known as "Nonconformists". This fitting name meant that a person differed not in his articles of faith from the doctrines of the Anglican Church, but objected to some of the ceremonies, particularly the vestments of the clergy. (8)

By 1564 the vestiarian controversy was arousing attention in the highest government circles. An attempt was made by the champions, of Nonconformity, Humphrey and Sampson, and the archbishop to arrive at some understanding. The Puritans held, "the difference of external apparel between clergy and laity is lawful but now expedient; things indifferent may be enjoined in worship, but only if they have a scriptural warrant." No formula of agreement was obtained. (9)

The importance of this movement is plainly evident. There were within the Church a group of protesting pastors, who were for the most part well trained and very sincere. But the latter fact mattered little as far as the government was concerned. The Puritan movement among the clergy was assuming national proportions and becoming popular with a large percentage of the populace. Two parliaments had labored towards unity and concord in the Church. This goal must be obtained in spite of Puritan opposition: For such was the decree of the Queen. National safety demanded this. And century-old tradition knew no alternative: The Church of the government is the Church of the people. Therefore "neither made broad its phylactery, and inscribed thereon the golden rule Toleration." (10)

8. Under Suppl. XIV we have reproduced a very thorough yet compact statement concerning the Puritans and their tenets, esp. in regard to church government and vestments. It, however, describes the party when its position was already well defined.

9. Frere: op. cit. 113.

10. Martyn: op. cit. 150; "A man revered throughout Europe for piety declared that 'toleration was devlish.'" This idea is exemplified by a proclamation of the Queen issued as late as 1602: "They (the secular priests) do almost

For our purpose the study of this movement is of importance, for in Puritanism we have the seeds for several denominations which constitute the Protestant Church of today. Secondly it proves to the student of history that, which he suspects from the start. The Anglican Church was a compromise-Church and as such lacked the strength that a new movement by virtue of its novelty, popular appeal, and energetic leadership frequently enjoys. The Puritan movement was an attack upon this weakness in the New Establishment and they hoped to remove the defect. That after some years Puritanism allied itself with Presbyterianism is an historical accident. The first Puritans had no objection to the episcopate, but when they saw the "hated papists" were permitted to continue in office while their own champions of the truth were forced out, when they observed the new Reformed clergy to be almost as <sup>inefficient</sup> inefficient and corrupt as the old clergy, they decided that also the government of the Church must be changed. Since they had come in contact with the Scotch Reformation they espoused Presbyterianism.

The discrimination against the Puritans began at the instigation of the Queen who issued on Jan. 25, 1565 her famous Edict against vestiarian troubles." The Edict was sent to Parker, thereby reflecting (not without some acrimony of style) on these diversities; as if they were the effect of some remissness in him and in other bishops: "requiring him, that, with the assistance of other bishops, commissioned by her for causes ecclesiastical, he should give strict orders, that all diversities and varieties, both among the clergy and people might be reformed and repressed; and that all should be brought to one manner of uniformity, through the whole kingdom, that so the people might quietly honor and serve God." (11)

(10 continued) insinuate thereby into the minds of all sorts of people, (as well as the good that grieve at it, as the bad that thirst after it,) that we have some purpose to grant a toleration of two religions within our realm, where God, (we thank Him for it who seeth into the secret corners of our hearts) doth not only know our innocency from such imagination, but how far it hath been from any about us to offer to our ears the persuasion of such a course, as would not only disturb the peace of the Church, but bring this our State into confusion." Usher: Reconstruction of the Engl. Church I, 19n.

Thus Parker was forced to enter upon a task which he disliked heartily. In March six bishops (12) met with Cecil and prepared a book of Articles bearing on this question. But the Queen would not authorize them leaving the Archbishop in a very embarrassing position. He must suppress Puritanism but had no weapon with which that feat might be accomplished. The Primate was desperate and delivered an ultimatum upon his own authority, viz., unless they consented to wear the gown with the prescribed cap abroad and in Church surplice and hood, they would be deprived summarily. (13) Grindal very reluctantly put a similar measure into effect during February of the next year. After Parker had failed twice, having asked for royal sanction of his book of Articles, he took matters into his hands for a second time and issued the well known "Advertisements" in 1566. But it was framed in such a fashion, that it appeared as though the Queen had given her full support to them.

At a conference at Lambeth, 26th of March, Parker was once more made to realize the desperate situation confronting him. Fully one-third of the clergy refused to conform. In the meantime the Queen was pretending to the world that she was still a Catholic; publicly she kissed a cross. (14) Parker wrote to Cecil: "Mr. Secretary, can it be thought that I alone, having sun and moon against me, can compass this difficulty?" (15)

The Puritans, many of them deprived, others, even though conforming, had cried out that their consciences had been deeply violated. Their protests were put on paper and a literary war was thus inaugurated. However, it was a onesided affair. The government would publish its own writing but suppress

11. Burnet: cit. III, 460.

12. Ibid.

13. Frere: op. cit. 116. The articles were grouped under four heads: 1) doctrine and preaching; 2) administration of prayer and sacraments; 3) certain orders of ecclesiastical policy; 4) outward apparel of persons ecclesiastical. In many respects it was a compromise. Ibid: 121 -- Vide: Suppl. XV for excerpts from "Advertisements."

14. Political reasons motivated this act: She still desired to keep the support and friendship of Philip of Spain.

15. Froude: cit. VIII, 144.

those of the Puritans. Furthermore all the licenses of preachers were called in and reissued to conforming men only. Some Puritans now began to conduct secret meetings, but they were soon discovered and punished.

Thus in trying to enforce reform measures, the government was encountering more opposition at every step. The third parliament was called Sept. 1566 and sat till Jan. 1567. Its main purpose as far as the Queen was concerned, was to provide additional subsidies. This was not the impression in the house of Commons. They initiated five or six bills about religious Reform. One of them would have made the Articles of Religion a statute. Here the Queen interfered, being very much incensed that the Commons had initiated such legislation.

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Thus the years from 1563 to 1567 saw the complete, though modified Resumption of Edwardine Protestantism. They also witnessed the inevitable opposition of the Recusants to these measures as well as the dissatisfaction of the Puritans with the compromise religion. "The Church of England gave no pleasure to the earnest of any way of thinking. To the ultra Protestants it was no better than Romanism: to the Catholics or partial Catholics it was a schism from the communion of Christendom, while the great middle party, the common sense of the country, of whom Elizabeth was the representative, were uneasy and dissatisfied. They could see no defined principle in the new constitution which had borne the test of time." (16)

16. Ibid: IX, 172.

THIRD STAGE OF RESUMPTION OF PROTESTANTISM:

INTENSIFIED OPPOSITION.

(1567 - 1570)

During the three years between the third and fourth parliament the dissatisfaction and opposition of the two extreme parties continued to gain momentum.

When Elizabeth forced the bishops to proceed against the Puritans she must certainly have underestimated both the sincerity and strength of these Nonconformists. Her action only forced them to unite for more concerted action. Their preachers having been deprived, they would now meet in secret. Such meetings were called "Conventicles." They did not use the Common Prayer Book, but the Geneva Order. One of the deprived preachers would speak to them without surplice. If any of them were apprehended, they would maintain their position unwaveringly. There was no question about it: Puritanism was growing in definiteness, boldness, and power. (1)

In fact the removing of the Puritan clergy from office, though resented bitterly by them, rendered them far more dangerous. They had thus no longer a fixed, restricted, sphere of duty but had more the opportunity to preach over the length and breadth of the country. "They preached where they could get leave, as if they were Apostles," everywhere depreciating the bishops, denouncing Romish vestments and exalting the system of church government abroad. (2) There was much "propheying" and "exercising." These activities were something like prayer-meetings in which polemical discussion formed the principle element. (3) It is

1. Frere: op. cit. 155.

2. Blunt: cit. II, 416.

3. "The manner whereof was that the minister of such a division, at a set time, met together in some church....and there each in their order explain, according to ability some portion of Scripture allotted them before. And after all of them had done, a moderator, who was one of the gravest and best learned among them, made his observations upon what the rest had said... At these assemblies there were great confluxes of people to hear and learn." Ibid: 416.

true that sometimes these would "degenerate into factions, divisions, and censurings," but more important, they resulted in an organized attack upon Episcopacy, the Prayer Book, and certain rites in the Church. Of many of them it was true that "their minds were entirely set against the bishops: They can scarcely say a word about them, but it savours of the bitterest scorn and the most absolute hatred." (4)

There were two reasons for the acceleration of the Puritan activities at this time. The first was that Bullinger, Beza and other Calvinistic Reformers were again taking a lively interest in the developments in the Anglican Church. They tried hard by letters and literature to encourage their English followers to make an ever more determined stand against conditions in the Anglican Church.

The second reason for new zeal was the party's acquisition of a new leader, the very able scholar, "divine of piety, eminence, and high character," and remarkable preacher, who had been newly seated in the chair of professorship at Lady Margaret, Cambridge -- Thomas Cartwright. He assumed the leadership of the party, at least for a time, when he in one of his first lectures made a most bold and open attack on the episcopal government of the Church. John Whitgift, Master of Trinity College, withstood him, although he himself was a Nonconformist. Whitgift realized and expressed it openly, that a return to conditions in the Early Christian Church, where all ministers were equal and all were chosen by the people, would mean abolition of the episcopate. Such a step was nothing short of revolution. On the other hand the Puritans were able to point out many abuses even scandals in the Church, and many cases of wilful neglect on the part of government of disciplinary measures against the clergy.

Another item of interest should here be inserted. Cambridge University was a stronghold of Puritanism. It operated under a special charter permitting it to license twelve ministers every year. Thus it happened that the

4. Dixon: op. cit. VI, 159.



country always had some licensed Puritan preachers in spite of the fact that the government was using all its resources to stop them.

The Recusants likewise had seen no reason at all to consider their cause hopeless, but redoubled their efforts during these years. This is partly due to the fact that, while they heard much about a "restoration of purity in faith and worship" they could only see "destruction of altars, desecration of churches, burning of sacred ornaments and derision of the holy ceremonies." They saw empty Churches instead of daily worship in olden days; disputes instead of the "beautiful celebration of the mass."

There were two types of Recusants: Those who professed conformity but conducted secret meetings for the purpose of celebrating mass (5) and those who had never given themselves up to such temporizing practices. (6) Both, however, worked zealously to again establish the "old religion."

Such priests were to be found in large centers of population, Wales, and in the Northern Provinces of the Kingdom. The Duke of Norfolk writes from the North, "I find this town and country hereabouts far out of order in matters of religion; and the altars standing still in the churches contrary to the Queen's Majesty's proceedings." (7) The Northern provinces had ever been more conservative, clinging to old traditions. Here and in Wales "images and altars standing undefaced in the churches, lewd and indecent watches and

5. "Not only laymen, who believed the Faith in their hearts and heard Mass at home when they could, frequented the schismatical churches and ceremonies (some even communicating in them), but many priests said Mass secretly and celebrated the heretical offices and Supper in public, thus becoming partakers often on the same day. (O horrible impiety!) of the chalice of the Lord and the chalice of devils. And this arose from the false persuasion that it was enough to hold the Faith interiorly while obeying the Sovereign in externals, especially in singing psalms and parts of Scripture in the vulgar tongue, a thing which seemed to them indifferent, and, in persons otherwise virtuous, worthy of toleration on account of the terrible rigour of the laws." Birt: The Elizabethan Rel. Settlement, p. 299.
6. "From 1558 to 1574 the maintenance of the Faith was due to the priests, some regular, but mostly secular, ordained in the previous reigns...A large number remained steadfast at their post...One John Peel labored for sixteen years in England at the peril of his life, reconciling to the Catholic Faith those who had gone astray, and animating others to perseverance." Ibid. 301.
7. Ibid: 304.

vigils observed, much pilgrimage going, many candles set up to the honor of saints, some relics yet carried about, and all the country full of beads and knots." (8)

In Yorkshire things were about the same: The Latin mass was said daily often openly in spite of laws to the contrary. In Durham there was "great backwardness in religion."

It is from these provinces that alarming reports of organized opposition reached London. It seems some had bound themselves together by oath not to take communion during the reign of the present Queen. It was learned that from Warrington all along the sea-coast the gentlemen had withdrawn themselves from religion. In this they were greatly encouraged by the Pope who had written them a letter. In it they were promised absolution for having participated in the Anglican worship, if they would acknowledge the Pope as Supreme Head of the Church and offer obedience. (9) While these things encouraged the Catholics in their opposition to the Anglican Church, they did not succeed in luring them back to the bosom of the Roman Church.

In 1568 English exiles with the help of other ardent Catholics founded a college or Seminary at Douai for the purpose of preparing priests who were to win back the Anglican Church. These fiery warriors of the Pope presently began to overrun England and it was soon evident to the Privy Council that, unless these "sons of Satan" were restrained, they would be able to accomplish much harm.

But the greatest though temporary and tragic impetus yet was given to the Catholic cause when Mary, Queen of Scots, entered England and cast herself upon the mercy of her "affectionate cousin," Elizabeth. "She sought protection, but she found captivity." (10) But Mary was a Catholic, in addition she had charm and above all she took delight in intrigues, to which we may finally

8. Frere: Op. cit. p. 139.

9. Dixon: op. cit. VI, 215. Pope issued another instrument in 1567, "Bull of Reconciliation."

10. Frere: op. cit. p. 141.

add that she resented her captivity greatly. In her the recalcitrant Recusants of the North saw a concrete objective for which they might strive: liberate the Catholic Queen and make Mary Queen of England. An open rebellion took shape in Nov. of '69. They were quite well equipped, but for lack of leadership disbanded ignominiously. There were a few more abortive efforts but all ended in a complete fiasco. These uprisings were "the last bit of spontaneous revolt on the part of the English people against the Reformed religion." (11) We have thus arrived at the year 1570. That year marks the turning point in the policy of the government towards Recusants and Puritans.

11. Ibid: p. 146.

SECTION II

DEFENDING THE ESTABLISHED

CHURCH

By

LAW AND FAGOT

## CHAPTER I

### WISE GUIDANCE FOLLOWED BY INEFFECTIVENESS.

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#### FIFTH PARLIAMENT

(1570 - 1583)

February 5, 1570, there having been some preliminary inquiries at the judicial palace of the Curia before Alexander Riarius, the General Auditor of Causes, official proceedings were opened against the Queen of England. They were to examine the Queen for heresy and insubordination, and if found guilty, pronounce against her.

Twelve witnesses were examined on a schedule of questions. (1) They were mostly exiles and could not be expected to speak in favor of Elizabeth. The process closed February 12 and the Pope was "dismayed" to hear that all the charges had been proved against her. (2) Hereupon the Holy Father, who has the right "to pluck up, to destroy, to scatter, to plant and to build," issued a "declaratory and condemnatory sentence against the Queen." After restating the causes and disaffection of Elizabeth he declares: "We therefore give sentence, we declare and decree that this alleged Queen of England has incurred the anathema of the greater excommunication, and the other pains and penalties of those who dare such deeds: we disable and deprive her of her kingdom. We excommunicate, anathematise, deprive, and disable her: we summon all faithful

1. Some of the points to be examined by them were: "Whether the Queen of England had usurped the authority of Head of the Church; whether she had deprived, whether she had imprisoned bishops and other ecclesiastics; whether she had made visitations on her own authority, required any oath, made any laws against the Holy See; whether any schismatics not being priests, had been made bishops or rectors by her authority; whether by her authority any manifest and dammed heresies were preached; whether she had the Supper of the Lord after the manner of heretics....whether she lived like a heretic not hearing Mass and the other divine offices after the Catholic manner, but contrarily after the Catholic manner; whether she observed choice of meats; what heresy in particular she confessed, Calvinistic, Lutheran, or other; whether any by her authority had been fired or imprisoned for attending wars; whether she denied any of the seven Sacraments." Dixon: op. cit. VI, 251f.
2. Frere: op. cit. 149.

Christians, and issue letters accordingly: we absolve her people from their allegiance: as for her Oath and her books, we extinguish them, and order every edition of them to be burned." The Bull of Excommunication itself followed February 25, "Regnans in Excelsis." (3) The Bull was published in England probably in June of 1570 by being affixed to the door of St. Paul's by one, Felton. (4)

The momentous step had thus been taken. (5) From that moment all the Catholics in England were forced either to acknowledge the Pope or the Queen as Supreme Head of the Church. If they decided for the former, their lives were in danger, for every Catholic became by virtue of this bull a potential rebel. It was a very deplorable situation. The Recusants had hoped to stay within the Church of England and thus win her back to Rome. But now with one stroke they were forced out of the Church. By declaring the English Reformation a schism, the Pope had created a schism in the English Church.

The first victim of this impolitic act was Felton. He did not deny his guilt; whereupon he was "dragged, hanged, cut down, mutilated, disembowelled and quartered." The government had been forced into persecution of the Catholics. Some Catholics heeded the Pope's command, openly celebrated mass and even indulged in plots against the Queen. But these were, nevertheless, in the minority and the government was gratified to learn that the English people still loved their Queen, excommunicated or not, it made little difference to them. (6) The treatment of Felton was inevitable. The government was very nervous before the arrival of the bull. Would the Recusants unite and carry out by means of a rebellion the decree of the Pope? Just how much support would these Catholics receive from the rest of the nation and from abroad? These were fearfully important questions at the time! For that reason the government thought it

3. Dixon: op. cit. VI, 262f. The Pope had considerable trouble getting the Bull published. For text of Bull of. Suppl. XVII.

4. Frere: op. cit. 150

5. This step was only possible now because Philipp, having finally realized the futility of aiming to gain influence in England by peaceful means, had withdrawn his shielding hand over Elizabeth.

6. Ibid: 150.

necessary to show a firm hand in convicting Felton. But, as said, their anxieties were unfounded. The bull was ignored by the Protestants and while the Catholics were not satisfied with the Queen's religious policies, they had no desire to put themselves under the hand of that "foreign prince." As a matter of fact, the bull of excommunication was of help to the Reformers; it showed them that the power of the Catholic party need not be feared. One other point was evident to Catholics and Protestants alike: The Catholic Party in England was without leaders, in truth, they were almost without priests. Certainly the number of priests who secretly or openly ministered to their flocks was not nearly large enough to be able to arouse a Catholic reaction.

That is the atmosphere in which parliament met once more on April 2, 1571, in order to consider the welfare of the nation. It was a foregone conclusion that this body would try to take precautions against Recusancy, and that, on the other hand, it would be forced to listen to many Puritan demands.

In answer to the Pope's Bull three bills were passed: "Bill touching certain offences to be made treason." (7) "Bill against the bringing in of bulls," and the "Bill that Goods of Fugitives abroad without License must be Forfeited to the Crown."

The Puritans were very aggressive, introducing many bills on Reform of ceremonies, uniformity among clergy and even one to "Reform the Book of Common Prayer." (8) But nearly everyone of them was squashed by the Queen or prevented from passing into the books of the realm by some artifice. It became very evident that the Queen simply would not permit the Reformers to

7. It was treason to declare the Queen was not lawful sovereign or that she was a heretic, schismatic, or infidel.
8. "One, Pistor, was scandalized that affairs of such infinite consequence (namely, kneeling and making the sign of the cross) should be passed over so lightly," and left in the hands of the Queen. He felt parliament should regulate these matters. "These questions, concern the salvation of souls, and interest every one more deeply than the monarchy of the whole world." Hume: op. cit. III, 342.

go to extremes. (9)

In the meantime convocation was also busy redressing certain abuses, and, among other things, attempting a revision of the Thirty-Eight Articles. They were finally reissued with the article on the Lord's Supper again added. These Thirty-Nine Articles, as they were named, are to this very day the chief confession of the Anglican Church. (10)

In all these transactions, enactments, preparation of bills and execution of orders of parliament, Parker was guiding the nation in the name of the Queen. Often his difficulties seemed insurmountable. Frequently, at just such times, Elizabeth would not strengthen his position by open support, in spite of the fact that he was carrying out her orders, as for example, when she ordered the men at universities to put away their wives, or demanded that certain sections of the Uniformity Act be carried out more strictly. It was she and not the bishops who insisted on the use of certain vestments, a measure which poured oil onto the fire which the Puritans were nourishing. But ever and anon it was Parker's wisdom, knowledge of human nature, and grasp of the sentiments of the nation, of particular parties, or individuals

9. "Religion was a point of which Elizabeth was, if possible, still more jealous than of matters of state. She pretended that, in quality of supreme head or governor of the church, she was fully empowered, by her prerogative alone, to decide all questions which might arise with regard to doctrine, discipline, or worship; and she never would allow her parliaments so much as to take these points into consideration." Hume: op. cit. III, 341.
10. With the acceptance of the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Elizabethan Settlement reached its culmination; the Resumption shows no further progress. It would consequently be justifiable to conclude this paper with an account of the proceedings of the Fourth Parliament. However, while during the first part of the Elizabethan reign there is a definite progress, a systematic ascendancy of Protestantism, this was not the case after 1571. Protestantism, after that time, continued in the lines established, but no new, further changes were made. Yet the Anglican Church from now on had to fight off many who were trying to change it to suit their own peculiar tastes and convictions. The difference between these two chapters out of the history of the Anglican Church is the same as that of an offensive and defensive struggle. The same principle is fought for: A Church which would unite all the religious elements of the nation. But after the year 1571 the struggle is a defensive one: Trying to ward off extremists, Recusants and radical Puritans, to preserve the established order of things. It is for that reason that we shall now give a brief account of the struggle between the Anglican Church and those who were dissatisfied with it.



which caused him to hew to the line which parliament and the Queen herself had drawn. Frere aptly calls it the "via media", "the middle way." Queen and Privy Council knew that only the "via media" would be able to save the nation from civil war. In strictest obedience to this policy Parker with wisdom and tact tried to endear the Reformation to the people while restraining the two extreme parties.

However, restraint -- even restraint by sheer force -- became increasingly more necessary due to Nonconformity. And even Parker had to yield to the pressure from above forcing him to put into effect some of the severe laws against Nonconformists.

These were the days of plots against Elizabeth, (11) days of stubborn Puritan opposition to enforcement of existing laws of Uniformity and vehement protests for more sweeping changes. (12) Often these protests were printed and distributed in great numbers. In 1572 "An Admonition to the Parliament," was published. It was a very frank and tactless proposal to effect a great number of changes in ritual and ceremonies. In it are to be found expressions which were more than frank, even indecent: The Prayer Book was designated as "an imperfect book, called and picked out of the papish dunghill, the Portuise and mass-boock." (13)

Furthermore, "Propheesyings", or conventicles, became steadily more frequent. Their aim was laudable: to train the new clergy so that they might become good preachers, also to instruct the laity more fully. However, as indicated before, the government soon became suspicious of these assemblies,

11. Norfolk plotted to put Elizabeth out of the way, was discovered and executed. Spain was trying to stir up the Recusants. The Pope was attempting to cause trouble through Ireland.
12. Many of these cases were discovered by the Subscription Act, passed by the last parliament, and demanding that every clergy-man should subscribe to the prayer-book, the apparel and the Articles of Religion. Robert Johnson, William Axton, Dean of Whittingham were punished or reprovved in various ways for holding erroneous views.
13. Frere: op. cit. 179. A real war on paper was inaugurated in defense and attack of these articles. Defense and attack was headed by leading men: Whitgift and Cartwright, respectively.

and the Queen subsequently ordered them to be stopped. (14)

As always, it was Parker who had to carry out these instructions from the Supreme Governor of the Church. But he was not at all in agreement with her in this nor many other matters. Thus shortly before his death he wrote sadly and apprehensively concerning the Queen, "whose governance in conclusion will undo her and all others that depend upon her." He saw with equal clarity the "anarchical character of Puritan individualism, and protested that what he had sought to enforce was not cap, tippet, surplice, or wafer-bread, but obedience to authority. This was his dying 'apologia.' He it was, who had steered the Church on a sure course through the hurricanes of change. "The Church which he so faithfully served and so adroitly steered has hardly given him all the gratitude that he deserves for preserving in the hour of greatest peril, its order of faith and worship, its ministry, its sacrament, nay, even its very existence." (15)

His successor was Grindal. His eight years of activity may be characterized with one word: inefficient. He caused convocation to produce a valuable set of canons for the clergy in 1576, and also started to enforce all existing laws rather strictly. However, when the Queen asked him to stamp out "prophesyings" he balked, claiming that they were of some benefit. He sent her an "epistle," -- epistle both in contents and length. In it he even had the effrontery to urge her Majesty to improve her ways in faith and religion, and he urged her to submit all religious matters to the bishops. The Queen was in a rage. Grindal was disgraced for the remaining years of his life.

14. Frere: op. cit. 186 -- When "the meddlesome and impudent spinster whose caprice governed England learned that 'prophesyings' were used throughout most of the dioceses she rated the archbishop soundly. S' death! cried she in this unique cancio ad clerum, 'it is good for the church to have few preachers; three or four will suffice for a county....Commend me to the reading of homilies; it is enough...I charge you, put down the prophesyings.'" Strype: Grindal II.
15. Frere: op. cit. p. 188ff. He died May 17, 1575.

His inefficiency is important if we wish to understand the renewed efforts on the part of both Puritans and Recusants to change religious conditions in England. Grindal tried to stem the tide by giving his signature to numerous orders and warrants for arrest, but there was lacking that firmness of will, determination of conviction, and persistence of leadership, which was absolutely necessary at the time. (16)

Cartwright, after his publication of "Admonition" and his ejection from Cambridge, had continued his zealous efforts, throwing the full weight of his personality into the cause of Reform. Travers published the famous Book of Discipline abroad (1574), which advocated the presbyterian form of government, and was almost prized like the Bible by some of the Puritans. Leicester, the Queen's favorite and Knolly, her treasurer, openly espoused the cause of Puritanism. In fact Grindal's inefficiency is responsible for the actual introduction of the presbyterian system in sections of England. They had a "classis" in each cure, which was to call the minister, decide on omissions of ceremonies from the prayer-book, to transform quietly churchwardens and collectors into "elders" and "deacons." They had all the gradations -- provincial, comital, and national assemblies. (17) And all this not within the shadow of the Church but within the Church itself. Again and again the Commons would, in the subsequent sessions of parliament, introduce bills for Reform. While they were always canceled by the Queen, her counselors, nevertheless, occasionally deemed it wise to concede a point which in their eyes was after all of negligible importance. Yet these concessions were always

16. "In 1580 the Council wrote to Grindal that the growth of Nonconformity was 'to the great offense of her Highness, who doth not a little marvel by what means this relapse should happen; having delivered sufficient authority unto your Lordship and others joined unto you, by virtue of her commission Ecclesiastical, warranted by the laws of this realm, whereby you might at all times have repressed...the disobedieny of such...if such care and vigilancy had been used within your charge as appertaineth.'" Usher: Rise and Fall of the High Commission p. 49.
17. Frere: op. cit. 225.

great mistakes, for they did nothing to strengthen the position of the Established Church. In fact the inevitable thing at last happened: Browne, as one of the first ones, saw that Puritan principles were totally incompatible with those operating within the Church. The only solution was to separate from the Church. Thus between 1578 and 1580 we have the rise of Independents, Separatists, or Brownists as they were variously called. (18) Gibson, Coppin, and Thacker all involved in disseminating Brownist literature were made to feel the full weight of the law. (19)

The case of the Recusants shows no essential difference, except for this fact that any of their actions in behalf of religion might at once be considered treason. We recall the founding of Douai University (20). A similar institution was founded at Rome. Both were for the purpose of training priests, Jesuits, who were to win back the English Church. These priests now began to overrun England openly and in secret, as the case demanded, assuming that leadership which the Recusants had lost through death and persecution. They were enthusiastic, zealous, filled with holy, wholehearted devotion to the papacy. (21) Recusancy everywhere experienced a revival. In the meantime the Pope had sent soldiers to Ireland to attack England from that vantage point. (22) The dignitaries of the Anglican Church saw only clouds of trouble appearing upon the horizon. "Crush the movement; apprehend the priests," were orders from above. (Suppl. XVIII)

18. Browne with his adherents fled to Holland because of the imminent threat of persecution.
19. Frere: op. cit. 204.
20. It was later moved to Reims because of disturbances in the Netherlands.
21. Sanders wrote to Allen (both leaders in this Jesuit crusade), "I beseech you take hold of the Pope, for the King of Spain is as fearful of war as a child of fire. The Pope will give you 2000. If they do not serve to go into England, at least, they will serve to go into Ireland. The state of Christendom dependeth upon the stout assailing of England." Cambridge M. H.: III, 286.
22. Ireland, being part of the realm, naturally had to submit to some Reform measures. But only the English officials adhered to them. Outside of them Ireland remained stark Catholic.

Some were apprehended and even executed. (23) But Grindal and his colleagues were either not capable or not willing to deal with the situation, and so "the papists did marvelously increase in number and obstinacy." Sandy writes, "a more stiff-necked, wilful or obstinate people did I never know or hear of: doubtless they are reconciled and sworn to the pope." (24) The few executions, imprisonments, and fines, designed to quench this ardor of the Recusants, were far from adequate to accomplish that purpose. In fact the confusion caused by these controversial, religious, and seditious opinions, which were electrifying the atmosphere then, was only increased by the spasmodic, inconsistent and injudicious orders that issued from the disgraced archbishop's desk. (25)

Was the Anglican Church losing in its struggle against these two powerful currents, Recusancy and Puritanism?

23. Mayne, Nelson, Sherwood, all Jesuits, were executed according to Frere. Cambridge M. H. maintains only Mayne suffered this fate. (1578) In 1581 - 82 Campion, a renowned leader and ten others were executed. Tierney in Dodd: III, 13n cf. Suppl. XVI.
24. Frere: op. cit. 214.
25. Strype: Life of Parker II, 204. "The estate of the Church was now low and sadly neglected. The queen's own court was a harbor for epicures and atheists." The inefficiency of the bishops is evident from the following court procedure, typical for its complete lack of judicial form: "White: I beseeche you let me answer. Bishop: Nay, W.W., holde your peace, you shalbe heard anon. Nixon: I beseeche you let me answer a worde or two. Bishop: Nixon, you are a busie fellowe, I knowe your wordes, you are full of talk, I knowe from whence you came. Hawkins: I would be glad to answer. Bishop: Smyth shall answer." (Usher: op. cit. p. 57) Or the following: "Lord Chief Justice: Who is this? W. White: W. White and please your honour. C. J.: White as black as the Devill. W.: Not so, my L., one of God's children. C. J.: Thou art a contemptuous fellow and will obey no lawes. W.: Not so, my Lord, I do and will obey lawes and therefore refusing but a ceremony of conscience, and not refusing the penalty of the same, I rest still a true subject. Deane.: Why so the Papists say. C.J.: Thou art the wickedest and most contemptuous person that came before me since I sate in this commission. W.: Not so, my Lord, my conscience doth witness with me otherwise. Gerrand (Attorney General): White you were released thinking you would be conformable but you are worse then you were. W.: Not so if it please you. C.J.: He would have no Lawes. W.: If there were no Law, I hope I would live like a Christian. C.J.: Would you have no Lawes? W.: I say I would do no wrong, if I received wrong, so it weare. C. J.: Thou art a rebell. W.: Not so, my Lord, a true subject. C.J.: Yea, I swear by God thou art a very Rebell, for I see thou wouldst draw thy sword, and lift up thy hand and wouldst rise to rebell against thy Prince if time served. W.: My Lord, I thank God my heart standeth right toward God and my Prince and God will not condemne though your Honour hath so judged. C.J.: Take him away." (Ibid: p. 59f.)

## CHAPTER II

### THE FIRM HAND

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#### SIXTH TO ELEVENTH PARLIAMENT.

(1583 - 1603)

Strype (1) informs us that from the year 1573 to 1603, 128 clergymen were put to death for religious matters, 48 died in prison; altogether he records 187 executions (lay and clergy) for that period. Most of these judicial corrections of religious "evils" fall into the period subsequent to 1583. This is in marked contrast to the first part of the Queen's reign, and can be explained only, if we remember first the strenuous efforts of Catholics, and to some extent of Puritans also, to remodel the Established Church according to their own notions; and secondly, that the Queen had firm leaders to carry out the statutes for conformity.

Such a leader was Whitgift, who succeeded Grindal to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1583. We have already noted the sudden revival of Recusancy under the leadership of foreign missionaries. We have likewise observed the steady growth of Puritanism under the leadership of Cartwright and Travers, as evidenced by their increased pressure upon parliament and popularizing of "prophesyings." Obviously if it was the object of the Anglican Church for reasons religious and political, to gather most of the nation within its walls, then the policy adopted before this, of veering neither too much to the Puritan nor to the Catholic view, must be continued. However, they who become too violent in their demands, to have the Church adopt their views, must be restrained, either by persuasion, or by force. Whitgift saw that Grindal had greatly failed in this and decided not to fall into the same pit. He was convinced that a wise but above all firm and consistent hand would be necessary to guide the Church towards the goal which Queen and Council had set for it.

1. Annals II, App. 132: "Foxe's List of Catholics Imprisoned in Various Places."

At once he drew up a program of several articles which demanded that the Book of Common Prayer be used, and sacraments be administered four times a year; also this program required a subscription of the entire clergy to the Supremacy, Thirty-Nine Articles, and the Book of Common Prayer. (Suppl. XIV) Finally he demanded new letters-patent for the High Commission to conduct the affairs and discipline of the Church, to deal with "disordered persons commonly called Puritans." Next year in parliament he saw to it that an Act against Jesuits, Seminary priests and all Recusants was passed. (Suppl. XX)

The Puritans were likewise told in unmistakable language that the Anglican Church had an Episcopal government based on the Book of Common Prayer and had no intention of introducing any other system. The storm that broke loose, when conformity was put into effect against the Puritans, was loud, menacing; but it had soon spent its force. Whitgift had the law on his side; besides he, though showing frequent moderation, made it perfectly clear that he aimed to remain firm. All this was highly disconcerting, but it was better than languishing in prison or adjusting one's neck upon the executioner's block, as they had off and on occasion to observe from the example of Jesuits and Recusants.

Turning our attention to the Catholics we find, that, led by fanatical Jesuits, they had of late done much plotting against the Queen. (2) The object in nearly every instance was to dethrone Elizabeth and put Mary Queen of Scots upon the throne. The situation due to the frequency of such occurrences became very tense, and in 1587 parliament demanded her execution. Queen Elizabeth seemingly hesitated for a long time before placing her signature upon this dangerous document. But, nevertheless, Mary was beheaded Feb. 8, 1587. After the defeat of the Spanish Armada 1588 Recusancy was not quite as active. Yet only a few years later it experienced a recrudescence which was, of course, immediately followed by persecutions. (Suppl. XXII) In fact Recusancy was never again permitted to receive any considerable

2. One Parry came to England with the express intention of assassinating

momentum during the remainder of the Queen's reign. Their power had been spent; their leaders were systematically executed or discredited; their lay adherents were not faithful, or lacked the moral courage to remain with the "old religion" in the face of persecution. Finally their own ranks were troubled by quarrels between the secular priests and the Jesuits. This became a scandal of such magnitude, that the press gleefully made use of it and the government intervened. To change conditions within the Anglican Church, or to place the Church of England once more at the feet of the Pope, might have been the dream of some zealots and a few peasants who were blind to the signs of the time, but it was certainly not by the remotest stretch of imagination within the power of this party. It sighed for the times of Henry VII, or even Henry VIII. But they sighed in vain. Those times were never to return.

The case of the Puritans is not as lightly dismissed. Their leaders were active, their disciples zealous, and their methods, at times, startling. Thus, when after all these years of sincere struggling they saw many of the bishops still entrenched behind the conservative practices of the Anglican Church, they devised the ingenious plan of writing tracts against the bishops poignant with humor and piquant with libel. (3) They moreover sent a flood of complaints about the bishops to the Queen and Privy Council purporting to show how corrupt these were and how unfairly they were treating the clergy. (4) Elizabeth and the Council was impressed, never having suspected such a deplorable state of affairs. At this the Puritans were jubilant and saw visions of abolishing the entire episcopal system.

Great was their surprise then, when suddenly, for no accountable

(2 continued) Elizabeth. Executed Feb. 15, 1585. Ballard and Babington were discovered in 1586.

3. The Marprelate tracts. The first one, "The Epistle", was issued in 1588. Their author is not determined to this day.
4. The following is a sample: John Penry writes to parliament: "My cause is the cause of the Church and so the cause of many thousands of the most trusty, most loving subjects that her Majesty hath, whose hearts, by the repelling of this my suit must be utterly discouraged and thrown."  
Usher: Reconstruction I, 19.



reason, the Queen turned cold to them and the Council issued new orders against them. As they learned later, all this mischief to their cause was primarily due to one man: Bancraft<sup>o</sup>, an employee of the Archbishops. By virtue of previous contacts and training he was eminently fitted to know the Puritans and their aspirations. He informed the Queen, and later the entire kingdom in a sermon at St. Paul's, that the Puritans were actuated by very reprehensible, ulterior motives; that it was their desire to overthrow Episcopacy and institute Presbyterianism, and that not many hundred, but only one hundred had written these many petitions, that in fact some of these had been as good as forged. Bancraft's work thoroughly discredited the Puritan cause. It was a severe setback, from which they did not effectually recover before the Queen's death. (Suppl. XXI)

But before this event had enveloped the realm in mourning we must briefly note one more tendency which is altogether new, but nevertheless important for future developments. Hooker at Oxford, Andrews and Overall at Cambridge were the leaders in this new movement. Its chief tendency was to discard radical Calvinism and to arrive by an appeal to pure Scriptural doctrine to a "more mature conception of the position of the English Church." In short, it was a rebellion against Calvinistic doctrine. Trouble arose between members of the faculty. Whitgift and some of the conservative Puritan leaders, to restore order, issued the Lambeth Articles, which were to perpetuate the Calvinistic doctrine. They set forth in bold and rigid form, among other articles, the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, for this was the chief source of contention at the University. But Whitgift misjudged the situation. There was a violent reaction to the articles, showing how strong this new movement had already become. In consequence of this the articles were withdrawn. Frere holds that these articles mark the beginning of the decay of Calvinism in England. Besides this there was further evidence of a more sane conception of the English Church:

During the last three years of the Queen's reign some Churches were once more beautified, organs installed, daily services introduced, much devotional literature sold. In fact the level of spiritual life of the masses was higher then, than it had been at any time since the accession of her Majesty. Thus the policy of Elizabeth and Whitgift, firm but considerate was at last bearing fruit. It was a great misfortune for the Church that this wise policy of Elizabeth terminated with the life of the beloved Queen on March 24, 1603. "When her strong hand was gone, its troubles speedily multiplied, and in spite of its growing spiritual recovery, its ecclesiastical position became more than ever the subject of hatred and attack from men professing godliness." (5)

5. Frere: op. cit. 285.

\* \* \* C O N C L U S I O N \* \* \*

The Church of England is like a plant which sends out both roots, to find nourishment deep in the soil, and runners upon the surface for similar purposes. Its roots are deep in the soil of English thought and national characteristics and have absorbed such tendencies as would intrinsically oppose the papacy, foster nationalism, centralize the government, etc. Its runners were sent out in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century to new systems of thought in religion and otherwise, such as Lollardy, Humanism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism.

We have traced the growth of this plant under Henry VIII and Edward VI. We have noted Mary's abortive attempt to graft "the old religion" upon the new tender plant. We have finally observed Elizabeth, nursing it with wisdom and foresight, so that the Anglican Church received strength to subsist and obtained those characteristics which distinguish it from all other Churches of Christendom.

When Elizabeth came to the throne there was a strong Catholic Party while Protestantism, though present, was neither defined nor very strong. She decided that for the safety of nation and throne the English Church must be established upon broad principles, upon principles and dogmas which could be accepted by all without "ruining of consciences." Consequently she asked the nation to be members of a Church which turned out to be a veritable chameleon: Viewed by the Catholics, the Church was still quite Catholic; viewed by a Calvinist, the Church had definite Calvinistic traces; viewed by a Lutheran, he could likewise see marks of Lutheranism. In this way Elizabeth reached her objective: "To teach peace, still peace to grow," as she wrote in a poem. She succeeded so that in the year 1603 the greater part of the nation was living peaceful, . religious lives based upon the Bible, Thirty-

## Nine Articles, and Prayer Book.

In the meantime theologians of Rome, Wittenberg, Zuerich and Geneva viewed the Reformation and resultant Church of Elizabeth with disgust. That Church, in their opinion, was "neither hot, nor cold, and the Lord would surely spew her out." Had they known that the characteristics which the Church had received in the hands of Elizabeth would to a large extent be permanent, they would have had reason to be still more disgusted. We, however, who are privileged to see the development of the Anglican Church in perspective can readily understand why that Church to this day is neither wholly Catholic, Reformed, or Lutheran but has retained features of all three. What we marvel at, however, is the fact that Elizabeth in the first place recognized those deepseated tendencies in the nation and then secondly utilized them in such a way that in spite of troublesome times, violent religious controversy and radical proposals from everywhere, she was able to establish a Church which has stood the test of her own reign and that of subsequent times. The fact that later this Church had to be reconstructed in its outward government detracts neither from the value of the Queen's work nor has this reconstruction changed the features of the same to any extent.

The Anglican Church of today, neither wholly Roman, Lutheran, nor Reformed is therefore the product of the age and efforts of Elizabeth.

\* \* \* \*

End

S U P P L E M E N T S

## SUPPLEMENT I

### The Supremacy Act, A. D. 1534.

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

Gea and Hardy, Documents Illustrative  
of English Church History, p. 243f.

## SUPPLEMENT II

### The Six Articles Act, 1539, June.

After stating the questions to be taken up by the Articles the document continues:

"The king's most royal majesty, most prudently pondering and considering, that by occasion of variable and sundry opinions and judgments of the said Articles, great discord and variance has arisen, as well amongst the clergy of this his realm, as amongst a great number of vulgar people, his loving subjects of the same, and being in a full hope and trust that a full and perfect resolution of the said Articles should make a perfect concord and unity generally amongst all his loving and obedient subjects, of his most excellent goodness, not only commanded that the said Articles should deliberately and advisedly, by his said archbishops, bishops, and other learned men of his clergy, be debated, argued, and reasoned, and their opinions therein to be understood, declared, and known, but also most graciously vouchsafed, in his own princely person, to descend and come

into his said High Court of Parliament and council, and there, like a prince of most high prudence and no less learning, opened and declared many things of high learning and great knowledge, touching the said Articles, matters, and questions, for a unity to be had in the same; whereupon, after a great and long, deliberate, and advised disputation and consultation, had and made concerning the said Articles, as well by the consent of the king's highness, as by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and other learned men of his clergy in their Convocation, and by the consent of the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, it was and is finally resolved, accorded, and agreed in manner and form following, that is to say:

"First, that in the most blessed Sacrament of the altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word (it being spoken by the priest), is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; and that after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread or wine, nor any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man.

"Secondly, that communion in both kinds is not necessary ad salutem, by the law of God, to all persons; and that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the flesh, under the form of bread, is the very blood; and with the blood, under the form of wine, is the very flesh; as well apart, as though they were both together.

"Thirdly, that priests after the order of priesthood received, as afore, may not marry, by the law of God.

"Fourthly, that vows of chastity or widowhood, by man or woman made to God advisedly, ought to be observed by the law of God; and that it exempts them from other liberties of Christian people, which without that they might enjoy.

"Fifthly, that it is meet and necessary that private masses be continued and admitted in this the king's English Church and congregation, as whereby good Christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolations and benefits; and it is agreeable also to God's law.

"Sixthly, that auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented in the Church of God."

Gee and Hardy: pp. 304ff.

### SUPPLEMENT III

H. F. Denison, "The True Religion," summarizes the encroachment of the Catholic Church and other problems of the time as follows:

- "1. The intrusion of foreigners into English Sees and benefices, such foreigners being frequently (to put it mildly) non-resident.
- "2. The constant and vexatious necessity for appeals to Rome for matters that could have been, and ought to have been, settled at home.
- "3. Side by side with this, as Professor Mitland has shown, the establishment, at the will of the plaintiff, of a particular of 'original' courts of first instance anywhere in England under Papal commission, ousting the local courts Christian, and with, again, an appeal to Rome.
- "4. The privileges and immunities of the Religious Orders (notably of

the Mendicant and Preaching Friars), who were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Bishops, and put directly under the Pope.

"These four great abuses stand by themselves. They were obvious and manifest, and they pressed heavily on the life of the Church here in England.

"But alongside of these four there were other things that impressed themselves on the minds of thoughtful men. Such were --

"(a) The ignorance of the Holy Scriptures. This was a real evil, though it may be questioned whether it was not exaggerated. It is hardly possible, for instance, to conceive of people more grossly ignorant of the Bible than the English people of today. Still, as far as it went, it was a real evil.

"(b) The alleged growing desire that worship should be 'in the vulgar tongue,' instead of, as heretofore in the West, in Latin only.

"(c) What was known as 'the superstitious use' of images and relics. The genuineness of this grievance is considerably discounted by the fact of the pillaging of shrines, and the transferring of their gifts and treasures into the pockets of the king and his favourites. When we have accounted for the greed of gain, there may remain something, though probably not much, of the nature of a grievance on this score.

"(d) The 'application of the power of the keys in its coarsest form,' as Professor Mozley calls it, in the prevailing practice as regards indulgences, culminating in the gross scandal of the sale of indulgences largely carried on by the Dominican Friars.

"(e) The undue proportion of Clergy and Religious to the population, and the concentration of wealth in the hands of the Religious Orders. We shall have more to say on this head when we come to think of the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, it may be said to be a real and deep-seated evil, though, again, it must be discounted by the greed of gain on the part of those who wished to divide the spoil."

Denison: True Religion, p. 287f.

#### SUPPLEMENT IV

Trying to stop religious dissent and controversy, Somerset published in 1547 "An Edict Against Religious Innovations." No innovations are to be permitted. England must accept the religion which government sanctioned:

"The King's Highness by the advice of his most entirely beloved uncle, the Duke of Somerset, governor of his most royal person, and protector of all his realms, dominions and subjects, and others of his Council; considering nothing so much to tend to the disquieting of his realm, as diversity of opinions, and variety of rites and ceremonies, concerning religion and worshipping Almighty God; and therefore studying all the ways and means which can be, to direct this Church, and the cure committed to his Highness, in one and most true doctrine, rite and usage.

"Yet it is advertised, that certain private curates, preachers and other laymen, contrary to their bounden duties of obedience, do rashly attempt, of their own and singular wit and mind, in some parish churches, and otherwise, not only to persuade the people from the old and accustomed rites and ceremonies, but also themselves bringeth in new and strange orders, every one in their church, according to their phantasies; the which, as it is an evident token of pride and arrogancy, so it tendeth both to confusion and



disorder, and also to the high displeasure of Almighty God; who loveth nothing so much as order and obedience.

"Therefore his Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner person, of what estate, order, or degree soever he be, of his private mind, will, or fantasy, do omit, leave down, change, alter, or innovate any order, rite, or ceremony, commonly used and frequented in the Church of England, and not commanded to be left doen at any time in the reign of our late sovereign Lord his Highness' father; other than such as his Highness by the advice aforesaid, by his Majesty's visitors, injunctions, statutes, or proclamations, hath already, or hereafter shall command to be omitted, left, innovated, or changed: but that they be observed after that sort as before they were accustomed, or else now sith prescribed by the authority of his Majesty and by the means aforesaid: upon pain, that whosoever shall offend contrary to this proclamation, shall incur his Highness' indignation, and suffer imprisonment and other grievous punishments at his Majesty's will and pleasure.

"And to the intent, that rash and seditious preachers should not abuse his Highness' people, it is his Majesty's pleasure, that whosoever shall take upon him to preach openly in any parish church, chapel, or any other open place, other than those which be licensed by the King's Majesty or his Highness' visitors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese where he doth preach (except it be the bishop, person, vicar, dean, or provost, in his or their own cure), shall be forthwith, upon such attempt and preaching contrary to this proclamation, committed to prison, and there remain, until such time as his Majesty by the advice aforesaid, hath taken order for the further punishment of the same.

"And that the premises should be more speedily and diligently done and performed, his Highness giveth straitly in commandment to all justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, constables, head-boroughs (petty constables), churchwardens and all other his Majesty's officers and ministers, and rulers of towns, parishes and hamlets, that they be diligent and attendant to the true and faithful execution of this proclamation, and every part thereof, according to the intent, purport, and effect of the same; and that they of their proceedings herein (or if any offender be, after they have committed the same to prison) do certify his Highness the Lord Protector, or his Majesty's Council, with all speed thereof accordingly, as they tender his Majesty's pleasure, the wealth of the realm, and will answer the contrary at their uttermost perils."

Colby: Selections from the Sources of English History quotes: Strype's Memorials: Oxford, 1862, Vol. II, Part II, p. 346.

#### SUPPLEMENT V

#### The Second Edwardine Act of Uniformity, A.D. 1552.

"A great number of people in divers parts of this realm, following their own sensuality, and living either without knowledge or due fear of God,

do wilfully and damnably before Almighty God abstain and refuse to come to their parish churches and other places where common prayer, administration of the sacraments, and preaching of the word of God, is used upon the Sundays, and other days ordained to be holy days.

"For reformation hereof, be it enacted by the king our sovereign lord, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the feast of All Saints next coming, all and every person and persons inhabiting within this realm, or any other the king's majesty's dominions, shall diligently and faithfully (having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent) endeavor themselves to resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed, or upon reasonable let thereof, to some usual place where common prayer and such service of God shall be used in such time of let, upon every Sunday, and other days ordained and used to kept as holy days, and then and there to abide orderly and soberly during the time of the common prayer, preachings, or other service of God there to be used and ministered, upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church. . . .

"And because there has arisen 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 administration of same, rather by the curiosity of the minister, and mistakes, than of any other worthy cause:

"Therefore, as well for the more plain and manifest explanation hereof, as for the more perfection of the said order of common service, in some places where it is necessary to make the same prayers 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, has caused the aforesaid order of common service, entitled, The Book of Common Prayer, to be faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect, and by the aforesaid authority has 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, 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 and 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 for the more knowledge to be given hereof, and better observation of this law, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular curates shall upon one Sunday every quarter of the year during one whole year next following the foresaid feast of All Saints next coming, read this present Act in the church at the time of the most assembly, and likewise once in every year following; at the same time declaring unto the people, by the authority of the Scripture, how the mercy and goodness of God has in all ages been showed to His people in their necessities and extremities, by means of hearty and faithful prayers made to Almighty God, especially where people be gathered together with one faith and mind, to offer up their hearts by prayer, as the best sacrifices that Christian men can yield."

Gea and Hardy: p. 369ff.

## SUPPLEMENT VI

The following is the preamble of the Act passed in 1555 (Jan.) completing the restitution of the Church to Catholicism. It is entitled:

"An Act repealing all Articles and Provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome, since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII., and for the establishment of all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Possessions and Hereditaments conveyed to the Laity."

"Whereas, since the twentieth year of king Henry VIII., of famous memory, father unto your majesty, our most natural sovereign, and gracious lady and queen, such false and erroneous doctrine hath been taught, preached, and written, partly by divers the natural born subjects of this realm, and partly, being brought in hither from sundry other foreign countries, hath been sown and spread abroad within the same; by reason whereof, as well the spirituality as the temporality of your highness' realms and dominions have swerved from the obedience of the see apostolic, and declined from the unity of Christ's church, and so have continued, until such time as your majesty being first raised up by God, and set in the seat royal over us, and then by his divine and gracious providence knit in marriage with the most noble and virtuous prince, the king, our sovereign lord, your husband, the pope's holiness and the see apostolic sent hither unto your majesties (as unto persons undefiled, and by God's goodness preserved from the common infection aforesaid), and unto the whole realm, the most reverend father in God, the lord cardinal Pole, legate de latere, to call us home again into the right way, from whence we have all this long while wandered and strayed abroad; and we, after sundry long and grievous plagues and calamities, seeing by the goodness of God our own errors, have knowledged the same unto the said most reverend father, and by him have been, and are, the rather at the contemplation of your majesties, received and embraced into the unity and bosom of Christ's church, and, upon our humble submission and promise, made for a declaration of our repentance, to repeal and abrogate such acts and statutes as had been made in parliament, since the said twentieth year of the said king Henry VIII., against the supremacy of the see apostolic, as in our submission exhibited to the said most reverend father in God, by your majesties, appeareth."

Dodd: Church History of England,  
Appendix 25, Vol. II, p. 125.

SUPPLEMENT VII

Archbishops of Canterbury and York during the reign of Elizabeth  
according to their accession

Canterbury	Accession	1555	York
Reginald Pole	1556		Nicholas Heath
Matthew Parker	1559		
		1561	Thomas Young
		1570	Edmund Grindal
Edmund Grindal	1575		
		1577	Edwin Sandys
John Whitgift	1583		
		1589	John Piers
		1595	Matthew Hutton

SUPPLEMENT VIII

The Device for Alteration of Religion  
(Dec. 1558)

"I. When shall the alteration be first attempted? .

"At the next parliament; so that the dangers be foreseen, and remedies therefore provided: for the sooner that religion is restored, God is the more glorified, and, as we trust, will be more merciful unto us, and better save and defend her highness from all dangers.

"II. What dangers may ensue upon the alteration?

"The bishop of Rome, all that he may, will be incensed. He will communicate the queen's highness, interdict the realm, and give it to prey to all princes, that will enter upon it; and incite them thereto by all manner of means.

"The French king will be encouraged more to the war, and make his people more ready to fight against us, not only as enemies, but as heretics. He will be in great hope of aid from hence, of them that are discontented with this alteration, looking for tumult and discord. He will also stay concluding peace upon hope of some alteration.

"Scotland will have some cause of boldness; and by that way the French king will seem soonest to attempt to invade us.

"Ireland also will be very difficultly staid in their obedience, by reason of the clergy that is so addicted to Rome.

"Many people of our own will be very much discontented; especially these sorts: 1. All such as governed in the late queen Mary's time, and were chosen thereto for no other cause, or were then most esteemed, for being hot and earnest in the other religion, and now remain unplaced and uncalled to credit, will think themselves discredited, and all their doings defaced, and study all they can to maintain their former doings, and despise all this alteration.

"2. Bishops and all the clergy will see their own ruin. In confession and preaching, and all other ways they can, they will persuade the people from it. They will conspire with whomsoever that will attempt, and pretend to do God a sacrifice in letting the alteration, though it be with murder of christian men, or treason.

"3. Men which be of the papist sect, which late were, in manner, all the judges of the law, the justices of the peace chosen out by the late queen in all the shires, such as were believed to be of that sect, -- and the more earnest therein, the more in estimation. These are like to join and conspire with the bishops and clergy.

"4. Some, when the subsidy shall be granted, and money levied (as it appeareth that necessarily it must be done), will be therewith offended, and like enough to conspire and arise, if they have any head to stir them to it, or hope of gain and spoil.

"5. Many such as would gladly have the alteration from the church of Rome, when they shall see, peradventure, that some old ceremonies shall be left still, or that their doctrine, which they embrace, is not allowed and commanded only, but all other abolished and disproved, shall be discontented, and call the alteration "a cloaked papistry," or "a ringle rangle."

"III. What remedy for these matters?

"First, for France, to practise a peace, or, if it be offered, not to refuse it. If controversy of religion be between them, to help to kindle it.

"Rome is less to be doubted, from whom nothing is to be feared, but evil will, cursing, and practising.

"Scotland will follow France for peace. But there may be practised, to help forward their divisions, and especially to augment the hope of them, who incline them to good religion. For certainty, to fortify Berwick, and to employ demi-lances and horsemen for the safety of the frontiers; and some expense of money in Ireland.

"The fifth divided into five parts: - The first is of them which were of queen Mary's council, elected and advanced then to authority, only or chiefly for being of the pope's religion, and earnest in the same. Every augmentation, or conservation of such men, in authority or reputation, is an encouragement of those of their sect, and giveth hope to them that it shall revive and continue, although it have a contrary blast. Seeing their pillars to stand still untouched (will be) a confirmation to them that are wavering papists, and a discouragement of such, that are but half inclined to that alteration. Dum in dubio est animus, paulo momento huc illic impellitur. These must be searched by all law, as far as justice may extend; and the queen's majesty's clemency to be extended not, before they do fully acknowledge themselves to have fallen in the lapse of the law.

"They must be based of authority, discredited in their countries, so long as they seem to repugn to the true religion, or to maintain their own proceedings. And of they should seem to allow, or to bear with, the new alteration, yet (they are) not likely to be in credit, quia neophyti. And no man but he loveth that time wherein he did flourish; and when he can, and as he can, those ancient laws and orders he will maintain and defend, with whom and in whom he was in estimation, authority, and a door; for every man naturally loveth that, which is his own work and creature.

"And contrary, as those men must be based, so must her highness's old and sure servants, who have tarried with her, and not shrunk in the last storms, be advanced with authority and credit; that the world may see that her highness is not unkind nor unmindful. And, throughout all England, such persons as are known to be sure in religion, every one, according to his ability to serve in the commonwealth, to be set in place: whom, if in the cause of religion, God's cause, they shall be slack, yet their own safety

and state shall cause to be vigilant, careful, and earnest, for the conservation of her state, and maintenance of this alteration. And, in all this, she shall do but the same that the late queen Mary did, to maintain and establish her religion.

"The second of these five is the bishops and clergy, being, in manner, all made and chosen, such as were thought the stoutest and mightiest champions of the pope's church, who, in the late times, (by) taking from the crown, impoverishing it, extorting from private men, and all other means possible, per fas et nefas, have thought to enrich and advance themselves. These her majesty, being inclined to so much clemency, yet must seek, as well by parliament, as by the just laws of England, in the prerogative, and other such penal laws, to bring again into order; and, being found in default, not to pardon, till they confess their fault, put themselves wholly to her highness's mercy, abjure the pope of Rome, and conform themselves to the new alteration. And yf this means well handled, her majesty's necessity of money may be somewhat relieved.

"The third is to be amended, even as all the rest above, by such means as queen Mary taught, that none such, as near as may be, be in commission of peace in the shires, but rather men meaner in substance, and younger in years; so that they have discretion to be put in place: a short law made and executed against assemblies of people without authority: lieutenants made in every shire: one or two men known to be sure at the queen's devotion: in the mean time, musters and captains appointed, viz., young gentlemen which earnestly do favour her highness: no office of jurisdiction or authority to be in any discontented man's hand, as far as justice or law may extend.

"The fourth is not to be remedied otherwise than by gentle and dulce handling by the commissioners, and by the readiness and good will of the lieutenants and captains to repress them, if any should begin a tumult, murmur, or provide any assembly or stoutness to the contrary.

"The fifth, for the discontentation of such as could be content to have religion altered, but would have it go too far, the strait laws upon the promulgation of the book, and severe execution of the same at the first, will so repress them, that it is great hope it shall touch but a few. And better it were that they did suffer, than her highness or the commonwealth should shake, or be in danger. And to this they must well take heed that draw the book.

"And herein the universities must not be neglected; and the hurt, that the late visitation, in queen Mary's time, did, must be amended. Likewise such colleges where children be instructed, to come to the university, as Eton and Winchester; that as well the increase hereafter, as at this present time, be provided for.

"IV. What shall be the manner of the doing of it?

"This consultation is to be referred to such learned men as be meet to shew their minds herein, and to bring a plat, or book hereof ready drawn to her highness: which, being approved of her majesty, may be so put into the parliament house; -- to the which, for the time, it is thought that these are apt men: -- Dr. Bill, Dr. Parker, Dr. May, Dr. Cox, Mr. Whitehead, Mr. Grindal, Mr. Pilkington. And Sir Thomas Smith to call them together, and to be amongst them: and, after the consultation with these, to draw in other men of learning and gravity, and apt men for that purpose and credit, to have their assents.

"As for that is necessary to be done before, it is thought most necessary that a strait prohibition be made of all innovation, until such time as the book come forth, as well that there should be no often changes in religion, which would take away authority in the common people's estimation, as also to exercise the queen's majesty's subjects to obedience.

"V. To the fifth, What may be done of her highness, for her own conscience, openly, before the whole alteration: or, if the alteration must tarry longer, what order be fit to be in the whole realm, as an interim?

"To alter no further than her majesty hath, except it be to receive the communion as her highness pleaseth, on high feasts; and that, where there be more chaplains at mass, that they do always communicate in both kinds. And, for her highness's conscience till then, if there be some other devout sort of prayers, or memory, said; and the seldomer mass.

"VI. To the sixth, What nobleman be most fit to be made privy to these proceedings, before it be opened to the whole council?

"The lord marquess Northampton, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembroke, and the lord John Grey.

"VII. To the seventh, What allowance those learned men shall have, for the time they are about to review the book of Common Prayer and order of Ceremonies, and service in the church, and where they shall meet?

"Being so many persons, which must attend still upon it, two mess of meat is thought yet indifferent, to suffice for them and their servants.

"The place is thought most meet (to be) in some set place, or rather at sir Thomas Smith's lodgings in Canon Row. At one of these places, must provision be laid in of wood, and coals, and drink."

Dodd: App. 33, Vol. II, p. 230ff.

#### SUPPLEMENT IX

A Speech of Nicolas Heath, Archbishop of York, in the House of Lords, against the Spiritual Supremacy in the Crown. 1559.

"My Lords,

"With all humble submission of my whole discourse to your wisdoms, I purpose to speak to the body of this act, touching the supremacy, that so, what this honourable assembly is now a-doing, concerning the passing of this act, may thereby be better weighed, and considered by your wisdoms.

"First, when, by the virtue of this act of the supremacy, we must forsake, and fly from the see of Rome, it would be considered, what matter lieth therein, and what matter of danger, or inconvenience; or else whether there be none at all?

"Secondly, if the intent of this act be, to grant, or settle upon the queen's majesty a supremacy, it would be considered of your wisdoms, what this supremacy is, and whether it doth consist in spiritual government, or temporal? If in temporal, what further authority can this house give her, more than what she already hath, by right of inheritance? -- and not by our gift, but by the appointment of God; being our sovereign lord and lady, our king and queen, our empress and emperor. And if, further than this, we acknowledge her to be head of the church of England, we ought also to grant, that the emperor, or any other prince, being catholic, and their subjects protestants, are to be heads of their church: whereby we shall do an act as disagreeable to protestants, as this seems to catholics. If you say, the supremacy consists in spiritual concerns, then it would be considered what the spiritual government is, and in what points it doth chiefly consist: which being first agreed upon, it would be further considered of your wisdoms, whether this house may grant it to her highness, or not; and whether her highness be an apt person to receive the same. So, by thorough examination

of these parts, your honours shall proceed in this matter groundedly, upon such sure knowledge, as not to be deceived by ignorance."

That is his introduction and outline. This he follows with a very exact exposition of each point, quoting General Councils, Church Fathers, and Popes. To show his method and style which is typical of such harangues, we quote the following section out of the same speech:

"Now, to the second deliberation, wherein I promised to move your honours to consider, what this supremacy is, which we go about, by virtue of this act, to give unto the queen, and wherein it doth consist; -- whether in spiritual government or temporal? But if spiritual (as these words in the act import, supreme head of the church of England, immediately and next unto God), then it would be considered, in what points this spiritual government doth consist. And these points being well known, it would be considered, whether this house hath authority to grant them, and her highness ability to receive them. And, as concerning the points, wherein spiritual government doth consist, I have, in reading the gospel, and the whole course of divinity thereupon (as to my vocation belongeth), observed these four, as chief among many others; whereof the first is, the power to loose and bind sins, when our Saviour, in ordaining Peter to be chief, and head governor of his church, said unto him, *Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum, etc.* that is, To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, etc. Now it would be considered by your wisdoms, whether you have sufficient authority to grant unto her majesty this first point of spiritual government, and to say unto her, *Tibi dabo, etc.*; to thee will we give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. If you say, Yea, then do we require the sight of your warrant and commission, by the virtue of God's word. And if you say, No, then you may be well assured, and persuade yourselves, that you have not sufficient authority to make her highness supreme head of the church of Christ, here in this realm.

"The second point of spiritual government is gathered out of these words of our Saviour Christ, spoken to Peter, in the twentieth chapter of St. John's gospel, *Pasce, and Pasce, and Pasce*; that is, Feed my lambs, feed my lambs, feed my sheep. Now whether your honours have authority, by this court of parliament, to say unto our sovereign lady, *Pasce, and Pasce, and Pasce, etc.*; that is to say, Feed you the flock of Christ, you must shew your warrant, and commission for it. And further, it is evident that her majesty, being a woman by birth and nature, is not qualified by God's word, to feed the flock of Christ; as appears most plainly by St. Paul in this wise: *Taceant mulieres in ecclesiis, sicut et lex dixit*. Let women be silent in the church; for it is not permitted to them to speak, but to be in subjection, as the law saith. And it followeth in the same place: *Turpe est enim mulieri loqui in ecclesia*; that is, For that it is not seemly for a woman to speak in the church. And, in his first epistle to Timothy: *Docere autem mulieri non permitto, neque dominari in virum, sed esse in silentio*; that is, I do not allow a woman to be a teacher, or to have authority over her husband, but to abide in silence. Therefore, it appears likewise, as your honours have not authority to give her highness this second point of spiritual government, to feed the flock of Christ, so, by St. Paul's doctrine, her highness may not intermeddle herself with the same. And, therefore, she cannot be supreme head of the church here in England."

Dodd: App. 35, Vol. II, p. 243ff.



### SUPPLEMENT X

One Richard Barter (born 1615) describes the deplorable conditions caused by unfit "Readers":

"We lived in a country that had but little preaching at all. In the village (near Shrewsbury) where I was born there were four Readers successively in six years' time, ignorant men and two of them immoral in their lives, who were all my schoolmasters. In the village where my father lived there was a Reader of about eighty years of age, that never preached, and had two churches about twenty miles distant: his eyesight failing him he said Common Prayer without book; but for the reading of the Psalms and Chapters he got a common thresher and day labourer one year, and a tailor another year, for the clerk could not read well: And at last he had a kinsman of his own, the excellentest stageplayer in all the country, and a good gamester and good fellow, that got Orders and supplied one of his places. After him another young kinsman that could write and read got Orders: and at the same time another neighbour's son, that had been awhile at school, turned Minister, one who would needs go further than the rest, and ventured to preach (and after got a living in Staffordshire), and when he had been a preacher about twelve or sixteen years, he was fain to give over, it being discovered that his Orders were forged by the first ingenious stageplayer. After him another neighbour's son took Orders, when he had been awhile an attorney's clerk and a common drunkard, and tumbled himself into so great poverty that he had no other way to live: It was feared that he and more of them came by their Orders the same way with the forementioned person. These were the schoolmasters of my youth (Except two of them) who read Common Prayer on Sunday and Holy Days, and taught school and tumbled on the week-days, and whipped the boys when they were drunk, so that we changed them very oft. Within a few miles about us were near a dozen more ministers, that were near eighty years old and never preached: poor ignorant Readers, and most of them of scandalous lives: only three or four constant competent preachers lived near us, and those, though conformable all save one, were the common marks of the people's obloquy: and any that went to hear them when he had no preaching at home, was made the derision of the vulgar rabble, under the odious name of a puritan."

Strype: Annals, I, 179.

### SUPPLEMENT XI

Conciliatory Message of Pope Pius IV to  
Queen Elizabeth - May 5, 1560

"Dear daughter in Christ, health and apostolical benediction. How greatly we desire (our pastoral charge requiring it) to procure the salvation of your soul, and to provide likewise for your honour, and the establishment of your kingdom withal, God, the searcher of all hearts, knoweth, and you may understand by what we have given in charge to this our beloved son, Vincenzius Farpalia, abbot of St. Saviour's, a man well known to you, and well

approved by us. Therefore, we do again and again exhort and admonish your highness, most dear daughter, that, rejecting evil counsellors, which love not you, but themselves, and serve their own lusts, you would take the fear of God into counsel with you, and, acknowledging the time of your visitation, show yourself obedient to our fatherly persuasions and wholesome counsels, and promise to yourself from us all things that may not only make to the salvation of your soul, but also whatsoever you shall desire from us, for the establishing and confirming of your princely dignity, according to the authority, place, and office, committed unto us by God. And of so be, as we desire and hope, you shall return into the bosom of the church, we shall be ready to receive you with the same love, honour, and rejoicing, that the father in the gospel did his son returning to him: although our joy is like to be greater, in that he was joyful for the salvation of one son, but you, drawing along with you all the people of England, shall hear us and the whole company of our brethren (who are shortly, God willing, to be assembled in a general council, for the taking away of heresies, and so for the salvation of yourself and your whole nation) fill the universal church with rejoicing and gladness: yea, you shall make glad heaven itself with such a memorable fact, and achieve admirable renown to your name, much more glorious than the crown you wear. But, concerning this matter, the same Vincentius shall deal with you more largely, and shall declare our fatherly affection toward you; and we entreat your majesty to receive him lovingly, to hear him diligently, and to give the same credit to his speeches, which you would to ourself.

"Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, May 5, 1560, in our first year."

Dodd: App. 47, Vol. II, p. 321.

SUPPLEMENT XII

List of Deprived and New Bishops

Diocese	Prelates removed by death	Prelates deprived	Successors	Consecrated or Confirmed
Canterbury	Cardinal Pole, Nov. 18, 1558	.. ..	Matthew Parker	Dec. 17, 1558 59
Chichester	John Christopherson Jan. 2, 1559	.. ..	William Earlow	Confirmed Dec. 20, 1559
Hereford	Robert Parfew, Sept. 22, 1558	.. ..	John Scory	Confirmed Dec. 20, 1559
London	.. ..	Edmund Bonner, June 2, 1559	Edmund Grindal	Dec. 21, 1559 59
Ely	.. ..	Thomas Thirlby, Nov. 23, 1559	Richard Cox	Dec. 21, 1559 59
Worcester	.. ..	Richard Fete, June 30, 1559	Edwin Sandys	Dec. 21, 1559 59
Bangor	William Glyn, May 21, 1558	.. ..	Rowland Merrick	Dec. 21, 1559 59
St. David's Lincoln	.. ..	Henry Morgan Thomas Watson, July 2, 1559	Thomas Young Nicholas Bul- lingham	Jan. 21, 1560 Jan. 21, 1560 60
Salisbury	Cardinal Poyte, April, 1558	.. ..	John Jewel	Jan. 21, 1560 60
St. Asaph	.. ..	Thomas Goldwell, July 15, 1559	Richard Davies	Jan. 21, 1560 60
Rochester	Maurice Griffith, Nov. 20, 1559	.. ..	Edmund Guest	Mar. 24, 1560 60
Bath & Wells	.. ..	Gilbert Bourne	Gilbert Berkley	Mar. 24, 1560
Lichfield and Coventry	.. ..	Ralph Baynes, June 24, 1559	Thomas Bentham	Mar. 24, 1560 60
Exeter	.. ..	James Turberville, Nov. 16, 1559	William Alley	July 14, 1560 60
Norwich	John Hopton, Dec., 1558	.. ..	John Parkhurst	Sept. 1, 1560 60
Peterborough	.. ..	David Poole, Nov. 11, 1559	Edmund Scambler	Feb. 16, 1561 61
Winchester	.. ..	John White, July 18, 1559	Robert Horn	Feb. 16, 1561 61
York	.. ..	Nicholas Heath	Thomas Young	Feb. 20, 1561
Durham	.. ..	Cuthbert Tunstall, Sept. 29, 1559	James Pilkington	Mar. 2, 1561 61
Carlisle	.. ..	Owen Oglethorpe, June 21, 1559	John Best	Mar. 2, 1561 61
Chester	.. ..	Cuthbert Scot, June 21, 1559	William Downham	May 4, 1561 61
Gloucester	James Brookes, Sept. 7, 1558	.. ..	Richard Cheney	Apr. 18, 1562 62
Bristol	John Holyman, Nov., 1558	.. ..	The same, in comendam	Apr. 19, 1562 62

Dodd: op. cit., Vol. II, p. 138

### SUPPLEMENT XIII

#### Comparison of the Creed Contained in the Thirty-nine Articles, with that of the Ancient Church

"By the adoption of the thirty-nine articles the seal was put to the Reformation in England. A new church was built on the ruins of the old; and it will be the object of this note, to point out to the reader how far these churches agreed, how far they disagreed, in their respective creeds.

"1. They both taught that there is but one God; that, in the unity of the Godhead, are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: that the Son took to himself the nature of man; that he offered himself a sacrifice for all sin of man, both original and actual; and that his is the only name whereby man must be saved.

"2. They equally admitted the three symbols, usually denominated the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds.

"3. They equally revered the holy Scriptures as the true word of God. But here they began to differ. 1. Several books of the Jewish scriptures were pronounced apocryphal by the new, while they were admitted as canonical by the old, church. 2. The former maintained that all doctrines, taught by Christ and his apostles, had been recorded in the Scriptures; the latter that many things, such as the baptism of infants, the obligation of observing the Sunday instead of the Sabbath, &c., had been taught by Christ or his apostles, and yet had not been recorded in the Scriptures, but were known only by tradition.

"4. Both agreed that 'the church hath a right to decree rites and ceremonies, and hath authority in controversies of faith;' but the articles seemed to nullify this authority by restrictions. The church could decide nothing but what is contained in the Scriptures; could not assemble in general council without the command and will of princes; and, when so assembled, was liable to err, and had actually erred. The old church allowed no such authority to princes, and maintained that Christ, according to his promises in the Scripture, would so watch over his church assembled in general council as not to suffer it to fall into any essential error, either in faith or discipline.

"5. Both equally required vocation and mission in their ministers; and both intrusted the government of the church to bishops, as the highest order in the hierarchy. But the old church, while it admitted no ecclesiastical authority in the prince, as prince, acknowledged in the bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter, a primacy of order and jurisdiction throughout the universal church; the new refused to the bishop of Rome any jurisdiction within the realm, and considered the sovereign as supreme, even in ecclesiastical government.

"6. Both equally taught that the justification of the sinner cannot be acquired or deserved by any natural effort, and that it is given gratis, on account of the merits of Christ; but in this they differed, or perhaps seemed to differ, that the one inculcated justification by faith only, the other, in addition to faith, required both hope and charity.

"7. That the sacraments are efficacious signs of grace, by which God worketh invisibly in us, was taught by both; but the seven sacraments of the catholics, -- viz. baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, holy order, extreme unction, and matrimony, were by the articles reduced to two, -- viz. baptism and the eucharist.

"8. The most important points, in which they differed, regarded the eucharist. The English reformers taught that in the sacraments "the body of

Christ is given, taken, and eaten, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner: the catholics, 'after a real though spiritual and sacramental manner;' the former declared that the doctrine of transubstantiation could not be proved from the words of Scripture; the latter, that it necessarily followed from the words of Scripture; the first, that the communion ought to be administered to laymen under both kinds, according to the institution and the command of Christ; the others, that communion under both kinds does not follow from the institution, and is not prescribed by the command of Christ.

"9. By the articles the mass was pronounced a blasphemous forgery, on the ground that there can be no other sacrifice for sin, than that which was offered upon the cross; according to the catholics, the mass is a true, propitiatory sacrifice, commemorative of that formerly offered on the cross.

"10. The articles condemned, but in general terms, and without any explanation, the doctrines of -- 1, purgatory; 2, pardons; 3, the veneration and adoration of relics and images; and 4, the invocation of the saints. The catholics taught -- 1, that the souls of men, who depart this life, neither so wicked as to deserve the punishment of hell, nor so pure as to be admitted there, 'where nothing defiled can enter,' are immediately after death placed in a state of purgation; 2, that pardons of the temporal punishment of sin, called indulgences, are useful and to be retained; 3, that it is lawful to show an inferior respect or veneration to the remains of holy persons, and to the images of Christ and his saints; 4, that it is also lawful to solicit the departed saints to join their prayers with ours, 'to beg for us benefits from God, through his Son, Jesus Christ, our only Saviour and Redeemer.' Con. Trid. Sess. xxv."

Dodd; App. 50, Vol. II, p. 326ff.

#### SUPPLEMENT XIV

Neale, an English historian, has prepared a resume of agreements and disagreements between the two Protestant parties, the Conformists and the Puritans:

"The court reformers believed that every prince had authority to correct all abuses of doctrine and worship within his own territories. Actuated by this principle, Parliament submitted the consciences and religion of the whole nation to the disposal of the king, and in case of a minority, to his council; so that the monarch was sole reformer, and might model the doctrine and discipline of the church as he pleased, provided his injunctions did not expressly contradict the statute law of the realm.

"The Puritans disowned all foreign jurisdiction over the church equally with the court, but they could not admit of that extensive power which the crown claimed by the supremacy, apprehending it to be unreasonable that the religion of a state should be at the disposal of a single lay-person. However, they took the oath, with the queen's explanation that it only restored to her majesty the ancient and natural rights of sovereign princes over their own subjects.

"It was admitted by the court reformers that the church of Rome was a true church, though corrupt in many points of doctrine and government; that her ministrations were valid, and that the pope was a true bishop of Rome, though not of the universal church. It was thought necessary by some to main-

tain this, since their bishops thus derived their succession from the apostles.

"But the Puritans affirmed the pope to be antichrist, the church of Rome to be no church, and her ministrations to be superstitious and idolatrous; they renounced her communion, and dared not risk the validity of their ordinations upon an uninterrupted line of succession from the apostles through their hands.

"It was agreed by all that the Holy Scriptures were a perfect rule of faith; but the court reformers did not allow them to be a standard of discipline or church government, affirming that the Saviour and his apostles left it to the discretion of the civil magistrate, in those places where Christianity should obtain, to accommodate the government of the church to the policy of the state.

"The Puritans held the Scriptures to be a standard of discipline as well as doctrine, or at least, they thought that nothing should be imposed as necessary which was not expressly contained in Holy Writ, or derived from it by inevitable sequence. And if it could be proved that all things necessary to the government of the church could not be deduced from Scripture, they maintained that the discretionary power was not vested in the civil magistrate, but in the spiritual officers of the church.

"The court reformers maintained that the practice of the primitive church, during the first four or five Christian centuries, was a proper standard of church government, and in some respects better than that of the apostles, which was only accommodated to the infancy of the church while it was under persecution, whereas theirs was suited to the grandeur of a national persecution and establishment. Therefore they only pared off the latter corruptions of the papacy, from the time the pope usurped the title of universal bishop, and left those institutions standing which they could trace higher, as archbishops, metropolitans, archdeacons, suffragans, rural deans, which were not known in the apostolic age, nor in those which immediately succeeded it.

"But the Puritans were for admitting no church officers or ordinances but such as are appointed in Scripture. They apprehended that the form of government ordained by the apostles was theocratic, according to the constitution of the Jewish sanhedrim, and was designed as a pattern for the churches of after ages, not to be departed from in its main features; and therefore they paid no regard to the customs of the papacy, or the practice of the earlier ages of Christianity, except in so far as these corresponded with the Scriptures.

"The court reformers maintained that things indifferent in their own nature, which are neither commanded nor forbidden in the Scriptures, such as rites, ceremonies, habits, might be settled, determined, and made necessary by the command of the civil magistrate; and that in such cases it was indispensable duty of good citizens to observe them.

"The Puritans insisted that those things which Christ had left indifferent, ought not to be made necessary by human laws. They affirmed that if the magistrate might impose things indifferent, and make them necessary in the service of God, he might dress up religion in any shape, and instead of one ceremony, he might load it with a hundred. Besides, it was urged that such rites and ceremonies as had been abused to idolatry, and tended to lead men back to popery, were no longer indifferent, but were to be rejected as unlawful.

"Both Puritan and Conformist agreed too well in asserting the necessity of uniformity in public worship, and of using the sword of the magistrate for the support and defence of their principles, of which they both made an ill use whenever they could grasp the power in their hands. The standard of

uniformity, according to one, was the queen's supremacy and the statute law; according to the other, the decrees of provincial and national synods, allowed and enforced by the civil magistrate. Neither party admitted that liberty of conscience, which is every man's right."

W. Carlos Martyn: A History of the English Puritans, pp. 147-150, quoting Neale, I, 90-92.

#### SUPPLEMENT XV

##### The Advertisements, A. D. 1566

"The queen's majesty, of her godly zeal, calling to remembrance how necessary it is to the advancement of God's glory, and to the establishment of Christ's pure religion for all her loving subjects, especially the state ecclesiastical, to be knit together in one perfect unity of doctrine, and to be conjoined in one uniformity of rites and manners in the ministration of God's holy word, in open prayer and ministration of sacraments, as also to be of one decent behaviour in their outward apparel, to be known partly by their distinct habits to be of that vocation (who should be revered the rather in their offices, as ministers of the holy things whereunto they be called), hath by her letters directed unto the Archbishop of Canterbury and metropolitan, required, enjoined, and straitly charged, that with assistance and conference had with other bishops, namely, such as be in commission for causes ecclesiastical, some orders might be taken, whereby all diversities and varieties among them of the clergy and the people (as breeding nothing but contention, offence, and breach of common charity, and be against the laws, good usage, and ordinances of the realm) might be reformed and repressed, and brought to one manner of uniformity throughout the whole realm, that the people may thereby quietly honour and serve Almighty God in truth, concord, unity, peace, and quietness, as by her majesty's said letters more at large doth appear. Whereupon, by diligent conference and communication in the same, and at last be assent and consent of the persons before said, these orders and rules ensuing have been thought meet and convenient to be used and followed. . . .

##### "Articles for doctrine and preaching

"First, that all they, which shall be admitted to preach, shall be diligently examined for their conformity in unity of doctrine, established by public authority; and admonished to use sobriety and discretion in teaching the people, namely, in matters of controversy; and to consider the gravity of their office, and to foresee with diligence the matters which they will speak, to utter them to the edification of the audience.

"Item, that they set out in their preaching the reverent estimation of the holy sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, exciting the people to the often and devout receiving of the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, in such form as is already prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer and as it is further declared in a Homily concerning the virtue and efficacy of the said sacraments. . . .

**"Articles for administration of prayer and sacraments**

"Item, that no parson or curate, not admitted by the bishop of the diocese to preach, do expound in his own cure, or elsewhere, any Scripture or matter of doctrine, or by the way of exhortation, but only study to read gravely and aptly, without any glossing of the same, or any additions, the Homilies already set out, or other such necessary doctrine as is or shall be prescribed for the quiet instruction and edification of the people. . . .

"Item, in the ministration of the Holy Communion in cathedral and collegiate churches, the principal minister shall use a cope with gospeller and epistoler agreeably; and at all other prayers to be said at that Communion Table, to use no copes but surplices.

"Item, that the dean and prebendaries wear a surplice with a silk hood in the choir; and when they preach in the cathedral or collegiate church, to wear their hood.

"Item, that every minister saying any public prayers, or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a comely surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the charges of the parish; and that the parish provide a decent table standing on a frame for the Communion Table.

"Item, that they shall decently cover with carpet, silk, or other decent covering, and with a fair linen cloth (at the time of the ministration) the Communion Table, and to set the Ten Commandments upon the east wall over the said table.

"Item, that all communicants do receive kneeling, and as is appointed by the laws of the realm and the queen's majesty's Injunctions.

"Item, that the font be not removed, nor that the curate do baptize in parish churches in any basons, nor in any other form than is already prescribed, without charging the parent to be present or absent at the christening of his child, although the parent may be present or absent, but not to answer as godfather for his child. . . .

**"Articles for certain orders in ecclesiastical policy**

"First, against the day of giving of orders appointed, the bishop shall give open monitions to all men to except against such as they know not to be worthy either for life or conversation. And there to give notice that none shall sue for orders but within their own diocese where they were born, or had their long time of dwelling, except such as shall be of degree in the universities. . . .

**"Articles for outward apparel of persons ecclesiastical**

"Item, that they and all ecclesiastical persons or other, having any ecclesiastical living, do wear the cap appointed by the Injunctions. And they to wear no hats in their journeying.

"Item, that they in their journeying do wear their cloaks with sleeves put on, and like in fashion to their gowns, without guards, welts, or cuts.

"Item, that in their private houses and studies they use their own liberty of comely apparel.

"Item, that all inferior ecclesiastical persons shall wear long gowns of the fashion aforesaid, and caps as afore is prescribed.

"Item, that all poor parsons, vicars, and curates do endeavour themselves to conform their apparel in like sort so soon and as conveniently as their ability will serve to the same. Provided that their ability be judged by the bishop of the diocese. And or their ability will not suffer to buy their long gowns of the form afore prescribed, that then they shall their short gowns agreeable to the form before expressed. . . .

"Protestations to be made, promised, and subscribed by them that shall hereafter be admitted to any office, room, or cure in any church or other place ecclesiastical.

"Imprimis, I shall not preach or publicly interpret, but only read that which is appointed by public authority, without special licence of the bishop under his seal.

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"I shall read the service appointed plainly, distinctly, and audibly, that all the people may hear and understand.

"I shall keep the register book according to the queen's majesty's Injunctions.

"I shall use soberly apparel, and especially in the church at common prayers, according to order appointed.

"I shall move the parishioners to quiet and concord, and not give them cause of offence, and shall help to reconcile them which be at variance, to my uttermost power.

"I shall read daily at the least one chapter of the Old Testament, and one other of the New, with good advisement to the increase of my knowledge.

"I do also faithfully promise in my person to use and exerce my office and place to the honour of God, to the quiet of the queen's subjects within my charge, in truth, concord, and unity; and also to observe, keep, and maintain such order and uniformity in all external policy, rites, and ceremonies of the Church, as by the laws, good usages, and orders are already well provided and established.

"I shall not openly intermeddle with any artificer's occupations, as covetously to seek a gain thereby, having in ecclesiastical living to the sum of twenty nobles or above by year."

Gea and Hardy: op. cit., p. 467ff.

#### SUPPLEMENT XVI

##### Execution of Edmund Campion

"At his first racking, they went no further with him; but afterwards, when they saw he could not be won to condescend somewhat at least in religion which was the thing they most desired, they thought good to forge matter of treason against him, and framed their demands accordingly; about which he was so cruelly torn and rent upon the torture, the two last times, that he told a friend of his, that found means to speak with him, that he thought they meant to make him away in that manner. Before he went to the rack, he used to fall down at the rack-house door upon both knees, to commend himself to God's mercy; and upon the rack he called continually upon God, repeating often the holy name of Jesus. . . .

"When they were come to the place of execution, where divers of her Majesty's honorable council, with many other persons of honor, besides and infinite multitude of people, attended their coming, Father Campion was first brought up into the cart; where, after some small pause, he began to speak upon that text of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 4, 9: 'We are made a spectacle to the world, etc.;' but was interrupted by Sir Francis Knowles and the sheriff's urging him to confess his treason against her Majesty and to acknowledge himself guilty: to whom he answer'd, 'For the treasons which have been layd to my charge, and I am come here to suffer for, I desire you all to bear witness with me, that thereof I am altogether innocent.' Whereupon answer was made to him by one of the council, that he should not seem to deny the objections against him, having been proved by sufficient evidence. 'Well, my lord,' said he, 'I am a Catholic man, and a priest; in that faith have I lived, and in that faith do I intend to die; and if you esteem my religion treason, then am I guilty; as for any other treason, I never committed it,

God is my judge. But yyou have now what you desire; I beseech you to have patience, and suffer me to speak a word or two for discharge of my conscience.' But not being suffer'd to go forward, he was forced to speak only to that point which they most urged, protesting that he was innocent of all treason and conspiracy; desiring credit to be given to his answers, as to the last answer made upon his death and soul. . . .

"Some also called to him to pray in English; to whom he answer'd, that he would pray in a language he well understood. At the upshot of this conflict he was willed to ask the queen forgiveness, and to pray for her; he meekly answered: 'Wherein have I offended her? In this I am innocent; this is my last speech; in this give me credit: I have said and do pray for her.'

Then the lord Charles Howard ask'd of him, for which queen he prayed, whether for Elizabeth the queen? To whom he answered, 'Yes, for Elizabeth your queen and my queen.' And the cart being drawn away, he meekly and sweetly yielded his soul unto his Saviour, protesting that he died a perfect Catholic."

Cheyney: Readings in Engl. Hist., p. 388ff.

#### SUPPLEMENT XVII

##### Bull of Deposition of Elizabeth, A.D. 1570

"Pius, bishop, servant of the servants of God, For the future memory of the matter.

"He who reigns in the highest, to whom has been given all power in heaven and earth, in the plenitude of his power has given the governance of one holy Catholic and apostolic church, outside of which there is no salvation, to one upon earth, that is to say, to Peter, prince of the apostles, and to the Roman pontiff, the successor of Peter. Him alone has he appointed prince over all nations and all kingdoms, to pluck out, to overthrow, to scatter, to destroy, to plant, to build up, in order that he may keep his people faithful in the unity of the spirit, bound with the bond of mutual love, and that he may deliver them unharmed to their Saviour. In the fulfillment of this duty, we, called by the grace of God to the government of the same church, have neglected no labor, striving with all our strength that the unity and entirety of that church should remain unbroken, which its founder has for the testing of our faith and our correction permitted to be smitten by so many storms. But the number of the wicked has so increased in strength that there is no place left upon earth which they have not tried to corrupt with the most evil teachings.

"Assistance has been given them among others, by Elizabeth, servant of evil doers, pretended queen of England, to whom as to an asylum the most wicked of all have come for refuge. She, after she had gained the throne, usurped to herself monstrously the place of supreme head of the church in all England and the principal authority and jurisdiction in it; and called back again to miserable destruction that realm which had been just then restored to the Catholic faith and good fruit. For she has taken away by a violent hand the use of true religion which had been previously overthrown by the apostate Henry VIII, but restored by the legitimate Queen Mary, of distinguished memory, with the help of this see; she has followed and embraced

the errors of heretics; she has dissipated the royal council, formed of the English nobility, and filled it with obscure men who are heretics. She has oppressed holders of the Catholic faith; she has restored agitators and dealers in impieties; she has abolished the sacrifice of the mass, prayers, fastings, choice of foods, celibacy, and Catholic rites; she has commanded books which contain manifest heresy to be spread through the whole kingdom; she has required services which are impious and instituted according to the prescriptions of Calvin to be accepted and observed by herself and to be acknowledged by her subjects.

"She has ventured to eject bishops, rectors of churches, and other Catholic priests from their churches and benefices, and to confer their goods and other ecclesiastical possessions upon heretics, and to give decisions concerning ecclesiastical causes. She has forbidden prelates, clergy, and people to acknowledge the Roman church or to obey its precepts and canonical sanctions. She has compelled by an oath very many to agree to her wicked laws and to abjure the authority and obedience of the Roman pontiff, and to recognize her alone as mistress in temporal and spiritual affairs; she has imposed pains and penalties upon those who were not obedient to her word and those who persevered in the aforesaid obedience and in the unity of faith. Catholic bishops and rectors of churches she has cast into bonds, where many, worn out by long-continued weariness and sadness, have finished their days miserably.

"Since all these things are familiar and well known among all nations and so well established by the strongest testimony of many men that there is no place left for any excuse, defense, or denial; and since other crimes and impieties are being multiplied, and the persecution of the faithful and the affliction of religion daily growing by the influence and the action of the said Elizabeth; and since her mind is, we understand, so confirmed and hardened that not only has she treated with contempt the pious prayers and advice of Catholic princes for her well being and conversion, but has not permitted the ambassadors of this see to come to England to her on this matter; we have been compelled to turn the arms of justice against her, though we cannot subdue our grief that we are required to take action against one whose forefathers have merited so much from the Christian commonwealth.

"And so, supported by the authority of him who has willed that we should be placed in this supreme throne of justice, though unequal to such a burden, out of the plenitude of apostolic power we declare the aforesaid Elizabeth a heretic and a favorer of heretics, and those who adhere to her in the aforesaid matter to have incurred the sentence of anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ. Moreover she is deprived of her pretended right to the aforesaid kingdom and to all dominions, dignity, and privileges whatsoever of every kind. Likewise the nobles, subjects, and people of the said kingdom, and all others who have taken oath to her of any kind we absolve by the authority of these presents and declare them absolved perpetually for the future from all duty, fidelity, and obedience due. We deprive the same Elizabeth of the pretended right to the kingdom and to all the things named above; and we require and order each and all nobles, subjects, people, and others above said, not to venture to obey her instructions, mandates, or laws. Those who shall act differently we bind with the same sentence of anathema.

"Because, however, it would be too difficult to take the present writings wherever there is need of them, we will that copies of them, signed with a seal by the hand of a notary public and of a prelate of the church or of his court, should obtain the same confidence in court and out of it among all nations as these presents would if they could be exhibited or shown.

"Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the Lord's incarnation, 1570, the fifth of the Calends of March, in the fifth year of our pontificate."

Ibid: p. 383ff.

SUPPLEMENT XVIII

**Proclamation for the Recall of All Students from the Foreign Seminaries, and for the Banishment of All Jesuits, and Seminary Priests from England, Jan. 10, 1581.**

"Whereas the queen is given to understand, that certain colleges and societies, under the name of seminaries, have been of late years erected by the bishop of Rome, as well in that city of Rome, as in the dominions of other princes, especially for the subjects of her kingdoms and dominions, with intent and purpose to train and nourish them up in false and erroneous doctrine; by which means divers of her good and faithful subjects have been thereby perverted, not only in matters of religion, but also drawn from the acknowledgment of their natural duties unto her highness, as their prince and sovereign, and have been made instruments in some wicked practices, tending to the disquiet of the realm and other her majesty's dominions; yea, to the moving of rebellion within their natural countries:

"She thinks it very expedient (as a thing appertaining chiefly to a christian prince, to have a special care to see her subjects trained up in truth and christian religion, grounded merely upon the word of God, and not upon men's fancies and vain traditions) to use all means of prevention, that may tend to the remedy thereof. Wherefore, she doth straitly charge and command all such her subjects, as have their children, wards, kinsfolk, or any other, over whom they have special charge, or to whom they do contribute to their maintenance and relief, remaining in the parts beyond the seas, to give notice, within ten days after the publishing of this present proclamation, not only unto the ordinary the names of such, their children, wards, or kinsfolks, or such other to whom they have given aid for their charges, as shall be beyond the seas, at the time of the publication hereof, without her majesty's special license remaining in force, and not expired; but shall also procure a return of them, within the space of four months after notice given by the said proclamation: and then, the persons, and other persons aforesaid, immediately upon the return of their children and other persons, to give knowledge thereof unto the bishop or ordinary: and, in case they return not upon the knowledge of this her highness's pleasure, given by the said parents and other persons aforesaid, not to yield them any contribution or relief, directly or indirectly; nor shall be privy to, or conceal the contribution of, any other, without disclosing the same to the bishop or ordinary, upon pain of her highness's displeasure, and further punishment, as for their contempt therein may justly by laid upon them. . . .

"That her majesty is given to understand, that divers of her subjects, trained up in the said colleges and seminaries beyond the seas, whereof some carry the name of Jesuits, under the colour of a holy name, to deceive and abuse the simpler sort; and are lately repaired into this realm by special direction from the pope and his delegates, with intent not only to corrupt and pervert her good and loving subjects in matter of conscience and religion, but also to draw them from their loyalty and duty of obedience, and to provoke them, so much as shall lie in them, to attempt somewhat to the disturbance of the present quiet, which, through the goodness of Almighty God, and her majesty's provident government, this realm hath for many years enjoyed.

"She, therefore, foreseeing the great mischief that may ensue by such like instruments, whereof experience hath been of late seen in the realm of Ireland, do, therefore, notify unto her subjects that, if any of them, or any other within her highness's dominions, after the publishing of this present proclamation, do receive, maintain, succour, or relieve any jesuit, seminary man, massing priests, or other persons aforesaid, come, or which shall come, or be

sent into this realm, or any other her dominions, or shall not discover the receiving and harbouring of them, or any such vagrant persons as may be justly suspected to be of such quality and ill condition; as also, in case they shall remain with them at the time of the said publication, or afterwards shall not bring them before the next justice, to be by him committed to the common gaol, or before other public officer, to the end they may in like sort be committed, and forthcoming to be examined, and to receive such punishment, as by her majesty shall be thought meet, according to their deserts; . Then they shall be reputed as maintainers and abettors of such rebellious and seditious persons, and receive, for the same of their contempt, such severe punishment, as by the laws of the realm, and her highness's princely authority, may be inflicted upon them."

Dodd: App. 5, Vol. III, p. 21ff.

### SUPPLEMENT XIX

#### Articles Touching Preachers and Other Orders for the Church, A.D. 1563

"1. That the laws late made against the recusants be put in more due execution considering the benefit that hath grown unto the church thereby, where they have been so executed, and the encouragement which they and others do receive by remission executing thereof.

"2. That all preaching, reading, catechizing, and other suchlike exercises in private places and families, whereunto others do resort, being not of the same family, be utterly inhibited, seeing the same was never permitted as lawful, under any Christian magistrate, but is a manifest sign of schism, and a cause of contention in the Church.

"3. That none be permitted to preach, read, or catechize in the church or elsewhere, unless he do, four times in the year at least, say service, and minister the sacraments, according to the Book of Common Prayer.

"4. That all preachers, and others in ecclesiastical orders, do at all times wear and use such apparel as is prescribed unto them by the book of Advertisements and her majesty's Injunctions anno primo.

"5. That none be permitted to preach, or interpret the Scriptures, unless he be a priest, or deacon at the least, admitted thereunto according to the laws of this realm.

"6. That none be permitted to preach, read, catechize, minister the sacraments, or to execute any other ecclesiastical function, by what authority soever he be admitted thereunto, unless he consent and subscribe to these Articles following, before the ordinary of the diocese wherein he preacheth, readeth, catechizeth, or ministereth the sacraments, viz.:

"(1) That her majesty, under God, hath, and ought to have, the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be; and that no foreign power, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to

have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within her majesty's said realms, dominions, and countries.

"(2) That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the word of God, and that the same may lawfully be used, and that he himself will use the form of the said book prescribed in public prayer and administration of the sacraments, and none other.

"(3) That he alloweth the book of Articles of religion, agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord 1562, and set forth by her majesty's authority, and that he believeth all the Articles therein contained to be agreeable to the word of God. . . .

"10. That one kind of translation of the Bible be only used in public service, as well in churches as chapels, and that to be the same which is now authorized by the consent of the bishops."

Gea and Hardy: op. cit., p. 431ff.

#### SUPPLEMENT XX

##### Act Against Jesuits and Seminarists, A.D. 1565

"Whereas divers persons called or professed Jesuits, seminary priests, which have been, and from time to time are made in the parts beyond the seas, by or according to the order and rites of the Romish Church have of late years come and been sent, and daily do come and are sent, into this realm of England and other the queen's majesty's dominions, of purpose (as has appeared, as well by sundry of their own examinations and confessions, as by divers other manifest means and proofs) not only to withdraw her highness's subjects from their due obedience to her majesty, but also to stir up and move sedition, rebellion, and open hostility within the same her highness's realms and dominions, to the great endangering of the safety of her most royal person, and to the utter ruin, desolation, and overthrow of the whole realm, if the same be not the sooner by some good means foreseen and prevented:

"For reformation whereof be it ordained, established, and enacted by the queen's most excellent majesty, and the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same Parliament, that all and every Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests whatsoever made or ordained out of the realm of England or other her highness's dominions, by any authority, power, or jurisdiction derived, challenged, or pretended from the see of Rome, since the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist in the first year of her highness's reign, shall within forty days next after the end of this present session of Parliament depart out of this realm of England, and out of all other her highness's realms and dominions, if the wind, weather, and passage shall serve for the same, or else so soon after the end of the said forty days as the wind, weather, and passage shall so serve."

Ibid: p. 485f.

SUPPLEMENT XXI

The Act Against Puritans, A. D. 1593

"For the preventing and avoiding of such great inconveniencies and perils as might happen and grow by the wicked and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries and disloyal persons; be it enacted by the Queen's most excellent majesty, and by the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that if any person or persons above the age of sixteen years, which shall obstinately refuse to repair to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, to hear divine service established by her majesty's laws and statutes in that behalf made, and shall forbear to do the same by the space of a month next after, without lawful cause, shall at any time after forty days next after the end of this session of Parliament, by printing, writing, or express words or speeches, advisedly and purposely practise or go about to move or persuade any of her majesty's subjects, or any other within her highness's realms or dominions, to deny, withstand, and impugn her majesty's power and authority in causes ecclesiastical, united, and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm; or to that end or purpose shall advisedly and maliciously move or persuade any other person whatsoever to forbear or abstain from coming to church to hear divine service, or to receive the communion according to her majesty's laws and statutes aforesaid, or to come to or be present at any unlawful assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, contrary to her majesty's said laws and statutes; or if any person or persons which shall obstinately refuse to repair to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, and shall forbear by the space of a month to hear divine service, as is aforesaid, shall after the said forty days, either of him or themselves, or by the motion, persuasion, enticement, or allurements of any other, willingly join, or be present at, any such assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under colour or pretence of any such exercise of religion, contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm, as is aforesaid; that then every such person so offending as aforesaid, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be committed to prison, there to remain without bail or mainprise, until they shall conform and yield themselves to come to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, and hear divine service, according to her majesty's laws and statutes aforesaid, and to make such open submission and declaration of their said conformity, as hereafter in this Act is declared and appointed. . ."

The following is the form of submission:

"I, A. B., do humbly confess and acknowledge, that I have grievously offended God in condemning her majesty's godly and lawful government and authority, by absenting myself from church, and from hearing divine service, contrary to the godly laws and statutes of this realm, and in using and frequenting disordered and unlawful conventicles and assemblies, under pretence and colour of exercise of religion: and I am heartily sorry for the same, and do acknowledge and testify in my conscience that no other person has or ought to have any power or authority over her majesty: and I do promise and protest, without any dissimulation, or any colour or means of any dispensation, that from henceforth I will from time to time obey and perform her majesty's laws and statutes, in repairing to the church and hearing divine service, and do my uttermost endeavour to maintain and defend the same. . ."

Outside of deprivation the Act has a forfeiture clause:

"Provided also, that every person that shall abjure by force of this Act,

or refuse to abjure, being thereunto required as aforesaid, shall forfeit and lose to her majesty all his goods and chattels for ever, and shall further lose all his lands, tenements, and hereditaments, for and during the life only of such offender, and no longer, and that the wife of any offender, by force of this Act, shall not lose her dower."

"This Act was the culmination of the measures taken by Elizabeth to repress Puritanism. Her legislation began with the Supremacy Act, and was continued by the Uniformity Act, and the proclamation of 1573 addressed to the bishops appointing a special commission of oyer and terminer. Account must also be taken of the proceedings of the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission."

Ibid: p. 492ff.

### SUPPLEMENT XXII

#### The Act Against Recusants, 1593.

##### The preamble and chief provision:

"For the better discovering and avoiding of all such traitorous and most dangerous conspiracies and attempts as are daily devised and practised against our most gracious sovereign lady the queen's majesty and the happy estate of this commonweal, by sundry wicked and seditious persons, who, turning themselves Catholics, and being indeed spies and intelligencers, not only for rebellious and traitorous subjects within her highness's realms and dominions, and hiding their most detestable and devilish purposes under a false pretext of religion and conscience, do secretly wander and shift from place to place within this realm, to corrupt and seduce her majesty's subjects, and to stir them to sedition and rebellion:

"Be it ordained and enacted by our sovereign lady the queen's majesty, and the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that every person above the age of sixteen years, born within any of the queen's majesty's realms and dominions, or made denizen, being a popish recusant, and before the end of this session of Parliament, convicted for not repairing to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, to hear divine service there, but forbearing the same, contrary to the tenor of the laws and statutes heretofore made and provided in that behalf, and having any certain place of dwelling and abode within this realm, shall within forty days next after the end of this session of Parliament (if they be within this realm, and not restrained or stayed either by imprisonment, or by her majesty's commandment, or by order and direction of some six or more of the privy council, or by such sickness or infirmity of body, as they shall not be able to travel without imminent danger of life, and in such cases of absence out of the realm, restraint, or stay, then within twenty days next after they shall return into the realm, and be enlarged of such imprisonment or restraint, and shall be able to travel) repair to their place of dwelling where they usually heretofore made their common abode, and shall not, any time after, pass or remove above five miles from thence. . . ."



**Some of the punishments:**

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every such offender as is before mentioned, which has or shall have any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, by copy of court-roll, or by any other customary tenure at the will of the lord, according to the custom of any manor, shall forfeit all and singular his and their said lands, tenements, and hereditaments so holden by copy of court-roll or customary tenure, as aforesaid, for and during the life of such offender (if his or her estate so long continue) to the lord or lords of whom the same be immediately holden, if the same lord or lords be not then a popish recusant, and convicted for not coming to church to hear divine service, but forbearing the same contrary to the laws and statutes aforesaid, nor seised or possessed upon trust, to the use or behoof of any such recusant as aforesaid, and in such case the same forfeiture to be to the queen's majesty. . . "

**Again includes authorization to punish by imprisonment disobedient Jesuits:**

"And be it further enacted and ordained by the authority aforesaid, that if any person which shall be suspected to be a Jesuit, seminary or massing priest, being examined by any person having lawful authority in that behalf to examine such person which shall be so suspected, shall refuse to answer directly and truly whether he be a Jesuit, or a seminary or massing priest, as is aforesaid, every such person so refusing to answer shall for his disobedience and contempt in that behalf, be committed to prison by such as shall examine him as is aforesaid, and thereupon shall remain and continue in prison without bail or mainprize, until he shall make direct and true answer to the said questions whereupon he shall be so examined. . . "

**The form of submission:**

"I, A. B., do humbly confess and acknowledge, that I have grievously offended God in contemning her majesty's godly and lawful government and authority, by absenting myself from church, and from hearing divine service, contrary to the godly laws and statutes of this realm: and I am heartily sorry for the same, and do acknowledge and testify in my conscience, that the bishop or see of Rome has not, nor ought to have, any power or authority over her majesty, or within any her majesty's realms or dominions: and I do promise and protest, without any dissimulation, that from henceforth I will from time to time obey and perform her majesty's laws and statutes, in repairing to the church, and hearing divine service, and do my uttermost endeavour to maintain and defend the same.

**Women recusants are equally punishable:**

Provided always, and be it enacted by authority aforesaid, that all and every woman married, or hereafter to be married, shall be bound by all and every article, branch, and matter contained in this statute, other than the branch and article of abjuration before mentioned: and that no such woman married, or to be married, during marriage, shall be in anywise forced or compelled to abjure, or be abjured, by virtue of this Act.

"Legislation against Roman Catholics under Elizabeth culminated in the Act which follows. It was preceded by the Supremacy Act; the Act 5 Eliz. cap. 1, For the assurance of the queen's royal power over all estates and subjects within her majesty's dominions; the Act 13 Eliz. cap. 2, Against receiving in and executing papal bulls; the Act 23 Eliz. cap. 1, Against receiving absolution from the See of Rome; and 25 & 29 Eliz. cap. 6. Also the Act against Jesuits, &c."

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